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Creative Intelligence Toward Theoretic Integration

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Chapter 11

From William James to Maslow and Dabrowski: Excitability of Character and Self-Actualization

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The purpose of this chapter is to introduce theoretical bridges between Maslow's construct of self-actualization, Dabrowski's theory of emotional development, Bandura's model of the self-system, and Gardner's concept of intrapersonal intelligence. In brief, self-actualization fits into Level IV of Dabrowski's five levels of development. Bandura's self-system furnishes the component processes of self-evaluation for Dabrowski's theory and gains from it emotional fuel. Where Gardner has equated intrapersonal intelligence with introspection, Dabrowski's theory complements it with dynamics of inner transformation. His concept of developmental potential with its five dimensions of felt experience is extremely useful for recognizing the signs of potential toward advanced development, self-actualization, and inner transformation. The concepts of emotional giftedness, positive maladjustment, and spiritual giftedness are also relevant in this context.

DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIAL FOR SELF-ACTUALIZATION AND MORAL VIGOR

William James (1890) observed that moral action—the action of following one's ideals—is “action in the line of greatest resistance” (p. 548). To live one's ideals it is necessary to overcome the resistance of one's lower inclinations, but when one chooses to follow one's lower inclinations the ideals do not put up a resistance: “If in general we class all springs of action as propensities on the one hand and ideals on the other, the sensualist never says of his behavior that it results from a victory over his ideals, but the moralist always speaks of his as victory over his propensities” (p. 548). James (1902) noted that those for whom moral questions demand acting on what they believe, are intensely emotional. In such persons “we have the emotionality which is the *sine qua non* of moral perception; we have the intensity and tendency to emphasis which are the essence of moral vigor” (p. 26). In his mind, eminence was a combination of superior intellect with “ardor and excitability of character” (p. 24).

Dabrowski (1967) was led to his theory by studying the mental health of intellectually and artistically gifted children, adults, known geniuses, and spiritual seekers. He took the intensity of their emotions, their sensitivity and proneness to riding a roller coaster of emotional extremes, as part and parcel of their psychophysical makeup. Creative individuals as a rule live at a level of intensity unknown to the rest. Rather than view this as neurotic imbalance or the brink of insanity, he saw it as a positive potential for further growth. He placed particular emphasis on enhanced intellectual, emotional, and imaginational excitabilities. He saw them as necessary to personal growth characterized by moral questioning, existential concerns and self-judgment—in short, the work of inner transformation, accomplished by directing one's will away from one's lower propensities and instead toward following one's ideals. It does not mean, of course, that the effort is steady and the progress uniform. What it does mean is that the person does not give up the effort, even though he or she backslides, yields to discouragement and self-doubt, but takes it up again and again.

This type of development, the more intense and sustained it is, produces highly moral individuals and spiritual leaders. To mention just a few outstanding examples, *The Journal of a Soul* by Pope John XXIII, Dag Hammarskjöld's *Markings*, Eleanor Roosevelt's *You Learn By Living*, Ety Hillesum's diaries, *An Interrupted Life*, Peace Pilgrim's recorded talks, all document the labor at personal transformation. The aim of such transformation is to live what one believes, that is, to make one's actions agree with one's ideals, to live according to the precepts of love, compassion, helpfulness, and effective action. We are inclined to think that it

is a very rare individual who undertakes such a task but Sinetar's (1986) study of ordinary people on the path to self-actualization shows otherwise. She found more than persons who, unrecognized by others, were in various stages of self-actualization. Colby and Damon (1992) studied 23 people whose lives showed evidence of high moral commitment—people who do care. Case examples of emotionally gifted people extend the range even further (Piechowski, 1997a, 1977b).

DABROWSKI'S THEORY

In Dabrowski's vision, development of personality is stratified into five levels. Each level is a very complex structure with much room for individual variation. A more detailed description of this elaborate constellation must be sought elsewhere (Dabrowski, 1967; Dabrowski & Piechowski, 1977; Marsh & Colangelo, 1983; Nelson, 1989; Piechowski, 1975, 1991, 1997a; Silverman, 1993). Table 11.1 gives a summary of the complex structure of these five levels. Dynamisms are emotional-cognitive operations that provide the structure and mechanisms of change in each level. Note, however, that in this respect, Level I is a barren wasteland.

Dabrowski's scheme is very different from the more familiar theories of Kohlberg and Loevinger. He addressed the emotional dynamics in types of personal growth, and motivation for moral action rather than only the cognitive aspect of moral reasoning, and principles of justice, or ego organization. Consequently, the reply to the question “Why be moral?” or “Why be good?” is to be found in the emotional urgency with which moral questions are felt. Like James, Dabrowski stressed the importance of emotions as motivators, and like Gilligan (1982), he stressed the centrality of empathy and the sense of personal responsibility.

Table 11.2 shows the possible correspondences between Kohlberg's and Dabrowski's levels and between Loevinger's and Dabrowski's levels. Where Kohlberg and Loevinger provided more detailed distinctions, Dabrowski has one large category of Level I, but where their schemes evanesce, Dabrowski provided a much more expanded view of the higher reaches of human development. Let us briefly review how each of his levels is conceived.

A glance at Table 11.1 shows that Dabrowski's theory is extremely complex and the elucidation of all its terms has to be left to other sources (Dabrowski & Piechowski, 1977; Dabrowski, Kawczak, & Piechowski, 1970; Piechowski, 1975). Assessment of developmental level was at first possible through a painstaking content analysis of a subject's autobiography. Later, a six-item open-ended questionnaire was intro-

TABLE 11.1
Levels of Emotional Development According to Dabrowski's Theory
of Positive Disintegration

Level I: Primary Integration	<i>Dog-eat-dog mentality</i>
Dominant concern with self-protection and survival; self-serving egocentrism; instrumental view of others	
Level II: Unilevel Disintegration	<i>A reed shaken in the wind— Matthew, XI, 7</i>
Lack of inner direction; inner fragmentation—many selves; submission to the values of the group; relativism of values and beliefs	
Unilevel Dynamisms	
Ambivalences	fluctuations between opposite feelings, mood shifts
Ambitendencies	changeable and conflicting courses of action
Second factor	susceptibility to social opinion, feelings of inferiority toward others
Level III: Spontaneous Multilevel Disintegration	<i>Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor^a—Marcus Tullius Cicero</i>
Sense of the ideal but not reaching it; moral concerns; higher versus lower in oneself	
Multilevel Dynamisms	
Multilevel dynamisms are ways of critically perceiving and evaluating the world, others, and oneself, leading to the work of inner transformation	
<i>Hierarchy of Values and Social Conscience</i>	
Hierarchization and Empathy	<i>what is contrasted with what ought to be:</i> Individual values Universal values lead to Authenticity
Positive maladjustment and Empathy	protest against violation of ethical principles
<i>Emotionally Charged Self-Reactions and Self-Judgments</i>	
Dissatisfaction with oneself	anger at what is undesirable in oneself, self-loathing
Inferiority toward oneself	anger at what is lacking in oneself, of not realizing one's potential
Disquietude with oneself	disharmony in one's inner state of being
Astonishment with oneself	surprise in regard to what is undesirable in oneself
Shame	shame over deficiencies and others' view of one's moral standard
Guilt	guilt over moral failure, a need to repay and expiate
Level IV: Organized Multilevel Disintegration	<i>Behind tranquillity lies conquered unhappiness—Eleanor Roosevelt</i>
Self-actualization; ideals and actions agree; strong sense of responsibility on behalf of others' well-being and inner growth	

TABLE 11.1
Levels of Emotional Development According to Dabrowski's Theory
of Positive Disintegration (cont.)

Dynamisms of Inner Restructuring	
Subject-object in oneself	the process of critical examination of one's motives and aims; an instrument of self-knowledge
Third factor	the executive power of choice and decision in one's inner life; active will in self-regulation and self-determination
Responsibility	taking on tasks for the sake of one's own and others' development; empathic responsiveness to social needs
Inner psychic transformation	inner restructuring at a deep level, with lasting consequences beyond return to lower level functioning
Education-of-oneself	a program of change
Autopsychotherapy	self-designed psychotherapy and preventive measures
Self-control	regulating development and keeping in check interfering processes; leads to Autonomy
Autonomy	confidence in one's development; freedom from lower level drives and motivations
Level V: Secondary Integration	<i>A magnetic field in the soul— Dag Hammarskjöld</i>
Life inspired by a powerful ideal, such as equal rights, world peace, universal love and compassion, sovereignty of all nations	
Personality Ideal	the ultimate goal of development—the essence of one's being
Dynamisms Continuing Across Levels	
Creative instinct	becomes the dynamism of perfecting oneself
Empathy	connectedness, caring, helpfulness
Inner conflict	in the beginning a clash of drives, then inner conflict becomes emotional (unilevel) and conscious (multi-level)
Identification	identification with higher levels and Personality Ideal
Dis-identification	distancing from lower levels and drives
Disposing & directing center	status of will: I. identified with the main motive (drive) II: multiple, fragmented, or shifting in direction III: ascending & descending as a consequence of which level it is attached to (= identified with) IV: unified V: Personality Ideal

^aI regard the better but follow the worse.

TABLE 11.2
Possible Correspondences Between Kohlberg's and Dabrowski's,
and Loevinger's and Dabrowski's Levels of Development

Kohlberg	Dabrowski	Loevinger	Dabrowski
1	I	I-3	I
2	I	3/4	I
3	I	4	I
4	I	4	I-II
5	II	4/5	II
6	III	5	II-III
6	IV	6	III
7	V		

Note. Tentatively, one might view Kohlberg's Stages 1 through 4 as encompassed by Dabrowski's Level I, Stage 5 by Level II, and Stage 6 by Levels III and IV (Schmidt, 1977). The much discussed hypothetical Stage 7 (Kohlberg, 1981) would appear to correspond to Level V, which Dabrowski elaborated in significant detail. Similarly, Loevinger's levels of ego development: Levels I-2, Delta, Delta-3, I-3, 3/4, and in Part 4, correspond to Dabrowski's Level I, whereas 4, 4/5, and 5 to Levels I-II, II, and II-III, respectively; Level 6 possible has some correspondence with Dabrowski's Level III, and that's where Loevinger's pyramid ends (Green, 1982).

duced but to score it, the raters had to have a thorough knowledge of the theory (Gage, Morse, & Piechowski, 1981). Consequently, the interrater reliability was not as high as one would wish. Miller set herself the task of developing a more reliable assessment of levels. To do this, she had to first identify the criteria that underlie Dabrowski's conception of emotional development and of what makes each level distinct from the others. She came up with three dimensions that are expressed differently at each of the five levels (Miller, 1985; Miller & Silverman, 1987). The result is presented in Table 11.3. It gives us the deep structure, as it were, of the theory. However, a structure has to be clothed in content to which we now turn.

Level I. Self-serving motivations, striving for power and status, manipulating others are typical and provoke conflict. In the climate of constant competition for goods and the limelight, people are viewed as winners or losers. Attachments tend to be superficial, with little understanding of the other. Authoritarian, even tyrannical, attitudes prevail. There is virtually no emotional development, no inner growth at this level, hence the name "primary integration." Concerns with survival, self-protection, and self-gratification are dominant. This is how much of

TABLE 11.3
Miller's Criteria for Assessment of Levels of Development

	Values	Feelings Toward Self	Feelings Toward Others
Level I	Self-serving	Egocentric	Superficial
Level II	Stereotypical	Ambivalent	Adaptive
Level III	Individual	Inner conflict	Interdependent
Level IV	Universal	Self-Direction	Democratic
Level V	Transcendent	Peace & harmony	Communionistic (transpersonal)

Source. Miller (1985)

the world operates and this is how most people adapt to it. Although Dabrowski viewed primary integration as a rigid personality structure, it makes more sense to see it as the outcome of socialization. *If people are operating at Level I it is because this is the condition of the world, not because their psyche is constituted that way.*

Level II. In contrast to the first, the second level is marked by inner instability associated with oscillations of mood, inconsistent ways of acting, shifting from one extreme to the other. But other patterns are also possible (e.g., a fairly integrated world view of unregenerate relativism, or, more commonly, a submission to mainstream values and conventions). Here the self derives its definition from fulfilling the expectations of others, family, or society ("second factor"). In extreme cases, this can lead to anorexia and bulimia in gifted women (Gatto-Walden, 1999). Inner fragmentation ("I feel split into a thousand pieces") and unpredictable shifts among many "selves" are often experienced. In adolescence, a failed attempt at identity that Elkind (1984) called "the patchwork self" is another example of the inner disorganization. At this level, personal growth is most often a struggle toward the emancipation of an individual sense of self.

Dabrowski called this type of inner growth *unilevel* to contrast it with *multilevel* in which the experience of "higher" versus "lower" in oneself creates vertical tension that energizes emotional development. In multilevel development, a more fundamental inner transformation is at work. In unilevel development, problems are either repeated and recycled; there is much changeability but little significant personality change. However, change can take place toward gaining a sense of one's individuality, coming into one's own as a person.

Unilevel development characterizes those in whom a core sense of self is undeveloped. They depend on external authority for a definition of who they are, derived from their function, domestic or other: "I've never had a personality. I've always been someone's daughter, someone's wife, someone's mother" (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986, p. 82). As long as this does not change, there is no inner development—a Level I condition. A crisis erupts when the authority is exposed as wrong, misleading, or exploitative and abusive. This can happen in a family, in a church, or in the whole nation as it did during the Vietnam war. Feeling betrayed, they reject authority because it failed them. They begin to look for self-knowledge and self-definition in people like themselves and eventually in themselves. For instance, "I can only know with my gut. I've got it tuned to a point where I think and feel all at the same time and I know what is right. My gut is my best friend—the one thing in the world that won't let me down or lie to me or back away from me" (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 53). This expresses the shift from external authority to listening to one's own inner voice. But the voice is undeveloped, and whatever comes from the "gut" is accepted uncritically. The voice cannot be yet said to represent the true self. If emotional growth leads no further than the person's "gut feeling," it is swayed by moods, opinions, chance experiences, what Dabrowski called "ambivalences" and "ambitendencies." It is then locked in the unilevel range and remains there. But continued growth is definitely possible, moving toward a sense of self: "the person I see myself as is just like an infant. I see myself as beginning. Whoever I can become, that's a wide-open possibility" (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 82).

Level III. The condition of entry to Level III is a sense of self that may be vulnerable and threatened yet deep down it has a core of autonomy. Here, at first vague but gradually stronger and clearer experience of a vertical split within the self makes itself felt: the lower versus the higher (in the sense of an inner ideal), "what ought to be" versus "what is" (in the sense of an objectionable state of affairs of failing one's ideals, falling short of one's potential, perceiving oneself lacking in empathy, helpfulness, tolerance, patience, acceptance, etc.). Moral questions may be intensely felt. Others are perceived as distinctly individual persons, and the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number is felt to be inadequate and unjust. Moral sense and social responsibility are heightened. A number of inner forces are operating at this level (Table 11.1). They are of two kinds, those that energize social conscience and those that are directed inward at self-judgment with the aim of becoming a better human being. The short but profound life of Etty Hillesum represents this type of growth (Piechowski, 1992a, 1992b; Spaltro, 1991).

Etty Hillesum was a gifted young woman who enjoyed life with a passion. At the age of 27, she sought counseling because she felt beset by inner chaos, tension, recurrent depressions, emptiness, and lack of direction in her inner life. She felt that her enjoyment of life was set apart from what was truly essential within her: "deep inside me something is still locked away" (Hillesum, 1981/1985, p. 1). With the guidance of her counselor, and subsequently on her own, she went in search of that essential part of herself. She recorded her inner battles, some were "short but violent." But each inner victory made her feel stronger:

I have become just a little stronger again. I can fight things with myself. . . . I had the desperate feeling that I was tied to him and that because of that I was in for an utterly miserable time. But I pulled myself out of it, although I don't quite know how. Not by arguing with myself, but by tugging with all my mental strength at some imaginary rope. I threw all my weight behind it and stood my ground and suddenly I felt that I was free again. (Hillesum, 1981/1985, p. 29)

In the initial phase of transforming growth (Level III), Etty tried to find the true meaning and purpose of her life. It did not go smoothly: "I still lack a basic tune, a steady undercurrent; the inner source that feeds me keeps drying up" (Hillesum, 1981/1985, p. 37). The key to her effort was striving for emotional self-reliance as she realized that no one can do it for her:

It is a slow and painful process, this striving after true inner freedom. Growing more and more certain that there is no help or assurance or refuge in others, that the others are just as uncertain and helpless and weak as you are. You are always thrown back to your own resources. There is nothing else. (Hillesum, 1981/1985, p. 56)

Etty felt at first an inner split between how she appeared on the surface—her usual self, and the deeper core within her—her true self. She felt dissatisfied with her inner being, a conflict was raging between "the forces now at loggerheads within me" (p. 4). She tried to bring order to her "inner chaos" as she called it. It was hard work. There is much resistance to such a fundamental change and much energy is needed if inner freedom is to be gained: "the price is high: much blood and tears. But all the suffering is worth it" (p. 154). Inner realization such as hers leads to compassion, and compassion moves one to help others. Etty lived in Holland at the time of the Holocaust. Of her own free will, and out of love for her fellow human beings, she went to the transit camp at Westerbork (from which Jews were transported to the gas chambers in concentration camps) to help the inmates who were weak and frightened.

Level IV. At Level IV, we encounter true self-actualizing people. Maslow (1970) described in rich detail 16 characteristics of self-actualizing people. These characteristics must be read and reread in order to fully appreciate what self-actualizing people are like. Maslow's composite picture of self-actualizing individuals fits exactly Dabrowski's construct of Level IV (Brennan & Piechowski, 1991; Piechowski, 1978). Their strong adherence to universal values and extraordinary sense of responsibility leads self-actualizing people to take up tasks for the sake of others, just as Etty Hillesum did when she went to Westerbork. Maslow (1970) pointed out that self-actualizing people are strongly focused on problems outside themselves rather than on protecting their ego or enhancing their status. They perceive tasks to fulfill because they respond to the urgent need of their times.

In less than three years, between the ages of 27 and not quite 30, Etty Hillesum underwent a deep inner transformation, an accelerated inner growth spanning Levels III and IV to the threshold of Level V (Piechowski, 1992a; Spaltro, 1991). We find it, too, in Eleanor Roosevelt's life (Piechowski, 1990; Piechowski & Tyska, 1982). Many dynamisms of inner restructuring are operating at this level (Table 11.1). A new "higher" personality structure develops to replace the old "lower" one.

Level V. The highest level epitomizes universal compassion, far-reaching vision and selfless dedication to serving others. Mahatma Gandhi, Dag Hammarskjöld, Peace Pilgrim, and Mother Teresa of Calcutta are prime examples. Peace Pilgrim first worked with people with emotional problems, later her whole life was dedicated to the cause of peace. She started her pilgrimage of 25,000 miles on foot for peace in 1953, the dark period of the Korean war and rampant MacCarthyism. Although there were then small peace groups, the peace movement was not yet born (Peace Pilgrim, 1982; Rush & Rush, 1992).

Rather than seek the personal happiness of marriage and family life, Dag Hammarskjöld (1964), chose to serve all nations, but especially the small emerging nations of the world. It was not an easy choice, he knew the stranglehold of loneliness. Because he made the United Nations operate according to the ideals of its charter, he has been called the servant of peace. The inner transformation he forged in his life opened to him transcendental vistas:

Now you know. When the worries over your work loosen their grip, then this experience of light, warmth, and power. From without—a sustaining element, like air to the glider, or water to the swimmer. An intellectual hesitation which demands proof and logical demonstration prevents me from "believing"—in this, too. Prevents me from expressing and interpreting this reality in intellectual terms.

Yet through me there flashes this vision of a magnetic field in the soul, created in a timeless present by unknown multitudes, living in holy obedience, whose words and actions are a timeless prayer.

—"The Communion of Saints"—and—within it—an eternal life. (*Markings*, entry from year 1952)

The metaphor of a magnetic field in the soul offers a glimpse into the inner source of inspiration and energy that is not powered by egoistic desire but by the willing surrender to an inner ideal. When Peace Pilgrim attained inner peace, this is how she described her inner state:

There is a feeling of always being surrounded by all of the good things, like love, and peace, and joy. It seems like a protective surrounding, and there is an unshakableness within which takes you through any situation you may need to face. . . . There is a calmness and a serenity and unhurriedness—no more striving or straining. . . . What I walk on is not the energy of youth, it is a better energy. I walk on the endless energy of inner peace that never runs out! When you become a channel through which God works there are no more limitations, because God does the work *through you*: you are merely the instrument—and what God can do is unlimited. When you are working for God you do not find yourself striving or straining. You find yourself calm, serene and unhurried. (Peace Pilgrim, 1982, pp. 22-23, 26)

What she described appears to correspond well with Hammarskjöld's "magnetic field in the soul."

The surprising fact is that Peace Pilgrim's upbringing was not religious, her search for God was entirely prompted from within, and so was Dag Hammarskjöld's as recorded in his *Markings*. Similarly, Etty Hillesum was raised conventionally in the Jewish tradition but her search for that essential part of herself that she felt was locked away was prompted from within. It brought her to a life of prayer and an intimate communion with God (Piechowski, 1992a, 1993). She reached deep inside herself and conquered hatred. Amid Nazi horror, she achieved inner peace. She spoke from firsthand knowledge when she affirmed that "everything we need is within us"—everything to give our life meaning, to secure inner peace, to solve the problems of our time. Like Peace Pilgrim she affirmed again and again that inner peace is the necessary foundation of world peace (Piechowski, 1993).

FILLING THE HOLE IN INTRAPERSONAL INTELLIGENCE

Multilevel development requires much introspection combined with the actual work of inner transformation. Here we come upon a connection with the concept of intrapersonal intelligence that Gardner (1983, 1993a, 1993b) defined as introspective capacity. He noted that continued development may culminate in a mature sense of self and inner wisdom. However, there is a hole in this picture—it leaves out the developmental processes by which the mature self is realized. What has to take place in a person's development to make gaining advanced self-knowledge and wisdom possible? There are many highly introspective and insightful individuals—psychotherapists, counselors, and psychological writers endowed with exquisite knowledge of the workings of the human heart—who nevertheless are not highly developed; their self would not compare favorably with that of a moral exemplar.

Although originally Gardner (1983, p. 252) included in his formulation of intrapersonal intelligence a "continued development, where an individual has an option of becoming increasingly autonomous, integrated, or self-actualized. . . . The end goal of these developing processes is a self that is highly developed and fully differentiated from others," this was not subsequently included or developed further. Thus, it would appear that a leaner version of intrapersonal intelligence has been served.

As the prime embodiment of intrapersonal intelligence, Gardner (1993a) chose Freud whose driving passion was to explain the mysteries of the human mind by neurological mechanisms, but whose concept of advanced development did not go beyond sublimation. Sublimation, the channeling of primitive instinctual impulses into a socially productive and acceptable behavior, is a defense mechanism. This is totally opposite to the process of inner transformation in multilevel development, where the goal is to confront the whole truth about oneself as a prelude to a far reaching inner change. As Eleanor Roosevelt knowingly observed, such truth can make you wince. To make Gardner's definition of intrapersonal intelligence more complete, and in keeping with his original conception, we must include the multilevel process of inner growth that leads to profound self-knowledge of the kind that is characteristic of a highly developed sense of self. In this way, Dabrowski's theory is par excellence a theory of intrapersonal intelligence; its height is found in moral exemplars.

MORAL EXEMPLARS

Individuals who are guided by compassion, emotional sensitivity, and moral conviction are forced to make controversial and unpopular choic-

es. As Colby and Damon (1992) observed, the choice is not made through moral reasoning but as an empathic response from the heart, and with great certainty. Moral exemplars, individuals who consistently act this way, are without doubt exceptional. They have become objects of vigorous study for the very reason that they give evidence of the extent to which the human ego can be transcended (Colby & Damon, 1992; Grant, 1988; Nixon, 1990, 1994; Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Piechowski, 1993; Witty, 1990).

Gandhi's life is a classic instance of spiritual growth powered by deep emotions. His ardent concern to have no blemish on his character (punishment for an infraction caused him the greatest pain by the very fact that he deserved it), his ability to befriend people, his joy in serving others (he tells how he developed a passion for nursing the sick), and his dedication to abolish any kind of discrimination based on color, caste, religion, nationality, social position or wealth make him emotionally gifted (Gandhi, 1948/1983). He taught himself to follow the inner voice: "I delighted in submitting to it. To act against it would have been difficult and painful to me" (p. 118). This very shy and sensitive man was thus transformed into a radical reformer who championed the cause of those who were exploited, in bondage, and denied basic human rights. While Gardner (1993a) chose him as the epitome of *interpersonal* intelligence, it must be recognized that without persevering with utmost honesty and rigor in his self-knowledge, that is, without profound inner transformation, Gandhi could not have become a Mahatma—a Great Soul.

Gandhi's life and his "experiments with Truth" are not always easy to understand for those who look for outside causes and shaping influences rather than for the magnetic pull of a spiritual goal. Gandhi's goal was to live a life of truth so that he could find God. When he started his law practice his goal was to resolve the conflict rather than to win the case for one side only:

I felt that my duty was to befriend both parties and bring them together. I strained every nerve to bring a compromise . . . both were happy over the result, and both rose in public estimation. My joy was boundless. I had learnt the true practice of law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. (Gandhi, 1948/1983, p. 117)

Lawyers, who were inspired by Peace Pilgrim, turned from litigation to mediation, carry on this true practice of law (*The Spirit of Peace*, 1995).

From the point of view of giftedness, one is prone to ask: In what way can such spirit of peace and harmony be considered a talent? How does it develop? How is it trained? Studies of talent development empha-

size the importance of a proper succession of teachers from the introductory to the master level (Bloom, 1985; Feldman & Goldsmith, 1986). What trainers, teachers, or guides have those who become gifted in self-knowledge and competent in the techniques of inner transformation?

Some achieve their inner knowledge as a result of guidance and training offered by the spiritual traditions of the East and West. Spiritual directors and masters guide their disciples' inner growth (Nixon, 1990, 1994). Nevertheless, there are certain individuals who arrive at self-knowledge by guidance from within their inner self. For instance, Brennan and Piechowski (1991), Grant (1988), and Piechowski (1992b, 1993) described persons who were taught, as it were, by an inner voice. In all cases, there is evidence of strong overexcitabilities, with emotional being dominant. Such intense nature William James called ardor. Ardor is the heat of emotion and feeling, intensity, extreme vigor and energy, intense enthusiasm, fervor, and deep-seated devotion (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, 1966).

SELF-KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-EVALUATION: DABROWSKI'S THEORY AND BANDURA'S SELF-SYSTEM

Identifying internal causes is far from simple but how one judges oneself shapes one's inner life and behavior. In the type of development described here, one of its principal mechanisms is the process of self-evaluation. It has an emotional and an intellectual component. The intellectual component is the comparison of a given state of affairs with a standard. The standard in this case is an inner ideal, an ideal of inner perfection, of a human being transformed.

Dabrowski made introspection and self-evaluation the constants of multilevel development. The process is both cognitive and affective, in other words, it cuts more deeply the stronger are a person's intellectual and emotional overexcitabilities.

Bandura (1986) developed a detailed model of self-regulation in the self-system. The standards by which this system operates are internal. The three major components of self-regulation are self-observation, self-judgment and self-reaction. For each, Bandura has specified further elements and subprocesses which are engaged in how a person carries out self-evaluation in regard to his or her outward behavior, status among fellow human beings, or in one's inner life. Bandura did not include emotions, but the self-system could not work without them, because they are what powers it. Dabrowski was clear that self-evaluation and self-judgment are effective only to the degree that they are emotionally charged, that they have the power of deep conviction.

If the elements of the self-system were to be applied to Dabrowski's multilevel process, they could enable us to understand how inner transformation works. When an ideal is chosen as a standard of comparison, a person exerts effort to attain it. He or she does it without reliance on external rewards. One could say that it is really a question of how one uses one's will. People who quit smoking on their own or who successfully manage a self-cure testify to the human ability of deliberately regulating and altering one's behavior (Bandura, 1986). Guided by this model it should be possible to devise specific assessments for self-evaluation in multilevel development. It would be a way of marrying a cognitive-behaviorist with a humanistic model of human motivation.

Self-evaluation and self-judgment with the objective of self-correction constitute a person's conscience. Bandura (1986) identified eight mechanisms by which we can get around our conscience, our self-evaluative process. Activation of these mechanisms can be gradual or limited to certain situations. For instance, it is easier to do something unethical when one tells oneself that what other people are doing is much worse, or, when the responsibility is diffused, or relegated to a higher authority, or when one believes in moral justification in carrying out heinous acts as did Hitler's SS (*Stutzstaffel*), or Milosevic's army in our day. The SS were Hitler's police for racial purity. To do ethnic cleansing they were trained to believe that they were morally superior, which then justified extermination of people deemed morally inferior, degenerate, or subhuman (Moczarski, 1981).

However, there have always been those whose emotional system rebels, whether through psychosomatic illness or doubt, leading to positive maladjustment. Conscientious objectors are cases in point, such as Lt. Louis Font during the Vietnam war (Piechowski, 1991), the airman Daniel Cobos, or others who broke ranks with established but dishonest and secretive power structures (Everett, 1989). At least half of those described by Everett were in jobs requiring exceptional intelligence.

It is significant that the emotional and moral sensitivity of high I.Q. children is frequently and consistently observed (Hollingworth, 1942/1977; Lovecky, 1997, 1998; Roeper, 1982; Silverman, 1993; Terman, 1925). A closer study of the self-system in emotionally precocious children is needed.

FIVE DIMENSIONS OF EXCITABILITY AND FELT EXPERIENCE

William James spoke of ardor and excitability of character as characterizing people with moral vigor. He saw the combination of emotional intensity and intellectual superiority as "the best possible condition for the

kind of effective genius that gets into biographical dictionaries" (James, 1902, pp. 24–25). Dabrowski's concept of developmental potential (DP) expands on this. Originally, the defining characteristics of DP were five kinds of overexcitability plus special talents and abilities. Later, it became clear that the capacity for inner transformation had to be included.

Overexcitabilities were identified by Dabrowski (1937, 1938) prior to the formulation of his theory. He called them "types of increased psychic excitability" in an attempt to lift the opprobrium of nervousness from a liability to a developmental asset. Nervousness is nothing else but tension felt under any form of stress. Dabrowski identified five modalities of expressing nervous tension: psychomotor, sensual, imaginal, intellectual, and emotional. Aron's (1997) study of the highly sensitive person is similarly devoted to proving the value of emotional sensitivity.

The term *overexcitability*, rather than just excitability, was chosen to convey the idea that this is a special kind of excitability, a *qualitatively distinct* process of felt experience. Whatever is experienced is felt with intensity and has long-lasting effects. It is common for gifted and creative youngsters and adults to say that they experience things more strongly and differently than others, epitomized in Sartre's (1973) words: "I feel too much, I sense too much, am exhausted by the reverberations after even the simplest conversation. But the deep collision is and has been with my unregenerate, tormenting and tormented self" (p. 12). Only when the expressions of "excitability" are distinctly beyond and above common or "normal" ways of responding can they play a significant role in creativity and advanced development (Piechowski, 1975, 1999).

Each form of overexcitability (see Table 11.4) can be viewed as a mode of being in the world, or as a dimension of mental functioning. Thus, the *psychomotor* mode is one of movement, restlessness, action, excess of energy; the *sensual* mode—of surface contact, sensory refinement, comfort and pleasure; the *intellectual* mode—of analysis, logic, questioning, theorizing, seeking truth; the mode of *imagination*—of vivid dreams, fantasies, images, personification, strong visualization of experience; the *emotional* mode—of attachments and affectional bonds with others, empathy, despair and loneliness, the joy of love, the enigma of existence and human responsibility. Each mode can be viewed as a channel through which flows information in the form of sensations, feelings, experiences, images, expectations, and so on. These five dimensions can be thought of as the main channels of perception. Through these wondrously diverse channels, the *patterns* of experience are apprehended. Perception extends into conception—the creative process of forming the *images* of experience, which makes art, music, literature, and film (Langer, 1953). The five channels may be likened to color filters

TABLE 11.4
Forms and Expressions of Overexcitability

Psychomotor	
<i>Surplus of energy</i>	rapid speech, marked excitation, intense physical activity (e.g., fast games and sports), pressure for action (e.g., organizing), marked competitiveness
<i>Psychomotor expression of emotional tension</i>	compulsive talking and chattering, impulsive actions, nervous habits (tics, nail biting), workaholism, acting out
Sensual	
<i>Enhanced sensory and aesthetic pleasure</i>	seeing, smelling, tasting, touching, hearing, and sex; delight in beautiful objects, sounds of words, music, form, color, balance
<i>Sensual expression of emotional tension</i>	overeating, sexual overindulgence, buying sprees, wanting to be in the limelight
Intellectual	
<i>Intensified activity of the mind</i>	curiosity, concentration, capacity for sustained intellectual effort, avid reading; keen observation, detailed visual recall, detailed planning
<i>Penchant for probing questions and problem solving</i>	search for truth and understanding; forming new concepts; tenacity in problem solving
<i>Reflective thought</i>	thinking about thinking, love of theory and analysis, preoccupation with logic, moral thinking, introspection (but without self-judgment), conceptual and intuitive integration; independence of thought (sometimes very critical)
Imaginational	
<i>Free play of the imagination</i>	frequent use of image and metaphor, facility for invention and fantasy, facility for detailed visualization, poetic and dramatic perception, animistic and magical thinking
<i>Capacity for living in a world of fantasy</i>	predilection for magic and fairy tales, creation of private worlds, imaginary companions; dramatization
<i>Spontaneous imagery as an expression of emotional tension</i>	animistic imagery, mixing truth and fiction, elaborate dreams, illusions
<i>Low tolerance of boredom</i>	need for novelty

(continues)

TABLE 11.4
Forms and Expressions of Overexcitability (cont.)

Emotional
<i>Feelings and emotions intensified</i> positive feelings, negative feelings, extremes of emotion, complex emotions and feelings, identification with others' feelings, awareness of a whole range of feelings
<i>Strong somatic expressions</i> tense stomach, sinking heart, blushing, flushing, pounding heart, sweaty palms
<i>Strong affective expressions</i> inhibition (timidity, shyness); enthusiasm, ecstasy, euphoria, pride; strong affective memory; shame; feelings of unreality, fears, and anxieties; feelings of guilt; concern with death; depressive and suicidal moods
<i>Capacity for strong attachments, deep relationships</i> strong emotional ties and attachments to persons, living things, places; attachments to animals; difficulty adjusting to new environments; compassion, responsiveness to others, sensitivity in relationships; loneliness
<i>Well-differentiated feelings toward self</i> inner dialogue and self-judgment

Note. Revised from Piechowski (1979)

through which the various external impingements, and internal stirrings reach the individual. They determine to what occurrences and in what way one is capable of responding.

The type of response is specific to that type of overexcitability that is most dominant in a given person. For instance, persons characterized by emotional overexcitability when asked what triggers in them a high feeling, usually answer that it is the presence of someone they love or of a very special friend; if the answer to the same question is the speed and excitement of water skiing, playing a hard game of racquetball, or racing a motorcycle, it indicates psychomotor overexcitability. In the latter case, although the question was asked in the emotional dimension—"do you ever feel high, ecstatic, or incredibly happy?"—the response was given in the psychomotor dimension.

These channels can be wide open, narrow, or operating at bare minimum. They are assumed to be part of a person's constitution and to be more or less independent of each other. If more than one of these channels, or all five, are open wide, then the abundance and diversity of feeling, thought, imagery, and sensation will inevitably lead to a clash of stimuli and consequently to inner dissonance, conflict, and tension. When dissonance and conflict are so strongly felt, they push for expression and

resolution, which in turn enriches, expands, and intensifies the individual's mental development. The inner tension may be overwhelming.

Overexcitabilities constitute the child's original equipment, subsequently shaped by the whole array of parental, peer, school, economic, and other forces as described by current models of talent development (Feldman, 1988; Gagné, 1995; Piechowski, 1998; Piirto, 1994; Tannenbaum, 1983, 1997). But we are left with a basic question. Is DP, defined as the sum of abilities and overexcitabilities—as long as the constellation of other necessary conditions does not cut it short—sufficient to result in development characterized by inner transformation? Do the higher levels, including self-actualization, spring directly from DP or do some additional elements and processes have to come into play? We are far from knowing the answer but it is clear that an inner imperative for transforming growth entails a combination of intellectual and emotional elements. We see one form of it in the mechanism of self-evaluation as mentioned earlier.

DP AS DESCRIPTIVE OF THE GIFTED, TALENTED, AND CREATIVE

Systematic investigation of the five overexcitabilities was made possible by the Overexcitability Questionnaire (OEQ). When first designed, the OEQ consisted of 46 open-ended items (Piechowski, 1979). It was subsequently trimmed down to 21 items (Lysy & Piechowski, 1983; Piechowski & Cunningham, 1985). The items were designed to elicit response material corresponding to the expressions listed in Table 11.3. Piechowski and Miller (1995) compared the written OEQ with an interview using the same items in a study with 9- to 14-year-olds. The two methods appeared to be nearly equivalent but with younger children the interview works better. Ackerman (1997) and Silverman (1998) thoroughly reviewed research in which the OEQ was used.

The five dimensions of DP have been shown to be stronger in the gifted than in the nongifted (Ackerman, 1993; Gallagher, 1985; Piechowski & Colangelo, 1984; Silverman & Ellsworth, 1981); to distinguish artists from the intellectually gifted adults (Piechowski, Silverman, & Falk, 1985); to be observable in very young gifted children (Howard, 1994; Tucker & Hafenstein, 1997; Silverman, 1983); and to be more pronounced in artists and in creative adolescents (Calic, 1994; Ely, 1995; Piechowski & Cunningham, 1985; Piirto, 1990, 1998; Schiever, 1985).

Because identification procedures vary, they may select gifted children with distinctly different overexcitability profiles. When gifted adolescents were recruited from different schools, one school appeared

to be selecting primarily hard-working, task-oriented able achievers, but another school was selecting a large proportion of creative, self-directed, and imaginative youngsters, as judged by the content of their responses on the OEQ. By contrast, the first school seemed actually to select against this type of youngster (Piechowski & Colangelo, 1984).

The OEQ thus offers a new possibility of investigating identification procedures. On the assumption that the stronger the overall overexcitability profile the stronger the talent, the OEQ offers the opportunity for identifying a broad range of giftedness. Ackerman (1993, 1997) showed that the overexcitabilities can distinguish gifted from nongifted high school students, and Breard (1994) showed the advantage of the OEQ for identifying gifted African-American pupils in upper elementary grades.

When the overexcitability profiles of intellectually gifted adults were compared with those of artists it was found that four overexcitabilities were more strongly represented in the artists than in the intellectually gifted (Piechowski et al., 1985). A study of Venezuelan artists produced a very similar overexcitability profile thus showing the cross-cultural validity of the OEQ (Falk, Manzanero, & Miller, 1997). The artists' imaginal and emotional overexcitabilities were by far the strongest. But their intellectual overexcitability score was similar to, in fact not significantly different from, that of the gifted. This agrees with the findings of other researchers that artists have a strong preference for complex, abstract, and theoretical thinking (Eiduson, 1958; Getzels & Csikszentmihalyi, 1976; Roe, 1946). Their high imaginal overexcitability score reflects the creative element that goes much beyond the concept of divergent thinking. It includes magical and animistic thinking, vivid visualization of fantasized scenes, the ability to go back to an interrupted dream, interest in psychic phenomena, and more (Davis, Peterson, & Farley, 1973; Piirto, 1998; Wilson & Barber, 1983). The strongest expressions of overexcitability are found in creative people (Piechowski, 1999).

The artists' high emotional overexcitability score has a broader meaning. It confirms Langer's (1967) view of the artist as an expert in the knowledge of subjective life. Art and the humanities are devoted to the discovery and expression of that which is most deeply felt in human experience. Every form of human creation is valued and cherished as an expression of the inexhaustible capacities of the human spirit. In that lies the universality and the emotional significance of art, poetry, music, and film.

DP IN GIFTED CHILDREN

Studies of adults inform us about self-actualizing development retrospectively. They do not give us sufficient insight toward recognizing a

child or adolescent who might have a distinct potential toward self-actualization but whose life, with its yet unknown risks, trials, and unpredictable turns, still lies ahead.

By what signs, then, can we attempt to recognize the potential for self-actualization in young people? Self-actualization is recognized not only in spontaneity and realism but especially in lack of ego involvement, undefensiveness, problem-centering ("focused on problems outside themselves"), *Gemeinschaftsgefühl* ("social interest," feeling of kinship with others), positive regard toward all human beings, democratic character structure, rejection of demeaning hostile humor, and discrimination between good and evil that Maslow emphasized saying "they do right and do not do wrong." These qualities identify people who regard their fellow human beings with kindness and who are genuinely concerned about them (Maslow, 1970). These are the very strong traits of self-actualizing individuals. Knowing this should have prevented anyone, as happens all too often, from confounding self-actualization with egocentric self-fulfillment.

The first cases, after Maslow, analyzed in detail were Antoine de Saint-Exupéry and Eleanor Roosevelt. Their self-actualization profiles appeared to have striking similarity (Piechowski & Tyska, 1982). Other studies of self-actualizing people include Payne's (1987) developmental analysis of Paul Robeson and Brennan and Piechowski's (1991) case study of four subjects.

Self-actualizing people find fulfillment in what they do, not in outward signs of success such as recognition, status, or fame. Therefore, to look for signs of potential toward self-actualization in young people, and even in children, we must look beyond the full unfolding of their glorious abilities, for evidence of empathy and sensitivity toward feelings of others, ethical concerns about being fair to others, efforts to protect others from harm, and being able to see human situations in a broader perspective, what Maslow called "more efficient perception of reality."

The work of Coles (1986, 1990) on the moral and spiritual life of children, Lovecky's (1997, 1998) and Silverman's (1994) on moral and spiritual sensitivity of gifted children, brought forth many examples of children motivated by compassion, who refuse to act aggressively or punitively toward other children, who are protective toward younger children (and sometimes toward adults), who feel what others feel, who are deeply distressed about human violence to the natural world resulting in the threat to survival of many species, and more. Children in local or national news who take action to save the environment, volunteer to help others, stand up to fight crime, take social action, and commit acts of courage, even risking their own lives, to save others from fire, drowning, or being shot, have been described by Lewis (1992). Reports of chil-

dren with this kind of outstanding potential for self-actualization continue to be published in the *Informer*, edited by Jason Dean Crowe, who started his "neighborhood newspaper for kids and by kids" in 1993 at the age of 9.

A pioneering research of strong DP in young children was conducted by Howard (1994) who investigated the psychosocial development in five highly gifted 5-year-old girls (140–154 IQ). These girls showed in interview, and in their behavior, an advanced level of understanding of how human relationships work. They knew that people die but puppets don't, that a person may have conflicting feelings about one issue (e.g., feeling sad to leave a current home but happy to move to a new one), that overt behavior may not clearly reveal the feelings a person has inside, and that because personalities are based on inner feelings rather than simple actions, friendships take effort to maintain. Unlike other 5-year-olds, they were not bound by appearance and by physical reality but were aware of the inner psychological reality in people. This type of understanding is usually found only in children twice their age or even older. One of these highly gifted girls was extremely aware of race issues, and another of the problem created by her own popularity—each classmate in her preschool wanted her for a friend, but to choose one would have meant rejection for the others—which led her to devise group activities so that no one was excluded, or other equally resourceful strategies. These highly gifted preschoolers demonstrated their advanced understanding in how they acted toward others, not just by being able to talk about it.

The previous discussion suggests that the signs of potential toward self-actualization are recognizable in the intensity and sensitivity of feelings, empathy, and understanding of others, early emergence of ethical concerns about being fair to others, worrying about subtle issues in how others are affected by one's actions, or anything that we can recognize as proper to the domain of personal intelligence and emotional overexcitability. Noting these signs what kind of development is likely to follow? Which kind is likely to lead to Dabrowski's multilevel inner growth and self-actualization?

Two basic kinds of development invite consideration, and they may occur together or separately. One is the development of talent in the broad sense of creative work, be it scientific, artistic, or expressive performance. The characteristic of heightened intensity of experiencing represents the kind of endowment that feeds, nourishes, enriches, empowers, and amplifies talent (Piechowski, 1998, 1999; Piechowski & Cunningham, 1985; Piechowski et al., 1985).

The other kind of development is multilevel inner growth guided by powerful ideals. It is characterized by moral questioning, existen-

tial concerns, and methodical self-judgment that guides the individual in the work of inner transformation. This type of development, especially when it is intense and sustained, produces self-actualizing growth of the kind observed in spiritual leaders and other individuals to whom existential search for the meaning of life and moral responsibility are inextricably linked (Colby & Damon, 1992; Piechowski, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1997b). The study of emotional growth in adolescents brings us closer to identifying the potential for this type of development. This introduces the next topic—the growth of the self, a process in which a person finds an inner direction to his or her life and deliberately takes up the work of inner transformation.

THE GROWTH OF THE SELF IN GIFTED ADOLESCENTS

Gifted adolescents become aware of their inner life early and can describe it in a highly sophisticated manner. However, the typology of adolescent maturation appears to be twofold (Piechowski, 1989). One type resembles Peck and Havighurst's (1960) rational-altruistic type, the other is introspective, emotionally intense, and points to inner psychic transformation of the kind described by Dabrowski (1967, 1972).

The rational-altruistic type is in some ways akin to the foreclosure identity described by Marcia (1980). These individuals establish their identity without going through a developmental crisis. In Peck and Havighurst's (1960) description such a person is

"rational" because he assesses each new action and its effects realistically, in the light of internalized moral principles derived from social experience; and he is "altruistic," because he is ultimately interested in the welfare of others, as well as himself. . . . He wants everyone to work constructively in some area and produce results useful to everyone. He sees relations with others as pleasant, cooperative effort toward mutual goals. . . . As an adult, he assumes an appropriate share of responsibility in his role as a member of a family, community, nation. . . . He reacts with emotion appropriate to the occasion. This does not mean he is unemotional, for he is enthusiastic about promoting what is good, and aroused to prevent what is bad. (p. 8)

This picture of rational maturity fits many gifted youngsters who become mature and responsible adults. Note that this picture stresses *adaptation* to social reality, a reality governed by laws and conventions, contracts and agreements. Although cooperative and democratic partici-

pation is stressed, this is still an external social reality. Character development limited to such adaptation cannot lead to personal growth in which radical inner change is necessary to achieve autonomy and a clear vision of the self. The self is an *emotional* and *individual* reality. Maturation in this case entails emotional growth through developmental crises and represents the second type. Some gifted children become engaged in this type of growth rather early. Paradoxically, growth toward the rational-altruistic type of maturity does not entail emotional growth in the sense used here.

In the study of gifted adolescents' maturation, two distinct patterns could be discerned (Piechowski, 1989). The first pattern is like Peck and Havighurst's rational-altruistic type. Adolescents who fall into this pattern appear to mature normally and planfully in keeping with the demands of school and career as well as their active service to the community. In their development they combine rational and other-directed (altruistic) aspects. This pattern could be interpreted as self-actualization through developing one's career. However, this corresponds only in part, and in that not the most essential part, to the features of self-actualization as described by Maslow. The rational-altruistic type fulfills a positive role in society, however, it does not rise to the vision of a sense of kinship with others, finding a goal outside oneself, and living by values and ideals that transcend culture and time.

The second pattern manifests intense emotional growth and suggests a better fit with Maslow's criteria. It is characterized by introspective questioning and searching, emotional depth and sensitivity. It has several themes, which are listed in Table 11.5. Not all of the traits have to be present at once. In the original exploratory study, at least four out of six of these qualities were present in each case. Fuller description of the study and illustrative examples have been presented elsewhere (Piechowski, 1989, 1991).

A number of gifted children give evidence of an awareness of their personal growth rather early and also of anticipation and readiness for what lies ahead. Awareness of feelings and emotions gains importance, and they become essential to these gifted children's self-definition. The emotional maturity and sensitivity that some teenagers achieve in late adolescence appears in the gifted—those engaged in emotional growth—in early adolescence.

Expressions of understanding, caring for others, and empathy can be quite conscious as expressed by one 14-year-old girl: "I can see myself in other people, I can see things I've done in what other people do. I *really* understand people's thoughts and actions because I think of times I was in their place."

TABLE 11.5
Characteristics of Emotional Growth of Introspective Gifted Adolescents

1. Awareness of growing and changing; awareness of many possible developmental paths.
2. Awareness of feelings and conscious attention to them, interest in others and empathy toward others.
3. Feelings of unreality occasionally present, marking periods of particularly intense emotional growth.
4. Inner dialogue and self-judgment, at times quite severe.
5. Searching and questioning—problem-finding; asking basic, philosophical, existential questions.
6. Awareness of one's real self.

Note. From Piechowski (1989)

Periods of intense emotional growth can bring on such sudden inner shifts as to produce moments of disequilibrium and estrangement in which one feels at odds with the surroundings, as if suddenly alien to what was familiar before. Such feelings of unreality are not in themselves a cause for concern. What calls for concern is the fact that great emotional intensity and sensitivity combined with high intelligence make a youngster acutely aware of the precariousness of human existence and of the precarious condition of our world. Because of this, and because others have so little understanding, gifted children can be extremely vulnerable and at risk for suicide (Delisle, 1986; Farrell, 1989; Hayes & Sloat, 1989; Leroux, 1986; Roedell, 1984; Silverman, 1993; Slaby & Garfinkel, 1996). Maxwell (1995) gave an overview of how the developmental needs of the gifted change through the life span, with particular attention to their vulnerabilities and sensitivities that call for enlightened handling.

Inner dialogue and self-judgment are an essential part of moral growth. Although in his cognitive theory of moral development Kohlberg minimized the importance of emotions, the penetrating genius of James (1902) saw a definite and necessary link between the strength of one's emotions and moral character. Self-judgment, then, is an evaluation of one's own self and no personal process of evaluation is possible without the appraising mechanism of feeling (Bowlby, 1969). Without feeling, our subjective life would be just so many bits of data washed of color and meaning. Damasio (1994), studying the human brain, proved as much.

Searching, inquiring, and problem-finding are those special abilities (Getzels & Csikszentmihalyi, 1976) by which one discovers things that need discovering, questions that need to be asked, and problems

that yet have to be conceived. Self-scrutiny, questioning, and the search for truth go together. Gifted youngsters often ask basic, philosophical, and existential questions. Somehow they develop not only a sense of objective truth but of inner truth as well.

Moral concerns and evaluations, and issues of personal responsibility, are typical of gifted adolescents:

I think about my morals and what I really think is right and wrong. I often find that how I feel is a contradiction of what society thinks. This makes me wonder if there is something wrong with me. I concentrate on why and how I became this way and if I will always be this way. (Male, age 17)

This young man expresses keen questioning and self-scrutiny. Those like him are not only gifted in terms of their talents and abilities but in terms of character growth—they sincerely want to become better persons. Their self-knowledge is impressive for this age.

The sense of an autonomous and individual self is sometimes expressed very strongly, perhaps especially so when it appears early, that is, in someone who is still perceived as a child:

[I am] An individual! I'm me, and I can choose to do what I want, be what I want, make my own decisions, and just be me. I find it very hard to respect someone who "follows the crowd" and refuses to be an individual. I was put on the earth as an individual and that's just what I intend to always be. (Female, age 14)

The development of self-awareness and self-understanding of emotionally introspective gifted youngsters traces the general direction described for adolescents by Broughton (1980), Selman (1980), and others. What is distinctive in the gifted is an acceleration of development and a greater intensity of existential questioning. And, importantly, they value their emotional side. It is not just awareness of having moods, feelings, and emotions but the realization that these are a distinct and essential part of one's self and for this are to be cherished.

Emotional growth characterized by awareness of feelings, empathy, understanding of others, and self-evaluation aiming at improvement of one's character, suggests a potential for inner psychic transformation in further development. Whether this possibility of deeper inner growth is borne out can only be answered by an extended longitudinal study. Jackson's (1995, 1998) study of depression in highly gifted adolescents makes a start in that direction. She found that gifted adolescents fall into depression when their absolute need for knowledge, their drive

for meaning in the world is stymied, when their need for deep and authentic communion with others remains unfulfilled, and when they are unable or are prevented from expressing their most vital emotions, feelings, and experiences. Their emotional intensity and profound sensitivity combined with self-reflection and self-analysis led a number of them into a multilevel inner growth as defined by Dabrowski. In this manner, Jackson's study confirms what was hypothesized in the original study (Piechowski, 1989): that the emotional growth characterized by introspective questioning and searching has strong potential for multilevel development and self-actualization.

Too often, emotional growth receives little attention. It is a rare family where it truly does. So much of our life is geared toward visible markers of achievement and success, and the gifted are especially burdened with this. The dominant paradigm of gifted education is performance through achievement rather than personal growth (Grant & Piechowski, 1999; Piechowski, 1998; Roeper, 1998; Schultz & Delisle, 1997). The importance of care and attention necessary for personal growth is minimized. Sometimes it is denied any importance at all. Individuals driven to achievement see emotions either as an obstacle (Neuhaus, 1981) or live only in their harsh aggressive emotions (Mitroff, 1974). If we ignore and fail to understand the children's emotional growth, it is because we have neglected our own.

EMOTIONAL GIFTEDNESS AND POSITIVE MALADJUSTMENT

Children in whom compassion combines with insight into others and compels them to act on their behalf, were described by Roeper (1982) as emotionally gifted. Her paradigm example is a boy at a chess tournament in the final game to decide the winner. It was clear that this boy was going to win yet he lost the game through seemingly careless mistakes. No one could understand why he lost. The boy saw his opponent on the verge of tears because of certain defeat. Roeper commented that the first boy dared to act on his awareness of the other boy's pain of loss. His own sense of self did not depend on winning. He competed in chess all the way to the top without being ego-involved.

Dabrowski (1970) called taking action in this manner *positive maladjustment*. Thus, emotional giftedness and positive maladjustment overlap to a large degree. Standing by one's beliefs and ideals is a common experience for gifted teens. Here are a few examples taken from responses to the OEQ (Piechowski, 1979). A 16-year-old student was asked the question "How well do you like being all by yourself?" She replied:

Depends—all on the circumstances. I can take standing alone—if I have to. I spent seven years of my life (almost 7) as a social outcast because I refused to conform to some demands of my society or couldn't conform to others—I'm not at all likely to be afraid of ostracism now. As far as being alone from time to time just to have a few quiet moments, I find I not only enjoy it but need it. There are just definitely times when I don't want to see anyone but myself.

To be true to oneself may indeed require a person to stand alone at times. The following are replies from students who were asked "What situations bring you in conflict with others?" A 17-year-old girl replied in this way:

[I am in conflict with others] When other people become too demanding or try to tell me what to do, how to think, or what to feel. In a way which is not always good, I'm a little [too] independent or stubborn for my own good—but the thing that I refuse to do is sacrifice my feelings for others just to be part of the crowd, and I can't stand doing something against my ideals. These things will bring me in conflict with others.

A young woman of 18 reacted to the presumption of superiority by her teachers:

Sometimes I'm in conflict with my teachers because I won't go along with their superiority complexes. I won't accept their ideas all the time and I hate when they come at me with them and I better accept them or get them wrong on a test. Sometimes I found that they would give their view on a certain subject yet wouldn't listen to what my view is, for of course theirs is right.

Positive maladjustment leads to action. Pleasing others and seeking their acceptance may be desirable. At the same time, it may conflict with what one believes is right, for instance to be self-directed rather than other-directed. Here are replies, two years apart, from a boy responding to, "Who am I?" When he was 15 he wrote: "I feel that I am a person who is on the earth that is destined to use his abilities and talents to his fullest. This is simply what I think I really am." He gave it much thought over the next two years. At 17, he recognized a moral conflict between getting ahead and being considerate of others:

The answer to this question has changed over the past few years. A few years ago I was a person who wanted things for himself. Now I am trying to change that person to a person who wants to contribute

to others and the world not just himself. Obtaining this type of person in this world is not that easy. The one thing that is a roadblock is competition. Not necessarily losing to other people, but beating them. How can I compete to get into medical school when a doctor is supposed to build people's confidence and restore their sense of security? The process is self-defeating.

It is not hard to see that this kind of thinking guided the lives of Gandhi, Eleanor Roosevelt, Peace Pilgrim, Etty Hillesum, and many others who follow their inner voice (Piechowski, 1993).

Peace Pilgrim (1982) expressed how world peace can be achieved by working in harmony and connectedness with others:

We are all cells in the body of humanity. We are not separate from our fellow humans. . . . It's only from that higher viewpoint that you can know what it is to love your neighbor as yourself. From that higher viewpoint there becomes just one realistic way to work, and that is for the good of the whole. As long as you work for your selfish little self, you're just one cell against all those other cells, and you're way out of harmony. But as soon as you begin working for the good of the whole, you find yourself in harmony with all of your fellow human beings. You see, it's the easy, harmonious way to live. (pp. 18–19)

The boy, who wondered how he could be a helper and a healer when at the same time he was expected to defeat others in competition, arrived, on his own, at the same understanding as Peace Pilgrim.

SELF-ACTUALIZATION, INNER TRANSFORMATION, AND TALENT DEVELOPMENT

Moral exemplars, self-actualizing people, those who do not compromise their values, and those on an inner quest, present an interesting question about the nature of their abilities because qualities of character cannot be subsumed under talent.

In Gardner's definition of intrapersonal intelligence as introspective capacity, it can be considered a talent with a set of "core operations." The success of such a talent can be assessed by the therapist's or writer's reputation for insight and an ability to help others look more deeply into themselves. However, when we extend the concept of intrapersonal intelligence to include inner growth and transformation, which we must in order to account for the appearance of moral exemplars, we run into a difficulty.

Even though we may look at intrapersonal intelligence from the point of view of talent, there is something incongruous in doing this. Excellence in self-knowledge is judged by how a person lives his or her life, and the inner work to become a better person. Talents, on the other hand, are judged by what the person has produced—a work of art, a book, a concerto, or a dance. These are judged by criteria of excellence in a given domain. The criteria apply to the work, not to the creator; they are external to the creator and his or her work. But in self-knowledge, and in the creative process of forging a new self, there is no product to judge other than the person's life and character. To apply criteria of excellence to it would mean to judge a person as being better or worse than someone else. But we cannot pass judgment in this way because we never know the whole truth about a person. For this reason, to say that someone is emotionally gifted appears to be less incongruous than to say that someone has an outstanding talent in intrapersonal intelligence. It is the specification of talent, not the domain of intrapersonal intelligence itself, that strikes a dissonance.

Gardner (1993b, pp. 28-29) said some children are "at promise" and others are "at risk" in the development of any one of the intelligences. Those at promise are "highly endowed with the core abilities and skills of that intelligence," those at risk are those who, without special aids, cannot succeed at the tasks of that intelligence. Stress on competition and achievement of status and prestige will certainly put at risk any but the strongest potential in the intrapersonal domain. In the interpersonal domain, it will lead, most likely, to virtuosity in manipulating others. Stress on success as the measure of a person's worth, contributes to such evil significantly.

Colby and Damon (1992) conducted detailed interviews with 23 moral exemplars who, in their lives of dedication and service, are nothing short of heroic. They found that these extraordinary people were open to revise their views and beliefs yet paradoxically had a moral certainty and stability. They also have an ability to quickly and efficiently shut off their fears and loss of heart. They recognize it, acknowledge it, and then put it aside. One of these persons said, "It's a gift, I think," because evidently she did not know how it is developed or if it can be taught (Colby & Damon, 1992, p. 88).

Inner growth and transformation, as we are beginning to discover, can follow different paths. Those described by Colby and Damon appear to follow the path of increasing moral certainty, those studied by others (Dabrowski, 1967; Nixon, 1994; Piechowski, 1990, 1992b, 1993) show growth through inner struggle and deliberate work at inner transformation. Even so, the lives of Colby and Damon's moral exemplars were not entirely free from inner conflict. Growing up, some of them

experienced the clash of their unquestioned beliefs in the face-to-face encounter with oppression, poverty, social injustice, and denial of basic human rights.

Thus, as long as intrapersonal intelligence is understood chiefly as introspective capacity, it can be considered a talent, but when the concept is extended to include a highly developed mature self of a moral exemplar then it would be more fitting to call it emotional giftedness, and in some cases even spiritual giftedness (Piechowski, 1997, 2000). It was, therefore, necessary to broaden Gardner's (1983) concept of intrapersonal intelligence and its extension, "continued development, where an individual has an option of becoming increasingly autonomous, integrated, or self-actualized. . . . The end goal of these developing processes is a self that is highly developed and fully differentiated from others" (p. 252) and to support his original conclusion, one he did not subsequently develop further, that perhaps a knowledge of self is a "higher level, more integrated form of intelligence . . . one that ultimately comes to control and to regulate more 'primary orders' of intelligence" (p. 274). Doesn't this sound almost Dabrowskian? The elaboration outlined here fills the hole by identifying the processes of evaluation in general and self-judgment in particular, inner transformation, positive maladjustment, and much more that characterizes emotional giftedness.

Moral exemplars go against social wrongs and injustice, not with a set of "core abilities and skills," but with a sense of moral certainty and profound caring for their brothers and sisters in need. The clarity of their vision imparts simplicity and irrefutable logic of human dignity and compassion. Those who could be viewed as "spiritually gifted" have an inner realization of transcendence. For Etty Hillesum, it was her life of prayer and her ability to draw strength "directly from life" (as she experienced it, life was something of a vast cosmic current), for Peace Pilgrim it was the "ever-present, all pervading spirit—which binds everything in the universe together and gives life to everything" (p. 2).

BRIDGES OVER THE WATERS OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE

This chapter has two sets of components, one theoretical and one descriptive. The descriptive set consists of case examples of advanced development, characteristics of children and adolescents suggesting potentials for advanced development, description of types of emotional development, emotional giftedness, and positive maladjustment.

The theoretical set consists of a constellation of bridged theories with Dabrowski's theory as the overarching scaffolding. The five levels

of development in this theory cover the whole range of human personality: at one end restricted to survival and self-protection and at the other end expanded to the most self-giving and inspired. The theory has one more level beyond self-actualization because Dabrowski looked at these extraordinary people first and did not concern himself whether they existed in statistically significant numbers. Empirically derived theories like Kohlberg's and Loevinger's drop out at the high end because of infrequent representation. However, it is an error to mistake infrequent occurrence for it being negligible. Moral exemplars, whether well known or not, are important because of their impact on others.

It is not easy to classify Dabrowski's theory. In the broadest sense, it is a theory of emotional development, but also about moral development and the springs of action or motivation, and it is also a theory of inner change in the core of the self. The domain of the theory are the personal intelligences, more specifically the uncharted areas of intrapersonal intelligence. The theory is about the inner life of the person and the development that takes place there but it is also about relationships with others and the relationship to the larger community. The inner self cannot be healthy without an empathic connectedness with one's fellow human beings.

Gardner mapped out how personal intelligences develop through the life span. Dabrowski's levels are not age-related changes; instead they describe types of development (or, maturation) that are transformations in the person's self. The two major types are unilevel and multilevel development.

Primary integration is Dabrowski's concept of no emotional development. It is opposite to disintegration that has to loosen things up before growthful changes can take place. This led some, including Dabrowski, to regard the newborn infant to be in a state of primary integration. But this is illogical because the theory is not about life-span development, and because an infant is not self-serving, manipulative, or self-protective. It expects care and pays back in gurgles and smiles. An infant must first develop to the point that its actions can be judged by the theory's criteria for assessing levels. These criteria have been brought to light by Miller (1985). They consist of a person's values, feelings toward self, and feelings toward others. An infant or a child cannot be assessed on values it holds, whether they are self-serving, stereotypical, individual, or universal. Nor can its feelings toward self be judged as egocentric, ambivalent, or beset by inner conflict or self-directed. Neither can feelings toward others be judged as superficial, adaptive, interdependent, or democratic.

Levels are abstract categories of development, therefore they are not real. A category is not part of the phenomenon in question. A per-

son's feelings, emotions, awareness, intentionality, and will are real because they are events in the organism as part of the natural world. They all have an underlying neurological activity.

Self-evaluative processes are fundamental to Dabrowski's theory. How they operate makes the difference between those who protect their ego, who follow their "gut" without a more critically developed inner standard, and those who aspire to transcend their ego. The essential dynamic is emotional, limited in those who protect their ego, and rich in those endowed with "ardor and excitability of character."

Bandura's self-system is a detailed model of how self-judgment, self-reactions, and self-correction operate in people. His model promises to provide the internal logic of self-evaluation and elucidate the difference between unilevel and multilevel self-evaluation. However, what makes it work is emotion and feeling, because evaluating, or appraising, is a feeling process (Bowlby, 1969). This still has to be built into Bandura's model.

Availability of models for inner processes that are hidden and out of view makes it possible to look for signs of potential for self-actualization and advanced development in young people—possible even in young children as Howard's (1994) research has shown.

This chapter attempts to make it clear that much work needs to be done. Nevertheless we are today in the happy position of having well-developed models and theories that can guide us in the exploration of advanced development and the inner life of the self.

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IV

CONCLUSION DISPARATE VIEWS OF CREATIVE INTELLIGENCE: TOWARD CLARIFICATION, EXTENSION, AND INTEGRATION
