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A preliminary assessment of Buddhism's contextualization to the English RE classroom

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It was Wilfred Cantwell Smith who asserted that no statement about Buddhist doctrine is valid unless Buddhists can respond, 'Yes! That is what we hold' (1981, 97). It would therefore be expected that any initiative to bridge gaps between home practice and classroom presentation of Buddhism would meet with a resounding 'Yes!' from practising Buddhist pupils in England and their families. Similar initiatives have already proved useful in contextualizing the presentation of other minority religions to the British Religious Education (RE) classroom. Accordingly this paper presents the findings of a preliminary study to identify issues concerning classroom contextualization of Buddhism for further research.

Context and Introduction

The history of how Buddhism came to be included in the RE syllabus for England and Wales is convoluted. When rethought multicultural principles of RE designed to take "...account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain..." (HMSO 1988, Section 8.3), Buddhism was included in an increasing number of post-1988 Agreed Syllabuses, although at that time the basis for selection of 'principal' religions remained unclear (Copley 1997, 188). In the mid-1980s, the SHAP working party and the Buddhism Resources Project responded to the new generation of Agreed Syllabuses by developing suitable curriculum materials (Connolly 1986, 45) and textbooks [e.g. (Bancroft 1984a; b; Cole 1984)] for Buddhism in RE. Subsequently, through continued consultation (e.g. Baumfield et al. 1994) the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority's Model Syllabuses (SCAA 1994a; b) elaborated Buddhist content as a curriculum option and ten years later the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority recognized Buddhism as one of the 'other principal religions' together with four other non-Christian religions (QCA 2004, 12), making Buddhism an official part of RE in England and Wales.

In the mid-1980s, when the first curriculum materials on Buddhism were being written, ethnically western Buddhists formed the majority of the demographic (Backus & Cush 2008, 244-5; Waterhouse 2001, 121-2) with a consequent tendency for

curriculum materials to portray Buddhism in terms attractive to westerners (Backus & Cush 2008, 237) but overlooking the ‘perpetuating structures’ of Buddhism often prioritized more highly by the migrant Buddhist community (Mellor 1989, 343; Waterhouse 1999, 30). Since the curriculum materials were written in the 1980s and 1990s there has been significant influx of migrant Buddhists to Britain so that the migrant Buddhist community have now replaced ‘convert’ Buddhists as the majority (Bluck 2008, 2) with correspondingly more Buddhist-raised children now studying in British schools. UK Census figures of 2001 suggest that Buddhists in British schools average only 0.3% of the total schoolchildren. The tendency has been noted for rigid definitions of religion in the Agreed Syllabuses to present images of religion that are tidier and less diverse than they are in reality (Revell 2008, 6) – but how dissonance between educational theory and home practice may apply to Buddhism has been indicated to date only by anecdotal evidence (e.g. Fossey & Munisha 2006, 10; Khemadhammo 2004, 2; Voas 2006, 110). Furthermore, in spite of inclusion in *The Non-Statutory Framework*, Buddhism is often omitted from teaching altogether – Backus and Cush having described difficulties that prevent more widespread teaching of Buddhism in the RE curriculum (2008, 236).

Buddhism has never been alone in needing to undergo a process of adjustment, to find an appropriate mode of representation within the RE classroom. A similar process has already been set in motion based on data gathered by the Warwick RE Project from ethnographic studies of the relevant families in Britain for Islam (Ipgrave 1999), Hinduism (Jackson & Nesbitt 1993), Sikhism (Nesbitt 2000) and minority denominations of Christianity (Nesbitt 1993). Regrettably though, the subject of Buddhist children in British schools seems to have been under-researched. Three exceptions in the literature have examined Buddhist home practice ethnographically (Cush 1990, 41-52; Miller 1992; Whittall 2006, 25-28), but did not *prescribe* changes to how Buddhism could best be presented in the classroom.

The rationale for this study was to identify recurring issues that may be prescriptive in narrowing the gap suspected between home nurture and school presentation of Buddhism for more detailed examination at a later stage. The study is based on a research population comprising twenty self-declared Buddhists – nine parents (aged from 31-58) and eleven children (aged from 8-21) – who in Gross's (2006, 417) estimation would be relatively pious families on account of their daily practice. Ethnically twelve of the participants were Thai (or Thai-English), four were Bengali and four were Nepali. The families were first-generation migrants in the case of the Thai and Nepali participants and second-generation in the case of the Bengalis. Fourteen of the twenty respondents were female – that is seven of the nine parents and seven of the eleven children. Participants were recruited through their contact with a (predominantly) Thai Buddhist temple in Surrey, but lived and went to school at locations throughout Surrey, Essex, Kent and Greater London. Where possible, families were chosen where children had had Buddhism included in their RE lessons in school. The sample all belonged to the category of 'migrant' Buddhists [see typology of e.g. Baumann (2002)]. The sample therefore focussed on ethnically migrant Buddhists and adherents to Theravāda Buddhist practice – the researcher, for the record, also being a 'convert' insider to Theravāda Buddhism. The participants volunteered their time for free and were enthusiastic to participate when it was explained that the information they offered would help to improve lessons on Buddhism they and future generations received at school. Access to participating pupils was obtained by parental consent, rather than that of their schools – meaning that data gathered represents 'client-side' perceptions of Buddhism in education.

Methodology

In May 2009, a qualitative survey was made of participants' views through semi-structured interviews – a methodology which allowed a degree of flexibility with data collection since, at the outset, the key issues concerning the Buddhist families remained relatively uncharted. Questions in the interviews included general ones – to enable

religious data to be contextualized within the ordinary life of each person and to avoid giving the feeling that the interview was a (mere) test of Buddhist knowledge (Knott 1992, 7-8). Interviews were conducted at a location convenient to the participants. The language medium for the interviews was English with the exception of the Thai mothers who all chose the option of being interviewed in Thai. Although it was originally intended to interview each participant individually, as Eleanor Nesbitt noted for similar Sikh interviews (2000, 35) the presence of others during the interview was soon found to be more reassuring for participants and seemed appropriate to the social situation, without seeming to hinder freedom of expression even when discussing others who were present. The interview schedule adapted to Buddhism from Knott (1992, 53-56) was more extensive for parents (125 questions) than children (106 questions) although questions largely overlapped between the two groups. Apart from direct questions, the schedule included exercises to recognize and describe pictures of Buddhist activities and define Buddhist keywords from an AS (Surrey_County_Council 2007, KS2:61, KS3:20) – the latter exercise with the rationale that one of the most basic ‘I can’ AT1 level descriptors still common as a measure of the quality of RE performance in Agreed Syllabuses (e.g. the 2007 Agreed Syllabuses for Surrey, Ealing, Lewisham, Kingston and Dorset) is to “be able to use the right names for things that are special to Buddhists.” Interviews were, with permission, recorded digitally, transcribed and translated where necessary. Responses were coded into groups with the maximum internal consistency possible for the size of the research population being reached by concentrating on *majority* responses for each question. Finally, results were triangulated by ‘member checking’ (Richards 2005, 140) where participants were given the chance to comment on the accuracy with which their views had been written up in a pre-press draft of this paper.

Results

In the presentation of the study’s results, quotations have been selected to illustrate recurring themes and show common participant responses. For clarity of comparison

between home and school, the results have here been separated into the degree of Buddhism presented, how it was presented, language used for presentation, the content of what was presented and ethos.

Buddhist Nurture at Home

The degree of contact Buddhists interviewed had with nurture in their religion varied from attitudes and conduct practised in every waking moment to events practised only annually or on special occasions. Practices which Buddhists reported following the whole time were thinking of the Buddha and keeping the Five Precepts – for example, a Thai mother reported:

“During the day, even though I am quite busy with my work, but I try to recollect the Buddha inside. I am able to imagine an image of the Buddha inside which is very clear. I am able to keep this inner image with me all day long.”

On a daily basis, practices included tending the shrine in the home, bowing to parents and chanting. Visiting the temple for families who had volunteered to bring monks’ meals was a practice followed once a week, as was taking the Eight Precepts on quarter-moon days. The temple was visited less often by families living further afield and practices for special occasions included anniversaries of the death of important relatives, New Year and giving donations at the temple according to festivals in the Buddhist calendar. Thai respondents generally had a preferred temple. Bengalis attended different temples and Nepalis conducted religious activities in the home rather than going to a temple. Nevertheless, many respondents spoke of looking forward to going to the temple and described the recurrent experience:

Whenever I am in front of the big Buddha image (in the temple) I feel peace. . . You have the feeling that you’ve really *arrived* at the temple (Thai Buddhist father [39])

New knowledge about Buddhism in the home was presented mostly by the mother – sometimes by answering questions or nagging the children, but also significantly by example. Reinforcement of Buddhist values seemed to come from monks and the temple with a Nepali mother observing that for children, “when the *monks* tell them they believe it.” Teaching and understanding of the Dharma (formal nurture) and the

mother's example (home nurture) were seen as equal contributors to childrens' religious understanding.

Communication between the first- and second-generation migrants was mostly in the ethnic mother tongue – but for communication between the second and third generation migrants, English was more likely to be the language medium. In mixed marriages, the English husband sometimes insisted on their children putting more emphasis on English than the ethnic mother tongue in conversation.

The sort of Buddhist practices apparent in home nurture commonly included meditation before bed and the trans-national (among Buddhists) tradition of bowing to parents. A Thai mother explained that her daughter bowed to her:

“...before going to bed and before going to school, or when she comes home. If I am sitting on the bed she will bow at my feet. If I am standing, she will bow at my chest. If we are sitting together on the bed, she bows at my lap.”

Chanting was also a common practice. In the words of a Thai eighteen-year-old, her mother:

“sits down and just chants. She's got one of those book (things) and she just reads it out for ages ... it must be . . . quite important to her.”

Nepali and Bengali families reported the importance of tending the family shrine. On Buddhist quarter-moon days (i.e. weekly) some families intensified their practice to that of temporary celibacy, sleeping separately from their husband because they had taken the Eight Precepts.¹

On the quarter moon days . . . I go and sleep in the spare bedroom on the floor and she (my daughter) likes to do the same. (Thai Buddhist mother [37])

Apart from supporting Buddhist temples, most families gave donations to charity and assisted less wealthy relatives and friends in their ethnic homeland. Temple activities parents and children joined included preparing food for the resident monks, helping out with temple chores, eating, chanting and meditating. Some Thai respondents and one Bengali family had joined formal nurture activities at their temple such as Sunday school classes or courses.

Buddhist ethos was apparent in many aspects of home life. Buddhists homes all displayed shrines of Buddha statues, high up or located where they could be bowed to rather than being (mere) ornaments as in some non-Buddhist homes. All parents said they thought it was important that their house be visited by a monk and blessed. Some participants also estimated that behaviour in a Buddhist home was different, with more formality between child, parents and guests than in non-Buddhist homes:

My (non-Buddhist) friend came to our house and if she's in front of my mum, she is more polite. Whereas if I go to her house, it will just be like shouting across the room at each other (Thai Buddhist girl [18])

The most commonly reported qualities Buddhist parents wanted their children to gain as the result of their upbringing were, according to a Bengali mother, "...to have good moral values and a sense of right and wrong" – together with ambition, a good education, respect for the elderly, looking after the parents in old age, modesty, gratitude and humility. Parents mainly nagged their children to meditate, tend the shrine, show proper respect and go to the temple. Children showed Buddhism was important to them by meditating, listening with interest and asking questions when others talked about Buddhism, chanting and bowing to parents. A Thai mother described her daughters' curiosity as follows:

They have started to express their interests now. They show respect for me as a parent. They seem interested to learn about where Buddhism came from. They ask why we follow a religion. They ask why our religion is not the same as that of others.

Parents said they would be disappointed or upset if their children were to change religion, but would not stand in their way if they insisted. They said they would be less upset if their child married outside the religion, as long as their 'intended' was respectful of Buddhism and a virtuous person.

School Presentation of Buddhism

Buddhism was generally included as non-examination RE between Y7-Y9 and with seven of the eleven having encountered Buddhism in the curriculum – a figure roughly comparable to the 70.8% reported by Kay and Smith of Y9 children in

Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire in a 1997 survey (2002, 115) – although it should be noted that by their criterion, a single lesson on Buddhism before passing on to another subject would count towards the figure and gives little sense of time allocation. If included, Buddhism was generally allocated a single one-hour lesson in a year, provoking the response from a sixteen-year-old Thai girl that RE was more like ‘mentioning’ Buddhism than studying it, and from a Thai mother that what the school taught was only enough to know ‘this is Buddhism’ without going into any more depth. Nonetheless, another girl had had a series of three lessons and another had had aspects of Buddhism included as a six-lesson project. A Bengali father felt disappointed that Buddhism, “is not taught or that it is very minimal” especially when, according to a Thai mother, they hoped their children “would learn about what Buddhists *really* practise . . . the Buddhism where meditation is the main thing.” Although none of the parents had been informed of their ‘right of withdrawal’ from RE and most were unaware of it, omission of Buddhism from the curriculum or suspicion that their children were being coerced to reject Buddhism were the only potential reasons sufficiently serious for them to consider withdrawal. Instead, most parents felt resigned to make their own efforts to educate their children in Buddhism because of the lack at school – a Thai mother explaining, “...that is why I try to take them to the temple as often as I can.”

Where Buddhism was included, the subject was generally presented by the teacher, incorporating handouts and a textbook – although in the words of an eighteen-year-old Thai girl, “the teacher don’t (*sic*) really know a lot anyway – so we just read it off (*sic*) the book.” Some of the children had viewed short video clips about the Buddha’s life or monks’ lifestyle. None of the participants recalled Buddhist insiders being invited into the school as speakers or any school visit to a nearby temple. In this connection, a Thai Buddhist mother who was also a teaching assistant at her son’s primary school as a teaching assistant reflected, that the school “...might ask whether

anyone has a Buddhist artefact to bring in for ‘show and tell’ – but they would not be likely to have a school trip for Buddhism.”

Of the home practices, it was only meditation and taking the Precepts which were referred to in some cases at school. Schools spending longer on the subject incorporated meditation practice, led with varying degrees of success by the teacher – in the words of an eighteen-year-old Thai girl, “We tried it once. We were all sitting on a chair . . . but we didn’t do it for long, because they all kept opening their eyes and started making funny noises.” Concerning the Precepts, one teacher had used textbooks uncritically,² telling the children that, “monks follow eight precepts . . . and that most lay people broke the five precepts.” A twelve-year-old Thai girl in his class observed that her teacher, “just carried on because he didn’t really know what the Precepts were.”

Terms such as ‘Four Noble Truths’, ‘*aniccā*’, ‘Eightfold Path’ and ‘*anattā*’ which are supposed to be the key vocabulary of Buddhism taught at KS2/3 had a very low rate of recognition amongst Buddhists of all ages. The words recognizable by primary school children did, to their credit, extend to words including: ‘Buddha’, ‘Buddhist’, ‘temple’, ‘meditation’, ‘Precepts’, ‘rebirth’, ‘*dukkha*’ and ‘wheel of life’. First- and second-generation migrant children recognized more words when a translation was offered in their native mother tongue. Second- and third-generation Buddhists showed more fluency when using English in the religious context.

The last area of difference between school and home, the school ethos towards Buddhism, at least as far as it was reflected in its dress-code, drew negative comments from several of the Buddhist parents – a Thai mother making the comparison that, “When Buddhists wear a (wrist) thread or an amulet, the teacher asks them to take it off – but they don’t insist on the same things for Sikhs and their bracelets . . .”

Discussion

Despite parents’ apparent concern that their children receive formal Buddhist nurture, in London there were no dedicated temple schools, with the exception of Sri Lankan temples. This may suggest Buddhist nurture is not as formalized as that of other

minority religions – or may simply be because Buddhists did not tend to live in enclaves. Indeed, the Buddhist community observed in this study – as may be indicated by the adoption of English as a first language, independence from a temple or enclaves as the centre of religious practice and relative freedom of intermarriage [three of the four measures of assimilation proposed by Waters & Jiménez (2005)], would indicate a model of immigration for Buddhists in Britain as ‘loose congregationalism’ – with cultural assimilation to be expected by the second or third generation.

Buddhist parents seemed to expect schools to make up for the lack of formal nurture in Buddhism, but it would be beyond the remit of any multicultural school to mimic practices of Buddhist nurture from the home tradition in their entirety! Nonetheless, some acknowledgment of Buddhist nurture practices or an effort to understand them would be expected from schools attempting to make their RE relevant to the self-esteem of the Buddhist pupil. What became obvious from the data collected in this study was contrasts in five broad areas between the Buddhism practised in Buddhist pupils’ homes and what they were taught about Buddhism at school, namely: time allocated, the person presenting knowledge, the content, the language of presentation and the ethos.

More time was allocated to Buddhism in the home context than in school and in school the discourse was reportedly dominated by Christianity. Meanwhile, the relatively more extensive coverage and celebration of non-Buddhist religions at school confused some primary school Buddhists as to their identity – one Thai mother reported her eight-year-old son saying, “(my son) . . . thinks he is *both* Christian and Buddhist because he has to study about those things.” Another Thai mother, accused schools of teaching, “...about Christianity most of the time... not just superficially but about Christian worship too.”

In the home it was primarily the mother, reinforced by monks who presented children with Buddhist tradition, whereas at school, it seemed to be entirely the teacher. Teachers had not drawn upon the experiences of the Buddhist pupils in their classroom

and it would be interesting to allocate more time in Buddhist lessons to input by Buddhist speakers visiting the classroom or organizing school visits to Buddhist temples.

At home a full range of practices formed the content of Buddhist learning but at school content went little beyond the two practices of meditation and taking Precepts with a strong tendency to emphasize the material side of Buddhist practice. Aspects of home practice such as respect (as distinct from tolerance), filial piety, chanting, and bowing, mentioned frequently in the home context, were not mentioned by any of the children in connection with classroom presentation. This may have been because teachers considered these practices as forms of ‘worship’, emphasizing material aspects of practice instead. Temples, for example, might be assumed to be a cultural centre for Buddhism, yet amongst those interviewed, activities where monks were invited to teach at home or rented venues outside the temple were at least as frequent as temple-going activities – a Bengali father explaining, “the most intense exposure our children have is when monks visit our house...(and) give a talk in English” and that children were “not immediately enthusiastic about going to events (at the temple),” because of lack of youth-dedicated activities in English. A Thai mother admitted her eight-year-old son, “didn’t understand much of what goes on at the temple, so he just played around.” Similarly, Buddhist artefacts were less important than the way they were treated, as illustrated by the words of a Thai mother, “I take the Buddha as my refuge – keep him in my heart. However, the houses that have only the head of the Buddha – use it only as an ornament, without taking him as their refuge.” Another assumption that was challenged in interviews was that of Buddhist religion being a set of customs discrete from everyday life. According to a Bengali mother, Buddhists see their religion as “a way of life rather than visiting a temple regularly.” Buddhists translated beliefs into practice. ‘Respect’, for example, was not just an attitude, but meant bowing to parents daily or wishing to look after parents in old age:

I've seen loads of stuff like what they do in old peoples' home. They don't treat them nice so – I'd like to keep my mum in the house and I would look after her myself. (Thai Buddhist girl [18])

On the subject of lesson content, equivalent ethnographic studies of the British Sikh community have also challenged the assumption that artefacts, temple-going, beliefs, food regulations and festivals will somehow allow an outsider to understand the religion. For Sikhs, ethnographic research has revealed mismatch between representation of religion in the syllabus and experience of the pupils in school (Nesbitt 2004, 80) especially surrounding misleading translations of the Sikh word for God and the meaning of *amrit* water (Nesbitt 2009, 46) and overgeneralization of the practice of the five K's and wearing of the turban (Nesbitt 1998, 107). The ethnographic research in the Sikh community led to closer cooperation with the faith community in preparation of (as yet unpublished) syllabus materials by Sarah Davies (Jackson 1997: 122n23).

For Buddhism too, it would seem pertinent for teachers to encourage the involvement of Buddhist faith community, especially 'migrant' Buddhists, in the authoring and review of teaching materials on Buddhism. Without such input, portrayal of Buddhism may tend towards exotic details of Buddhist festivals, food restrictions and artefacts at the expense of explaining what Buddhists practise and why, especially concerning the 'perpetuating structures' of Buddhism. It may be that certain aspects of home practice may be less controversial than teachers imagine – for example such practices as filial piety can be presented as part of teaching about community cohesion. Care should also be taken if Buddhism is to be presented *thematically*, as is common for non-examination RE, to identify *suitable* themes – for example Buddhism might be represented appropriately by a theme such as 'religious approaches to the environment' (Brown 2008; Jones 1997) or 'spiritual themes in religious visual arts' (Erricker 1994).

At home, Buddhism was presented in the ethnic mother tongue between first and second-generation migrants, or in English between second- and third-generation migrants. At school the language of presentation was English and tended towards

academic or scholarly vocabulary. Terms considered ‘simple’ Buddhist vocabulary in the RE curriculum seemed too complex for most of the children interviewed. Although these are children who have grown up with Buddhism, it cannot be assumed that they will understand terms like ‘dependent origination’ – especially in English translation. The fact that parents were also unfamiliar with the words may indicate the vestiges of ‘convert’ Buddhist style of lesson materials borrowing heavily from academic Buddhism, teaching technical Buddhist vocabulary where simpler vocabulary relating to the home practice of Buddhism would be more appropriate to understanding Britain’s plural society.

At home, the ethos of Buddhist nurture was in many aspects of life, but at school aspects of Buddhist nurture seemed to be tolerated rather than encouraged. The problem of unbridged gaps between home practice of a religious tradition and its presentation at school is that it reduces the self-esteem of pupils practising that tradition. In research on larger research populations of Hindus minorities in the UK, there was evidence that self-esteem increased when Hindus heard about their own tradition in school or had a teacher take an interest, whereas self-esteem diminished where children were embarrassed by tokenism or mistakes relating to details of their religion (Jackson & Nesbitt 1993, 162, 171). For Buddhism too, a logical way forward in contextualizing classroom presentation would be to avoid assumptions in content, make better use of the time allocated and increase consultation with and involvement of Buddhist faith community members.

Conclusions

This study, although small in scale, has revealed broad areas of dissonance between home practice and school presentation of Buddhism in the English RE classroom. It is hoped such observations will encourage further research on the place of religion in the lives of children of migrant Buddhist families in England and the presentation of their religion in RE. On the basis of these findings, although Buddhist parents seem to have (unrealistically) high expectations of how much time can be devoted to Buddhism in

RE, it seems that the little time spent on Buddhism still failed to raise self-esteem for the children interviewed. A school representation of Buddhism which complements Buddhist childrens' home experience of their religion while raising self-esteem is attainable – perhaps as illustrated by the words of one twelve-year-old Thai girl who had received a more extensive coverage of Buddhism at school:

I start with questions by talking to my mum. If I want to find out more, I ask at the temple. And then at school, when I learned about it, I had a better view of it.

Buddhism is not more badly taught than other religions in the RE of England and Wales – it has simply come less far in the process of contextualization to the actuality of practice amongst the Buddhist families of Britain. To this end, this paper closes by suggesting future ethnographic research amongst Buddhist families of a wider range of ethnic backgrounds and extending to Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition. It would be valuable to quantify positive attitudes to Buddhism for teachers and pupils, Buddhist and non-Buddhist alike and self-esteem for Buddhist pupils, as these measures would make useful indicators of the success of interventions for the improvement of teaching practice on the subject of Buddhism in RE. (5,996 words all told)

Endnotes

1. Five Precepts is the basic set of moral rules supposed to be observed in everyday life by Buddhists and comprises abstention from killing, stealing, adultery, telling lies and drinking alcohol. In the more intense practice of Eight Precepts, observed on special religious occasions, uncelibacy replaces the adultery of the Five Precepts and three additional Precepts are added to prohibit eating between midday and dawn, immodesty and sleeping on a high or upholstered bed. Precepts are undertaken either by repeating them after a monk or pledging them aloud to oneself. See Harvey Peter. 2000. *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.87-88 for more details about Eight Precepts.
2. A mistaken portrayal of Buddhist monasticism in Keene, Michael. 2002. *New Steps in Religion Book 2*. Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes. p.79 – the RE text her school uses.

Abstract

In a preliminary study, twenty 'migrant' Buddhist parents and children from England participated in semi-structured interviews to compare their home nurture with classroom presentation of Buddhism. In the home Buddhism received more time allocation and was presented mainly by the mother and monks – the content being that of 'perpetuating structures', often in an ethnic mother tongue and with ethos permeating all aspects of life. In school, by contrast, Buddhism was allocated little or no time, was presented mostly by the teacher – the content being meditation, Precepts and the more material aspects of the tradition – in English and with little in terms of amenable ethos. Dissonance apparent between home and school presentation of Buddhism is compared to similar findings for the Hindu and Sikh communities in Britain and the need is highlighted for more attention to avoidance of assumptions in content, better use of allocated time and increased involvement of the 'migrant' Buddhist faith community. To this end recommendations are made for further research.

Keywords

Buddhist, home nurture, school presentation

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