

PSYCHO-SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT
IN ZEN BUDDHISM: A STUDY OF
RESISTANCE IN MEDITATION

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At the beginning of the night's third watch,
before there is moonlight,
Don't be surprised to meet yet not recognize
What is surely a familiar face from the past.
Tung-shan Liang chieh

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of developmental processes involved with the regular practice of Soto Zen Buddhist meditation. This practice, known as zazen, is central to the effort to adopt a view of reality fundamentally different from the usual conceptualization of reality. The Buddha maintained that this transformation is the cure for the existential suffering occasioned by the awareness of death, of the transitory nature of all phenomena, and of the separateness of one being from all others.

Central to the attempt at enlightenment is the practice of meditation. There is actually no word for meditation in Sanskrit or Pali, the languages of the Buddhist scriptures (Rahula, 1974). The Pali word "*bhavana*" literally means "development" or "mental culture" (Rahula, 1974). The translation of this term by "meditation" has removed the developmental thesis that is at the heart of Buddhist thought. From the Buddhist perspective, "meditation" (*bhavana*) does not cause development, it *is* development.

*meditation
as
development*

It is to be expected that the radical change at which Buddhism aims would be extremely difficult to produce, and would

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generate strong resistance, even among those completely dedicated to achieving it. The research to be presented here is a study of the dynamics of this resistance, and an examination of what this implies for psycho-spiritual development.

Zen Buddhism, a highly particular interpretation of Buddhist practice, is the form Buddhism took upon its introduction into China in 520 A.D. by Bodhidharma, Zen spread quickly to Japan in the Nara period (646-794 A.D.), and divided into the Soto, Rinzai, and Obaku sects (Yokoi, 1976). Both the Soto and Rinzai traditions are being transmitted to the West. Rinzai originated with Lin-chi Yi-hsuan (died 866 A.D.), known in Japan as Rinzai. The Soto school (Chinese: Ts'ao Tung) began with Tung-shan Liang chieh (Japanese Tozan Ryokai, 840-901 A.D.). The Soto approach achieved its definitive statement in the work of Degen (1200-1253 A.D.) (Izutsu, 1977). There is no essential difference in the conception of reality between the Rinzai and Soto sects. However, a fierce debate has raged for at least one thousand years over the relative merits of each school's teaching techniques. (Rinzai emphasizes techniques to block normal thinking in order to produce sudden enlightenment; whereas Soto takes a more gentle approach and holds that meditating is already enlightenment.)

Within the past few decades, Buddhist meditation practice has begun to influence American psychology. Whereas before the 1970s, there were only a few articles on meditation in the psychology journals, in the 1980s, from ten to twenty such articles have been published each year. The recency of this work is undoubtedly related to the history of Buddhism in the United States (Layman, 1976).

PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE

The Four Noble Truths are the most concise statement of Buddhist philosophy. The following exposition of them is basically a paraphrase of Rahula's incisive treatment (1974).

The First Noble Truth is that life is *dukkha*, which means "suffering, imperfection, impermanent, empty, insubstantial" (Rahula, 1974). It is essential to understand that *dukkha* must be translated by *all* of these English words. Rahula's suggestion that "*dukkha*" be used in English writings because there is no exact English equivalent, will be followed in this paper. When Buddhists hold that life is suffering, they do not mean that happiness does not really exist, only that it is necessarily impermanent. Awareness of this transience is a form of suffering.

The Second Noble Truth explains that it is *tanha* (thirst, craving, desire, greed) which causes dukkha. *Tanha* is the Pali word for the Sanskrit *trṣṇā*, and the English word "thirst" is derived from the Sanskrit *trṣṇā* (Webster, 1965). The usual translation of *tanha* is desire, but this simplification leads to the misinterpretation that Buddhism proposes a desireless state as enlightenment. This is fundamentally incorrect. It was the craving, the clinging, and clutching with which the Buddha was concerned. It is *tanha* for solid, permanent existence, or complete non-being, or simply for pleasure that leads to grasping at what cannot be held.

The Third Noble Truth is the cessation of dukkha. This is *nirvana* (Pali: *nibbāna*). *Nirvana* means "blown out, extinguished." The metaphor of *nirvana* is based on the Hindu idea of fire at the time of the Buddha (Frauwallner, 1973). For us in the West, blowing out or extinguishing a flame destroys it. For them, the flame existed before it was lit and after it was put out. The extinguishing referred to in "*nirvana*" is the extinction of the *appearance* of the flame; the essential existence of the flame continues. The origin of dukkha is delusion, or ignorance; cessation of dukkha is in insight. It is understanding that allows one to see beyond the appearance of the world.

The Buddhists teach that everything (the self included) is a product of a ceaseless flux of a fundamental energy; it is only an illusion that anything seems to have a separate, independent existence. Thoughts, feelings, and objects are only a momentary, interdependent patterning of the energy. Once this truth is fully apprehended, then it is seen that there is no *one* to grasp *anything*. This is called the doctrine of *sunyata* (relativity) or, in reference to the self, *anatta* (no self)." It is this view of all phenomena as a continuously changing patterning of a universal fluxing energy which distinguishes Buddhism from the other Indian conceptions of reality (Puligandla, 1975). There are two possible reactions to this Buddhist view (Stcherbatsky, 1968). One might lose all desire entirely, exterminating *tanha* and dukkha. The other, the Zen solution, is to perceive desire as trans-individual (Stcherbatsky, 1968). *Tanha* and dukkha disappear when the individual consciously realizes that *slhe* participates in and is constituted by an all-thingness, in which nothing is lacking.

*a
ceaseless
flux
of a
fundamental
energy*

The Fourth Noble Truth is a description of the Eightfold Path leading to the cessation of dukkha. The eight components of the Path are: Right Understanding, Right Thought, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Concentration (meaning meditation). These factors are designed to promote three principles: ethical

conduct, mental discipline, and wisdom. The Eightfold Path has been elaborated into hundreds of precepts, injunctions, and recommendations. Stcherbatsky (1968) has commented on the Eightfold Path:

It is of course a natural, and even a trivial, fact that some of our shortcomings and vices can be eradicated by knowledge, and others by concentrated attention only. But the faculty of concentration, if fully developed, has a greater force. . . . In the path of salvation, it is the last and most decisive step (p. 11).

zazen,
Soto Zen
meditation

Soto Zen meditation, called *zazen* (literally "sitting *dhyiina*"), is defined by the suspension of discriminating, analytical thought, and the encouragement of nondiscriminative thought (Ddgen, 1277). "The Japanese word "Zen" is a translation of the Chinese word "Ch'an," itself a transliteration of the Sanskrit "*dhyana*" (concentration) (Yokoi, 1976). In Zen usage, *dhyana* means a state in which discriminating analytical thinking has ceased and another type of thinking begins (Yokoi, 1976).

*Zazen is usually done in a lotus or half-lotus sitting position (full lotus-both feet on top of opposite thigh, half lotus-right foot on top of left thigh). The eyes are open or half-open, never closed. The gaze is directed downwards slightly. The hands are held in the lap, palms up, the fingers of the right hand over the fingers of the left hand, with the thumbs raised, pointed at each other, either just touching, or just not touching. This hand position helps focus attention on the hara (second chakra in the Indian nomenclature), which is a point at the pit of the stomach. Concentrating on this point is for emotional balance. The back is held straight. Three different techniques of using the mind's attention are used. The easiest is counting the breaths. One counts each exhalation assigning the numbers from one to ten to each successive breath, until ten is reached. Then the one to ten counting cycle is begun again, and repeated over and over for the meditation session. The natural breathing pattern is followed, the meditator is to avoid imposing any rhythm on the breathing. The second technique is to observe the breath without counting. Success at this is called samadhi, or one pointed attention. One becomes aware of nothing else besides the breathing. These two techniques are practiced for thirty to forty minutes per session, once or twice a day.

Shikan taza is explained by Okumura (1985); "Do not concentrate on any particular object or control your thought When various thoughts arise in your mind, do not become caught up by them or struggle with them; neither pursue them nor try to escape from them. Just leave them alone, allowing them to come up and go away freely . . ." (p, 27).

Mindfulness or Vipassana techniques are also mentioned in this paper. They are occasionally used by Zen meditators (Compton, 1985a), but it is a Theravadin, not Zen technique. It involves observing whatever the mind is attending to at anyone moment. This means in practice to note that thinking or fantasizing, etc., are occurring without becoming absorbed by the content of those thoughts, fantasies, etc.

In Transcendental Meditation, the meditator sits in any position with eyes closed and continually repeats a sound (mantram) for twenty minutes. The mantram is to be thought of as spontaneously, effortlessly arising within one's mind.

This non-discriminating thinking has been called "no thinking" in English, a literal translation of the Japanese "*mu-shin*," "itself a direct rendering of the Chinese "*wu-hsin*" (Izutsu, 1977). "Wu-hsin" is a translation of the Sanskrit "*acitta*," or "*acintya*." The Sanskrit terms imply a stuporous loss of contact with thinking, a sort of aphasia. In the translation from Sanskrit to Chinese the concept itself was transformed (Buswell, personal communication, (986). The unfortunate implication of "no thinking" is that no thinking is occurring. Not thinking is expressly condemned by Zen (D.T. Suzuki, 1956). This problem has arisen because Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese have several different words for mind, whereas English is not so rich. It is possible to interdict certain types of thinking in Sanskrit, without prohibiting all thinking. In addition, the Chinese "hsin" and Japanese "shin" are different from both Sanskrit and English interpretations of mind. In Sanskrit, mind is divided into "*citta*," "*hrdaya*," "*manas*," and "*vijnana*." *Citta* means the emotional and connotative functions of mind, that is, the metaphorical and metonymic functions (Rhys & Stede, 1921). *Hridaya* means the heart, soul, seat of feelings, divine knowledge (Monier-Williams, 1899; Rhys & Stede, 1921). English expresses a similar concept when one says, "I thought it was a good idea, but my heart just wasn't in it." *Manas* means the abstract, intellectual functioning of mind, i.e., rational thought processes. *Vijnana* is the sensory and perceptive activity of mind (Rhys & Stede, 1921). "*Hsin*" and "*shin*" are equivalent words meaning a combination of intellectual and emotional functions, translatable as "heart-mind" (Nelson, 1962). "*Wu-hsin*" therefore means "without making emotional judgments of accepting or rejecting." It does *not* mean stopping rational thought or sensory/perceptual activity.

*without
making
emotional
judgments
of
accepting
or
rejecting*

The term is extremely important, because it is on this concept that the whole Zen Buddhist system is built (Izutsu, 1977). As we will see below, Izutsu's comments are consistent with the writings of Dogen, the eleventh century Soto Zen master whose teachings are the definitive expression of Soto Zen.

According to Izutsu (1977), "no thinking" /*wu-hsin* is the same as "*prajna*." *Prajna* is a Sanskrit word meaning "transcendental cognition," or "non-discriminating cognition" (Izutsu, 1977). Stcherbatsky (1968) suggested translating "*prajna*" by "philosophic insight." D.T. Suzuki (1956) used the compound "non-discriminating *prajna*." Sayama (1986) favored "transcendent intuition or wisdom." As Izutsu wrote, *prajna* is the key to Zen Buddhism. In his discussion of the eight factors of enlightenment, Dogen quoted the Buddha:

When you possess prajna you are free from attachment to greed. Therefore, you should continually engage in self-reflection, taking care not to lose prajna, for this is the way to realize enlightenment. . . . The eighth [factor] is to refrain from random discussion. This means to go beyond discriminating thinking and realize the true nature of all things (1253, Yokoi, 1976).

Dogen also wrote: "If the slightest dualistic thinking (i.e., discriminative thinking) arises, you will lose your Buddha mind" (Dogen, 1277).

*synchronistic,
analeptic,
or
prajna
thinking*

To a certain extent, prajna is similar to psychoanalytic free association. In neither is censorship of the contents of consciousness allowed. However, prajna extends beyond what is usually thought of as free association in psychoanalysis. In prajna one does not discriminate separate objects. Everything must be viewed *perforce* as one whole. This is a type of synthetic, pattern, or Gestalt thinking. In Jungian terms, this is designated synchronistic thinking. Robert Graves called it analeptic thought (Graves, 1948). Analeptic thinking is distinguished by its focus on the relations between things. It is concerned with the processes underlying the appearance of the phenomenal world. However, the concept of prajna is more specific than the terms already mentioned in this paragraph. Prajna means a grasping of the Entirety (Sayama, 1986). The other processes noted above may or may not refer to such an apprehension.

The goal of Soto Zen is the integration of both discriminative (*cina*) and prajna thinking. This is stated clearly by Tung-shan Liang-chien (often referred to by the Japanese version of his name: Tozan Rydka], 807 A.D. to 869 A.D.), the First Patriarch of the Soto Zen sect in China. Along with Dogen he is central to an understanding of Zen (Powell, 1986). He lived in China, in the region of the Yangtze River near the East China Sea in the ninth century A.D. (Kapleau, 1980; Powell, 1986). He formulated a five stage model of progress in Zen known as the Five Ranks (*Wu Wei*), or in Japanese, the Five Degrees (*Go-t*) of Tozan (Kapleau, 1980). The Wu Wei trace out the Soto trainee's changing relationship to discriminative and prajna thought. The realm of the discriminative is designated the "*p'ien*," (Jap.: "hen"), while the domain of the prajna is denoted by the "*chen*" (Jap.: "sho"). The following chart explains the nature of the *hen* and the *shii* (from D.T. Suzuki, 1960).

<i>The Sko</i>	<i>The Hen</i>
the absolute	the relative
the infinite	the finite
the one	the many

undifferentiation	differentiation
sameness	difference
emptiness (<i>sunyata</i>)	form and matter (<i>namarupa</i>)
<i>prajna</i> (wisdom)	<i>karuna</i> (compassion, universal love)

Throughout this study, the "Absolute" refers to the *sho*, and the "Relative" will be used for the *hen*. Tung-shan's Fifth Rank, the endpoint of Zen development, is the complete interpenetration of the *sho* and the *hen* (Kapleau, 1980). Sayama (1986) interpreted this to mean that "in Buddhism the attainment of wisdom (*prajna*) and compassion (*karunā*) are inseparable. Compassion is a natural consequence of the realization that the true self is no self and is one with the universe."

*the
Absolute
and
the
Relative*

The experience of such an interpenetration is here termed "transsubjectivity," a state wherein the subject experiences other people and objects to be the same subject as s/he. For example, I am sitting here typing, while a friend is in the hallway rebuilding the neighbor's door. Someone experiencing this from the standpoint of transsubjectivity would say, "I am sitting here typing, while I am in the hallway rebuilding my door." Strictly speaking, such a person would actually only say, "I" Izutzu (1977) holds that this type of subjectivity is the essence of Zen. Dogen wrote in the *Manifestation of the Kiian* (*Genjo Kiian, Shōbō-genzō*): "To study the Way is to study the self. To study the self is to forget the self. To forget the self is to be enlightened by all things. To be enlightened by all things is to remove the barriers between one's self and others" (Yokoi, 1976, p, 39). In the *Meaning of Practice-Enlightenment* (*Shushii-gi*), Dogen taught: "With the passage of time both self and others become one. Identification is like the sea, which does not decline any water no matter what its source, all waters gathering, therefore, to form the sea" (Yokoi, 1976, p. 62).

*the
self
and
transsubjectivity*

Transsubjectivity is also expressed in the idea that we are all Buddha. Stcherbatsky (1968, p. 52) wrote:

The Buddha is merged quiescent in nature and beyond every possible determination . . . Buddha must be regarded as the cosmical order (*dharmatah*). his Body is the cosmos (*dharmota*). . . . The reality of the universe, and as far as the Buddha has not separate reality (*nihsvabhava*), neither the Universe has any, apart from him ... All the millions of existences (*bhutakoJi*) must be regarded as the body of the Buddha manifested in them."

In order to clarify the meaning of transsubjectivity, an example from one of the interviews conducted for this research will be quoted at length. Linda (pseudonym), had been sitting zazen

for many years at the time of the interview. She described her meditations in this way:

There is a sense of being in this present world. Thoughts and emotions come up just like the rest of your life, but you settle in and quiet down. Things that are on my mind do come up. Come, and go. Then after that, you're just sitting in the present. An alert, awake, calm state. That's nice. You *can* get attached to *that*, too. You'd rather sit than get up and do the dishes.

Emotions come and go. All emotions appropriately, come and go. But the sense of being awake to the present moment is paramount, and [long pause] I don't know if I can put it into words. This OKness, this "natural" condition, I don't know how to put that into words. You see how everything takes care of itself, naturally.

There becomes no difference between doing and not doing. I can remember describing this experience to my teacher. I had been sitting and it became clear to me that, though I was sitting still, I was at the same time not separated from any activity. In "stillness," people were riding bicycles, washing, catching fish, and cooking. It was all going on *at the same time*. No differences between stillness and activity in zazen. Very free feeling. And I think that experience probably *did* change my sense of what samadhi was. But samadhi is hard to describe. I don't think it *can* be described. You can only look back reflectively and say, "What words would I have put on it, if I'd had words then?" But since I didn't have words then [trails off]. It's very ordinary. It's the naturalness and simplicity of it that seem most noteworthy. But how *do* you describe that?"

Interviewer: Is it a sense of participation?

Linda: A sense of nothing lacking.

Interviewer: This could mean several things. You could mean you feel identified with others, in the psychological sense. You might mean that you feel merged into them, like an LSD experience, no ego boundaries. You could mean that literally, that you are the same person as the other.

Linda: It's all three of those things, or more accurately, a sense of "no-separation."

Interviewer: You *are* saying that you are feeling that I or other objects are as much you as you are? That your subjectivity and mine are exactly the same?

Linda: There is something to be said, and as you can see, I *don't* know "who" is saying it. I have to sort of ignore your questions, because *in those terms*, I *can't* answer. *I don't* know. You sit, and you'll feel it. "You" stops [sic], and "that's it." My teacher never made a big fuss about it.

The relationship of transsubjectivity to regular subjectivity is analogous to the relationship between waking and dreaming subjectivity in Perls' Gestalt psychology. Gestalt psychology treats all objects in a dream as constituted out of conflicting desires and character facets of the dreamer (perls, 1973). While dreaming, the dreamer is unaware of this, since *his/her* subjectivity seems to be located in a single protagonist. When awake and analyzing the dream, it becomes clear to the dreamer that s/he was all of the objects in the dream. The protagonist was that aspect of him/herself with which s/he felt most comfortable. The "other objects" were aspects which s/he wished to repudiate as "not-I." As taught by Zen, transsubjectivity is merely a matter of realizing that what we take to be separate objects in our waking life are as much we as the different objects in a dream.

The relation of zazen to enlightenment (interpenetration of *shii* and *hen*) is complex. Zazen is held to be absolutely necessary for enlightenment (Degen, 1277). Dogen stated that zazen does not lead to enlightenment, it *is* enlightenment:

*practice,
enlightenment
and
realization*

Now when you trace the source of the Way, you find it is universal and absolute. It is unnecessary to distinguish between "practice" and "enlightenment." ... The way is, needless to say, very far from delusion. Why then be concerned about the means of eliminating the latter? . . . You should pay attention to the fact that even the Buddha Shakyamuni had to practice zazen for six years . . . Since those ancient sages were so diligent, how can present day trainees do without the practice of zazen? (Degen, 1277).

However, it is not enough to simply practice zazen; as Degen wrote in *Bendowa* (Practice of the Way), enlightenment "is amply present in every person, but unless one practices (i.e., sits zazen), it is not manifested; unless there is realization, it is not attained" (quoted in Matthiessen, 1986, p. 174).

Kuo-an Shi-yuan developed a stage model of progress in Zen in the twelfth century A.D. (Kapleau, 1980). Called the Ten Ox-herding verses, it was based on earlier similar models. It is much less elaborate than Theravadin or Tibetan developmental models. The Rinzai reason for this is perhaps that Rinzai Zen insists that enlightenment can be attained suddenly at any time (Kapleau, 1980). A fully developed stage model would have a discouraging effect on those attempting to become enlightened immediately. The Soto Zen opposition to developmental models is based on the idea that zazen *is* enlightenment. The schema of the Ten Ox-herding Verses chronicles the trainee's development from before beginning Zen, through

*the
ten stages
from the
Ox-herding
pictures*

enlightenment, eliminating the "stench of enlightenment," and the return to daily life. There are ten stages in Kuo-an Shih-yuan's view. *Stage one* is becoming discontent with life as it is usually lived, and the beginning of a search for an alternative. *Stage two* is the first encounter with Zen, and finding out that Zen has a radically different view of reality. *Stage three* is the earliest stage of zazen in which the mind is sufficiently concentrated to perceive the activity of consciousness in everything. This is the first enlightenment, known as *kenshii*. The remaining stages describe the development and stabilization of *kenshd*, *Stage four* is a stage in which one overcomes the tendency to act out of passion in a mindless fashion. *Stage five* is defined by the perception that all thoughts reflect one's True-nature. Thoughts are no longer dismissed as unreal. This is similar to the psychoanalytic insight that fantasies, parapraxes, and the subjects about which one thinks reveal one's true desires and perceptions. In this stage a decision is made to pursue only those thoughts that one wishes to actualize in one's life. *Stage six* is characterized by a serenity caused by having liberated oneself from destructive thinking in stage five. Having relaxed into acting out of one's True-nature in stage six, in *Stage seven* one is no longer aware of the True-nature. This is because in not acting in discord with the True-nature, there is no longer anything with which to contrast the True-nature; therefore, the True-nature is invisible. In Kuo-an Shi-yuan's *stage eight*, there is an absorption into the unity of being. In *stage nine*, the movements of universal spirit are observed. This is not the same as transsubjectivity, *Stage ten* sees the practitioner reenter daily life. Transsubjectivity is not discussed in the Ox-herding Verses, so they are not used in the present research.

RELATED RESEARCH IN MEDITATION

Zen Buddhist practice is actually a combination of meditation, interviews with a teacher, reading of classical texts, and interaction with a community of Buddhists (Degen, 1255). As a practical matter, it is of course much easier to study meditation apart from the other components of practice. Meditation is a well-defined technique that allows numerous physiological and psychological measures to be made and related to strictly definable variables. Although empirical studies of meditation have produced a wealth of information, they have largely left untouched the crucial question of enlightenment. Even worse, many studies, especially the early ones, did not distinguish between subjects using different meditation techniques.

The classical literature on meditation distinguishes between concentrative and mindfulness meditation (Brown, 1977). Ae-

According to Goleman (1977), concentration meditation "entails sustained attention directed toward a single object or point of focus." Mindfulness meditation "involves the continual maintenance of a specific perceptual-cognitive set towards objects as they spontaneously arise in awareness" (Goleman, 1977). Goleman classifies Zen/Ch'an, Tibetan, and Theravadin Buddhist methods as integrative because they employ both concentrative and mindfulness techniques.

An example of how concentrative and mindfulness techniques may be fruitfully combined is found in Walsh's personal account of his meditation experiences (Walsh, 1977, 1978). He practiced Theravadin Vipassanii (insight) meditation, the first phase of which consists of concentrative breath meditations (Goldstein, 1976). One aim of concentrative techniques is to develop the ability to attend to a stimulus without wavering attention even when experiencing extreme emotion (Brown, 1977). Through mindfulness techniques, Walsh came to perceive intervals between arousal by a stimulus, orientation to it, identification of it, search of past memories for similar situations, and choice of response (Walsh, 1977). He noticed that his response choice was restricted by the stimulus identification label. The rapidity of the labelling process ensured that many unique features of the object were overlooked, features that often would have suggested more adaptive responses than responses tailored only to the stimulus label. This was especially likely when Walsh reacted to the stimulus with intense emotion. In order to observe the identification process, it was necessary for Walsh to have developed enough concentration to maintain attention when he was feeling such strong feelings. For this reason, concentration exercises are recommended before beginning mindfulness techniques (Kapleau, 1980). When Walsh did not immediately label objects, he found he was able to think of new and more creative ways to respond.

*a
personal
account
of
meditation
experiences*

Physiological Studies

Many physiological effects of meditation including electroencephalograph phenomena, have been explored. See Murray (1982) and Delmonte (1985) for more comprehensive reviews. In regard to electroencephalographic research specifically, research with meditating subjects has established that meditators generate unique EEG records which are morphologically distinct from waking, drowsy, hypnotic, and sleep states (Gellhorn & Kiely, 1972; Kasamatsu & Hirai, 1966). It also appears possible to distinguish between concentrative and mindfulness meditation techniques on the basis of EEG patterns (compare Banquet, 1973 and Kasamatsu & Hirai, 1966).

Kasamatsu and Hirai (1966) provided data concerning Zen development. They studied EEG patterns they recorded from forty-eight practitioners of zazen. Subjects were classified into three groups: (a) one to five years experience, (b) five to twenty years experience, and (c) over twenty years. This grouping is especially interesting in that Compton (1985a) found that Zen meditators generally switched from concentrative techniques to mindfulness techniques (shikan-taza) after a little more than four years experience. Subjects were also grouped by their teachers as to depth of practice (low, medium, high). Both classification schemes were compared to the EEG records. They found that subjects regularly progressed through four stages of EEG activity during a meditation session. First, alpha waves appeared with eyes open (this is unusual). Second, the alpha waves increased in amplitude, Third, a decrease in alpha frequency occurred. Fourth, rhythmical theta trains appeared.

Only group c reached the fourth stage. Group b was concentrated in stage three, and group a stayed mostly in stage one. The groupings by teacher rating corresponded closely to these results. The low group was in stage one. The medium group was mainly in stage three, but a number were also in stage one. The high group was in stage four. Only the high group attained stage four.

*idiosyncratic
EEG
responses*

The finding that concentrative and mindfulness techniques produce idiosyncratic patterns of EEG response requires investigators to analyze data separately from subjects employing different classes of techniques. In the case of the Buddhist integrative systems which use both types of techniques, this can become a complex confounding problem. Unfortunately many studies group different types of meditators together in data analyses.

Psychological Studies

Empirical research on psychological variables and meditation focuses mainly on anxiety reduction and decreases in psychopathological behavior. However, this research has entirely missed the point of meditation, Engler (1984), writing as a teacher of Buddhist Vipassana meditation and a psychoanalytic clinician, maintains that Buddhist practices are ineffective and possibly dangerous for severely neurotic or psychotic people. There are some case reports of meditation being harmful for extremely disturbed people (Kennedy, 1976). There is a growing amount of empirical evidence that very neurotic or psychotic people are much more likely to stop

meditating than normal or less neurotic meditators (Delmonte, 1984a; Delmonte 1980; Smith, 1978).

According to Engler (1984), although Buddhism posits two categories of psychopathology corresponding to Western psychiatric diagnoses, Buddhism's main interest is in a third group. This third group is composed of people untroubled by neurotic, character, or psychotic difficulties, but *who* are troubled by symptoms of unenlightenment. These symptoms are grouped together under the term *dukkha*, and their cause is the delusive belief that all objects are separate and solid (truly existing as things-as-such). This delusion includes the belief in "self" or "ego,"

Engler's observations of his students and analyses led him to conclude that the third level of psychopathology is not readily observable until problems of the first two levels have been resolved. He also noted that attempts by people to explore the issues of the third level before coming to terms with difficulties on the first two levels were counterproductive. Engler's discussion focused on meditation students who had narcissistic or borderline problems. These persons were typically blocked in their meditation process and found their narcissistic symptoms aggravated. These observations suggest that Western clinical psychology has not devoted itself to the study of enlightenment because its treatment-population's concerns obscure the issue of enlightenment, and raising enlightenment issues is antithetical to treating the clinical syndromes of most immediate importance.

*clinical
treatment
concerns
and the
issue of
enlightenment*

Some researchers have suggested that Buddhist meditation may not decrease anxiety, except after a very long time (Compton & Becker, 1983; Brown & Engler, 1980). Most of the empirical studies do not follow subjects for a long time, nor do they usually use very experienced meditators. Research which has studied advanced meditators suggests that Buddhist meditation generates a temporary phase of extreme anxiety and despair as the subject's basic perception of reality is destroyed and replaced (Compton & Becker, 1983; Brown & Engler, 1980). It is this change that most interests meditation practitioners, not the possible transient effects on anxiety (Mann, 1984; Compton & Becker, 1983; Brown & Engler, 1980).

Since the goal of Buddhism is to completely transform the subject's understanding of reality, studies which concentrate on the effects of meditation on anxiety, physiology and psychopathology will not be reviewed here. The interested reader is referred to reviews by Delmonte (1984b), Walsh (1983), Mur-

ray (1982) and Aron & Aron (1980) for more detailed information. The general picture these studies paint is that: a) prospective meditators are more neurotic and anxious than the general population; b) meditation is helpful in reducing anxiety and neurotic symptoms for those who are not excessively disturbed; c) anxiety is reduced to at least normal levels, and possibly better than normal; d) these results were obtained from subjects meditating six months or less, using concentrative meditation techniques (Delmonte, 1984b; Fling, *et al.*, 1981; Carrington, *et al.*, 1980; Delmonte, 1980; Smith, 1978; Kanas & Horowitz, 1977; Peters, *et al.*, 1977; Williams, *et al.*, 1976).

There has been little research investigating the type of personality change at which Zen Buddhism aims. Because of the dearth of research in this area, two studies on yoga and Theravadin Buddhist meditation and all the psychological studies of Zen can be reviewed here.

*archetypal
dreams
of
meditators*

Using a Jungian theoretical framework, Faber, *et al.* (1978) investigated the dreams of yoga meditators. All subjects had practiced for at least 5 years (mean > 12 years, range = 5 to 30 years). Controls were matched by age, sex, socio-economic status, education, and marital status. The results showed that meditators dreamed significantly more dreams with archetypal elements than controls did. The archetypal elements were reflected in universal and moral themes. In contrast, the controls' dreams were more concerned with personal and everyday issues. The dreams of meditators were more irrational, more remote from everyday life, more intense in affect, and contained more mythological parallels than the dreams of controls. The greater archetypality of those dreams is seen by Faber, *et al.*, as indicating that the meditators are further along in the individuation process than the controls. Since this is a cross-sectional research design, the relationship between meditation and individuation is impossible to specify.

Brown and Engler's (1980) study is the only research project in which subjects have participated who were enlightened according to classical Theravadin Buddhist criteria. Brown and Engler were able to delineate a sequence of developmental stages through which Theravadin Buddhist meditators pass. The authors' subjects were 29 Western students of Theravadin Buddhism, 11 advanced Western students, and 10 advanced enlightened South Asian students and teachers. All were practicing Vipassana (insight) meditation, which is the name of the Theravadin method. Most subjects were followed for three months. They were grouped by level of skill using both teacher ratings and a questionnaire designed by the researchers to reflect classical criteria of progress in meditation. The Ror-

schach was administered to all subjects to investigate perceptual processing and not as a personality dynamics test. Classification of the students resulted in five groups: beginners, *samadhi* group, insight group, advanced insight group (attainment of at least the first enlightenment), masters group (attainment of the higher levels of enlightenment). Subjects in the first several groups had not meditated before this experiment. They were given the Rorschach before beginning Vipassana and after a three month retreat of continuous Vipassana practice.

When the Rorschach protocols were analyzed, it was discovered that each group processed the inkblots in highly unique ways. Furthermore, the groups' methods of approaching the Rorschach stimuli were in close agreement with predictions made on the basis of classical Theravadin texts. For example, the beginner's group protocols were not different from protocols obtained before they had begun meditating. The *samadhi* group Rorschachs were characterized by unproductivity and a paucity of responses. Most unusual was that subjects in this group mainly commented on the pure perceptual features of the inkblot (i.e., the colors, the shading). The traditional Theravadin definition of *samadhi* is the cessation of thought, and of perception without cognitive elaboration (pattern recognition). The authors reported that such responses to the Rorschach are uncharacteristic of known normal or pathological responses. More importantly, the same subjects produced normal Rorschach responses in pre-testing, before beginning meditation. The insight group's responses showed an increased productivity and richness of associative elaborations. The subjects felt their productivity per card was endless. There was great variability and intensity of affect, with a frequent metaphoric use of color. However, there was a relative absence of looseness, combined with a high incidence of original responses. Again, these types of responses were very different from the pre-test responses. The classical definitions of this stage stress the new found richness of experience. Once *samadhi* is attained (i.e., once one can refrain from thinking and fantasizing about one's experience), one allegedly becomes aware of increasingly discrete and rapidly changing moments of experience. Everything is sensed as fleeting and changing. The meditator is also reputedly beyond letting emotional reactions interfere with awareness. All of this is apparently reflected in this group's unusually non-defensive style in the Rorschach, and an equally unusual flexibility in taking different perspectives on the same inkblot.

The Rorschach protocol of the most advanced subject was extraordinary in that the subject integrated each card as presented sequentially into a systematic discourse on Buddhist

*research
in
developmental
stages
of
Theravadin
meditators*

teachings on the alleviation of suffering. Subjects usually view the inkblots as physical images onto which they project their fantasies. This subject regarded the inkblot itself as a projection of mind. There was no loss of reality testing in any of the responses. The only published comparable example of such a Rorschach protocol is the Rorschach record of an Apache shaman (Klopfer & Boyer, 1961).

Brown and Engler concluded that Theravadin meditators move through an invariant sequence of stages. In each stage the meditator perceives in ways qualitatively different from the preceding or following stages. Although Brown and Engler used a Crossstructural design in their study, their proposal that there is a series of developmental stages induced by meditation appears well supported. Brown and Engler have demonstrated such discretely differential response stages to the Rorschach with such unusual Rorschach protocols, which fit the traditional Theravadin developmental model so well, that it is difficult to believe that subject self-selection grossly confounded their results.

*a
measure
of
self-
actualization
and
meditation*

Some studies have investigated the relationship of zazen to Shostrom's measure of self-actualization, the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI). The rationale for these studies is apparently that self-actualization is a result of changing one's experience of reality in the direction indicated by the Buddha (Maslow, 1962). Most of these studies employing the POI failed to find any differences on the POI associated with meditation (Krueger, 1980; Moles, 1977; Carson, 1974; Cowger, 1974). In all of these studies meditation-naive subjects were given the POI, then taught how to meditate. They meditated between three weeks to six weeks, depending on the study. It should be expected that no differences would be found on the POI with such short periods of training, since Compton (1985a) and Compton and Becker (1983) have demonstrated that learning zazen takes years and progress is not rapid.

Goldman, Domitor, and Murray (1979) studied meditation-naive subjects who were taught zazen and practiced for one week. They were tested for anxiety and perceptual functioning and not surprisingly, no differences were found. Similarly, Shapiro (1978) studied college students who were taking a course in Zen and meditated for three weeks. Unfortunately, the procedures and data were not strong enough to allow any conclusions to be drawn.

Compton (1985a) studied rates of progress of Americans sitting zazen. He contacted 43 Soto Zen meditators and examined a

number of developmental variables in a cross sectional design. He found a statistically significant correlation of $r = .57$ between length of time since a subject began to practice zazen and the type of zazen technique being used. Although Compton's figures for American students' progress are consistent with Kasamatsu and Hirai's (1966) results for Japanese Zen trainees, Brown and Engler (1980) reported some anecdotal evidence that South Asian subjects progress at much faster rates than American subjects. Whereas only a few American students achieved the higher levels of practice in three months, the majority of Asian students meditating for the same amount of time reportedly reached the higher levels of practice. An unidentified South Asian teacher believed that when Westerners begin to meditate, they explore the content of experience in a psychotherapeutic way, rather than concentrate on the attentional processes which are crucial to meditation (Brown & Engler, 1980). One implication of these two studies is that the student's level of skill is not a simple function of the amount of time spent meditating. Therefore, developmental studies need to specify subjects' level of skill attained, as well as the length of time they have meditated.

*level
of
skill
and
length
of
time
meditating*

In another study, Compton and Becker (1983) worked with a subject pool of 36 experienced Soto Zen meditators. Using a modified POI6 they found that experienced meditators had significantly higher scores than inexperienced meditators (meditating less than one year), or non-meditating controls; that inexperienced meditators did not differ from the controls, and that the experienced group had higher scores than either other group on the Inner Directed scale. Experienced subjects also had significantly higher scores than controls, but not inexperienced subjects on the Time Competence scale (living in the present). Due to the cross-sectional design of this study, it can not be established whether these results are due to zazen, or to subject self-selection.

Two personality studies of interest concerning Zen meditators were reported sketchily by Akishige (1970). Akishige and Nakamura interviewed eleven "ordinary" Zen Buddhists and eight research practitioners. "Ordinary" was not defined. According to the authors, "Many of them were of neurotic or schizophrenic or mixed traits." No other details were provided about the subjects, or the methods of assessing them.

Kora, Fujita, Nakae, Kanrakyu, Iijima, and Satd (quoted in Akishige, 1970) studied an unknown number of Zen monks with the Rorschach. They found that the monks were "nearly average within normal range, with predominantly whole re-

sponse types." No other information about the Rorschach protocols was provided. "Whole response type" indicates that the subjects interpreted the Rorschach cards as composing one picture, rather than seeing different objects in different parts of the same card. This is consistent with Zen's approach which is to inhibit discriminative, analytic thought, and to use non-discriminating thinking to seize "the whole scheme of life at once" (Suzuki, 1956, esp, p. 187).

A few studies have investigated zazen with the help of the psychoanalytic concept of regression in the service of the ego. Such regression involves opening oneself to pre-conscious, primary process, non-logical thinking processes (Lesh, 1970). Since Zen insists upon the importance of non-analytical thought, it would seem that studying primary process material would be a productive endeavor.

*"regression
in service
of the ego"
and
meditation*

Maupin (1965) taught meditation-naive volunteers to do zazen for two to three weeks. They were given the Rorschach to test for tolerance for unrealistic experience and capacity for regression in the service of the ego. Several measures of attention, concentration, and ability to focus attention were also given. Pre- and post-tests were given. Subjects' self-reports were rated as to five different responses to zazen (arranged here in a hierarchy of low to high response): "befogged," "calm and relaxed," "more sustained concentration, with sensations of vibrations, and of body being suspended," "effortless concentration, with a vivid experience of breathing," and "very lucid consciousness, calmly detached, extensive loss of body feelings, effortless concentration." The results showed that capacity for regression and tolerance for unrealistic experience significantly predicted response to zazen, while attentional measures did not. It appears that as soon as the subjects felt comfortable with the internal experiences they had become aware of through zazen, then the necessary degree of attention was easy to achieve. A similar study by Moles (1977) found that zazen subjects changed from conceptual thinking to visual imagery thinking. Moles' subjects did zazen for four weeks, and showed no changes on the POI, reality testing, defensive functioning, or impulse control.

Kirschner (1975) interviewed 10 men who had been sitting zazen between 9 months and 5 years. They had become involved with zazen as a result of sexual difficulties, feelings of alienation, and fear of women. They reported that they had become less fearful and felt better about themselves. They had reduced or eliminated habits such as smoking, alcohol, or drug use after beginning zazen. Their sexual problems were not

affected by zazen. Kirschner explained the results as due to subjects regressing to primary process functioning and being able to restructure basic perceptual-cognitive structures that had been loosened up, so to speak, by the regressive experience.

Lesh (1970) conducted a study of the effect of zazen on the development of empathy among graduate students in a counseling program. He had three groups: one volunteered to learn zazen and practiced it for four weeks during the experiment; the second group volunteered, but was not taught zazen; the third was neither interested in zazen, nor taught it. The meditating subjects' daily responses to zazen were coded using a scheme almost identical to Maupin's. Two instruments were used to assess empathy and adaptive regression, and the POI was administered. ⁷The findings were that the zazen group showed a large and significant increase in empathy, whereas groups 2 and 3 showed no significant changes. Response to meditation correlated with openness to experience (tau = .56, pre-test; .41 post-test). This may indicate that any practice of zazen helps a subject open up empathically,

*development
of
empathy
and
evidence
of
resistance*

Lesh (1970) also examined the daily logs for evidence of resistance to sitting zazen. He reported his findings in the following manner:

Resistance seems to occur at three main points in the practice of zazen: first at the point of even sitting still and facing oneself, secondly at the point of allowing into one's consciousness the inner conflicts that are going on, and thirdly at the point of realizing one is a part of something "not self" (p, 62).

Other investigators have noticed that there is a period of discomfort and adjustment for beginning meditators as they cope with the influx of inner material (Davidson, *et al.*, 1976).

Suzuki-roshi, who founded several Zen Centers in California, wrote that resistance to zazen is ubiquitous (Suzuki, 1970). In Mann's (1984) analysis of Siddha yoga, he uncovered three motives for resistance. One was the fear of the unknown, another was the fear of being destroyed. A third motive was a reluctance to face unpleasant aspects of reality and was expressed in attempts to maintain the illusion that the ultimate reality is only beautiful and cooperative.

Resistance does not appear to be a continuous phenomenon that increases or decreases linearly over time. Kornfield (1979), a Vipassana teacher, has stressed that his meditation students

move in cycles of progression, regression, restructuring, and reintegration. Yasutani (in Kapleau, 1980), Compton (1985b), and Rappoport (personal communication, 1985) have also noticed the same phenomenon.

*psychological
and
spiritual
development
as one
unified
process*

In classical Buddhist texts, resistance is known as the Five Hindrances (to enlightenment), or the Three Poisons (of the mind). The Five Hindrances are; lustful desires; ill-will, hatred or anger; torpor; restlessness and worry; and sceptical doubts (Rahula, 1974). The Three Poisons are: greed, anger, and ignorance (Yokoi, 1976). The *Abhidhamma*, the classical Theravadin Buddhist treatise on psychology, details fourteen unhealthy mental factors which poison the mind if they are predominant. (It must be remembered that Buddhism views psychological and spiritual development as one unified process. Therefore, what is psychologically unhealthy is also spiritually unhealthy.) The fourteen factors are: delusion, misdiscernment, perplexity, shamelessness, remorselessness, egoism, agitation, worry, greed, aversion, avarice, envy, contraction, and torpor (Goleman, 1981).

Another way of looking at resistance is provided by Degen's discussion of the mythical figure of Papiyas. Papiyas is a Sanskrit word derived from *papiyo*, meaning "worse," "more evil," or "wicked." (Rhys & Stede, 1921; Edgerton, 1953). Papiyas is a symbol of resistance. He is the lord of desire. Along with his helpers, Papiyas attempts to prevent people from practicing Buddhism (Yokoi, 1976). He is the embodiment of resentment. According to Degen: "Because of his deep attachment to and search for worldly pleasure, [Papiyas] falls victim to wrong views, hating and envying all who practice the [Buddhist] Way (Dogen, 1244).

*the
purpose
of
this
research*

It can be concluded that there has been no systematic study focusing on resistance to the realization of the Buddhist path in general, and Zen in particular. Lesh's data, the most relevant to (late, though informative, may be applicable only to beginning meditators. The purpose of the following research is to determine the nature of psycho-spiritual developmental processes in Soto Zen practice by the examination of the dynamics of resistance to meditation.

METHOD

This research has several guiding questions. First, what are the forms of resistance shown by the subjects? Second, what are the relationships among stress, attitude, level of development, and

strength of resistance? Third, what are the conditions for unimpeded development in Zen meditation?

Subjects

Thirty Soto Zen meditators residing in the United States, served as unpaid volunteer participants in the research. They were reached through contacts at two Zen Centers, two informal Zen groups, large public gatherings at one of the Zen Centers, and various chance encounters. All volunteers were accepted who had been practicing SotoZen zazen at least three times a week for a minimum of six months. Six months was required because the subjects were asked to review the last six months of their practice.

The mean age of subjects was 42 years, with a range of 26 to 59. The median age was 39. The mean time they had been sitting zazen was 10 years, with a range of 1.2 to 28 years. When the amount of time subjects did not sit zazen is subtracted, then the mean time subjects actually sat zazen becomes 7 years, with a range of 1 to 26 years. These figures on time actually spent sitting are not very reliable, since 9 subjects had to look back over 15 years to see how much time they had skipped zazen. Twenty had also practiced other forms of meditation or martial arts before beginning zazen. One subject continued to do T'ai Chi (a form of martial arts) as well as zazen. Another subject practiced *pranayama* meditation on the breath in addition to his zazen. This practice is so similar to zazen breath meditations that it is difficult to differentiate between the two techniques.

*seven
to
ten
years
average
time
in
meditation*

Twenty-three subjects were male and seven were female. Twenty-nine were white and Anglo, one Hispanic, and all were middle class. All but four had at least a college degree, eight had M.A. degrees, and six had Ph.D.s. Many, but not all, had professional positions. Three additional people initially agreed to be interviewed, but withdrew prior to interview.

Interview

The method of study was a semi-structured interview containing both highly structured questions and open ended questions. Subjects were seen once in individual interviews in a place convenient and familiar to them. This was usually their homes or offices. Interviews lasted from two to five hours depending on how verbose the subject was. All interviews were conducted

by the author. Tape recordings were made to allow the investigator to pay complete attention to the subject. The interviews were later transcribed.

The interview included two questionnaires which were designed to record the life stress and stressful meditation events experienced by each subject. The open ended interview questions were used to explore the subject's experience of and motivations for Zen practice and for resisting Zen practice. The interview schedule was written in such a way that subjects who were in another state could fill it out themselves. Sometimes at the end of the interview, the subject asked for the interviewer's interpretations of the subject's responses. These were given and discussed.

*picking
the
period
of
most
intense
resistance*

At the beginning of the interview the subjects were asked to think back over the previous six months and determine the period in which they felt the *most* resistance or reluctance to sit zazen. They were instructed to pick the time which seemed subjectively to be the most intense period of resistance, even though another episode might well appear more intense to an observer. They were also asked to recall as much as possible concerning their lives during that time, including the month preceding and the two weeks following the resistance period.

The decision to ask the subjects to remember the last six months was made on the basis of research on how well people remember life events over time (Jenkins, *et al.*, 1979; Casey, *et al.*, 1967). In the interview used in the present research, the subjects had all described their resistance and what had been happening in the rest of their lives before they began to fillout the stress and zazen questionnaires. It was assumed that remembering the overall context of that period of their lives enhanced their ability to remember specific events that occurred then.

Subjects who could not recall any reluctance or resistance to sitting were asked to look for a time with the most disruption of their practice. This happened with three subjects. If there were no such periods, they were asked to discuss the week prior to the interview. This last situation only *occurred* with *two* people.

Description of the Interview

Part I of the interview schedule included 12 specific questions requesting demographic information, as well as questions on the subject's past involvement with Zen (length of involvement,

frequency of sitting, etc.), Part 2 included 16 detailed questions, and asked for a phenomenological description of the resistance episode. It began with an open ended question, "Please give a general description of the episode of resistance." This was to allow the subject to approach the matter in his/her own style, and to emphasize what s/he felt were the salient features of the experience. As a rule, the subject would spontaneously attribute his/her resistance to some aspect of his/her life. After this question, detailed questions were asked to delineate the precise nature of the experience. Also in this section, the subject was invited to discuss his/her reasons for sitting zazen, what his/her conception of enlightenment was, and what s/he thought motivated his/her resistance. The questions in part 3 consisted of 57 items rated on a five degree scale, and examined the nature and intensity of meditation induced phenomena. Part 4 consisted of 64 items rated on a five degree scale, and was a questionnaire of life stress for the month preceding the resistance. In part 5, seven questions asked the subject about previous psychotherapy, and his/her relationship with his/her meditation teacher (if any).

a
five-
part
interview

Life Stress Questionnaire

The life stress questionnaire was adapted from Holmes' SRRS (Holmes & Rahe, 1967), and Sarason's Life Experiences Survey (Sarason, *et al.*; 1978). It was heavily influenced by Lustman's discussion of Sowa and colleagues' method of asking subjects to rate the adversiveness of stress items (Lustman, *et al.*, 1984).

a
stress
item
questionnaire

Holmes' and Sarason's list of events was used as the basis of the questionnaire. Items were added relating mainly to work. **In** addition, items were reworded to remove the bias towards heterosexual married subjects. Both stress and aversiveness are rated on the stress scale used in this research.

Zazen Experience Questionnaire

The zazen experience questionnaire (ZEQ)(Part 3) was designed to study the stressfulness, type, temporal patterning, and frequency of novel experiences induced by zazen. The questionnaire is based on the TIME, an extensive inventory of meditation experiences (Brown, *et al.*, 1982-83). **In** addition to meditation related items, the TIME has been used successfully to distinguish between groups of meditators, self-hypnotizers, and "waking dreaming" subjects (Brown, *et al.*, 1982-83). It was also used to distinguish sub-groups of Vipassana meditators

(Forte, *et al.*, 1985). The TIME also covers hypnotic and mental imagery phenomena. These hypnotic and imagery items were irrelevant to sitting zazen and were eliminated. Among the questions relating to zazen, there were many redundancies and subtle variations on the same item which were not included in the present instrument. A number of questions were added which are very specific to zazen. A series of emotions a person might experience in zazen was appended. Some items were suggested by Mann's (1984) discussion of resistance to meditation.

*a
questionnaire
based on
an inventory
of meditation
experiences*

The ZEQ also asks the subject to distinguish between stressful and aversive experience. The reason for this is that preliminary interviews showed that some subjects reported that some strongly pleasant zazen induced sensations were also extremely stressful. Feelings of universal unity which are central to Zen practice sometimes aroused an ambivalent response of stress and pleasure.

The Zen Level of Spiritual Development Scale (ZLSD)

A schema of eight developmental stages in Zen practice was constructed based on a content analysis of subjects' responses to the question: "Please describe what your meditations were like (physically, perceptually, emotionally, cognitively)." Previously formulated scales (Maupin, 1965; Lesh, 1970) were designed for use with beginning meditators and were inapplicable to advanced meditators.

*an
eight
stage
scale
of
development
in zazen*

Subjects' experiences were distributed in the following categories: 0) soporific, using zazen to sedate oneself; 1) derepression. lifting of repressions of past or present thoughts or feelings; 2) immersion in thoughts, feelings, or perceptual phenomena; 3) detachment from thoughts, feelings, or perceptual phenomena, observing ego; 4) intuition, perception of synchronicities; 5) partial absorption experiences where the sense of being a separate being dissolved, but there was still a feeling of individuality left; 6) complete absorption experiences where the feeling of individuality completely disappeared; 7) perception of totality, universal synchronicity, prajñā; 8) transsubjectivity.

These categories of zazen experience listed above are listed in an order from the least developed state (1) to the most developed state (8). The 0 state is antithetical to enlightenment and *cannot* be placed in a developmental order. Examples of each stage culled from the interviews, illustrate the nature of the stages.

1) Derepression. "I'm especially glad if something can come to consciousness which was previously suppressed.... If that doesn't happen, I remind myself that I've lost awareness of what I'm really thinking or feeling:'

2) Immersion. "Zazen is just the most miserable place to experience depression. I would sit down and it would just be anguish, a cloudy mind, and a headache. In that state of mind I couldn't deal with anything that came up, whether it was pain or emotional stuff. It just overwhelmed me, because I had no base. So there were lots of times I felt like exploding, [like] throw[ing] the zafu across the room or something."

3) Detachment. "I feel I'm really in my body, much more finely tuned to the little twinge of the muscle in the leg, or the subtlety of the breath going in and out. My thoughts, which are always like a squirrel cage, at that point seem to have a transparency. They're still going on, yet it's no big deal. I don't feel I'm caught up so much in them, or that they're so important. I just accept the fact that they're happening, and so what? They come and go, like my breath. I don't dwell on them, or invite them in to tea, as Suzuki-roshi wrote."

*Illustrative
examples
of the
eight
stages
from the
interviews*

4) Intuition. "Things do come to my mimi inevitably, problems of the day before, sometimes if I've been thinking about something . . . that I haven't resolved, . . . the answer will come to my mind, [but] I haven't been thinking about anything especially [when this happens],"

5) Partial absorption experiences with sense of separate I. "Mostly a perception of connectedness with all things . . . feelings of 'power' through connectedness with universe. . . . Occasional sensations like electricity along skin surfaces, 'power' radiating from body or into body, the breathing like an energy flow." In this experience the boundary of the self begins to dissolve. There are peculiar experiences in which it is not clear what is inside and what is outside the self and body.

6) Complete absorption experiences without the sense of separate I. "In those cosmic moments I forget that I'm meditating. A sense of 'me' dissolves. I'm one with the universe. Everything is everything, I'm it, and it's I. There's no self-consciousness of it at the time." Here there is complete absorption into the object world. No sense of being a separate self remains. There is total identification with the object.

7) Prajna. "When I was 11, in junior high school, I had a solitary activity, along with all my other *solitary* activities. But

weather permitting, I would take a tennis racket and ball and go out in the early evening and hit it against a blank wall next to my house. . . . It was a leisurely activity. There was one night when I was hitting the ball leisurely and it became automatic. So there was the sound of the ball, ping, ping, ping [sung rather than said]. Something happened in my mind-I say 'mind,' who knows what 'mind' is-I don't know what it was exactly, it was as though my whole image of the universe . . . my self in relation to the universe did a flip-flop which was very interesting to me. I was very conscious of it happening. . . . as if I saw the Earth as the astronauts do. even though in those times we had no concept that anyone could [do that] ... [It was] as though I had a glimpse of everything, I'm not even sure what I mean by 'everything.' It was some huge comprehension of something It was very momentary. I don't know if it lasted more than a tennis ball [bounce]. it *seemed* like it took a longer time. but still I don't know."

8) Transsubjectivity, "There becomes no difference between doing and not doing. . . . Though I was sitting still. I was at the same time not separated from activity. In 'stillness' people were riding bicycles, washing, catching fish. and cooking. It was all going on *at the same time*. No differences between stillness and activity."

*preparations
for kensho
and
experience
of
safari*

The first three stages are preparatory to kensho, Stage 4 is the first stage at which kensho appears. i.e., the perception of the underlying unity of phenomena. The remaining stages are increasingly deep realizations of kensho, until stage 8 (satori) is consciously experienced. Dogen emphasizes that enlightenment can always become more profound; however, the list above exhausts the possibilities discovered by the subjects of the present study.

The rationale for the order of stages is as follows: First it is necessary to be aware of one's subjectivity (i.e., thoughts and feelings) before any attempt can be made at an awareness of a greater degree of subjectivity. This is the stage of derepression. The stage of derepression leads naturally into a flooding of thoughts and feelings into consciousness (the stage of immersion). At this point, it is possible to develop an ability to detach oneself from and observe without interference the stream of consciousness. This is the stage of detachment. From this ability to detach oneself, the observation of a synchronous patterning of phenomena (internal and external to the mind) becomes possible (the stage of intuition). As this synchronicity is observed, ego boundaries begin to dissolve as the co-constituting nature of phenomena becomes clear. This produces partial absorption experiences in which at first the sense

of the personal subjectivity (1) is retained (stage 5). If the process of zazen is deepened, then a complete absorption into the objects occurs (samiidhi, stage 6). There is no sense of a separate ego. The ego has essentially died. The stage of prajñā arises out of the absorption experience of stage 6. The absorption broadens into an absorption into all of existence and non-existence. In the last stage, the sense of subjectivity comes to maturity in a new stage of transsubjective merger. In order for transsubjectivity to occur, one must first become absorbed into the object. As Suzuki (1960) wrote, "The Zen approach is to enter right into the object itself and see it, as it were, from the inside. To know the flower is to become the flower .. ." (p. 11). If one is to share subjectivity with a flower, one must become that flower.

It was not possible to validate the scale by standard procedures. One measure of validation, however, may be found in the homology which appears between the new scale and the Five Ranks (Wu Wei) of Tung-shan. The Wu Wei is a series of poems. The Wu Wei may be interpreted as a developmental scheme. Harada-roshi, a preeminent Zen teacher, used the Wu Wei to describe the process by which Yaeko Iwasaki (born 1910, died 1935), an heir of the founder of the Mitsubishi corporation, attained enlightenment (see Kapleau, 1980, for a translation of some of Iwasaki's letters to Harada-roshi, and Harada-roshi's commentary). Kapleau-roshi also treats the Wu Wei as a developmental scheme (Kapleau, 1980). D. T. Suzuki (1960) also held that the Wu Wei are a developmental schema.

*the
problem
of
validation
and
the
Five
Ranks*

The fact that scholars and Zen masters of the stature of Harada-roshi, Kapleau-roshi, and D. T. Suzuki maintain that the Wu Wei are developmental in nature encourages the attempt to construct a developmental schema for Zen practice. Powell (footnote 169, 1986) was unable to discern any developmental progression in the first four Ranks; however, the last Rank appeared to him to transcend the first four. Although Powell (1986) may be correct that Tung-shan did not intend the Wu Wei to be a developmental schema, if it proves to be interpretable and useful developmentally, Tung-shan's intentions should not prevent us from using it in that way.

It may well be that the poems are so abstract that the various interpretations reflect more of the interpreter's thought than Tung-shan's theory. The poems certainly permit an extreme latitude of analysis.

Notwithstanding these reservations, the Wu Wei is given here for comparison with the ZLSD.

Phenomena Within the Real:

At the beginning of the night's third watch, before there is
moonlight,
Don't be surprised to meet yet not recognize
What is surely a familiar face from the past.

The Real Within Phenomena:

An *old* crone, having just awakened, comes upon an ancient
mirror;
That which is clearly reflected in front of her face is none other than
her own likeness.
Don't lose sight of your face again and go chasing your shadow.

Coming from Within the Real:

Amidst nothingness there is a road far from the dust.
If you are simply able to avoid the reigning monarch's personal
name,
Then you will surpass the eloquence of previous dynasties.

Coming Within Together:

Two crossed swords, neither permitting retreat:
Dexterously wielded, like a lotus amidst fire.
Similarly, there is a natural determination to ascend the heavens.

Arriving Within Together:

Falling into neither existence nor nonexistence, who dares
harmonize?
People fully desire to exit the constant flux:
But after bending and fitting, in the end still return to sit in the
warmth of the coals.

(Tung-shan Liang-Chich, tr. Powell, 1968, p. 61)

*the
Five
Ranks
and
the
ZLSD*

In the ZLSD the stage of intuition corresponds to the first Rank. Both describe perceiving phenomena as parts of the Absolute, or parts of a unifying process. The two absorption stages 5 and 6 correlate with the second and third Ranks. In Rank 2, partial absorption is present and a sense of I remains: "the undifferentiated comes strongly to the fore." In Rank 3, there is an absorption without awareness of I: "body and mind ... drop away." The fourth Rank suggests stage 7} that one becomes equally aware of both the Absolute (lotus) and the Relative (fire), in such a way that neither this conception of the subject nor of the Absolute can exist independently of each other. The last stage, transsubjectivity, is equivalent to Rank 5. In reference to Rank 5, Tung-shan wrote, "Falling into neither existence nor nonexistence . . ." (Tung-shan, 114, in Powell, 1986). In other words, falling into neither the Relative, nor the Absolute} one lives in both simultaneously. This is transsubjectivity because the Absolute is Subjectivity and the Relative is all phenomena; therefore, absolute subjectivity and

phenomena completely interpenetrating yields transsubjectivity.

The very idea of developmental stages of Soto Zen may strike some as a contradiction of terms. Solo Zen is defined by the tenet that zazen is enlightenment. Dogen emphasized that enlightenment can always become more profound; however, Soto leaves one with the impression that as soon as one sits zazen, one is enlightened (Suzuki, 1970). The results of this study, Kasamatsu and Hirai's (1966) research, and Compton and Becker's (1983) work, along with Compton's later paper (1985a), show that it is not that simple. Zazen means practicing non-discriminating thinking (Dagen, 1277). This is not an ability which appears immediately upon sitting down in a lotus posture. As we have seen, subjects do many other things besides non-discriminating thinking when they sit. Stages 1-7 are gradual approximations to the use of prajna. If non-discriminating thinking is defined as thinking excluding neither the individual nor the totality, then one could say that zazen only occurs in stage 8, which is enlightenment. However, such a definition of zazen, besides unacceptably twisting the definition of prajna, would hide the precursor stages 1-7, obscuring the actual developmental progression which appears necessary in order to really engage in non-discriminating thinking.

It is always said in Soto Zen that there is nothing to attain, including enlightenment. This position appears to be opposed to developmental research in Zen. Upon reflection, this objection is seen to be a misunderstanding of the concept of non-attainment. Transsubjectivity is not attained, it is perceived-it is happening whether or not one is conscious of it. It is the same as in psychoanalysis. Free association does not create the unconscious, it merely makes its working visible. Unconscious activity does not stop if one does not believe in it. Indeed, psychoanalysis maintains that ignoring the unconscious is precisely what makes people neurotic. In like manner, zazen does not create enlightenment, it offers an opportunity to realize what is already going on (transsubjectivity).

*transsubjectivity
is not
attained,
it is
perceived*

Although the wish was to validate the developmental progression of the ZLSD by way of ancient Zen texts, we shall have to be satisfied with indications that the ZLSD stages do at least reflect anciently recognized key experiences in Zen. In addition, it is helpful to find that the Wu Wei has been useful to Zen teachers for describing their students' progress.

Another attempt to provide some validation for the ZLSD was made by asking two judges to examine the subjects' descrip-

dons of their concepts of enlightenment. Both judges had experienced all ZLSD stages.

reliability
0/
ratings

They were asked to rate the level the subjects were attempting to reach, as reflected in the subjects' concept of enlightenment by reading interview question 27. Ratings of the ZLSD level actually attained by the subject were compared to the ZLSD rating of concept of enlightenment. The judges agreed on 17 cases. The low reliability of this rating should be kept in mind when these results are discussed later. To minimize this problem, subjects' concepts of enlightenment ratings will be classified as either: 1) at or below stage 3, or 2) at or above stage 4.

Subjects have occasional experiences of stages much higher than their normal stages, but they are unable to maintain the higher state.

The occasional experience of a high stage may occur in a very different way than the regular, daily experience of that same stage. This might mean that it is necessary to master the prior stage before one can maintain the next stage. Another way of looking at it is that the frequency of experiences of higher stages would increase as the base line stage increased. It would require less and less of a shock to precipitate a higher stage, since that higher stage would be increasingly like one's normal experience as the base line stage advanced.

Since there are no longitudinal data, it is not possible to determine whether it is necessary to pass through each stage to reach the next stage. It is clear from the interviews that the developmental process is reversible.

reliability
of the
ZLSD

The reliability of the ZLSD was assessed by using a method developed by Ripple *et al.* (1964). Three judges each with experience of ZLSD stage 8, transsubjectivity, classified each subject with the ZLSD by reading the subject's responses to question 24 and to the ZEQ of the interview questionnaire. All three judges agreed in 63% of the cases. At least two out of three judges agreed in 97% of the cases. One would expect two out of three judges to agree in 55% of the cases by chance alone (Ripple *et al.*, 1964). Unfortunately, there is no ready means for testing the statistical significance of the difference between the actual amount of agreement of raters and the probability of agreement by chance (Ripple *et al.*, 1964). Remaining cases were successfully conferenced and classified.

Since the disagreements were a matter of detecting evidence, rather than disagreements of interpretation of evidence, it

would seem that the ZLSD can be used reliably to discriminate responses of advanced and beginning Zen students to zazen.

Strength of Resistance Measures

The strength of resistance was measured by adding a) the number of weeks the subject had not sat zazen at all, and b) the number of weeks in which the subject had sat zazen only once or twice, both measured from the time when the subject first began to sit zazen. This time span was subtracted from the amount of time elapsed since the subject began sitting zazen. This gave an estimate of the time actually spent sitting. The proportion of time actually spent not sitting to the total time elapsed since beginning zazen was termed "strength of resistance." Because the mean time of involvement in Zen was to years, there is no doubt that these figures are crude estimates. For this reason, the strength of resistance figures were not used except in the following way. Subjects were grouped into low, medium, and high resisting subject categories. The cut off points were: 0% to 27%=low resistance, >27% to 73%=medium resistance, >73% to 100%=high resistance. For example, someone who only sat 10% of the available time to sit would be classified as a high resistor. Another grouping method was based on the median strength of resistance which was 10%(i.e., the person missed zazen 10% of the time). The median point was used to split the subjects into two groups of high and low resistors.

*low,
medium
and
high
resisting
subjects*

Attitude

During the interviews it began to appear that the subjects had very different attitudes towards their experiences. They seemed to fall into two main groups: angry, resentful people, and appreciative, grateful people. Often the degree of anger or appreciation was striking and was the most memorable aspect of the interview. The observation that some people were appreciative of being angry, and others were resentful of being accepted and liked by other people suggested that the differences between the subjects were not a matter of them experiencing different emotions, but of subjects having different attitudes towards their emotions. Mindful of these observations, and Suzuki-roshi's (1970) opinion that attitude is crucial in zazen, it was decided to investigate the subjects' attitudes systematically.

The Germans have developed an interesting terminology to express certain components of attitudes which are interesting

for a study of Zen. In particular, the term "Bewusstseinslage" is an especially helpful expression. Allport (1985, p. 36) defines it as "the posture or lay of consciousness." It might also be translated by "position of consciousness." In other words, Bewusstseinslage emphasizes that an attitude is a situating of one's consciousness vis-à-vis a social object. Zen is essentially an effort of positioning consciousness in such a way that both the phenomenal Relative aspect and the Absolute aspect of existence and non-existence can be perceived. Narayana (1971) saw that Zen does this through an *attitude* of non-judgmental acceptance of everything. The social object here, or "social value" in Thomas and Znaniecki's words (Allport, 1985) is the entirety of one's experience. For the purposes of this study, attitude was defined as how one feels about perceiving the totality of one's personal unconscious, personal conscious, and transsubjective experience. In so defining attitude, we are very close to Scheler's (1960) use of the term, *viz.*, attitudes are a generalized experience of existence. Their origins in specific relationships are obscured, and in the case of resentment, are actually repressed.

*clinical
judgments
of subject's
attitudes*

In order to examine the role of attitude in resistance to zazen, two clinical psychologists were asked to read parts of the interview transcripts and judge each subject's attitude as defined above. The judges were ignorant of the demographic data, of how resistant the subjects were and unaware of any of the author's hypotheses.

The judges were instructed to read each subject's transcript and circle any statements indicating the subject's attitudes. Scheler's (1960) definition of resentment was used: the desire to devalue and degrade. It was also explained as sour grapes. An attitude of neutrality was defined as not the same as indifference, but as an acceptance of experience, without any particular emotion expressed about it. The judges were told they could not infer the presence of an attitude but could only use direct statements of attitudes. It was seen that the various attitudes found could be easily collapsed into two categories: an accepting attitude (including neutral, accepting, and grateful attitudes) and a resentful attitude (including anger and resentment). The judges agreed in 100% of these cases. No subject was classed as resentful by one judge, and accepting by the other judge.

Auxiliary Measures

Ad hoc measures of the following three factors were also

constructed: emotional distress, creativity, and obsessive cognitive style while meditating.

Emotional distress: if the subject made mention of being upset, distraught, or distressed at or in the period immediately preceding the resistance, she was judged to be emotionally distressed. These ratings were done by the author. Because of the danger of bias inherent in this procedure, *any* statements of distress were counted and no attempt was made to rate severity.

Creativity: this was measured by the presence of any of the following activities: professional work as a writer, artist, musician, or researcher. Again, the writer did this rating himself, so any more subjective criteria were avoided to minimize possible bias.

Obsessive cognitive style: subjects who reported that they thought constantly during zazen or had difficulty in not thinking continuously were classified by the author as having an obsessive cognitive style in zazen. This rating is not meant to imply the presence or absence of obsessive neurosis.

These measures cannot be considered rigorous or particularly adequate, but use of these variables proved to have heuristic value.

RESULTS

Forms of Resistance

The forms of resistance the subjects engaged in were not greatly varied. Half of the subjects stopped sitting during their resistances and half experienced a regression in their ability to concentrate while meditating (this was the case for all but three subjects). Clearly, when people do not want to sit zazen, either they do not sit or they do so poorly.

*forms of
resistance
were not
greatly
varied*

An ancillary expression of resistance was to continue sitting, but to decrease the frequency of zazen periods (11 subjects did this). Only two subjects decreased the length of sittings and only one person got up and wandered around when supposedly sitting. People who were unable to maintain the correct sitting posture (9 subjects) also tended to experience physical symptoms (back pain, leg pain) while sitting (7 subjects in all, 6 of the 9 whose posture suffered also had physical symptoms). This is not at all surprising, considering the back strain involved in

sitting still for forty minutes a day, when the sitter does not really want to sit. Five subjects changed to a simpler zazen technique while resisting and one switched to a non-Zen technique.

Attitude

The judges' classifications yielded 15 resentful and 12 accepting subjects. Two subjects changed from resentful to accepting during the course of their resistance, and one subject, who sent in his interview from out of state, did not provide enough detail to permit classification.

TABLE I
ATTITUDE AND STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE

		ATTITUDE	
		RESENTFUL	ACCEPTING
Strength of Resistance	HIGH	10	3
	LOW	5	11

Note: Subjects 1 and 27 (resentful changing to accepting) were pUI in the accepting group. Fisher Exact Test, $p=.05$

Attitude by Strength of Resistance

*attitude
and
resistance
associated*

In order to compare strength of resistance to the subjects' attitudes, subjects were divided into high and low resistance groups (see Table I). A Fisher exact test showed ($p=.05$) that attitude and strength of resistance are significantly associated.

Anger and Resistance

Examination of the transcripts coded by the judges in preparation for rating attitudes revealed that 25 of the subjects were angry about something at the time of the resistance. Irrespective of their general emotional attitude, they had all been angry. Eleven subjects were openly angry at their Zen teachers, fellow Zen students, or zazen itself. In addition, 14 other subjects were angry at people or situations having nothing to do with Zen. Three subjects showed no evidence of

anger; two others did not give enough data to allow a determination to be made. Interestingly, only two subjects attributed their resistance to being angry.

A NOVAS

ANOVA tests (analysis of variance) of the difference between the three strength of resistance groups (high, medium, and low) and the subjects' ages, life stress scores, stress in zazen scores, and number of novel experiences in zazen produced no significant ANOVA results.

Attitude

Subjects were divided into the two attitude groups, resentful and accepting. The means for each group were calculated for the following measures: age, life stress, zazen stress, number of novel experiences in zazen and the length of time since the subjects began zazen. The only t-test of these means which was significant (at $p < .05$) involved the age variable. The accepting group was significantly older (45.7 years) than the resentful group (38.8 years).

*accepting
group
was older
than
resentful
group*

Strength of Resistance

Similarly, a differentiation of high and low resistors indicated that high resistors had a mean age of 38.4 years, and the low resistors had a mean age of 44.9 years ($p < .05$). No differences were found among these two strength of resistance groups on life stress, zazen stress, and the number of novel experiences in zazen.

Sex Differences

Differences between sexes on the variables of age, life stress, zazen stress and the number of novel experiences in zazen were examined by t-tests and none were statistically significant.

ZLSD

Subjects were divided into two groups based on their ZLSD stages. ZLSD stages 1 through 3 were combined to form one pre-kensho group. ZLSD stages 4 through 8 were merged into a kensho group. This does not mean that subjects in the pre-

kensho group had never had a kensho experience. It does indicate that the pre-kensho subjects did not experience reality consistently and regularly in an enlightened way. No significant differences were found between the two groups on the variables of age, life stress, zazen stress, and number of novel experiences in zazen.

ZLSD and Strength of Resistance

a
measure
of
construct
validity
of
ZLSD

Table 2 demonstrates the relationship between the stage of Zen development and the subject's strength of resistance (high, medium, or low). The high resistors do not appear in the higher stages. The medium resistors appear overwhelmingly in the pre-enlightenment (pre-kensho) stages 0 through 3. The low resistors are spread out throughout all ZLSD stages. This can be construed as a measure of construct validity for the ZLSD. One would expect such results if the scale is linear, the factor being measured requires practice of zazen for its development, and the resistance retards this development.

Table 3 depicts the development of strength of resistance to ZLSD (where medium and high resistors are combined) in a two by two table. Subjects were divided into two ZLSD groups: pre-kensho (ZLSD stage 0 through 3), and kensho (ZLSD stages 4 and above). A Fisher exact-test showed that strength of

TABLE 2
SUBJECTS' ZLSD STAGE AND STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE

ZLSD STAGE			
8	1		
7			
6	2	1	
5	3		
4	1		
3	7	2	3
2	2	5	1
1			
0		1	1
STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE →	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH

TABLE 3
 SUBJECTS' STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE AND ZLSD STAGE

		STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE	
		LOW	HIGH
ZLSD STAGE	4+	8	
	0-3	9	12

TABLE 4
 SUBJECTS' ATTITUDES AND ZLSD STAGE

		ATTITUDE	
		RESENTFUL	ACCEPTING
ZLSD STAGE	4+	0	8
	0-3	15	6

resistance and ZLSD group are related in a statistically significant way ($p < .02$).

ZLSD and Attitude

Analysis of the relationship between the subjects' stages of development and their attitudes (Table 4) Shows that the resentful subjects have not progressed beyond stage 3; however the accepting subjects are spread out over most of the ZLSD stages. Eighty-four percent of the accepting, pre-kensho subjects were in stage 3, versus forty-seven percent of the resentful pre-kensho subjects. A two by two table of attitude and ZLSD stage (pre-kensho and kensho) revealed a highly statistically significant relationship between attitude and ZLSD stage (Fisher exact test, $p < .0007$).

ZLSD and the Concept of Enlightenment

Subject's concepts of enlightenment were examined to see if they matched descriptions of particular ZLSD stages. Only 4 of

strength of resistance, and attitude are related to ZLSD

the 15 resentful subjects had an enlightenment concept rating over stage 3. Only two of the accepting subjects in pre-kensho stages had an enlightenment concept above stage 3. The accepting subjects in kenshd stages had concepts of enlightenment equal to or higher than their own stages.

Strength of Resistance, Attitude, Emotional Distress, Cognitive Style, and Creativity

*resentful
subjects
were
unhappy*

The results of the examination of the relationship of the data for attitude, strength of resistance, emotional distress, cognitive style, and creativity are shown in Table 5. It is immediately apparent that resentful subjects were almost invariably unhappy, whereas the accepting subjects were generally not miserable. The resentful high resistors were miserable and largely unaware of why they were unhappy, while the resentful low resistors were miserable, but aware of why and were attempting to stop engaging in the thoughts, emotions, and behaviors which led to being so unhappy. There were three subjects in the resentful high resisting group who were aware of the need for personal change; however, they did not know what was wrong.

All subjects in the accepting, high resistance group shared one feature: they all had a marked tendency to think obsessively

TABLE 5
ATTITUDE, STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE, EMOTIONAL DISTRESS,
COGNITIVE STYLE AND CREATIVITY

	RESENTFUL	ACCEPTING
HIGH RESISTANCE	emotional distress 90% obsessive 20% DISTRAUGHT N = 10 80% clerical, restaurant 10% professional 10% unknown	emotional distress 0% obsessive 100% OBSESSIVE STYLE N = 3 100% psychotherapists & Ph.D. professional
LOW RESISTANCE	emotional distress 80% obsessive 60% CHANGING N = 5 20% technical 20% psychologists 20% restaurant 20% clerical 20% business	emotional distress 18% obsessive 27% CREATIVE N = 11 54.5% writers & Ph.D.,» who publish 27% Zen priests 9% physical therapists 9% unknown

Note: One subject's attitude unclassifiable.

when they meditate. Two of the subjects recognized this and could stop doing it during zazen. The others were making attempts to stop it. Only 2 of 8 of the accepting, low resisting subjects had similar tendencies to think so much in zazen. The accepting, low resisting subjects were mainly characterized by being extremely creative people. Five of 11 were professional writers (fiction and non-fiction), The two accepting subjects in emotional distress (low resistors) both made breakthroughs in overcoming their discontents during their resistances. In contrast, 14 of 15 (high and low resisting) resentful subjects complained of either acute emotional distress or long term severe impairments in their ability to form relationships or work.

Summary of Results

1. Level of development in zazen was related to strength of resistance. High resistors tended to be in ZLSD stages 0 to 3, whereas low resistors were in stages 4 or above.
2. Level of development was strongly related to attitude. Resentful subjects were not in any of the higher stages (ZLSD stage 4 and above). Accepting subjects tended to be in the higher ZLSD stages.
3. Attitude was related to strength of resistance. Accepting subjects who were at ZLSD stage 2 or 3 and resentful subjects tended to not have concepts of enlightenment aiming at stages beyond stage 3. Resentful subjects were likely to be high resistors. Accepting subjects were usually low resistors.
4. Attitude was related to age. Accepting subjects were likely to be older than resentful subjects.
5. Irrespective of attitude, virtually all of the subjects were angry at the time of resistance.
6. Strength of resistance was significantly related to age. High resistors were younger than low resistors.
7. Highly resistant, resentful subjects were likely to be in emotional distress.
8. Low resistant, resentful subjects were also very unhappy, but believed they were changing.
9. Highly resistant, accepting subjects were likely to have difficulty with constant thinking during zazen.
10. Low resistant, accepting subjects were likely to be creative people.

*research
results
summarized
for
major
variables*

11. Strength of resistance is not related to life stress, zazen stress, or degree of novelty in zazen.

12. Attitude is not related to life stress, zazen stress, length of time since subjects began sitting zazen, or degree of novelty in zazen.

13. No sex differences in age, life stress, zazen stress, or number of novel experiences in zazen were found.

14. Level of development in zazen was not related to age, life stress, zazen stress, or degree of novelty in zazen.

*stress
reduction
as a
side effect
of
meditation*

The results show that life stress and the stressfulness of zazen are irrelevant for understanding the dynamics of development and resistance in Zazen. This confirms the opinion of several researchers on meditation that stress reduction is a side effect of meditation which has no meaning with respect to the ultimate goals of meditation (Mann, 1984; Compton & Becker, 1983; Brown & Engler, 1980).

Motives for Resistance

The subjects were all asked why they thought they were resisting zazen. All but one had responses, and a list of these responses by type of motive appears in Table 6. Many subjects listed more than one motive.

*questioning
some
motives
for
resistance*

Two subjects were not sitting because they considered themselves enlightened. One decided eventually that he did in fact need to sit in order to maintain the enlightened state. His enlightenment was questioned by the judges. Based on his responses to zazen, none of the judges was willing to assign him a ZLSD stage higher than stage 5 (qualifying for some degree of enlightenment, but certainly not stage 8). Another subject's belief that he was enlightened was not supported by the data in his interview. The judges gave him a stage 3 rating on the ZLSD.

These motives have a certain validity stemming from the fact that the subjects use them to interpret and guide their behavior (Rosenwald, 1985). With two exceptions the author largely agreed with the subjects' perceptions of their motives for resisting zazen. This agreement was based on the subject's story being internally consistent, coherent, plausible, and without contradictory body language. It is very possible that many subjects' accounts would have become more questionable if they had been seen for a series of interviews. In three cases it appeared that the subjects had insufficiently analyzed their motives. There was evidence in the interviews that there may

TABLE 6

SUBJECTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR MOTIVES FOR RESISTANCE

	No. of Subjects"
Reasons external to Zen practice	
Sick	4
No time	4
Overworked	4
Lack of sleep	2
Breakup of a relationship	1
Reasons concerning attitude towards Zen	
No need of zazen	4
Avoiding responsibility	2
Not wanting to feel better	1
Conflict with Zen lifestyle	1
Anger at sangha	1
Rebelling against Zen	1
Transference reaction to abbot	1
Breakup of relationship with Zen teacher	
Reasons intrinsic to zazen	
Overwhelmed emotionally in zazen	6
Pushing self too hard in Zazen	2
Fear of losing ego	1
Fear of not knowing what one is doing	1
Subject claims no resistance to zazen	3
Uninterpretable	1

.Some subjects indicated more than one motive.

TABLE 7

AUTHOR'S PERCEPTION OF ADDITIONAL MOTIVES FOR RESISTANCE

	No. of Subjects
Reasons concerning attitudes towards Zen	
Narcissistic injury by teacher	2
Transference reaction to teacher	1
Severe anxiety over relation with sangha	1
Reasons intrinsic to zazen	
Overwhelmed emotionally	

have been other motives whose existence and/or importance these subjects were denying. See Table 7 for a list of additional motives for resistance imputed by the author.

One subject thought that her resistance was due to being too upset at having to face herself. This was evident from her interviews; however, one might say more accurately that what hurt was the injury to her pride. A Zen teacher had told her that her practice was inadequate. She related that when she got back home, "I was storming around my room, saying, 'Goddammit! I just Won't have anybody tell me what to do!' " Eventually she decided that the teacher was right. Her narcissism is revealed in her inability to feel grateful to the teacher for the criticism. As a matter of fact, she continued to resent the teacher four months later.

*a
subject's
interpretation
of
resistance*

A second subject believed that he had resisted sitting for one week subsequent to an uncomfortable one day sitting simply because he had slept poorly the night before the one day sitting. He had not thought of why he might have slept badly. When questioned closely about this, he said that he had some

unresolved feelings from the last (and only other) lengthy sitting he had ever attended. He said he was anxious about these feelings and the anxiety had kept him awake. The earlier sesshin had taken place a month prior to the resistance he discussed in the interview. He had become very involved with the Zen Center to which he belonged after that first sesshin. Before that sesshin he had been treated like an outsider. He still resented the way they had treated him several years earlier when he began zazen.

I remembered all those little slights, rudenesses, and indifference . . . Zen in the US is a kind of idea of Zen practice that's not really true, that's only part of it. I felt there were a lot of people who were there for the Zen atmosphere. They would sit in order to become a better artist or a better whatever.

He himself was sitting to save all beings.

*a
fear
of
being
accepted*

He was accepted into the community following the sesshin. He felt he had more responsibility at the Zen Center. Although he had no formal duties, he thought he should attend all activities faithfully. However, he also felt seriously frightened by being accepted. He had been a loner all his life. During the month between the sesshin and the one day sitting he became exhausted due to the amount of time he was spending at the Zen Center. In the one week period of resistance (the day of the one day sitting and the week afterwards), he lost all desire to save all beings: "I wondered why I should go through all the pain involved in zazen to save all beings." He had a very patronizing attitude towards his teachers. He would ask them questions to make them sound good, while he was actually concerned that they did not know what they were doing. During the resistance he was inwardly daring them to say something wrong. Following the resistance, he started spending much less time at the Zen Center.

*anxiety
and
resistance*

From the subject's own words, it would appear likely that anxiety about social acceptance and intimacy played a large role in his resistance. This is especially supported by his withdrawal from the Zen Center after the period of resistance to zazen. It was not zazen per se that he was resisting, but rather the social context of zazen. However, since one of zazen's goals is to eliminate the barriers between people, one would have expected this subject to have run into severe trouble with zazen itself. In fact, his experience in zazen was curious. It showed features of both stages 2, 3 and 8. He became fascinated with a recurrent visual hallucination (makyd) when sitting. He had begun to detach himself from this enthrallment by the week before the resistance. At the same time, he would also feel a

telepathic unity with and a being of the same substance as everything. It is difficult to reconcile the feeling of unity and severe social anxiety. Perhaps this subject is open to only selected elements of the world which he finds acceptable and that he has deluded himself that he is truly transsubjective.

A third subject attributed his resistance to the disappearance of his self-esteem secondary to the abbot refusing to give him a greater role in the Zen community, a severe anxiety reaction regarding his role in the Zen community, an intense transference of feelings about his brother onto the abbot, and strong feelings about his mother's impending surgery. The subject was unable to bring himself to sit for two weeks because he found these feelings overwhelming. The only addition to make to this subject's own analysis is to sum it up under the rubric of an intense narcissistic collapse.

*narcissistic
collapse
and
resistance*

A fourth subject presented a case of someone who was aware of some of the reasons for which he was resisting zazen, but missed the deeper implications of his psychopathology for his Zen practice. He was well aware of the way in which he would become resentful in order to escape responsibility for his own life. He would decide that no one else was taking his/her responsibilities seriously. He would begin to resent them, and then he would begin to resist doing his share and sitting zazen. He was unaware of what triggered these episodes of resentment and resistance, although there were some clues in his interview.

This subject appeared agonized over his social isolation. He made the point that his resistance followed a period of good sitting. During his interview he was asked if perhaps the feelings of detachment he achieved when sitting well increased his feeling of isolation to an unbearable level, and that he resisted zazen to reduce this feeling. He made some tea, did a chore and thought about this for a half hour. He came back and said he thought this interpretation was very true and helpful.

*social
isolation
and
resistance*

The fifth stopped sitting because he felt he was enlightened. This excerpt from his interview shows that in fact the subject was unaware of any stages beyond stage 2/3.

[Before the *date* sitting], what my teachers were telling me was that, as the texts all say, there's a place you get to where the most extreme bodily pain is like the sound of an insect going by in your ear . . . you don't attach any more relative importance [*to* the pain] just because it's your pain. It's just another experience. I had decided that I had just set my will to not give in to any of the pain and to see what was on the other side [sic]. It was excruciating. . . . What your body wants to do is get up, you're hurting

it. . . . The last two sittings of the day, it was like nothing at all. I got to that place. The sensation of pain was the same as sound or sight. That identification had been broken with it. So now I felt on equal *terms* with [my teacher] But then, [having done that] what is the necessity to subject myself to further pain? I continued to sit, in a chair, and that gradually dropped away [over the next two months].

Then this subject made some comments which indicated that his real reason for stopping zazen had to do with associating zazen with a traumatic childhood:

I was a physically abused child, the favorite target was my rear end. We were beat every day with something. [Graphic description of his father's sadism] This whole [Zen] mentality, the Japanese framework . . . easily lends itself to a militaristic frame of mind, which is where this discipline came from. My father was a military man. He was a farmer, from [another country], so there was all the repressed emotions that go along with that, and [he was] a [member of a particularly repressive religion] as well. And he was an abused child. He's not aware of having been abusive, that's how he showed love to his kids. That took so long to get that: that he really does love me, as much as a man can love, as much as I can love. That's just the way it has to come out for him, because of what he knows of himself. . . . Now I can be with him, my love flows to him, because I understand him, that's not in the way.

I [have been] naturally concerned with physical abuse of my body. I didn't want to get hit anymore. I didn't want to hit myself, which is what I had been doing [by sitting]. I had been repeating that activity. I was stopping that [by stopping sitting].

*transference
and
resistance
to
zazen*

Clearly this subject's involvement with Zen was inextricably bound up with his relationship with his father. Zazen for him was a repetition of the early childhood situation, and his resistance to zazen was constituted by his transference of feelings about his father onto Zen and, most probably, onto his zen teacher. The rationalization of his father's sadism points out painfully how far this subject is from enlightenment. If enlightenment is transsubjectivity, then this subject would have to be able to feel the depth of his father's hatred in order to enlighten himself.

Looking back at Tables 6 and 7, one can see that the motives fall into three different groups. The group labelled "Reasons external to Zen practice" all involve the subject having no energy to devote to zazen. All of the motives associated with the "Reasons concerning attitude towards Zen" concern a dislike of Zen and/or zazen. The group of "Reasons intrinsic to zazen" all have to do with being overwhelmed in some way by the emotional experiences produced in zazen. Only two people

attributed their resistance to fear engendered by sitting. These results are strikingly different from what we would have expected to find on the basis of the work done by Lesh (1970) with Zen meditators. It also conflicts with Mann's (1984) suggestions regarding resistance to Siddha yoga. Both writers found that fear of meditation-induced experiences was the sole correlate of resistance to meditation. In addition, classical Buddhist texts, although mentioning anger, specify a number of other factors as being important in resistance: lust, torpor, worry, doubts (Rahula, 1974). We did not find this variety of motives for resistance. In fact, resistance among the present subjects centered on anger, and it is this finding that reveals the basic nature of the dynamics of these subjects' resistance to psycho-spiritual development in Zen.

*resistance
centered
on
anger*

DISCUSSION

The results point out the necessity of distinguishing between generalized attitudes and more delimited experiences of emotions. Episodic anger in basically accepting subjects did not generally prevent them from making any progress in Zen, although angry episodes were associated with resistance in those subjects as well as among attitudinally resentful subjects. The difficulty that anger presents for zazen appears to be manifold. First, it is physiologically more intense than other emotions (Schwartz, *et al.*, 1981; Roberts & Weertz, 1982). This makes it more difficult in zazen to maintain the concentration necessary to simply observe feelings, sensations, and thoughts. It is a commonplace observation of anger that it is difficult to avoid being carried away with it. High levels of autonomic nervous system arousal are known to disorganize cognitive operations (Mandler, 1975). Anger is also physiologically opposite to relaxation and sadness (Schwartz, *et al.*, 1981). Sadness is basically an accepting or resigned attitude toward loss (Schwartz, *et al.*, 1981). Relaxation is not troubling over things, or letting things be. These attitudes are the same attitudes which are put into practice in zazen. Since anger is the physical opposite of these attitudes, it begins to become clear why anger interferes with zazen.

*anger
is the
opposite of
attitudes
practiced
in zazen*

Secondly, anger signifies a desire to act (E. Mann cited in Frankel, 1979), not to sit still as in zazen. There is a struggle between the action orientation of anger, and the sedentary nature of zazen. E. Mann interviewed 30 subjects about their experiences of being angry. She concluded that anger is an experience of being pulled into the world in order to change an unyielding reality. In view of the current consensus in the field of research on emotions, that emotions arise from the cognitive

interpretation of an undifferentiated autonomic nervous system arousal (Schacter & Singer, 1962; Mandler, 1975), it would be more accurate to say that anger is a passionate intent to transform forcibly an intractable situation.

*action
components
of
anger*

According to E. Mann, there are several components to anger: 1) a passionate plunge into the phenomenal world, 2) an intolerance of the current situation, 3) a desire to change the situation, 4) the depersonalization of the obstructing other, 5) a dissociation from oneself, and 6) the perception of the other as unreasonable and unyielding. "Unreasonable" appears to be a euphemism for hostile. If the other is "unreasonable," it is only because *s/he* is opposed to doing what the protagonist wants. The other is an enemy of the protagonist's desires.

*anger
and
ego-defense*

Third, the reification of self and other in anger, through depersonalization and dissociation (Frankel, 1979), is completely contrary to the essence of *zazen*. It is obviously easier to attack someone who has been isolated, dehumanized (preventing empathy), and then deny that one really was the one who assailed the other. However, the action of *zazen* is to reveal the transsubjective identity of self and other. To the extent that one engages in ego-defensive maneuvers (Mann, cited in Frankel, 1979), one is moving in the opposite direction from *zazen*. The essence of *Zen* is the relationship (Stcherbatsky, 1968).

Fourth, to the extent that anger is narcissistically motivated, it is contrary to the abandonment of egocentrism imperative for consciously perceiving the Absolute. The weakening of the relationship between self and other in anger leads one to suspect that an important ingredient of anger is narcissism. In order to clarify the role of narcissism in anger, it is helpful to distinguish between benign and malignant anger. Anger being the emotional counterpart of aggression, we may speak of benign and malignant aggression and make use of a distinction drawn by Fromm (1978). Fromm defined benign aggression as a biologically adaptive response to a threat from which there is no escape. Malignant aggression occurs in the absence of a threat, and is biologically non-adaptive.

Although Fromm did not say so explicitly, malignant anger appears to be essentially narcissistic. Malignant anger can be neurotic, psychotic, or simply exploitive. In any of those cases, the opportunity to aggress is sought out on the basis of the aggressor's desires. The goal is sometimes to procure something unobtainable without coercion. It might also be a matter of displacing anger arising from threats originating from someone other than the target of anger (for example, transfer-

ence rage in psychoanalysis). The aggressor distorts reality to make it appear that the target deserved the anger. Both the exploitive and neurotic forms of malignant anger are narcissistic because they are based on the omnipotent fantasy that the aggressor's desires and *lor* view of reality are the only or the most important determinants of the situation within which the aggressor is acting. Narcissism is a directing of all one's attention to one's own desires, and a consequent inability to see any aspect of anything that does not promise to fulfill those desires (Miller, 1981). The narcissist is unable to see anything on its own terms.

In a clinical treatise on psychopathology, Thompson (1986) expressed the following observations:

What makes anger particularly insidious is that in becoming angry, we wish to mask the impotence that prompts it by putting forward a forceful appearance in order to persuade the other, through intimidation, to see things our way. . . . Anger only means one thing, that we have basically lost control of the situation and are prepared to lash out. . . . What is at issue is not merely the expression of anger, which is indicative of a voracious demand and an omnipotent sensibility that lies in waiting to do its deed, no matter what we do with the anger itself. Anger . . . is omnipotence in its pure essence, an omnipotence that lies at the heart of all psychotic states as well as the so-called "narcissistic ones."

*narcissism
and
anger*

In the fifth instance, anger creates a sense of a separate self. The distinction between malignant and benign aggression, while initially helpful, tends to disguise a deeper significance of anger. Thompson (1986) is of the opinion that the sense of being a separate self is constituted by anger. In this view, the separate self is a pathological, essentially paranoid structure which impedes the subject's awareness of and coming to terms with his /her own desire. The compatibility with Zen views hardly needs mentioning.

*anger
creates
a sense
of a
separate
self*

Zen is based on a non-discriminating cognition which does not exclude anything or give anyone thing predominance over another. Insofar as anger acts to reinforce the reality of opposition, alienation, and the separate self, it is an impediment to progress in Zen. However, it can not be emphasized too strongly, benign anger need not blind the practitioner to the Absolute if it is not put in the service of creating and sustaining a separate self. Ultimately, once the Absolute is recognized, anger is no hindrance at all. It is only part of the Relative aspect of reality in which everything exists as it does in regular consciousness.

It is surprising to compare our results to Lesh's (1970) findings on resistance to zazen. For his study, previously meditation-naive subjects sat zazen for three weeks. Lesh found resistance "first at the point of even sitting still and facing oneself, secondly at the point of allowing into one's consciousness the inner conflicts that are going on, and thirdly at the point of realizing one is a part of something 'not self,' " (Lesh, 1970, p.62). An unspecified number of subjects appeared angry; however, Lesh did not examine the relationship between anger and resistance.

Half of the subjects in the present study showed fear or anxiety in zazen. The results of the ZEQ were examined for evidence of fear in zazen. Several subjects reported more than one fear or anxiety. One subject was afraid of not coming out of a zazen induced state of consciousness, by which he meant immersion in feelings of depression. Three subjects said they felt afraid of something unknown during zazen. Five indicated that they were afraid of dying. Twelve subjects reported that they were anxious while sitting. Two other subjects stated that they were anxious at the time of resistance, but not especially during zazen.

*problems
comparing
novice
and
experienced
meditators*

There are several possible different explanations for the difference in findings. There is a distinct possibility that the two samples are not from the same population. Lesh recruited his subjects from a graduate school psychology program. They volunteered to meditate, but had never done so. They were in an entirely different situation from our subjects, who had sought out Zen on their own and had made profound commitments to meditation. Zazen is an odd thing to do, all things considered: twisting oneself like a pretzel, staring at the wall for hours each week, all the while "thinking" in what could be regarded as a bizarre manner! Is it not inevitable that a random group of people, never before pursuing such things, would find zazen frightening? Especially since Lesh's instructions gave them no idea what to expect] A related hypothesis is that all novices, even extremely interested ones, react with fear when beginning zazen. It is not unlikely that anyone would be initially afraid of the experiences zazen has to offer.

One might also wonder if our subjects were too embarrassed to admit they were afraid of zazen. This seems highly unlikely, since they showed no reticence in discussing extremely personal topics (such as the subject who was raped) before whose intimacy fear of zazen completely pales.

Another hypothesis is that the differences in results is a function of the different modes of data collection employed.

Lesh had his subjects write their meditation experiences in a daily log. The present research asked the subjects to recall events of up to six months prior to the interview. There is the possibility that our subjects' resistances were also motivated by fear, but then over time they may have reinterpreted their experience so as to change fear into a feeling of anger. Anger produces a pleasing sensation of self-righteous certainty, whereas fear induces feelings of vulnerability which are overwhelmingly threatening to some people. This may sound a little far-fetched, but at least one subject definitely did this (see Appendix).

*fear
reinterpreted
as
anger*

It is simply not possible to decide on the basis of the available data which, or how many of these hypotheses are accurate. More detailed, longitudinal research is necessary to resolve this question.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PSYCHO-SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

The research began with the desire to study the developmental dynamics of Zen Buddhist practice. The results showed that psychological variables deeply affect progress in zazen. The exploration of the states encountered in zazen revealed types of subjectivity which have profound implications for intra- and interpersonal psychology. Therefore, it seems appropriate to speak of psycho-spiritual development, as opposed to treating spiritual and psychological development as different. Although this term has not been used in Buddhism, the concept of psycho-spiritual development has been in Buddhist thought since its beginning (Rahula, 1974).

The research reported here found three conditions necessary in order to avoid psycho-spiritual developmental arrests, as viewed through the lens of the ZLSD. These requirements are: a knowledge of what the goal of Zen practice is, an accepting attitude, and a willingness to relinquish one's personal drama in life.

*conditions
necessary
to avoid
developmental
arrests*

The first component necessary for continued psychospiritual growth progress—a knowledge of what the goal of Zen is—was discussed under the aegis of the term transsubjectivity. In the resentful group, only four subjects showed definite awareness of ZLSD stages beyond stage 3. Only two of the accepting subjects who were at ZLSD stages 2 and 3 had concepts of enlightenment corresponding to ZLSD stages above stage 4. Since the others were apparently not trying to achieve anything beyond stage 3, it is not surprising that they had not attained higher stages.

*knowledge
of the
goal of
Zen
practice*

In contrast, of the accepting subjects above stage 3, all but two saw enlightenment as stage 5 or above and those two were very coy in their refusal to articulate a concept of enlightenment. When the interviewer asked one the question, a cat was walking nearby. The subject said, "Ask what it means of a kitty, and every kitty will tell you, it's dinner!" The other was equally unhelpful. These two subjects are representative of a perhaps unfortunate tendency in Zen to refuse to discuss the concept of enlightenment. The point is often made that one must sit without thought of any reward or gain to be obtained from sitting (Suzuki, 1970). It is of course necessary to sit without being absorbed in one's narcissism. The idea of a goal-less zazen is a helpful cognitive strategy to allow one to do zazen correctly. However, all Zen practice does have a goal and it is to save all beings by helping them to enlightenment (transsubjectivity). It is regrettable that some Zen Buddhists have taken literally the admonishment to have no purpose in sitting. Linda, who was at stage 8, commented, "We say there's no gain in Zen. Of course, there *is* gain. But in truth, the gain is that you lose things. It's a losing gain! You and life become more simple."

Zazen should be guiding the meditator constantly into a deeper experience leading towards the recognition of transsubjectivity. There is a saying in Zen which is that before Zen a mountain is just a mountain. During the effort to attain enlightenment a mountain becomes something mysterious. After enlightenment, a mountain becomes again just a mountain. Until the end is reached, if zazen is not increasingly radically different from the prevailing experience of reality, there is something very undeveloped in the subject's practice of zazen.

It is strange that most of the accepting subjects at or below stage 3 had no thoughts of the higher stages. All of them had definitely had close contact with people in the higher stages. Two possible explanations suggest themselves. One is that these subjects are uninterested in the stages 4 through 8. Another hypothesis is that descriptions of the higher stages and the behavior of people in the higher stages are too discrepant from the stage 2 or 3 experience for the stage 2 or 3 person to understand the higher stages. Veroff and Veroff (1980) are of the opinion that such a situation results in a very strong, negatively fixated motive for development. In other words, the subject is motivated to remain at the same level, or regress. If this latter hypothesis is correct, then special help needs to be given the student to traverse the gulf between stages 3 and 4.

Secondly, let us consider the indispensable element of acceptance. Subjects with a resentful attitude were not in ZLSD stages beyond stage 3. An accepting attitude was also found to be related to low resistance to zazen. Strength of resistance itself was found to be inversely and highly related to being in higher ZLSD stages. The accepting attitude is the sine qua non of Zen. Without it, the absolutely essential act of non-discriminating prajñā thinking is apparently impossible. Linda recounted the following story, which illustrates the attitude of acceptance:

Four months after my husband died, a man we had helped climbed through the window and raped me. I had an intuition of it, sitting zazen two hours earlier. But you can't call down to your local police department and say, "I'm having an intuition in zazen, send the police cars!" You just have to wait for it to come. And it did come.

It was a very interesting experience in many ways, for someone who is sitting. I had a reaction to it that was similar to that of . . . other women who have been raped. But after that was over, I still thought it would be a good idea to sit a sesshin and see if there was anything [psychological] I hadn't taken care of. Best week of sitting I ever had!

*an
accepting
attitude*

When J was raped I had this feeling of, "Oh, now I'm in this great archetype of women who have been raped." It's a participatory thing! [laughs] And there's no way you can get it without being raped. It's a great human archetypal experience. I thought, "Oh, now I'm with them [others who have been raped]." Before I had been separated from them, essentially, not having had that experience. It's impossible to be human and be aware of the whole all the time. That's our great tragedy. No human experiences are to be avoided, but you can't have them all. Anyway, that's how you learn the truth, by living your life. It's not to be avoided. Meditation is the acceptance of everything. There are certain insights that come [from painful events]. Actually lots of painful events have their positive aspects. You realize that through living.

We want to take the good parts of life and we don't want the bad. We make big distinctions between the two. In actual fact, we don't know what's good and bad all that much. And we have to live it all. You can't leap over it! But that's our general tendency. We want to transcend life and death. Sometimes what brings people to [Zen] practice is that desire to transcend life somehow—a big mistake! Zazen is life and death, not a technique. There's no end to it.

All our conceptual worlds are essentially limited worlds, because our verbal, thinking world is limited. We don't live like that. We live in an unlimited world. We try and make sense of it by bringing it into our verbal frames, which are useful. But zazen's not limited

to that. Some people think zazen is insight, but it is not limited to that, either. Zazen is limitless. It is not limited to "knowing."

*free
association*

The change from a resentful, angry attitude to an accepting attitude is not easy. Interviews with two other subjects who accomplished this revealed that the change was accomplished by them through a process of recognition of the futility of their attitudes. What is striking about both these subjects is that the change in attitude required a reassessment and redirection of the entire thrust of their lives. Since a resentful attitude appears to be an absolute barrier to enlightenment, any hope that resistance to zazen may be overcome by simply persevering in zazen is doomed for those who have not achieved an accepting attitude. There appears to be no choice for these people except a complete reworking of their basic approach to life. True acceptance requires at a minimum the willingness to allow oneself to free associate. Use of neurotic defense mechanisms which impede the flow of associations indicate that the subject has not been able to accept him/herself. How can s/he accept anyone else, if s/he can not accept him/herself? This does not mean the Zen student must have resolved his/her conflicts, but at least that s/he be aware of them. Kapleau-roshi (1980) observed that enlightenment only dispels the illusion of the irreconcilable subject-object opposition; it does not purify the feelings.

*the
age
factor*

Although the cross sectional research design makes it impossible to be certain, the adoption of an accepting attitude appears to be age-related. The reader will recall that age was associated significantly with attitude. The accepting subjects had a mean age of 45.7 years, and the resentful group had a mean age of 38.8. Strength of resistance was also found to be related to age. The high resistors had a mean age of 38.4 years, while the low resisting group had an average age of 44.9 years. Levinson *et al.* (1978) delineated a series of adult developmental stages which he found through extensive interviews with forty men aged 35 to 45. Two years later, they were interviewed again. Using a Q-sort method, Gould (1972) obtained similar results.

Levinson detected two developmental periods of interest here. One period was termed "settling down" and occurred regularly from age 33 to age 40. The next phase, from age 40 to 45 was designated the "mid-life transition." As one can plainly see, the accepting and resentful groups fall into two different developmental periods. It is particularly interesting to note that one of the developmental tasks of the mid-life transition is to come to terms with one's actual and potential destructiveness and anger (Levinson *et al.*, (978). It would appear that the younger,

resentful group had not yet dealt with this issue, and that the older, accepting group had.

Although this line of argument implies that the resentful subjects will become accepting subjects as they mature, it is of course possible that subjects who were resentful at age 38 will remain resentful at age 45, and will discontinue zazen. Since both a resentful attitude and strength of resistance were related to age, and being in higher ZLSD stages related to attitude, it is surprising that ZLSD stage and age were not related. The reason for this might be that progress through ZLSD stages is a function of both attitude and concept of enlightenment. That resentful subjects were not in kenshd ZLSD stages and the accepting subjects who were in pre-kenshd stages did not have a concept of enlightenment above ZLSD stage 3 suggests that an accepting attitude is a necessary but insufficient condition for the development of advanced ZLSD stages.

The third required constituent of developmental progress in Zen is a willingness to let go of one's personal drama. All of the accepting subjects above stage 3 had come to terms with their neuroses or less severe narcissistic tendencies. This does not mean that they were eliminated; it only means that the subjects had learned at least how to circumvent them.

*to
let go of
one's
personal
drama*

This brings to mind Faber *et al.*'s (1978) research on the archetypal content of meditators' dreams. The reader will recall that they found that yoga practitioners with at least five years experience dreamt dreams with significantly more archetypal elements than did controls. The controls' dreams were more concerned with personal and everyday issues.

In a paper written for friends, one subject in this study, Harry (aged over 45), phrased it this way:

If we persist and hold onto the practice after the initial honeymoon, *then* we can begin to see that although we now seem so much better to ourselves (even in a way that seems to go against the teachings of "no personal gain"), there is something else going on; something much bigger and much more frightening or awe inspiring.

What that something is, involves very occasional glimpses of the fact that the very terms by which we evaluate ourselves and others, the very language we use everyday to express our feelings and values, that whole system of thought and emotion, is not exactly all wrong, but it is not right either. . . .

We begin to ask, "Where the hell are those magic tricks coming from in the first place?" ... Well, it's partly we ourselves! Of course! No doubt! But then it's not only we ourselves. We aren't

that powerful. No, it's we ourselves along with everybody else! It's we and they together that collectively put on the shows called ordinary life and conventional wisdom. . . . And worse yet: not only *werewe* a part of it, before our move to break away, but now that we have broken away, and actually made the undeniable progress that we can feel every day, well, despite *that*, we are *still* part of it. And we will be part of it forever. We are part of the ongoing great horrors and -little atrocities, each and everyone of them, and we always will be! We are guilty, if not as the principal criminals, then as the accessories before or after the crime.

Linda, a subject mentioned previously, said,

At some point, you do get to know yourself better, and you *do* get bored with your dramas, if you [sit] long enough. It took me ten years! It was so exquisite [my story], my feelings were so subtle and wonderful! [Laughs at herself.] I was a very emotional, overly sentimental person. I'm maybe not as emotional now as when I started zazen. And, after a while, self concern gets boring. Boredom's a good sign, many people stop sitting when they get to boredom. . . . Probably the difference between later zazen and earlier zazen is that your internal chatter doesn't have to do so much with your *own* subjects, your *own* life drama, your *own* character analysis. You see into the self-serving nature of all that. . . . It still comes, your personal drama, your anger and so forth, but more like a flash. It's harder to keep it going! It's harder to be attached to it. . . . Instead of your own chatter and self-drama, the enlightening thing is the bird's tweet. When you're involved in your self-chatter about your own drama, you don't hear the running brook. . . . You're walking around the world in a bubble. All of a sudden the bubble dissolves, and there are flowers. Whatever is around you in the world comes alive. */t* enlightens, whereas before you were so self-absorbed, *nothing* was there.

CONCLUSION

*most
important
results
a/this
study*

The most important results of this study were the discovery of the role anger played in the subjects' resistances, and the elucidation of the conditions necessary for psycho-spiritual development. A very notable product of the research was the construction of the ZLSD.

Eight developmental stages through which developing Zen meditators must pass in order to attain transsubjectivity have been posited. In addition, a stage 0 was used to describe meditators who were only using zazen as a soporific. The eight developmental stages are: 1, derepression; 2, immersion; 3, detachment; 4, intuition; 5, partial absorption; 6, complete absorption; 7, prajiii; and 8, transsubjectivity. These stages were seen as different types of subjectivity or positions of

consciousness. The first three stages are familiar states in everyday life. The last four are radically different from typical consciousness. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that according to Zen theory, transsubjectivity is occurring all the time. It is not to be attained, it is only to be recognized as the true state of affairs.

A large question remains concerning the validity of the developmental progression described by the ZLSD. It was found that the eight states could be reliably distinguished-that trained judges could reliably classify subjects' meditation reports into one of the eight states. But it is not certain that the stages constitute a linear sequence of stages that every subject must attain in the same order. One can not even be sure that all the stages need to be reached in order to achieve the last stage (Powell, 1986).

The ZLSD bears striking resemblance to Tung-shan's Five Ranks, though the Five Ranks are so abstract that the correspondence serves at best only as an encouragement to investigate the ZLSD more intensively.

The results of the present study lend credence to the hypothesis that the ZLSD describes an actual linear sequence of zazen stages. A case for this idea may be made as follows. Attitude was strongly related to ZLSD scores. This result is in keeping with Zen teachings on the importance of an accepting attitude (Dagen, 1244). One would expect accepting subjects to show higher ZLSD scores on the basis of Zen theory. The fact that they do indicates that the ZLSD is measuring an important dimension of Zen experience, given the central role of an accepting attitude in Zen. That the accepting subject scores are higher indicates that the ZLSD has some linearity. It was also found that strength of resistance relates to ZLSD stage. The higher the resistance, the lower the stage. This also suggests that the ZLSD is tapping an essential dimension of Zen practice. If the ZLSD does measure linear progress, it would make sense that the less someone engages in zazen, the lower the ZLSD stage she would attain. Further research is needed to validate the ZLSD in a rigorous way.

*an
actual
linear
sequence
of
zazen
stages*

Another area which might be researched involves Why so few subjects were aware of and striving for higher stages of Zen. Although one might take issue with the ZLSD definition of enlightenment, its sequence of stages, or even the idea of stages in the first place, unquestionably Zen aims at states more advanced than the mere observation of consciousness which many subjects took to be the aim of Zen.

The methodology of this research has been fruitful in exploring Zen practice. The large number of open ended questions asked allowed some serendipitous discoveries to be made. At times the lack of more data in certain areas was frustrating to the interpretation of the results.

*generalizability
of the
results*

The biggest drawback to the study is the impossibility of generalizing the results to other Zen students. The subjects were not selected at random. By announcing the research as a study (which was intended to be published) of zazen practice with an emphasis on resistance it is possible that more angry subjects were attracted to the study. What better revenge on Zen than to express one's anger anonymously for publication? In view of these considerations; it seems wise not to infer that anger is the basis of resistance for all advanced Zen students. Particularly in light of Leah's conflicting results; this subject needs to be researched further, preferably on a longitudinal basis.

Another important criticism is that the variables reported on in Table 5 (emotional distress, cognitive style, and creativity) are not based on rigorous measures. These particular results should be seen as having mainly heuristic value. Until they are confirmed by studies designed specifically to measure these factors, findings resting on these variables can not be accepted confidently.

*a
call for
phenome-
nological
investigations
of
Zen*

In this research we have treated the subject's reports of their experiences in Zen at face value. Some readers may question this approach. Such a stance is demonstrably rewarding initially when discovering and mapping out an unexplored phenomenon. However, once the germane events and the field of action have been delineated, the empirical investigator must systematically interrogate the phenomenon itself. This study found that many subjects were unaware of the meaning of enlightenment in daily life. For many this lack of understanding probably forms a significant barrier to the assimilation of Zen. Phenomenological investigations of enlightenment could make an essential contribution to the current attempts at formulating a Western Zen.

APPENDIX

Interview with Ann

The interview is with a woman in her forties, who is given the pseudonym Ann. She had been meditating since the early

1970s, but only began sitting **in** the Soto Zen style a little over a year before the interview. She was sitting about 17 periods of zazen weekly. Although she had not gone more than a week without sitting since she started zazen, there was one week in which she sat only once or twice. She was judged to be in stage 6 by all three judges. During her resistance she showed stage 2 meditations. She was classified as a subject who changed from a resentful to an accepting attitude over the course of the resistance. As such, her interview provides insight into both attitudes.

What brought me to sitting here was having gone through several years working pretty intensely as a political activist doing direct action, and working as a body worker with two close friends who died within a year. During that period I was seeing clearly [how] my abilities were not meeting my intentions. The best example is in direct action, where you're doing civil disobedience. You're in a situation which is incredibly explosive and violence always seems to come up, often not always. There've been some very beautiful times where that hasn't happened. I was noting the kind of feelings I was feeling myself, whether or not I expressed them was another matter. There were things that were wrong that I didn't know how to get at. There was a lot of terrible grief and pain, and anger came out of the grief. But I just didn't know how to deal with [these feelings], so the anger would be directed at "Them," at all those people who were messing the world up. I just started to see that there was nothing I could do from that point of view that could possibly be useful,

I still get angry. I've distanced myself a lot from that anger. I don't think I've really dealt with it. At what point does civil disobedience and ecologically motivated sabotage turn into a terrorist mentality and you're just creating violence? What is violence? When is an act violent and is violence ever justified? Is sinking a whaling ship a violent act? I read stuff like that and I go, "Hooray! Good news in the paper this morning!" The one place I had difficulty with when I came here was that question about [anger]. Sometimes I would be riding the bus home from work and I'd see groups of people [demonstrating]. Once I saw people put in a [police] van and taken away. It would bring up so much grief and a kind of urgency. When the first sit-ins at the Nevada [nuclear] test site started, a couple of people and I were just going to go. For me it was a real off-centered thing. It was like a compulsion. I felt like it was wrong somehow to be sitting here and doing this passive work. Because it was such a charged issue for me, whenever I thought of that part of the world and life, I separated it from this.... If I'm going to be here, I can't think about that too much, because the anger and grief is still there.

I started having this recurring vision, when I was in the midst of all this happening, that if I could just sit and look at a wall, for [pause] years, everything that I needed to know would be there. So that's where Zen came from!

I left my home where I had my bodywork practice and my life. I left everything—the people I loved. I got into a van and gave myself a year or two to try not to have any objectives and to try to just move. And I ended up here [a thousand miles away] in not too long a time, a half a year.

The necessity of sitting—I've never questioned that since I've been doing (zazen). The intensity of that commitment corresponded with my beginning to sit zazen. [Meditation] wasn't that central before.

[But] I'm not doing this to become enlightened. I don't think a lot about enlightenment. It means very little [to me]. I get kind of bored with that stuff. If such a thing should ever happen to me, it would be absolutely wonderful I imagine, but I can't conceptualize it at all, it's so totally removed from where I am. Deep down I feel it's inevitable for all of us, but I'm more interested in living in this mind, this body, in present conditions. There seems to be so much to deal with right there, why even think of a state that may happen in this lifetime or may not? So why torture yourself thinking about it?

(In the beginning, sitting zazen] had to do more with Zen and Buddhism rather than [zazen]. I was happy with the Vipassana technique [I had practiced for four years]. . . . But I knew I wanted to do some very intensive sitting. . . . I felt at home in [the zenddo here]. When I went to lectures I felt increasingly drawn in, so naturally I took up the practice. I love the gutsiness of [zazen]. I loved all the superficial things, the ritual and the atmosphere.

Vipassanii is not as formal, they don't stress not moving. My experience with teachers of Vipassana in this country is that they go to great lengths to try to assist you in sitting, how to sit. They offer counseling and interviews daily if you're sitting over a period of time so that there is someone to talk with about whatever is coming up.

Here, it's quite different. My personal experience was that you come in and get an orientation on how to sit, but it's brief. Basically you're on your own. You're encouraged not to move.

When I first started sitting I was in a lot of [physical] pain all the time. So there was that part, "sitting through my pain" [she said in a self-mocking tone]. There were people available [to talk to], but you have to really be an aggressive personality and seek them out. I didn't do that, so there was no one to talk to. It was really a kind of "grit your teeth and bear it" kind of thing. I preferred it [over the Vipassanli way]. Something in me likes to experience things uncontaminated by other people's input. I just want to do it, and *then* a lot of questions will come up. And *then* I want to find out about it.

After my first one day sitting, . . . I was in so much pain throughout. I kept thinking of the vows we take. We vow to save all sentient beings, and along with that is [a vow] to do no harm. I was thinking, "All the harm I'm doing to my body!" and "This is as valuable as anything else in the world." As I was sitting, I constructed this elaborate edifice of why sitting like this was *wrong*, and why I should not be doing this. I'm a body worker, and I have a lot of respect for [the body]. So at the end of that sitting I had just about talked myself out of sitting zazen. Then the very next night someone here gave a lecture about the value of not running away, of not moving, of staying. You know, I used to *hate* it when people would talk about "staying with your pain." I always thought, "Well, if you have pain you can't avoid, then that's beautiful, there's something to explore. If you have Cancer and you get to the point where there's nowhere else to go, then you have to go into the pain. But if you have a *choice*, it doesn't make sense to me to seek it out." Or, it didn't [make sense]. But, then I also begin to see how my whole life has been this constant movement. I'm *always* moving. I'm always *moving out*. When tension comes up, I alleviate it by moving. So for me, sitting with that feels odd. That has something to do with that gutsy, fiery quality of [Zen]. From that point of view, I could accept it and want to do it. And so it wasn't a kind of useless practice, or distorted practice. I felt it was right on.

In the weeks before the episode of resistance she discussed, she described her meditations in the following way.

I was sick, I couldn't sit as much. When I did do it, it was pretty good. I would do shikan taza and my concentration was good. There's a feeling of great expansiveness, sometimes not being *really* clear about what's inside and what's outside, merging with sounds. Thoughts will come infrequently, but they're not the predominant thing. They're there and gone. Concentrating on my senses is fairly easy for me, easier than concentrating on thought forms, although at some point they're the same.

The period of resistance she brought up in the interview was a stormy time.

It was a period when many people had taken off from the Zen Center. Almost all of the people left who I had come to relate to most intimately, and who I respected and looked to as examples. Especially a lot of the strong women left. I felt isolated. There was a loss of energy in the building and in myself. I was feeling critical of the Zen Center . . . I had real doubts whether I was going to stay at the zen Center. My expectations hadn't been met, I thought. A reexamination of from when I moved in [showed] very high enthusiasm [in the beginning], and a drop off from there. It was intensified by the person I was closest to. [He] was going through a similar thing. . . . We'd just sit around and complain to each other about what was wrong.

I was helping to house sit an apartment, . . . so I actually wasn't even in the building a lot of the time. . . . It was kind of a feeling of getting back into the real world, indulging in videos and beer! A total break. I had real doubts about what I was doing and whether just sitting was-i-whether I should be sitting, questions of form and not-form. Isn't it better to watch the sun rise than be in a dark zenda'? That [question] still comes up.

This period lasted for one month. She continued to sit, but for one particular week she only sat once or twice. At that time her concentration suffered:

I attempted to follow my breath, not being very successful at it. [When not concentrating, I would be in] fantasies or memories or working on a problem. During the week [in which I hardly sat], I felt very ungrounded. It wasn't very pleasant. I didn't like the feelings, kind of a frantic "I don't know where I'm at, or what I'm doing." I'm not sure if that just came from not sitting, or all the other stuff that was going on, not living in the building, and all of it together.

[At this time my teacher] left. I had a lot of respect and affection for him. One of the reasons I decided to practice here was that he was here. So when he withdrew, I felt a lot of sadness, felt abandoned. At the same time, [the abbot] was a mystery to me. He had been away ever since I moved into the building. I didn't know who he was or what he was about. The little contact I had with him-, I made judgments, which later turned out to be [false]. I was feeling anger, I didn't know who it was directed toward. I'm sure it could have been anyone who was around! It was generally around the issue of [having] no teachers, no one available, sort of this wasteland. Who can I go to? Who's there to inspire, to show me what Zen is when it's lived?

My friend and I exploited [resentment] a lot [laughs] for a while until we *both* got sick of it! "Stop! Let's just stop!" We both had enough of it at the same time. Maybe that was the reason for [the change in my attitude], getting into it so thoroughly, seeing how it was ridiculous, it's self-perpetuating, just dropping it. Maybe [we could drop it] because we gave each other the chance to exploit it so thoroughly. Some things you can drop if you go totally into them, a sort of Tantric practice, seeing by being. I had a reflection: I could listen to him [my boyfriend] and hear how he sounded It's much clearer than when you're in the midst of it yourself. It may have given us [he and I] a perspective. I would have these little flashes listening to him: "You said this all before. We've been over it and what's new to say'] This is kind of childish. If you're going to complain about it, *do* something about it!"

In the precepts it says, "Don't put others down in order to put yourself up," that's one of the things about Right Speech. It was this sense that we were really *superior*, really *dedicated*. we were

really into practice, and no one else here was and it wasn't happening here! [self-mocking tone] It just got old pretty fast. ... You asked about did I feel a revulsion towards my anger. No, I still have some respect for anger. But there's a difference between anger and resentment. I felt a revulsion towards resentment, that black, grumbly dislike *of* everything.

One of us said, "I'm really tired of complaining all the time," and the other was in total agreement, and that was it. I don't remember which one of us said it. Why I didn't go running out of the place . . . may be just that, that I was fortunate enough to have a mirror to look into. The critical mind! The tendency to tear things down because they're not meeting my expectations of what they should be! Then I can prove I didn't have to do anything, and I can just leave!

I resolved [the issue of not having a teacher] by deciding that there was no one there to [be a living embodiment of Zen], but there were several students . . . I decided that that idealized, mythological teacher who was going to represent Zen life to me. . . was going to appear [for me] in many people, and myself, in a fragmented, daily, moment-to-moment community, and it was ok. I didn't feel there was a need for a teacher after that. I found value in [the situation] because I have strong feeling about community.

I also had experience living in a spiritual community with a strong, charismatic leader and I know how that can be distorted. So for me it's probably best that I came here at this time, even though it was frustrating at times ... I feel it's right [i.e., appropriate] here at the present time, so my anger was shortlived on that subject. I realized I create my own practice, that *no* one else can do *any* of this for me. Even if a teacher was here, I'd still have to do the work. I'd have to make an effort on my own. Also I saw that all the other people living here were facing the *same* wasteland. If there was potential here, we were all sharing the *same* potential. It was a linking up, seeing that that dilemma, if there was one, was a shared one. Therefore we could *do* something, which had to begin with me. There was no point in running off seeking somewhere else-again going back to that movement thing about always moving-"Well, it's not quiet right here, I don't quite have what I want here, so let's go somewhere else!" That just goes on endlessly. [The] practice period started [after the interim month]. I felt recommitted, relieved, and what I was doing was right. [I felt] enthusiasm, and *love*. Love for the place being here, for it just being here, with all its history and craziness, and for all the people here who continued through all the turmoil, and for the people who came here to sit. Appreciation.

[I got a] new practice instructor who is very good. I began doing shikan taza again, but I continually go back to following my breath. Shikan taza may have appeared more intense, following [the time of not doing it]' It was great to start sitting again.

Interviewer: Why did you change your attitude?

It was a matter of either going *into* the anger and using the energy to go elsewhere, to propel myself in another direction or to see through it to another place. I wonder if I *chose* [to see through it]? Maybe it had to do with not moving. Maybe I decided at some level, conscious or unconscious, to practice. Maybe it had to do with when I left [my home] to wander aimlessly, supposedly, for a year, that I was simultaneously reading Gary Snyder on the sense of place, and taking care of where you're at, being in place. Maybe it's my tendency at this point in my life to remedy all the earlier movement by beginning to stay just a little bit longer to look at things. And movement is continuously attractive to me. I'm always making plans about my next move [laughs]! I notice I haven't been doing much of it, but I continue to fantasize. It's not like, "I can't do this anymore." Clearly I could. It was more at some deep level I saw it's futile to do just that. At some point I have to stop. Other people may not have to stop. But I feel I have to.

Interviewer: What is *it* you were really wanting to run away from?

(*Long pause.*)

Uncertainty maybe. If you make a commitment *to* do, for instance, a so-called spiritual practice, to come to a place where there's a teacher, who you have a connection to, everyone is practicing the way you expect people to practice intensely. The image is there and like a good soldier you go right into it. You know what's expected of you. . . . There's a sense of doing something important. So for me, I could justify spending the next five years of my life, maybe, if there were all the signs there. I want the signs there, [the signs] that this is going to work, these people know what they're doing, because I'm going to give up five years of my life. And when that began to break down, that edifice of having some sense that people know what they're doing, therefore I know what I'm doing, [and] certainty [exists] ... then I could at least give myself the comfort of pretending that by leaving I am therefore moving toward *that* [certainty] somewhere else. So running away from here is running away from doubt and uncertainty.

Interviewer: If you had left, would you have been looking for another teacher?

Not that directly. I think I would have hoped to run across one, but I don't know how one goes about "finding a teacher," unless you have someone in mind already, or I would have practiced alone, would have tried to contact an inner teacher. That's more my inclination than to actually go out and find another teacher. [Laughingly.] There's also that hope in the background (that I would connect with a teacher)! Either your own wisdom emerges at some point in your life to the point that you can listen, acknowledge it, and follow it, or the outer manifestation [i.e., a teacher] is

presented in front of you and you're able to see it. You connect with it one way or another

It's a recurring theme in my life, always looking for somewhere, where you'd like to be and finding it's not there. Finding a way of living with that, not just, "Ugh, that's the way it is." Not accepting it, but using it, living it actively, I don't know a word for it. [Very long pause]

The wasteland is always perceived in terms of something, someone, some *form* out there that's lacking. But that isn't right, because I've also often had that feeling in terms of my own inner life. So when there's that space, that emptiness, live it actively. You move into it, rather than try to fill it up randomly. You simply move yourself into that wasteland, and it isn't a wasteland anymore. It has to do with Presence.

The dynamics of this case correspond closely to Scheler's (1960) discussion of recovery from resentment. III Scheler's opinion, one way resentment arises is through an inability to resign oneself to the unattainability of a desire object. Instead of accepting the situation, the resentful person devalues the desired object. Ann became resentful over the lack of a teacher; however, she extended her resentment to the entire Zen life. This too, according to Scheler, is characteristic of resentment: the awareness of the original object of hatred disappears and is replaced by a generalized resentment of everything. Resentment is ultimately based on impotence (Scheler, 1960). The reality of Ann's life is that she can not produce the teacher she would like, and she is clearly unsure of her ability to be her own teacher.

The change in Ann's attitude is striking. As she accepted the situation at the Zen Center, she began to value the lack of a teacher. This ability to appreciate unpleasant experiences is, in Zen terminology, non-discriminating mind, which as every Zen teacher insists, is *the* path of Zen (Suzuki-roshi, 1970, for example). She also started to interpret her experience in a way that promises emancipation from the need for a teacher. Her idea of Presence in an emptiness could easily develop into the concept of a transsubjectivity. There remained a profound conflict over anger.

NOTES

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"Acquisition of a novel view of reality: A study of psycho-spiritual development in Zen Buddhism," filed under my full name, John Gregson Dubs. It may also be ordered from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346, publication No. 87-12,100,

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3 According to Stcherbatsky (1968), nirvana *does* mean a desireless state for Theravādin Buddhism. This is not the case for Mahayana Buddhism, of which Zen is a branch.

4 Sunyata is usually translated by "emptiness." Stcherbatsky (1968) made an extremely convincing case that such a translation, while appropriate for Theravādin Buddhism, completely and fundamentally distorts the basic theory of Mahayana (and hence Zen) Buddhism. The fundamental concept of Mahayana is relationship. Stcherbatsky explains the Mahayana view of sunyata as "Relativity, the theory that nothing short of the whole is real, the parts being always dependent are ultimately unreal" (p. 40). In the case of Zen, the parts and the whole both seem to enjoy status as real.

5 Goleman classifies Gurdjieff's system and Kṛṣṇamurti's system as mindfulness methods. He categorizes the systems of the Kabbalah, Sufi, Raja Yoga, Kundalini Yoga, Hesychasm, Bhakti, and Transcendental Meditation as concentrative meditation disciplines.

6 Sub scale items with $r < .15$, or negative correlations with other items in the same subscale, were eliminated.

7 Kagan's Affective Sensitivity Scale (empathy), Fitzgerald's Experience Inquiry (adaptive regression). All three measures (P.D.J. included) were pre and post-tested,

8 The 'lotus amidst fire' is an image in the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* representing the bodhisattva's vow to practice meditation in the midst of desires. (T. 14, 5506; Luk, p. 80)." Powell, 1986, fn. 172, p. 87.

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