2002

Questions of Identity among 'Buddhist Quakers'

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Recommended Citation
Huber, Klaus (2002) "Questions of Identity among 'Buddhist Quakers'," Quaker Studies: Vol. 6: Iss. 1, Article 5.
Available at: http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol6/iss1/5

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This paper is focused on a survey of Quakers who regard Buddhism as the major source of their spirituality, with the aim of establishing how it is possible to be a ‘Buddhist Quaker’. It will be argued that there are two distinct groups of survey respondents: ‘Quaker Buddhists’ and ‘semi-Buddhist Quakers’ who differ in their self-identification. Tendencies and influences within both groups will be discussed along with their respective choice of spiritual resources, their meditation practices and their belief patterns. It will be observed that Quaker Buddhists have established stronger roots in Buddhism, whereas semi-Buddhist Quakers remain closer to British Quaker orthodoxy. This observation will be explained in the context of respondents’ self-identification, and the character and degree of the whole sample’s dual identity will be discussed.

**KEYWORDS**

Quakers, Buddhism, identity, meditation, belief, Buddhist Quakers

**Introduction**

From March to July 1999, I carried out a survey among ‘Quakers (including attenders) who regard Buddhism as the major source of their spirituality’, using a postal questionnaire. The aim was to establish what attracts this group to Buddhism and where they see connections and differences between Quakerism and Buddhism. In March, I posted 32 of the questionnaires to Charney Manor Quaker Guest House in Oxfordshire who forwarded them to the participants of a seminar on Buddhism that had taken place there in November 1998. Seventeen questionnaires were filled in and returned. In April, the survey was advertised with a letter to the editor in *The Friend*, resulting in 25 enquiries. Additional snowball sampling accounted for 5 more questionnaires being sent out. Out of these 30 questionnaires, 24 were filled in and returned.

Altogether, 41 (out of 62 approached) responded to the survey. One of the questions in the postal questionnaire asked respondents about their self-identification:

Would you describe yourself rather as...

(a) ... a Quaker  
(b) ... a Buddhist  
(c) ... a Quaker and a Buddhist, or  
(d) ... neither of these.

Sixteen respondents described themselves ‘rather as a Quaker’ and 20 ‘rather as a Quaker and a Buddhist’. I suggest to use the term ‘semi-Buddhist Quakers’ (from now on also referred to as ‘SBQs’) for respondents who identify ‘rather as Quakers’ and the term ‘Quaker Buddhists’ (from now on also referred to as ‘QBs’) for respondents who identify ‘rather as a Quaker and a Buddhist’, and I will refer to the whole sample as ‘Buddhist Quakers’.

I should point out here that all these terms are only working terms, and respondents would not necessarily describe themselves in this way. Jim Pym, who could, according to my terminology, be described as an outspoken ‘Quaker Buddhist’, writes:

I was a Buddhist when I joined the [Religious] Society [of Friends], and have remained one ever since. However I am not a Buddhist/Quaker or a Quaker/Buddhist. I do not think there is any such thing. I am a Buddhist and a Quaker. I feel that probably makes me both a Buddhist and a Christian; or possibly neither. Labels are not important—unless you want them to be (Pym 1999: 8).

As will be shown, the two sub-samples of SBQs and QBs do not only differ in their self-identification, but also in the choice of spiritual resources, their meditation practices and in their belief patterns. Whilst both groups...
have left the framework of traditional Quaker Christianity, SBQs are closer to contemporary Quaker orthodoxy, whereas QBs have established comparatively strong roots in Buddhism and use the Quaker community as a cultural rather than a spiritual home.

The different self-identification among Buddhist Quakers raises several questions:

First, which factors determine a respondent’s decision to identify as either ‘rather a Quaker’ or ‘rather a Quaker and a Buddhist’? Second, does the difference in respondents’ self-identification correlate with differences in their belief patterns or spiritual practice? And last but not least, do SBQs differently relate to Quakerism and/or Buddhism than QBs?

The field of religious or spiritual self-identification in the context of dual religious affiliation is still under-researched. In his sociological analysis of contemporary British Quakerism, Pink Dandelion (1996) focuses on corporate identity and makes no investigation into dual membership or dual affiliation of individual Friends. Despite the fact that the journal *Concilium* recently dedicated an entire issue (2/2000) to identity, the contributions are of little significance for the present study, the most helpful being Albert Musschenga’s article (Musschenga 2000) that offers a basic introduction to the current identity discussion.

The virtual absence of material forces the researcher to look beyond the discipline of the sociology of religion. The study of bilinguality is the most obvious field of research that could offer models and theories relevant to the present study, because Buddhist Quakers can be described as ‘spiritually bilingual’. They share with bilingual people that they draw on two different cultural traditions in their daily lives. Yet even in the field of bilinguality, questions of identity remain under-researched. A Finnish study of the language group identification among the bilingual Swedish minority in metropolitan Helsinki (Miemois 1980) appears to be the most significant work.

There, Karl Johan Miemois describes the process of self-identification as a result of two main factors (Miemois 1980: 4-10):

1. cultural descent: past and present cultural patterns in the family
2. external factors: past and present cultural patterns outside the family.

He draws up a model for the interaction between these factors. The key aspect in this model is language use. Applied to the study of spirituality, ‘language use’ would refer to spiritual patterns like, for instance,
According to this model, differences in spiritual self-identification must also be reflected in other ways, such as a person's choice of spiritual resources, their meditation practices, and their belief patterns. In other words, semi-Buddhist Quakers must differ from Quaker Buddhists in more aspects than just their self-identification.

In the following sections, I will first describe the differences between the two sub-sets, highlighted by the survey. I shall then outline some characteristics of the dual identity of Buddhist Quakers and conclude by putting these into the context of their self-identification.

**Differences between ‘Semi-Buddhist Quakers’ and ‘Quaker Buddhists’**

To explore the reasons for the differences in their self-identification, we need to look at some of the survey results. They show that SBQs and QBs are two groups that are clearly distinct in three areas:

1. their choice of spiritual resources
2. their meditation practices, and
3. their belief patterns.

**Spiritual resources**

In question 9, I gave a list of religious and non-religious resources, asking for the knowledge respondents had of these. In question 10, they were asked to evaluate the significance of the same resources for their spirituality. Both questions 9 and 10 operated with a Likert scale, with ‘1’ indicating no knowledge (or importance, respectively) and ‘5’ indicating a thorough knowledge (or ‘very important’, respectively). Figures 3-7 illustrate significant differences between QBs and SBQs in terms of their spiritual resources.

The most important spiritual resource for SBQs are meditation techniques, rated at a moderate average of 3.4. The Bible and early Friends' writings are equally important as Buddhist teaching. Buddhist history, rated at a low 2.2, is of little significance.

For QBs, the most important resource for their spirituality is Buddhist teaching, with an average rating as high as 4.4. Meditation techniques, rated at 4.2, are also more important to QBs than they are to SBQs. In turn, early Friends' writings and the Bible are less significant.

When we look at the knowledge respondents have of potential spiritual resources, we will find that the lower importance SBQs ascribe to Buddhist teaching and Buddhist history corresponds with a lack of knowledge of these. However, QBs know nearly as much as SBQs about the Bible and early Friends' writings. Nevertheless, these are not equally important to them. This implies that QBs have taken an informed decision not to rely to a great extent on traditional Quaker spiritual resources. It also raises the question whether SBQs would turn QBs, once they acquire a more thorough knowledge of Buddhist teaching and history. However, such a question is beyond the scope of my study, because it would require longitudinal research.

**Meditation practices**

Meditation is central to Buddhist practice, as is Meeting for Worship to Quaker practice. In the previous paragraph, we have seen that meditation techniques are, along with Buddhist teaching, the most important spiritual resource for Buddhist Quakers. In fact, two-thirds of the respondents...
Figure 3. Average values for the Bible.

Figure 4. Average values for Buddhist teaching.
Figure 5. Average values for early Friends’ writings.

Figure 6. Average values for Buddhist history.
Question 9: How thorough would you describe your knowledge of it?

Question 10: How important is it for your own spirituality?

Figure 7. Average values for meditation techniques.

Figure 8. Replies to question 12: 'Do you believe in God?'
regard Quaker Meeting for Worship as a form of meditation, contrary to Quaker orthodoxy.2

The replies to question 2 show that SBQs attend Meeting for Worship more regularly than QBs. Eleven out of 16 SBQs who answered this part of the question—as opposed to only 2 out of 19 QBs—attend at least once a week. On the other hand, QBs attend more group meditations, even though attendance at these is generally low—only 4 out of 15 SBQs attend at least once a month, compared to 11 out of 18 QBs. There is a clear difference between SBQs and QBs among those who practise meditation in a group: in the case of QBs, this group is in more than two-thirds of the cases a Buddhist meditation group. In the case of SBQs, the majority of group meditators attend non-Buddhist groups. This links in with the greater rootedness in Buddhism among QBs that could already be observed in their choice of spiritual resources.

Individual meditation, again, is more common among QBs than among SBQs. One-third of QBs practise individual meditation on a daily basis, one-quarter less than once a month or not at all. The corresponding figures for SBQs are one-eighth of daily meditators and 7 out of 16 who practise less than once a month or not at all.

When asked about the forms of meditation they practise, Mindfulness of breathing (anapana-sati) for Calm (Samatha) emerged as the most popular meditation among respondents, closely followed by zazen in the Sōtō Zen tradition ('Just Sitting'). Metta was third.

Both anapana-sati and Metta are less popular with SBQs than they are with QBs. Almost a third of SBQs replied 'none in particular' to the question which meditations they practise, whereas the corresponding figure for QBs is a mere ten per cent.

The zazen meditation was developed within the Sōtō Zen school that emerged in the thirteenth century in Japan (Dumoulin 1992: 113; Harvey 1990: 165-66). Sōtō Zen demythologized the historical Buddha and advocated zazen (sitting meditation), an 'objectless meditation' (Dumoulin 1992: 113), which Harvey describes as follows:

2. Quaker Faith & Practice says: 'People who regard Friends' meetings as opportunities for meditation have failed to appreciate this corporate aspect', Britain Yearly Meeting 1995: 2.37; quoted from John Punshon, unpublished writing 1987; a control and comparison group of 17 Quakers who are not necessarily Buddhist Quakers, were asked the same question, and all (!) stated that they do not regard Meeting for Worship as a form of meditation.

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Zazen is not seen as a 'method' to 'attain' enlightenment, but is itself enlightenment, a way of simply exhibiting one's innate Buddha-nature... A person must sit in zazen with constant awareness, and with faith that he [she] is already a Buddha (Harvey 1990: 166).

D.T. Suzuki traces zazen back to early Buddhism where it was known by the Sanskrit term 'dhyāna' (Suzuki 1991: 99-102). He does not agree with Harvey's description, but says:

zazen as practised by Zen devotees has not the same object in mind as is the case with Buddhists generally. In Zen, Dhyāna or zazen is used as the means of reaching the solution of the koan. Zen does not make Dhyāna an end in itself (Suzuki 1991: 101).

However, Dumoulin argues that Suzuki 'neglected the quieter meditative style of... Sōtō [Zen]' (Dumoulin 1992: 4-5). On the effect the practice of zazen can have on Christians, Dumoulin remarks:

Many accounts relate how the radical emptying of consciousness in this meditation effects a profound inner purification, as if accumulated dust and unnecessary ballast were cleared away without a trace (Dumoulin 1992: 120).

Anāpānā-sati, also known as 'Mindfulness of breathing', is one of the most popular Buddhist meditations (Harvey 1990: 253). It can be used to attain calm (Samatha) or as preparation for an Insight (Vipassana) meditation. The meditator chooses their breathing as object of meditation, trying to free themselves of all distracting thoughts in order to develop 'right concentration'. Anāpānā-sati has been developed in the Southern Theravāda tradition and promoted in Britain particularly by the Samatha Trust, founded in 1973 (Harvey 1990: 313-14).

Both Anāpānā-sati and zazen are the least ritualized Buddhist meditations and the easiest to learn (even though not necessarily the easiest to practise). Quakers who feel drawn to Buddhism thus do not seem to abandon the traditional Quaker stand against rituals in their choice of meditation.

Apart from zazen and anāpānā-sati, the Buddhist meditation most often practised by survey respondents is the Mettā (Loving kindness) meditation. The term 'mettā', usually translated as 'lovingkindness', also means 'true friendliness' (Nakamura 1976: 28), and a meditation on this topic was already developed in early Buddhism. Boriharnwanaket names 'softness, gentleness, pliancy and humbleness of heart' as characteristics of mettā and states that mettā also brings about compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity (Boriharnwanaket 1995: 57, 48). The meditation consists of various stages, whereby mettā is developed first to oneself, second to a friend, third...
to a neutral person, fourth to a person one has negative feelings about, and finally to all beings.

Zazen and anāpāni-sati are both very simple meditations and closest to the predominantly silent practice of unprogrammed Quaker Meeting for Worship. Their practice does not necessarily require agreement to Buddhist doctrines (cf. Suzuki 1991: 45).

The metta meditation, with its aim of developing lovingkindness for all living beings, explicitly including one’s enemies, brings to mind Jesus’ words in Matthew 5:44 according to the Greek New Testament, Fourth Revised Corrected Edition 1994; the corresponding passage in the New Revised Standard Version reads: ‘Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you.’

Belief patterns

Buddhism is often described as a non-theist religion. At first sight, this seems to contradict British Quakerism where, according to a survey carried out in 1991, only three per cent do not believe in God (Dandelion 1996: 159). So how can anyone be both a Buddhist and a Quaker?

Conze may point to an answer, when he writes about the ambiguity of the term God:

We can distinguish...at least three meanings of the term. There is firstly a personal God who created the Universe; there is secondly the Godhead, either conceived as impersonal or as supra-personal; there are thirdly a number of Gods, or of angels not clearly distinguished from Gods (Conze 1975: 39).

Dandelion has encountered great difficulty when asking Quakers about their belief in God (cf. Dandelion/Homan 1995). Taking this into account, I gave respondents the option of answering with ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘unsure’, as well as inviting them to write down terms they would prefer, if they do not usually use the term ‘God’. Two respondents—one SBQ and one QB—could not resist the temptation to not answer the question, but commenting ‘it depends what you mean by “God’’, which reflects Dandelion’s experience (Dandelion/Homan 1995: 489). The uncertainty about the question was greater among SBQs than among QBs. In addition to the already mentioned response, 4 more SBQs (out of 16) did not reply to this question, compared to 2 (out of 20) non-responses among QBs. However, notwithstanding these limitations, the question about belief in God brought some notable results, as shown in Figure 8.

This clearly illustrates the differences between SBQs and QBs, as well as the general difference between Buddhist Quakers and Quaker orthodoxy. Eight per cent of SBQs and 44 per cent of QBs do not believe in God. Moreover, many survey respondents expressed reservations about the term God, as discussed earlier. Terms they prefer that were mentioned more than once were love, Light, the Unborn, Spirit, energy and Gaia.

Considerable differences between the two groups can again be observed, when it comes to Buddhist concepts. Ninety-five per cent of QBs believe in the Four Noble Truths, the most fundamental Buddhist philosophy. Among SBQs, only 50 per cent stated such a belief, and a high number replied with ‘unsure’, which points at a possible lack of knowledge. QBs have visibly established stronger roots in Buddhist teaching. This is confirmed even more clearly by the replies to the question about belief in a cycle of rebirths. Not a single respondent among SBQs answered with ‘yes’. In contrast, nearly half of QBs have no difficulties with this belief.

Two survey respondents who did not answer the questions about their belief patterns chose to challenge the whole concept of belief instead. One of them who described herself ‘rather as neither of these’ [i.e. neither a Quaker nor a Buddhist nor a Buddhist and a Quaker] in question 8, wrote:

Both Quakerism and Buddhism emphasise the here and now, one’s own experience, an open and introspective practice. Believing is not necessarily part of either. Belief involves speculating on unknowable metaphysical questions: these are not necessarily part of either—in fact specifically not part of Buddhism.

Summary

As we have seen, QBs have established stronger roots in Buddhist teaching, doctrine and practice than SBQs. The self-identification of the two groups reflects this fact. Unlike SBQs, QBs chose a dual identity by describing themselves as both Quakers and Buddhists.

At this point, it may be worth to remember that all survey respondents have initially agreed to the statement that Buddhism is the major source of their spirituality. This means that even those who still identify only as Quakers have chosen a spiritual path that is different from current Quaker
orthodoxy. Yet the evidence of this study suggests that semi-Buddhist Quakers are still closer to Quakerism than Buddhism and that Buddhism is rather a than the major source of their spirituality. Unlike Quaker Buddhists, they do not carry a fully developed dual identity.

**The Buddhist Quaker dual identity**

One of the central questions of my research is: How is it possible to be a Buddhist Quaker? How does this dual identity work?

Ideally, there are two possible explanations:

1. Buddhist Quakers hold syncretistic views and regard Quakerism and Buddhism as virtually identical.
2. Buddhist Quakers regard Quakerism and Buddhism as complementary, finding in one of them what they miss in the other.

Consequently, I asked respondents three open-ended questions:

**Question 18** What does Quakerism offer you that you miss in Buddhism?

**Question 19** What does Buddhism offer you that you miss in Quakerism?

**Question 20** Where do you see connections between Quakerism and Buddhism?

The most frequent answer to question 18 was a sense of belonging, friendship, fellowship and community. Two-thirds of QBs and half of SBQs replied in this way. Nearly half of QBs also mentioned the social engagement they appreciated among Quakers. Interestingly, none of the SBQs stated this. A possible explanation for this observation could be that SBQs are not as closely in touch with Buddhists than QBs—a fact that was already shown by analysing the attendance at group meditations. Other things the survey respondents appreciate in Quakerism are the more familiar Western culture and the absence of dogmas and creeds.

By far the most attractive points in Buddhism for QBs are the method and the philosophy. They appreciate the consistent teaching and clear understanding of the world and find that the practice is more disciplined and offers more practical guidelines to follow. One of them wrote:

> Intensive meditation practice is very helpful to me: There is something important for me in this focused work and [in] the entire belief system about dependent origination etc. Intellectually I am far deeper rooted in Buddhism.

SBQs replied in a very similar way, also concentrating on the technique, discipline and coherent teaching of Buddhism. For reasons yet to be explored, 30 per cent of them also mentioned 'freedom from Christianity' as an advantage Buddhism has over Quakerism. The corresponding figure among QBs was only five per cent.

On occasions, the answers to questions 18 and 19 seemed paradoxical. One respondent, for example, replied to question 18 ‘a more “relaxed” practice’ and to question 19’s more “disciplined” practice’.

The answers to these two questions show that there is a great tendency towards regarding Quakerism and Buddhism as complementary. Quakerism offers the survey respondents a cultural home and fellowship, whereas Buddhism offers them a disciplined spiritual practice, based on a consistent teaching. The Religious Society of Friends thus becomes a society of friends to Buddhist Quakers; the religious, or rather, spiritual part is found in Buddhism.

When asked about connections between Quakerism and Buddhism, both SBQs and QBs mentioned silence and similarities in ethics and moral values most frequently. This brings back to mind the choice of meditations among survey respondents: Both Zazen and ānāpāni-sati are silent meditations, and Mettā, still a largely silent meditation, was devised to foster lovingkindness.

Several respondents stated syncretistic views. One described Quaker Universalism as ‘much the same as Buddhist spirituality’. Another one stated:

> I understand the ‘Christ Within’ of Quakerism to be the same as the Buddha nature—there is one creative spiritual power running through all religions—even very primitive ones.

In addition to rather syncretistic statements, the word ‘complementary’ was mentioned several times. One respondent wrote:

> I feel there are complementary aspects of all traditions—it’s not a case of missing something in each, but rather positively taking from both.

Another reply reads as follows:

> I see Quakerism and Buddhism as complementary. I am unable to compare them. I see them as aspects of a whole, together with other great philosophies.

This statement shows an interesting symbiosis between the syncretistic and complementary viewpoints. In most cases, however, the complementary viewpoint dominates. Quakerism and Buddhism serve different spiritual
needs, different aspects of spirituality. Quakerism mainly serves the more secular aspects. It gives a sense of belonging and offers friendship and community. Buddhism serves the more religious as well as intellectual aspects, offering a disciplined spiritual practice and an elaborated philosophical and psychological teaching.

One respondent drew the following diagram to present their view of the relation between Quakerism and Buddhism:

![Diagram of Quakerism (Q) and Buddhism (B)](image)

Figure 9. The relation between Quakerism (Q) and Buddhism (B), as suggested by a survey respondent.

This diagram could represent the view of nearly all surveyed Buddhist Quakers. The most eloquent verbalization of it came from a different respondent who wrote:

The idea of the 'inner light' seems to me to be the same as that of 'Buddha nature', i.e. a basic inner goodness, wisdom, love that can be found in stillness and silence. Peace and non-violence are part of both traditions.

There is much more direction in Buddhism with the precepts as a guide to living. Quakerism is much more a do it yourself religion.

**Conclusion**

We have seen that, among Buddhist Quakers, we can distinguish two groups: 'semi-Buddhist Quakers' and 'Quaker Buddhists'. They differ in many aspects: Semi-Buddhist Quakers rely on more traditional Quaker spiritual resources, attend Meeting for Worship more frequently and are in their belief patterns closer to Quaker orthodoxy. Despite some Buddhist influences, they are still essentially Quakers.

Quaker Buddhists, in turn, are more familiar with and more rooted in Buddhist doctrine and practice. While socializing with Quakers and attending Meeting for Worship, their spirituality and belief patterns are essentially Buddhist.

The differences in self-identification, reflected in the different outlook of the two groups, are the result of a complex interactive relation of factors of cultural descent as well as external factors. A model, based on a work by Karl Johan Miemois, helps to understand the way self-identification is shaped. In this model, spiritual patterns in different contexts and at different times act as catalyst for spiritual self-identification.

For SBQs, we can see the following spiritual patterns in the context of their self-identification:

**Figure 10. Spiritual patterns and identity of semi-Buddhist Quakers.**

For QBs, differences in some, even though not all, spiritual patterns, can be observed:

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For SBQs, we can see the following spiritual patterns in the context of their self-identification:
Quaker Buddhists clearly carry a dual identity. As Buddhism is the major source of their spirituality, they are distinct from Quaker orthodoxy. Semi-Buddhist Quakers, who initially agreed to the same statement, appear to draw on Buddhism rather as a than the major source of their spirituality.

A closer look shows that for most Buddhist Quakers, Buddhism and Quakerism are complementary. Buddhism mainly serves the intellectual and religious aspects of their spirituality, while Quakerism serves the more secular aspects of providing a cultural home and a social community.

**AUTHOR DETAILS**

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**APPENDIX**

**IMPORTANT:** Please tick only ONE circle, unless stated otherwise!

**Part One**

1. What is your current status in the Religious Society of Friends?
   - Member
   - Attender

2. How often, during the last 12 months, did you attend or practice...
   - Meeting for Worship up to 5 times 6-24 25-50 more than 50
   - a group meditation up to 5 times 6-24 25-50 more than 50
   - meditation on your own up to 12 times 13-50 51-100 101-300 more than 300 times

3. Do you consider Meeting for Worship as a form of meditation?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Unsure

4. Which kind of Buddhist meditation do you practise?
   (you can tick more than one circle)
   - Sóte (Zen, just sitting)
   - Mindfulness of breathing for Calm (Samatha)
   - koan meditation
   - Mindfulness of breathing for Insight (Vipassaná)
   - Metta/Loving kindness
   - Tibetan visualisation practice
   - Chanting
   - Dzogchen
   - None in particular
   - Other (please specify): ...........................................

5. If you practise meditation in a group, do you usually practise this...
   (you can tick more than one circle)
   - in a Buddhist group / centre
   - within an informal group
   - other (please specify)

6. When did you first...
   (please give dates)
   - attend Quaker Meeting for Worship:
   - practise (any kind of) meditation:
   - practise Buddhist meditation:

7. With which Buddhist tradition are you most familiar?
   (you can tick more than one circle)
   - Theravada
   - Tibetan Mahayana
   - Pure Land (Amitabha)
   - Zen (Ch'an)
   - Nichiren/Soka-gakkai
   - none in particular
   - Other (please specify): ...........................................

8. Do you regard yourself rather as...
   - a Quaker
   - a Buddhist
   - a Buddhist and a Quaker
   - neither of these

**Part Two**

9. How thorough would you describe your knowledge of the following?
   Please state on a scale of 1 to 5, with '1' indicating no knowledge at all, '2' indicating a little knowledge, and '5' indicating a thorough knowledge.

   - The Bible
   - early Friends' writings
   - Quaker history

   none thorough
   1 2 3 4 5

100 101
10. How important are the following for your own spirituality?
Please use the same scale, with '1' for no importance at all, '2' indicating little importance, and '5' indicating 'very important'.

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<td>meditation techniques</td>
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<td>Hinduism</td>
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<td>Taoism</td>
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<td>modern physics</td>
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<td>Existentialism</td>
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<td>C.G. Jung’s psychology</td>
<td>O</td>
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<td>Hermann Hesse’s writings</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

11. Is there anything not mentioned above that you feel is very important for your own spirituality?
(please state)

Part Three

12. Do you believe in God?
   O Yes  O No  O Unsure
   If you do not usually use the term 'God', please state the term you would use instead:

13. Do you believe in the Four Noble Truths?
   O Yes  O No  O Unsure

Part Four

14. Do you believe in a cycle of rebirths?
   O Yes  O No  O Unsure

15. Do you believe that it is possible for a human being to attain perfection?
   O Yes  O No  O Unsure

16. Would you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please use a scale from 1 to 5, with '1' indicating strong disagreement, '2' indicating disagreement, and '5' indicating strong agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>strongly disagree</th>
<th>strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A spirituality that doesn't lead to good deeds is a dead spirituality.</td>
<td>O O O O O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You have to believe in God to be a Quaker.</td>
<td>O O O O O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life is essentially unsatisfactory.</td>
<td>O O O O O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent practice of meditation has a psycho-therapeutic effect.</td>
<td>O O O O O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You don’t get far on the path to enlightenment, if you do good deeds without right understanding.</td>
<td>O O O O O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Would you like to comment or clarify any of your answers in this part? If yes, please use the space below (please continue on a separate sheet, if necessary).

Part Four

Feel free to answer the following questions in as much detail as you wish to. If the space provided is insufficient, please continue on a separate sheet.

18. What does Quakerism offer you that you miss in Buddhism?

19. What does Buddhism offer you that you miss in Quakerism?

20. Where do you see connections between Buddhism and Quakerism?

21. Many regard Quakerism as a Christian denomination. Do you have any difficulties with this? What is your view?
22. Please describe your own view: a) of Jesus, and b) of the historic Buddha.

Part Five – Any further comments from you

23. Are there any other comments you would like to make:

Thank you very much for the time you have taken to fill in this questionnaire. Your answers are a valuable contribution to the research project described in the covering letter. Your reply will be treated confidentially. (Quotations in anonymous form may be reproduced in the thesis and related papers or publications.)

A first outline of the survey results will be available by October 1999. If you wish to receive a free copy, please tick here

For clarifications and further questions, it would be helpful, if some of the respondents are willing to be interviewed or contacted again in the near future. If you are happy to be contacted again, please tick this circle.

If you have ticked either of these circles, please write your address below:

Name: 

Address: 

Telephone: 

Email: 

Postcode: 

Please return this form in the enclosed SAE by 21 May 1999.

THANK YOU!