Zen as self-help

Neo-Freudians, Buddhist Modernism and emotion management in 1950s America

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In October 1958, the American men's magazine *Esquire* published a 101 list for its readership to get a fast up-to-date of the latest vogue: an "IN and OUT First Reader".[1] Canned food, as well as Senator Kennedy, were on the in-list, while psychoanalysis and Zen Buddhism were "OUT". Even though the list delivers its verdict in a jaunty and humoristic way, it still suggests that both psychoanalysis and Zen Buddhism had their heydays in the 1950s America and were now—at least for the modish *Esquire* reader—in decline.

Seven years before *Esquire*'s analysis of trends, the Japanese author Deisetz Teitaro Suzuki (1870–1966) was appointed to hold lectures on Zen Buddhism at a number of American Universities.[2] During the following years, Suzuki presented a clean-cut version of Zen Buddhism in widely sold books and at well-visited lectures, making him the most significant popularizer of Buddhism in post-war America.[3] *Time* observed in a February issue, 1957, that Suzuki's Columbia University weekly classes were "drawing a wider variety as well as a larger number of students since the war".[4] But not only students were attracted to his lectures and books. Psychoanalysists, too, were all ears to what the Japanese author and lecturer had to say.

When the German-born psychoanalysists Karen Horney (1885–1952) and Erich Fromm (1900–1980) attended the Columbia lectures, they were already initiated to Buddhism through Suzuki's books. Moreover, they had commenced implementing Suzuki's ideas on how to get in contact with the "real self" in their own writing. In a freely associated group of "neo-Freudians", of which Horney and Fromm were part, new paths in therapy methods were mapped out: moving away from Sigmund Freud's

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principles of sexual repression and towards theories based on sociological and cultural issues. And for them, Suzuki's Zen Buddhism offered original and thrilling explanatory models.

This present study concerns how Suzuki's Buddhist Modernism, a popularized and mass-mediated variety of Zen Buddhism, fed new ideas on handling emotions into American psychoanalysis, particularly among neo-Freudians. Thus, this article is about emotion management in the conjunction of Zen Buddhism and psychoanalysis in the 1950s.

In recent years, scholars have convincingly discussed the connection between Zen Buddhism and psychotherapy. Historian of science, Anne Harrington argues that Suzuki had a precise aim to address "modern Western psychology", and she suggests that Suzuki's interest in Carl Gustav Jung commenced already in 1921, i.e., over a decade before he approached Jung to write the preface to *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1949). However, as Harrington points out, it was only after the war that "a new generation of existentially-oriented and humanistic psychotherapists" could resonate with the "psychological teachings embedded in the vision of Zen Suzuki was articulating".[5] Sociologist Marcia Westkott and historian Zoltan Morvay have shown how Horney based the theories on "the real self" on Suzuki's writings.[6] Similarly, scholar in theoretical philosophy, Dražen Šumiga, asserts that even though Fromm certainly drew his ideas from Freud, his understanding of "the authentic self" was grounded in Suzuki's Zen.[7] From the angle of history of emotions, there has not been substantial research on either Fromm, or Horney.[8] Studies of interest to this article are, however, Uffa Jensen's discussions on the ambivalence in Freud's approach towards emotions, of which the early Freud was reluctant to base scientific theories on emotions and considered emotions merely as indicators of the physiological problems: repressed instincts. Nevertheless, Jensen shows how the later Freud—tentatively—regarded anxiety not only as a biological marker but as a "psychological reality", and that "social anxiety" could build up in the individual's integration in society.[9] Continuing the discussion on the relationship between psychology and society, historian Rhodri Hayward suggests that a new psychological understanding of anxiety was due to economic changes in Britain, rather than it being "a process of intellectual enlightenment" in the early twentieth century. Hayward discusses how not only the British welfare state shaped anxiety after the Second World War but also how this new anxiety in turn "shaped that emergence of the welfare state".[10] An argument relevant to this study, given that Horney and Fromm took a clear stance in considering neurosis as a result of society.

Building on this previous research, my contribution is to add the perspective of "emotion management" by looking at the psychoanalysis-Zen

merge through the lens of history of emotions. "Emotion management" refer to a wide range of spontaneous or planned strategies that individuals do or are encouraged to do to handle emotions: voluntary or involuntary techniques from attempting to intensify or avoid emotions, to control or change them. Thus, this is not a concept used by the historical actors but works as an overarching concept to assemble different practices of handling emotions. Although not alleging to cover the topic—emotion management in psychotherapy or psychology—I believe that examining the main body of Horney's and Fromm's descriptions of emotion-handling in relation to Zen Buddhism between 1945–1957 will be sufficient to allow me to show a stratum of emotion management: namely how theories on emotion management were generated in neo-Freudian psychotherapy. Accordingly, my question is: How did Horney and Fromm formulate methods to handle emotions based on Zen, and did these methods change during the 1950s?

The managing of emotions can indubitably be studied in various ways. However, considering the fact that Horney and Fromm had sociological agendas when analyzing their patients' emotion patterns, this study is placed in a theory frame that allows me to examine emotion management in relation to society. Scholars such as William Reddy and Barbara Rosenwein have contributed to this perspective in the field of the history of emotions by examining emotions in "regimes" and "communities". By introducing "emotional regimes", Reddy suggests that sets of normative emotions are formulated in societies. These normative emotions reinforce emotions that are accepted, and vice versa: abolish feelings that are not desirable in the political regime.[11] As a withdrawal or antipode to the emotional regimes, Reddy presents the idea of "emotional refuge". He defines an emotional refuge as space where "mental control efforts may be temporarily set aside." Rosenwein has instead suggested a model of "emotional communities" that can be considered as a looser and broader conception than "emotional regimes". Rosenwein proposes that the concept "emotional communities" functions like social communities (like, for example, families, guilds, or monasteries), but allows the researcher to "uncover systems of feeling", and to study how communities—and the individuals within them—value and define emotions.[12] In this valuable theoretical field of studying emotions in a social framing, this study examines further how the view of the actual dealing and handling of emotions were in flux and were prized differently.

Historian of science Paul White has presented the concept "emotional economy of science". White defines an emotional economy as "a constraining but also a contentious and flexible system of powers and values, through which we can explore not just the taxonomy of emotions or their

lineage but also their effects". He suggests that this idea offers an examination of emotions "not just as inner forces that drive us but as things that are made and remade".[13] While White discusses "emotional economy" in a setting of scientific practices as to how knowledge is produced, I will instead employ his concept into a framework of psychological theory-building. The notion of *economy of emotion management* is applied in order to study the taxonomy of handling emotions as fluctuating techniques, with shifting effects. Or, in other words, to examine how and when psychological theories define a certain emotion-management as useful, or not useful, valid or invalid, in a manner reminiscent of a commodity or service in an economy. Given this, Horney and Fromm—through Suzuki's Zen Buddhism—could describe a new economy of emotion management, with self-help methods as a particularly notable phenomenon to explore the handling of emotions as made and remade.

Studied source materials are texts by Horney and Fromm where Zen is described as helpful in psychoanalytical work; books by Suzuki referred to in Fromm's and Horney's work; and transcriptions of Suzuki's lectures at Columbia University.[14]

"Eastern spirituality" as mind cure: Suzuki and the neo-Freudians

The wish to combine and condensate "Eastern spirituality" and psychological matters into advice on the self was not a new phenomenon in the 1950s. In the late nineteenth century, the New Thought Movement united ideas from various origins such as Ancient Greek, Vedic and Buddhist in order to steer the mind to cure. The early New Thought leader Henry Wood (1834–1909) wrote advice books, where he described contemplative techniques that would train the mind to concentration.[15] In the same vein, the theosophist leader Annie Besant (1847–1933) delivered ideas on a "new psychology" in books and lectures.[16] In the community of psychology, William James (1842–1910) was a pioneer in laying forth ideas on religion and psychology. Apart from presenting a theory of emotions, he also expounded on views on the self, as well as referred explicitly to Buddhism.[17] Conversely, the architect of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), was not too keen on considering neither religion nor emotions as keystones for science. When asked to analyze the "oceanic" feeling linked to religious experience, Freud answered that he would not consider that emotional experience as "anything but primitive, instinctual impulses".[18] Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), the founder of analytical psychology, took another turn and built his theory of the collective unconscious on religious notions, of which he regarded the Buddhist geometric figure, *mandala*, as

depicting "the self, the wholeness of the personality".[19] Although indeed welcoming thoughts on the self, derived from various Hindu, Buddhist or Taoist theories, Jung was, from time to time, hesitant if these practices would be feasible for the "Western mind".[20]

Nevertheless, even though apparent attempts to marry "Eastern" thoughts with psychology were made before the 1950s, it was the second generation of psychoanalysts, the neo-Freudians, who made serious efforts to base psychoanalytic theories on "Eastern spirituality"—or, to be more precise, on Suzuki's Zen Buddhism.

Zen Buddhism is derived from Mahayana Buddhism and was traditionally practised as a strictly disciplined seated meditation (*zazen*) by monks mainly in China and Japan.[21] Suzuki was neither Zen-monk nor a formal academic scholar. He achieved his training in Zen Buddhism as a layman at the beginning of the 1890s while studying English at Tokyo Imperial University. His first contact with the American culture tracks back to 1897, when he travelled from Japan to work for eleven years at Open Court Publishing in La Salle, one of America's first academic presses specialized in philosophy, science, and religion.[22] By describing Zen as non-religious, Suzuki set the stage for wide publics to engage in his interpretation of "Zen in the context of Western thinking and feeling".[23] When Suzuki's second period in the US commenced in 1949, he had already written 16 books in English. During the 1950s and onwards, he came to be seen as the most influential actor in presenting Buddhist modernism in Europe and North America, and moreover, the major galvanizer for the Beat Generation's interest in Zen.[24]

Karen Horney and Erich Fromm belonged to the generation of Freudians, who moved away from Freud's standpoint to regard emotions limited as markers to biological processes. Horney had been a founding member of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute in the 1920s, which had a looser interpretation of Freud's theories than the Freud-orthodox intellectual milieu of the Frankfurt School, of which Fromm was part. When Horney and Fromm (irrespective of each other) moved to North America at the beginning of the 1930s and eventually to New York, they formed a group to try new ideas on social-oriented psychology. Horney developed "Feminine Psychology", where she underlined that psychological problems were not based on biology or sex but the society's discouraging attitude towards individuals striving for "self-actualization".[25] And when Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* (1941) was published, his idea of political psychology stood clear: man's feelings of powerlessness stem "from the fact that he has become a cog in a large machine".[26]

From the mid-1940s, a growing number of references to Suzuki's Zen could be found in Horney's and Fromm's texts, and at the beginning of

the 1950s, they independently developed friendships with Suzuki. Horney travelled to Japan with Suzuki in the summer of 1952, and in 1957 Fromm organized a one-week long conference with the Mexican Psychoanalytic Society, where Suzuki was the keynote speaker.[27] Obviously, Horney and Fromm considered Suzuki's teachings interesting enough to assimilate into their psychoanalytic theories.

Repressed emotions

Horney and Fromm identified psychic problems as stemming from society, not from biology, and Horney states that inner conflicts "are largely determined by the civilization in which we live".[28] But, what effects did society have on managing emotions?

When Horney, as a psychoanalyst, examines the difficulties people have, she derives most of the problems from how emotions are handled. No matter what the tendencies might be in the personality ("avoidance", "aggression", or "detachment"), her conclusions are still discharged into neglected emotions. It can be traced as "a numbness to emotional experience" or "losing sight of [one's] own feelings".[29] She continues: "Another measure, automatic control, follows in part the same trend. Its main function is to put a check on feelings. In a structure that is on the verge of disintegration, feelings are a source of danger because they are, as it were, the untamed elementary forces within us."[30] Her conclusion is that there "is a general tendency to suppress all feeling, and to deny its existence".[31] This view is shared by Fromm: "Even the feelings are prescribed: cheerfulness, tolerance, reliability, ambition, and an ability to get along with everybody without friction".[32] As a result, we "ignore the shadows of uneasiness, anxiety and confusion".[33] But it is not only the managing of emotions—the prescribing or ignoring of emotions—that Fromm finds problematic. He also acknowledges conformity in emotions as precarious. Individuality and the ability to defend originality are lost, and people not only "have the same amusements" and "read the same newspapers", but they also "have the same feelings and the same ideas".[34]

Horney and Fromm are drawing up a particular tendency on how emotions are dealt with in post-war America. Or, in other words: how they, as psychoanalysists, detect a specific economy of emotion management, which is denoted by the controlling or repressing emotions as favourable techniques in order to adapt to society. Embracing political psychology, the neo-Freudians could diagnose a disorder in society: a disorder that affected people's ways to relate to emotions. But in Suzuki's Zen they found a cure on how to address emotions.

The Real Self & the emotional rebellion

Two of Suzuki's reoccurring tropes that made an impact on Horney and Fromm were the notions of "the Absolute Self" and of autonomy. The concept of "the Absolute Self" is not to be mixed up with the soul. Suzuki states: "Zen has no soul whose welfares [has] to be looked after by somebody."[35] On the contrary, the only one who can look after the self in Zen is the individual. Suzuki recognizes that "the intellect" splits self into two parts and makes us believe that the constant "Absolute Self" is separate from what we most of the time are acquainted with: "the relative self". And instead of letting the intellect run the show, Suzuki suggests that "intuitional experience" has to be cultivated to realize that "the Absolute Self" and "the relative self" are one.[36]

Horney picked up the ideas of absolute self and intuitional experience and merged them with emotion management. By doing this, she initiated theories on "the real self" and on "wholeheartedness". The first crucial step, Horney explained, is to be aware of our needs, "or even more, of what our feelings are".[37] To do that, "sincerity" would be the clue: In "Zen Buddhist writings sincerity is equated with wholeheartedness, pointing to the very conclusion we reach on the basis of clinical observation—namely that nobody divided within himself can be wholly sincere."[38] In contrast, to suppress emotions, sincerity is suggested as the exercise of "putting forward one's whole being".[39]

Horney opposes—just as Suzuki—intellectualizing as a way to attain the real self, and she adds the willingness of experiencing as an important attitude to connect to emotions. Again, she uses Zen to clarify her point: "To speak in terms of Zen Buddhism: 'Life is not a problem to be solved but an experience to be realized.'"[40] When inner experiences are avoided, the result is fatal, and Horney's conclusion is sharp: "In short, it means living in a fog."[41] Instead, she stresses sincerity and openness to inner experiences as gateways to the real self and to wholeheartedness. Concepts that Horney describes as somewhat empowering: "All this indicates that our real self, when strong and active, enables us to make decisions and assume responsibility for them. It therefore leads to genuine integration and a sound sense of wholeness, oneness."[42] If the real self and wholeheartedness—concepts deduced from Suzuki—were ways to manage emotions, the idea of autonomy gestured to the operationalization of handling emotions.

The notion of freedom from authority is never distant in Suzuki's discussions. In a story about a Zen student, Suzuki describes how the student tries to find a solution to a task: First by asking his teacher, then, by going through his notebooks, "turning over all books on philosophy".

No answer was to be found in the books, neither would the master's reply have been helpful, since "this would only have been the teacher's experience." Suzuki concludes: "You cannot get anything out of anybody but yourself".[43]

In Horney's last lecture, just weeks before passing in December 1952, she associated autonomy with therapeutic value and coined the expression "emotional rebellion": "Here for the first time, is emotional rebellion—somebody who breaks his handcuffs, break chains, and says to himself, 'That need not continue all my life!' We could see this hopeful feeling arising with a rebellion against feeling subdued all his life."[44] These were thoughts Horney and Fromm had discussed over time. In *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (1950) Fromm wrote: "Zen proposes that no knowledge is of any value unless it grows out of ourselves; no authority, no teacher can really teach us anything."[45] Horney implied in *Neurosis and Human Growth* (1950) that "man, by his very nature and his own accord, strives toward self-realization."[46] So when Horney, in her final lectures, determined that the wholeheartedness found in Zen allowed the patient to access "all the raw data" of himself, the work of the therapists was slight: "We have only to help him bring it into awareness, to formulate it". She concluded, "the patient is the one who knows, really."[47]

This discussion—the tendency to repress emotions, via striving for wholeheartedness, to the patient as "the one who knows"—highlights three outcomes. First, that Horney and Fromm actually formulated new ways on how to handle emotions: from suppressing to embracing. This displays a new economy of emotion management. Strategies of repressing, putting an "automatic control", and standardizing emotions are replaced with methods of experiencing, integrating and exploring wholeheartedness. Second, Horney's and Fromm's theories on how to find new methods on emotion management are most likely made possible by Suzuki's tropes on the "Absolute self" and autonomy. Third, these last notions of attempting "self-realization", paired up with that "no teacher can really teach us anything", give ideas on how to practically implement emotion-management techniques. Techniques that gesture towards self-help.

Zen as self-help

The Art of Loving (1956) was Fromm's most successful book in terms of selling figures, and it sold about 25 million copies in 50 languages.[48] In the book, Fromm discusses how to learn loving, and one of the core messages is to master self-love. Even though *The Art of Loving* had apparent similarities with the self-help genre that had thrived since Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (1790), and Samuel Smile's *Self-help* (1859) to

Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936), Fromm denied being part of the "how-to-books" field. In that regard, it is hardly surprising that Fromm disdained the self-help book and bestseller at that time, *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952) by the American pastor Norman Vincent Peale.[49] Nevertheless, as Fromm's biographer, Lawrence Friedman, rightly observes, regardless of Fromm's disapproval of the self-help genre, he himself followed the "formula of other classic self-help authors".[50]

The formula of self-help can have different ingredients, depending on the theme: education, business, or psychotherapy. But the lowest common denominator may be, as literature scholar Beth Bloom puts it, that "self-help hermeneutic consists of strategically mining, collating, and adapting the textual counsel of the past for the purposes of self-transformation".[51] Considering self-help as extracting "textual counsel" for the purpose of self-transformation, it could be discussed how Fromm mined guidance from Suzuki and thus created self-help techniques in emotion management.

A love message in Suzuki's teaching is difficult to track. However, the idea of self-training can be found. On one of the few occasions when Suzuki talks about love in his Columbia lectures, he mentions how "yearning for oneness" between "the Absolute Self" and "the relative self", "is love". And to attain that, discipline is required "the whole life". Or in other terms: to deepen "the personality", "self training" is vital.[52] Two observations can be extracted here: Firstly, the love he refers to—to put it bluntly—is a business between "me, myself and I" (i.e., the Absolute Self and the relative self). Secondly, self-training is acquired to succeed. These two points were essential in building up the self-help method presented in *The Art of Loving*.

In the first chapter, Fromm states that love is an art, and just like music, painting, carpentry, it needs to be studied.[53] After discussing love in a philosophical manner, the core message emerges: how to practice the art of loving. Although Fromm declares that he will not offer any "prescriptions", he believes that the "practice of any art has certain general requirements". Thereby a handful of essential steps of mastering the art of loving is presented, of which I will highlight three: "discipline", "concentration", and "faith".[54]

In *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*, a book that Fromm had referred to in earlier works, Suzuki discussed discipline as giving the "most fruitful and beneficial results on moral character".[55] And the discipline in Zen is to control the mind: "Zen purposes to discipline the mind itself, to make it its own master".[56] As mentioned earlier, a strict practice of meditation is central in Zen Buddhism, and meditation is the technique suggested by Fromm when to sharpen the skills of discipline. The practical advice is to

"get up at a regular hour" and devote "time during the day to activities such as meditating". The exercise is to permit the mind "to empty itself": "It would be helpful to practice a few very simple exercises, as, for instance, to sit in a relaxed position (neither slouching, nor rigid), to close one's eyes, and try to see a white screen in front of one's eyes, and try to remove all interfering pictures and thoughts."[57] And while doing the meditation, one has to "try to have a sense of 'I'; I = myself, as the center of my powers, as the creator of my own world."[58] Fromm adds that this is not an easy task since the meditator will have "all sorts of thoughts" that tries to "take possession of him".[59] What Fromm propose here is a two-folded purpose of discipline: to control the mind and get a sense of "the I".

If self-discipline was challenging, concentration seems to be even harder to attain since "our culture leads to an unconcentrated and diffused mode of life."[60] For Fromm, concentration is a kind of attention: "to be aware of" all things, and "to be open to our own inner voice which will tell us [...] why we are anxious, depressed, irritated."[61] This can be compared to Suzuki's stating that the effects of awareness should be seen as "awakening".[62] Suzuki suggests that the technique of being in the present moment affects the emotions: "When this is understood, there is no fear, no anxiety, no care, no joy, no sorrow."[63]

Fromm uses the technique of concentration to be aware of different emotional states such as anxiety or depression. For Suzuki, the same technique of being in the present moment has a similar, albeit more radical, outcome: to have no emotions. Even though Fromm describes discipline and concentration as essential methods to learn love, faith in oneself is the engine behind the art of loving. Suzuki discusses faith as believing in oneself: "all comes from within."[64] In effect, this means not to squint at other people's doings but to look "into your own being and seek it not through others. Your own mind is above all forms".[65]

From a self-help perspective, this is noteworthy since the outcome of this discussion is directed towards self-management. Not merely to have faith in the self or the mind, but also to conceive oneself as one's own guide and teacher. In his lectures, Suzuki quotes the *Majjhima Niiiya*, a Buddhist scripture from the 3rd century BCE:

> I have conquered and I know all,
> I am enlightened quite by myself and have none as teacher.
> [...] I am the most supreme teacher.[66]

The listeners to Suzuki's lecture could, therefore, consider themselves as their own teachers on a personal journey. And when Fromm writes about faith as a method to learn loving, the parallels to Suzuki are unmistakable: "This faith is rooted in one's own experience. In the confidence in one's

own power of thought".[67] Although this might not be as explicit as Peale's "power of positive thinking", Fromm's discussions—mined from Suzuki's teaching—are imperative in constructing a self-help method to manage emotions. First, using self-discipline as a way to control the mind. An exercise which is supposed to strengthen the possibility to learn loving. Second, to be concentrated in order to be aware of anxiety, depression or irritation, i.e., emotions that might be problematic to master the art of loving. Third, to have faith in and to consider oneself as the only necessary teacher. A skill that can be seen as a directing ability in emotional self-management.

But even though these examples show self-help formulas, Fromm ends *The Art of Loving* by returning to social criticism: "society must be organized in such a way that man's social, loving nature is not separated from his social existence".[68] This conclusion of *The Art of Loving* makes the message of the book slightly ambiguous. On the one hand, the reader has been advised to learn mental skills to be prepared to love; on the other hand, Fromm implies that this learning process will be difficult unless society changes.

Final discussion and conclusion

As critics of the prevailing society, Horney and Fromm implied that the social structure that made people cogs "in a large machine", also affected how emotions were handled. Namely to repress and to control. Consequently, Horney and Fromm formulated alternative methods for the individual to decide how to deal with feelings: a way to take command as the "emotional rebellion". These techniques of emotion management can be seen as applied expressions of a social critique. But by looking at Fromm's *The Art of Loving*, a new component appears: self-discipline. Even though the social critique was still explicit in Fromm's book, the implications of the self-help schemes were obvious.

Given this, by 1956, when *The Art of Loving* was published, Horney's and Fromm's new Zen-inspired economy of emotion management was still under formation. Indeed, emotional rebelliousness, wholeheartedness and love stood at a premium as new ways of dealing with neurosis and anxiety. But at the same time Fromm presented disciplined self-help techniques to manage emotions, making Zen practices function as methods to control uncomfortable emotions to fortify the desired emotion, love.

But by looking ahead in time, a few tentative hypotheses can be made along the lines of emotional revolt and learning to love. First, that attitudes towards self-love were consolidated in the subsequent decade. At the end of the 1960s, the social phenomenon called the Summer of Love

showed that the practice to learn loving, which Fromm had hinted at ten years earlier in *The Art of Loving* had become a political message.[69] Of course, this political attempt included much more than merely magnifying an emotion. (And surely, other actors, such as members of the Beat Generation, were crucial forerunners in what came to be the Hippie movement, rather than a couple of neo-Freudians.) Still, this indicates that the new economy of emotion management expressed by Horney and Fromm came to be established in the 1960s, and repressing emotions as a general approach came far out of sight. And by 1967, this emotion management became politics: to learn loving in order to change society. Second, by looking even further ahead, when mindfulness boomed in the 2000s, emotion-regulation techniques based on meditation came to have a different link to society. The methods suggested by Horney and Fromm, to listen to one's emotions or to be one's own teacher, were not associated with societal criticism any longer, but instead became part of health programs for the individual to battle stress and to function—again—as a healthy citizen adapted for society.

By returning to historian Rhodri Hayward's suggestion that a new psychological understanding resulted from the development of the welfare system in post-war Britain, the outcome of this particular study based on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean is a bit different. While Hayward shows how political, organized structures changed the way to deal with anxiety (and vice versa: how the handling of anxiety also changed the welfare), this study has displayed how two psychotherapists reacted to what they considered as unhealthy emotional patterns owing to society, by suggesting new techniques to handle emotions. Nevertheless, even though Horney's and Fromm's work did not have a considerable impact on a structural level—such as a national welfare program—further research exploring the lines of continuities (and discontinuities) from these neo-Freudians would be of interest in order to examine the oscillating role Buddhist-inspired psychology has had in society the latter half of the twentieth century.

So, were *Esquire*'s trend-gurus right when they stated the "out-ness" of Zen and psychoanalysis in 1958? By peeking ahead, at the romanticized view of "Eastern wisdom" and self-love in the hippie era, and by glancing at the mindfulness revolution in the 2000s, when meditation-based emotion management became accessible in any health centre with high self-esteem, the effects of the dealing with emotions tried out in psychoanalytic Zen-contexts in the 1950s were just the beginning of new attitudes towards emotion management.

Notes

1. Robert Benton & Harvey Schmidt: "Son of in and out", *Esquire*, October 1958.

2. A. Irwin Switzer: *D.T. Suzuki. A Biography* (London, 1985), 41.

3. David L. McMahan: *The making of Buddhist modernism* (New York, 2008), 122.

4. "Zen", *Time*, 4 February 1957.

5. Anne Harrington: "Zen, Suzuki, and the art of psychotherapy" in Yiftach Fehige (ed.): *Science and religion, east and west* (London, 2016), 60.

6. Marcia Westkott: "Horney, Zen, and the real self" in *The American journal of psychoanalysis* 58:3 (1998), 287–301. Zoltan Morvay: "Horney, Zen, and the real self. Theoretical and historical connections" in *The American journal of psychoanalysis* 59:1 (1999), 25–35.

7. Dražen Šumiga: "Fromm's understanding of the Buddhist philosophical theory and psychoanalysis. From the phenomenal ego to the authentic being" in *International forum of psychoanalysis* 29 (2019), 1–12.

8. Some sociologists and psychotherapists have discussed Fromm and Horney in relation to emotions, see for example Neil Mclaughlin: "Nazism, nationalism, and the sociology of emotions. Escape from freedom revisited" in *Sociological Theory* 14 (November 1996), 241–261; Wendy B. Smith: "Karen Horney and psychotherapy in the 21st century" in *Clinical social work journal* 35:1 (March 2007), 57–66; Also noteworthy in this framework: Eva Illouz: *Saving the modern soul. Therapy, emotions, and the culture of self-help* (Berkeley CA, 2008).

9. Uffa Jensen: "Freuds unheimliche gefühle. Zur rolle von emotionen in der Freudschen psychoanalyse" in *Rationalisierungen des gefühls* (January 2008), 133–152.

10. Rhodri Hayward: "Psychology and the pursuit of serenity in post war Britain" in Sally Alexander & Barbara Taylor (eds.): *Clio's dream. Psychoanalysis and history*, Global intellectual histories series (Basingstoke, 2013), 283–304.

11. William M. Reddy: *The navigation of feeling. A framework for the history of emotions* (New York, 2001), 129. Noteworthy is that Rob Boddice argues that the two concepts "emotional regimes" and "emotional communities" stand in many ways very close to each other. See Rob Boddice: *The history of emotions* (Manchester, 2018), 80.

12. Barbara H. Rosenwein: "Worrying about emotions in history" in *The American historical review* 107:3 (2002), 842; Barbara H. Rosenwein: *Generations of feeling. A history of emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge, 2016), 3–5.

13. Paul White: "Introduction" in *Isis* 100:4 (December 2009), 792–797.

14. The texts where Horney and Fromm refer to Suzuki's Zen Buddhism (studied in this paper) are: Karen Horney: *Our inner conflicts. A constructive theory of neurosis* (New York, 1945); Karen Horney: *Neurosis and human growth the struggle toward self-realization* (New York, 1950); Karen Horney: "The paucity of inner experiences" in *The American journal of psychoanalysis* 12:1 (1952), 3–9; Karen Horney & Douglas H. Ingram: *Final lectures* (New York, 1987); Erich Fromm: *Psychoanalysis and religion by Erich Fromm* (New Haven CT, 1950); Erich Fromm: *The art of loving* (New York, 1956). Zen Buddhism and psychoanalysis is certainly also discussed in Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Richard de Martino & Erich Fromm: *Zen Buddhism and psychoanalysis* (London, 1960). However, since I consider the text as not entirely relevant for these discussions on emotion-management I have chosen not to analyze this work here.

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Abstract

Zen as self-help. Neo-Freudians, Buddhist Modernism and emotion management in 1950s America. Josephine Selander, PhD student at Chair for History of the Modern World, ETH Zürich, Switzerland; affiliated to History of Ideas at the Department of Culture and Aesthetics, Stockholm University, Sweden, josephine.selander@gmw.gess.ethz.ch

Since the last two decades, mindfulness has been one of the most prominent techniques to regulate emotions in psychological therapies. A prevailing practice that constitutes mindfulness is Zen Buddhism, initially presented to North American and European publics by the Japanese Buddhist reformer, D. T. Suzuki. Previous historiographic research has shown the connection between Zen Buddhism and psychotherapy. Nevertheless, this article adds the perspective of emotion management by looking at the psychoanalysis-Zen merge through the lens of history of emotions. The study investigates how Karen Horney and Erich Fromm, who belonged to the freely associated group of "neo-Freudians", moved away from Freud's ideas on a biologically based psychology towards implementing thoughts derived from Zen Buddhism into their theories. By using the concept of "economy of emotion management", this study argues that new methods on how to handle emotions were formatted in the 1950s with Suzuki's Zen as a prerequisite. Moreover, the neo-Freudians used approaches from Zen to design self-help techniques in order to control and steer emotions. The study suggests, lastly, that these methods in emotion management, formu-

lated by Horney and Fromm, had complex links to social criticism, where the function of the techniques changed from embracing emotions as an act of individual autonomy to instead controlling emotions to learn loving.

Keywords: psychotherapy, emotion management, Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Zen Buddhism, D. T. Suzuki