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Introduction of the concept of multilevel actualization

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Abstract

Maslow's concept of self-actualization has been an important force in psychology and has influenced perceptions of advanced development. Maslow described a single continuum of potential spanning from low levels of animal instinct through to higher levels of human values and said all of these potentials must be actualized – both the lower and higher. Maslow's approach is contrasted by the multilevel theory presented by Dąbrowski. Multilevelness introduces a vertical contrast that distinguishes higher from lower qualities. The concept of multilevel actualization (MA) is introduced to provide a new approach emphasizing a multilevel and discriminating approach to actualization. Those elements which are lower and "less-oneself" are inhibited and transformed or transcended while those elements that are deemed higher and "more-oneself" are actualized or, if necessary, are created. Combining Maslow's important insights with the critical Dąbrowskian notions of multilevelness and positive disintegration creates an important new paradigm to understand development.

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Introduction of the concept of multilevel actualization

Abraham Maslow (1908 – 1970) and his concept of self-actualization have become widely known and appreciated over the past 50 years. This paper will introduce the much less known theory of Kazimierz Dąbrowski (1902 – 1980) and apply his concept of multilevelness to self-actualization. This conceptual amalgamation represents a significant advance in the power and utility of the concept of actualization. Maslow's original approach emphasized discovering one's nature and actualizing the self as it exists. Multilevelness introduces a vertical discrimination whereby an individual consciously evaluates and chooses among higher and lower potentialities. Multilevel actualization involves conceptualizing one's ideal self and then subsequently shaping and creating one's personality through the inhibition and transformation of those aspects that one considers lower and less like oneself and through the development and realization of aspects that one considers higher and more like oneself.

Dąbrowski also described how one's initial psychological integration tends to be on a single level (unilevel). Under certain conditions this integration breaks apart and its rationale and one's *weltanschauung* is challenged in a process Dąbrowski called positive disintegration. Positive disintegration may lead an individual to an awareness of higher possibilities that contrast with the lower existing realities. This vertical differentiation represents multilevelness and allows an individual to literally take control of him or herself and to establish a new view of life, emphasizing the appreciation of, and pursuit of, higher level behaviours and goals. This process leads to a differentiation of the self as it exists, allowing the individual to literally replace the "as is" self with the self as he or she conceptualizes it "ought to be." This ideal personality involves a careful consideration of one's character and essential nature and a consciously chosen and individualized value structure. Multilevel actualization represents a significant advance in

our understanding of human development.

Maslow's later major work (1971/1976) was largely an amalgamation and extension of his earlier thinking and I found it beneficial to read the material in chronological order to see how his ideas developed. The major papers I reviewed are readily available (Maslow, 1939, 1940, 1942a, 1942b, 1943a, 1943b, 1943c, 1943d, 1943e, 1945, 1948, 1949, 1951a, 1951b, 1954, 1956/1974a, 1956/1974b). I was surprised at how disjointed and ambiguous Maslow's work was and how primitive his conclusions were, especially compared to Dąbrowski's. In a comprehensive overview of the development of Maslow's thinking, Daniels (1982) explained that Maslow discounted the importance of conceptual formulations in favour of simply gathering "facts" through observation, an approach Maslow called "determined naiveté." Daniels (1982) explained that Maslow was very open to new ideas, a feature that led to ongoing theoretical elaborations and ultimately preventing the development of a consistent theory of motivation or self-actualization. This conceptual openness was further complicated by Maslow's belief that each of his ideas contained some kernel of truth and therefore his revisions were additive; he retained his previous ideas and built his new formulations upon them (Daniels, 1982).² For example, Maslow began from a motivational and biological perspective and even in his final writings; self-actualization was presented within a motivational and biological framework.

Reading Maslow's early work, the benefits of a multilevel approach and Dąbrowski's objections to Maslow's concepts came into clear focus and the impasse between the two approaches was obvious. It was also obvious that this impasse could be resolved through the application of multilevelness to the concept of self-actualization yielding a new approach I refer

² Arguments about Maslow's theoretical contributions have continued after his death; for example, see Koltko-Rivera (2006). He argued that Maslow's final formulations were not reflected in his posthumous works.

to as multilevel actualization. This approach is a neo-Dąbrowskian and neo-Maslowian advance in our thinking about development. This paper will review Maslow's work, describing how he came to his theory of self-actualization. Although Dąbrowski's theory represents a broad approach to personality development involving several new concepts including a positive role for psychoneuroses, overexcitability, and positive disintegration, this paper will only briefly describe his concept of multilevelness. Dąbrowski's objections to Maslow's approach will be explored and finally, the new concept of multilevel actualization will be introduced, integrating self-actualization with multilevelness.

Maslow's initial research

As a student at the University of Wisconsin, Maslow worked in Harry Harlow's (1905 – 1981) primate laboratory as his student and assistant. Maslow completed his doctorate under Harlow and they eventually co-authored several papers on primate behavior (for example, Harlow, Uehling, & Maslow, 1932; Maslow & Harlow, 1932). Harlow subsequently became well known for his work on social and cognitive development, using experiments on rhesus monkeys to study maternal-separation and social isolation. Maslow's focus was on the relatively unexplored topic of dominance and dominant behavior in primates. He was especially intrigued by the relationship between dominance and sexual behavior, in particular, his finding that dominance determines sexual behavior (Hoffman, 1988).³

Maslow had long been interested in understanding dominance in humans and he was eager to apply his insights from primates to humans. Maslow's preoccupation on understanding

³ It is interesting to note that Edward Thorndike reviewed Maslow's early primate work and summoned him to Columbia University to meet. Thorndike tested Maslow and found him to have an IQ of 195, the second highest Thorndike had ever recorded. Thorndike was so impressed by Maslow and his previous work that he arranged a postdoctoral fellowship for Maslow and pledged him unrestricted and unending financial support although this relationship turned out to be short-lived (Hoffman, 1988, p. 74).

dominance, especially as it related to relations between men and women and to sexuality may have stemmed from his childhood. He was a very unhappy child, deeply estranged from his mother who was extremely domineering, superstitious and religious. She was openly hostile to Abraham and threatened all of the children with eternal damnation for any minor transgression. Maslow recounted several bitter experiences, for example, he found two kittens on the street and was secretly looking after them in the basement. Upon their discovery, Maslow's mother became enraged and smashed the kittens into the wall in front of Abraham (Hoffman, 1988). She was also extremely controlling, for example, keeping a padlock on the refrigerator (Hoffman, 1988).

As a child, Maslow was very insecure, especially about his looks. This insecurity was compounded by his father's observation that Abraham was "the ugliest kid you've ever seen" (Hoffman, 1988, p. 6). Although quite isolated, Maslow was an intelligent child who spent many hours in the library, eventually reading every book in the children's section and being given an adult library card. Maslow commented "with my childhood, it's a wonder I'm not psychotic" (Hoffman, 1992, p. 70). Maslow's awkwardness continued as a teenager; he never had a date. He fell in love with his first cousin Bertha at family gatherings and against everyone's wishes, married her when he was 20. He commented that his life only really began with his marriage (Hoffman, 1988).

While still a student, Maslow admitted he was attracted to dominant women and he began observing "strong" female College students, eventually striking up conversations with them to collect data concerning their personalities and sexual behavior (Cullen, 1997; Cullen & Gotell, 2002; Hoffman, 1988). Maslow did not employ standardized questionnaires (he didn't even take notes) as he did not feel they contributed any extra objectivity. Maslow "got a thrill of

excitement interviewing the women” and found them more honest about sex than men, therefore the great majority of these interviews were limited to women (Hoffman, 1988, p. 77). This casual data collection led to the publication of several papers examining dominance, self-esteem, motivation and sexual behavior in “relatively normal” college women (Cullen, 1997; Cullen & Gotell, 2002; Maslow, 1939, 1940). This early work was important in psychology as it set a precedent for using normal subjects to study behavior. It should be emphasized that Maslow’s human work was primarily non-empirical; he simply gathered information through interviews and then formed conclusions based on them. Maslow (1945) presented his technique as a comprehensive clinical/case study approach especially appropriate to research the whole personality.

Maslow’s observations from his early research on primates, both from Harlow’s lab and from the Bronx zoo, and his interviews on sexuality were also influential as they cast Maslow’s thinking and directly contributed to his theory of the hierarchy of needs and to his approach to business management (Cullen & Gotell, 2002).

From his early work, both on primates and college students, Maslow concluded that the power dynamics of male dominance and female submission were natural, innate and necessary preconditions for satisfying relations between men and women, as well as required components for satisfying sexuality (Cullen & Gotell, 2002). Having extensively studied sexuality, Maslow considered himself a “unique authority” on the topic and believed that “sex was the easiest way to help mankind” and that if he could improve people’s sex lives “by even one percent” he could “improve the whole species” (Hoffman, 1992, p. 71). Maslow defined positive relationships and satisfying sexuality by the occurrence of female orgasm through heterosexual coitus – facilitated by male initiation and control and corresponding female submission. Maslow credited his

formulation of peak experiences, later to become an important part of self-actualization, to his subjects' descriptions of sexual orgasm (Maslow, 1970).

Maslow theorized that sexual behavior includes both a dominance drive and a sexual drive; sexual behavior emerging as an expression of dominance/submissiveness. Normal heterosexual relations are based upon a power relationship involving a dominant male and a submissive female (Cullen & Gotell, 2002). Maslow observed that dominant women were non-orgasmic when partnered with weak men who were unable to control and dominate them (Maslow, 1942a). In two cases involving non-orgasmic wives, Maslow reported that he utilized his observations of monkey sexual behavior to tutor their husbands in sexual dominance and they were subsequently able to achieve orgasm due to the increased dominance displayed by their husbands (Maslow, 1942a, p. 281).

These power dynamics were also used to explain the fairly common report of same-sex attraction in Maslow's female interviews. Maslow explained that the common form of homosexual attraction in women was "acquired," arising because high-dominance women had to resort to relations with other women as they had yet to meet a sufficiently dominant male. Maslow stated that when a "suitable man" comes along, their homosexuality is "dropped at once" (Maslow, 1942a, p. 275). Maslow also described a few rare women who were "true" lesbians – "abnormal" cases of biological programming wherein a normal dominant male psyche is trapped within a female body.

The dominance and submissive patterns Maslow observed in his interviews on female sexuality were familiar to him from his primate work and he concluded that "In general it is fair to say that human sexuality is almost exactly like primate sexuality." (Maslow, 1942a, p. 291) The only significant difference being that "Inhibitions for the monkey are practically always

external; for the human being they are much more often internal” (Maslow, 1942a, p. 293). This perception subsequently influenced Maslow’s conceptualization of human nature and he went on to suggest that there are no uniquely human characteristics – human and animal drives and instincts exist on a continuum; there are quantitative differences but no qualitative ones.

Reflecting this continuum from lower to higher features, Maslow suggested that various levels of potential exist within a person and said that all of these potentials must be actualized, both the lowest and the highest. As we will see, this idea became a significant problem for Dąbrowski’s acceptance of Maslow.

Maslow developed several conclusions based upon his belief that the dominance of men and the submissiveness of women reflect deeply instinctual, innate traits. Some of Maslow’s conclusions are difficult to reconcile, for example, he stated that women are better able to adjust when their society is conquered by outside forces; “Or to put it another way, being raped (in whatever sense) is less psychologically damaging to women than to men. Women are more able to permit themselves to ‘relax and enjoy it’ than men are” (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 351).

The conclusions derived from Maslow’s early research were the foundation of his needs hierarchy and its apex, self-actualization (Cullen, 1997; Cullen & Gotell, 2002). Maslow believed dominance was a biological characteristic of individuals, not arising from their interaction with others or from their social context – this subsequently placed the impetus for individual development and self-actualization with the individual and specifically, with his or her biological inheritance (Cullen, 1997).

Maslow believed that an individual’s ability to be dominant reflected a self-acknowledged natural superiority (Cullen, 1997). Maslow equated an individual’s feeling of dominance (a “confidence” he called “dominance-feeling”) with self-esteem. Maslow found a

negative correlation between dominance-feeling and self-consciousness – subjects with low dominance were insecure and focused upon their own problems (their shortcomings) while individuals with high dominance were secure and focused upon external problems. As well, Maslow found less and less inferiority feeling as dominance increased (Maslow, 1939). High self-esteem has different impacts in secure individuals compared to insecure individuals. “High self-esteem in secure individuals results in strength rather than power-seeking, in cooperation rather than competition. High self-esteem in insecure individuals eventuates in domination, urge for power over other people and self-seeking” (Maslow, 1942a, p. 269). Maslow (1942a) observed that society in general is insecure and that the average individual is “fairly insecure.”

Maslow and self-actualization

The first use of the term self-actualization was by Kurt Goldstein (1878 – 1965). Goldstein (1939) provided a holistic or “organismic theory” of the person in his major English work: *The organism: A holistic approach to biology derived from pathological data in man*. His emphasis was on the biological and psychological self-actualization of the organism. In this approach, the healthy organism, living in optimal conditions with all of its basic needs being met, reaches an optimal level of tension which “impels the organism to actualize itself in further activities, according to its nature” (Goldstein, 1939, p. 197). The healthy organism is one “in which the tendency towards self-actualization is acting from within, and overcomes the disturbance arising from the clash with the world, not out of anxiety but out of the joy of conquest” (Goldstein, 1939, p. 305 quoted in Moss, 1999, p. 25). When an organism becomes sick or is injured there is a natural tendency for reorganization and recovery in the direction of regaining self-actualization.

Goldstein (1939) further emphasized that we are not passive victims of our drives; organisms have definite potentialities which need to be realized or actualized. As we are impelled forward by our particular potentialities and drives, our personalities actively unfold.

Goldstein was an influential figure in neurology when Maslow met him in the early 1940s. At the time, Maslow had been researching and publishing on the question of security and insecurity by selecting exemplars of each pole and then carefully studying their personalities through his now trademark personal interviews (Maslow, 1942b). This material foreshadowed Maslow's subsequent descriptions of the hierarchy of motivation. After meeting Goldstein, Maslow quickly adopted the term self-actualization and first used it in 1943 (Maslow, 1943a, 1943b). Maslow also adopted Goldstein's approach in viewing the individual as an integrated and organized whole and he said "It is a truism to say that a white rat is not a human being, but unfortunately it is necessary to say it again since too often the results of animal experiments are considered basic data on which we must base our theorizing of human nature" (Maslow, 1943b, p. 89). In a footnote, Maslow (1943b) listed five sets of goals, purposes or needs and included as the fifth, "self-actualization, self-fulfillment, self-expression, working out of one's own fundamental personality, the fulfillment of its potentialities, the use of its capacities, the tendency to be the most that one is capable of being" (p. 91).

Maslow continued searching for and interviewing exemplars, now focusing on self-actualization, but he could not find enough subjects in the college population who demonstrated advanced growth. In an approach reminiscent of Dąbrowski's, Maslow generated descriptions of the characteristics of self-actualized individuals through the study of selected imminent individuals, both dead and alive, and searched for patterns and common characteristics in their

lives. He included such individuals as Abraham Lincoln, William James, Jane Addams, Eleanor Roosevelt, Albert Einstein, and Albert Schweitzer.

One of the foundations of Maslow's theory reflected Goldstein's earlier approach; that as lower needs are met, higher needs will emerge and when they are satisfied still higher needs emerge and so on. Colloquially put, one cannot concentrate on self-actualization if one is starving. Maslow (1943a) therefore suggested that gratification becomes as important a concept as deprivation. Maslow elaborated his idea of self-actualization: "*The need for self-actualization.* – Even if all these needs are satisfied, we may still often (if not always) expect that a new discontent and restlessness will soon develop, unless the individual is doing what he is fitted for. A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy. What a man *can* be, he *must* be. This need we may call self-actualization" (Maslow, 1943a, p. 382). Maslow went on to explain that his use of the term was more specific than Goldstein's in that it referred to "the desire for self-fulfillment, namely, to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow, 1943a, p. 382).

It is also important to mention that Maslow equated actualization with health, stating: "I should then say simply that a healthy man is primarily motivated by his needs to develop and actualize his fullest potentialities and capacities" (Maslow, 1943a, p. 394). Many years later, Maslow summarized his position by saying that it is reasonable to assume that "practically every human being" demonstrates an "active will toward health, an impulse toward growth, or toward the actualization of human potentialities" (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 24). Maslow went on to note the "great paradox" that only a small proportion of the population reach full humanness or self-

actualization and it follows that a failure to achieve self-actualization is a pathological state.

Reflecting this, Maslow described the average person as “normally sick” and by using the phrase “the psychopathology of normality” (Loevinger, 1976, p. 140; Maslow, 1970). Maslow (1998, p. 11) acknowledged his “contempt” for “sterile” people, “multitudes of starry-eyed dilettantes – big talkers, great planners, tremendously enthusiastic – who come to nothing as soon as a little hard work is required.”

Moss (1999) summarized Maslow’s findings on self-actualization:

He found that such individuals share a number of idealized characteristics: boldness in living, courage, freedom, spontaneity, integration, and self-acceptance. They are realistic, yet not held back by present realities. They are autonomous, democratic in values, and capable of loving deeply. They show a sense of humor and an ability to identify beyond themselves with the needs and well-being of humankind. They are able to transcend their own narrow personal perspective and needs and able to transcend as well their own culture and life situation (p. 29).

Maslow described characteristics based upon levels; for example, at the lowest physiological level are the need for food, water, air, and so forth. Subsequent levels included safety, the need to belong and esteem needs. As Maslow’s thinking evolved, his descriptions of the higher levels were somewhat fluid and included self-actualization and the need to know and to understand. 4

4 It is beyond the focus of this book to fully consider Maslow’s propositions. As he developed his theories, Maslow’s ideas became more and more challenging and contradictory. For example, Maslow (1971, pp. 270-286) differentiated the following groups:

- = Non-transcending self-actualizers (Theory-Y people): those with little or no experiences of transcendence.
- = Transcending self-actualizers (Theory-Z people): those in whom transcendent experiencing was important and even central.

Maslow's familiar pyramid of needs begins with four layers of basic needs he referred to as deficiency needs or D-needs. D-needs include physiological needs, safety needs, love/belonging needs, and esteem needs. Significantly, these needs are met by the interaction of the individual with the environment and a non-supportive environment is one major source of "human diminution" and the frustration of higher growth. Deficiency motivation (D-motivation) is generated to meet these needs and maintain balance. If a need goes chronically unmet, tension, disequilibrium and possibly neuroses result. A significant shortfall in a given need during development, for example, extreme insecurity as a child, may later be experienced through lifelong insecurity issues represented by various neuroses.

Maslow also described a set of higher metaneeds or being needs (being values), usually represented as "B-values" and their associated B-motivations – the metamotivations leading to advanced growth. These higher motivations, largely associated with values external to the individual such as truth, goodness and beauty, are important in creating "pressure toward" self-actualization. When metaneeds are unfulfilled, various corresponding metapathologies result – essentially focused on a lack of meaning in life – involving depression, despair, disgust,

= Transcending nonhealthy people, non-self-actualizers, who have important transcendent experiences

= Transcenders: peakers, Yea-sayers, eager for life. Aware of, and living at, the level of Being (B-realm and B-cognition), metamotivated. Peak and plateau experiences become the most important things in life. Often characterized by the discovery and development of one's own private core religious experiences (Maslow, 1964).

= Non-transcenders: nonpeakers, Nay-sayers, "nauseated or irritated by life; they are more essentially practical, realistic, mundane, capable, and secular people, living more in the here-and-now world; i.e., what I have called the D-realm for short, the world of deficiency-needs and of deficiency-cognitions." Tend to be "doers." Do not have personal religious experiences or if they do, repress or suppress them and therefore cannot utilize them in their personal growth, often active in institutional religious activities (Maslow, 1964).

Maslow was criticized for these theoretical elaborations. "This distinction between transcending and nontranscending self-actualizers threw Maslow's theory into comparative disorder" (Daniels, 1982, p. 70).

alienation or cynicism. Unlike the environmental source of satisfaction or frustration of the deficiency needs, Maslow (1971/1976) noted that failures to satisfy metaneeds are rooted in “pathologies of the self” (Geller, 1982). This theme will be further explored below.

Maslow described three sets of characteristics associated with the self-actualizer that I will present here for the convenience of the reader. First, here are Maslow’s being values (Maslow, 1968, 1971/1976):

1. **Truth:** (honesty; reality; nakedness; simplicity; richness; essentiality; oughtness; beauty; pure, clean and unadulterated; completeness).
2. **Goodness:** (rightness; desireability; oughtness; justice; benevolence; honesty); (we love it, are attracted to it, approve of it).
3. **Beauty:** (rightness; form; aliveness; simplicity; richness; wholeness; perfection; completion; uniqueness; honesty).
4. **Wholeness:** (unity; integration; tendency to oneness; interconnectedness; simplicity; organization; structure; order; not dissociated; synergy; homonomous and integrative tendencies).
5. **Aliveness:** (process; non-deadness; spontaneity; self-regulation; full-functioning; changing and yet remaining the same; expressing itself).
6. **Uniqueness:** (idiosyncrasy; individuality; noncomparability; novelty; quale; suchness; nothing else like it);
7. **Perfection:** (nothing superfluous; nothing lacking; everything in its right place; unimprovable; just-rightness; just-so-ness; suitability; justice; completeness; nothing beyond; oughtness).
8. **Completion:** (ending; finality; justice; it’s finished; no more changing of the Gestalt;

- fulfillment; *finis* and *telos*; nothing missing or lacking; totality; fulfillment of destiny; cessation; climax; consternation closure; death before rebirth; cessation and completion of growth and development).
9. **Justice:** (fairness; oughtness; suitability; architectonic quality; necessity; inevitability; disinterestedness; non-partiality).
 10. **Simplicity:** (honesty; nakedness; essentiality; abstract unmistakability; essential skeletal structure; the heart of the matter; bluntness; only that which is necessary; without ornament; nothing extra or superfluous).
 11. **Richness:** (differentiation; complexity; intricacy; totality; nothing missing or hidden; all there; “non-importance,” i.e. everything is equally important; nothing is unimportant; everything is less the way it is, without improving, simplifying, abstracting, rearranging).
 12. **Effortlessness:** (ease; lack of strain, striving or difficulty; grace; perfect and beautiful functioning).
 13. **Playfulness:** (fun; joy; amusement; gaiety; humor; exuberance; effortlessness);
 14. **Self-sufficiency:** (autonomy; independence; not-needing-other-than-itself-in-order-to-be-itself; self-determining; environment-transcendence; separateness; living by its own laws; identity). (p. 129)

Maslow (1970, pp. 153-172) also described fifteen⁵ salient characteristics of self-actualized people:

1. **More efficient perception of reality and more comfortable relations with it.**

⁵ Maslow did not number the characteristics he described. Some authors close the list at item 15. In Maslow (1970) the section following was entitled “the imperfections of self-actualizing people” and some authors include it as a 16th characteristic. Self-actualizing people show “many of the lesser human failings” (Maslow, 1970, p. 175).

“[T]hey live more in the real world of nature than in the man-made mass of concepts, abstractions, expectations, beliefs, and stereotypes that most people confuse with the world. They are therefore far more apt to perceive what is there rather than their own wishes, hopes, fears, anxieties, their own theories and beliefs, or those of their cultural group (Maslow, 1970, p. 154).

2. **Acceptance (self, others, nature).** Easy acceptance of self without complaint, guilt or feelings of shame. Stoically accepting the self as is with whatever its shortcomings and not feeling concern over discrepancies from the ideal image.
3. **Spontaneity; simplicity; naturalness.** Relatively spontaneous in behavior and quite spontaneous in one's inner life, thoughts and impulses. Behavior is simple and natural. Alienation from ordinary conventions reflects an autonomous individual value structure. Motivated to develop to self-perfection.
4. **Problem centering.** Strongly focused upon problems outside of themselves, rarely are they the focus of problems. Usually concerned with a mission in life. Concerned with universal ethical and philosophical issues – concerned with “the big picture.”
5. **The quality of detachment; the need for privacy.** Seek and enjoy solitude. Able to concentrate to a high degree, more objective than average, more problem centered. Make up their minds for themselves and display more free will than average.
6. **Autonomy; independence of culture and environment; will; active agents.** Self-contained. Not dependent upon the real world, culture or others for their satisfaction. Moved by growth motivation not deficiency motivation. Their satisfaction is based upon the ongoing growth and expression of their own potentialities and resources. They do not require need gratifications (love, safety, respect, prestige, belongingness)

- from others, they have become strong enough and independent enough that they are now inner-individual and they do not need the approval or affection of others.
7. **Continued freshness of appreciation.** They are able to appreciate the experiences of life freshly and naïvely, as if for the first time – “express an acute richness for subjective experience” (Maslow, 1970, p. 163). Special experiences often involve beautiful objects in nature, music or sexual expression.
 8. **The mystic experience: the peak experience.** It is common (but not universal) for these subjects to experience strong emotions associated with mystical experiences. Maslow indicated that his attention to peak experiences was first drawn by his subjects’ descriptions of their sexual orgasm. These experiences include feelings of limitless horizons, feeling powerful and at the same time helpless, feeling ecstasy and awe, feeling that something extremely important has occurred and that life has been transformed and strengthened (Maslow, 1970, p. 164). Maslow (1964, p. 29) suggested that the peak experience is available to anyone but that there is a group he referred to as “non-peakers” who are able to have such experiences but are “afraid of them, who suppresses them, who denies them, who turns away from them, or who ‘forgets’ them” (Maslow, 1964, p. 22).
 9. **Gemeinschaftsgefühl (human kinship).** A deep feeling of identification, affection and sympathy for mankind. The self-actualizing individual often feels “saddened, exasperated, and even enraged by the shortcomings of the average person, and while they are to him ordinarily no more than a nuisance, they sometimes become bitter tragedy” (Maslow, 1970, p. 166). “When it comes down to it, he is like an alien in a strange land” (Maslow, 1970, p. 166). In spite of such feelings, there is a deep

- underlying kinship with others.
10. **Interpersonal relations_{SA}**. Self-actualizing people have deeper relationships with others who also tend to be self-actualizers. Due to the rarity of others like themselves, these people usually have deep ties with only a few others – friendships are deep but few. Express qualities of kindness and patience towards others, express love and compassion for all mankind. They may attract others as admirers or even as worshipers.
 11. **The democratic character structure**. Self-actualizing people can be friendly and interact with anyone and do not appear aware of differences like class, education, political belief, race or color. They tend to protest against evil and they tend to be less ambivalent and less confused about their own anger.
 12. **Discrimination between means and ends, between good and evil**. Self-actualizing people are confident in their belief in what is right and wrong, and they do not display the inconsistencies or confusion that is commonly seen in the average person over ethical concerns. They are fixed on ends rather than means.
 13. **Philosophical, unhostile sense of humor**. Self-actualizing people display an unusual sense of humor reflecting a philosophical position, often finding humor in the foolishness of human beings in general or in making fun of oneself but not finding humor at the expense of another's feelings.
 14. **Creativeness_{SA}**. Creativity is a universal characteristic of all subjects studied. This creativeness is out a special type, akin to the inborn, naïve and universal creativity seen in children. Whereas most individuals lose this creativity during the process of enculturation, the self-actualizing person retains it.

15. Resistance to enculturation; the transcendence of any particular culture. Display a resistance to enculturation and a certain inner detachment from their less than healthy culture. They display an ongoing concern with improving cultural conditions and will fight for causes if necessary, usually fighting from within, rather than rejecting culture altogether. They tend to be “ruled by the laws of their own character rather than by the rules of society” (Maslow, 1970, p. 174). Maslow went on to say that these individuals display a continuum ranging from relative acceptance of the culture to relative detachment from it.

In addition to the 15 specific factors and their developmental processes, Maslow (1971/1976, pp. 44-47) also listed eight general ways in which one self-actualizes.

- 1). Concentration and total absorption.** To be able to experience life vividly, selflessly, and fully and with total absorption of one’s experience. This creates a vivid experience of the moment – the self-actualizing moment. We are usually either unaware of what is going on around us or we are focused on self-awareness and self-consciousness at the expense of seeing life clearly.
- 2). Choices toward growth.** Every day presents opportunities to choose regression and stasis or to choose moving forward into growth. Fear must be overcome through courage and will to make the choice toward self-actualizing.
- 3). Listening to one’s self.** The ability to seal out external voices and influences in order to examine one’s own self to determine one’s own preferences, opinions, likes and dislikes and ultimately one’s values. To listen to one’s own self.
- 4). Honesty.** To be honest about one’s self and one’s actions and to avoid playing games, posing or presenting false fronts. To be honest with oneself is to take responsibility, an

actualizing of the self.

- 5). **Judgment in action.** The first four points illustrate one's capacity "for better life choices." Here Maslow emphasizes that we need to follow through in learning about one's self, listening to one's own voice and judgment and following through, daring to be different, unpopular or nonconforming. To have confidence in one's judgment based upon one's own self and one's feelings.
- 6). **Growth as a process.** Self-actualization is the ongoing process of working to continually be as good as one can be at what one chooses to do.
- 7). **Peak experiences.** Peak experiences are transient moments during which one experiences a more integrated feeling of knowing, of thinking and of acting. During these exciting and joyous moments, one becomes deeply connected to, and absorbed by, one's experience of the world. The sense of self may dissolved into a sense of the greater whole. These moments represent self-actualization.
- 8). **Removing defenses.** Self-actualization involves risking the identification of defenses and actively giving them up in order to open oneself to opportunities to be more oneself. One must remove neurosis and other defenses in order to facilitate further self growth.

Maslow's early views can be seen reflected in his approach to self-actualization. For example, in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, satisfaction of esteem needs occurs through a willing and genuine acceptance of an individual's superiority both by him or herself and by others (Cullen, p. 365, 1997). Therefore as Cullen (1997, p. 365) highlighted, "only the emotionally secure superior individual will develop the need to self-actualize" and, based upon the "naturalness" and strength of dominance (self-esteem) in men, this imbrued self-actualization with a masculine bias.

Surprisingly, the issue of gender differences in self-actualization has rarely been investigated or reported (Ford & Procidano, 1990). Maslow described a number of differences related to dominance in males and submissiveness in females. Self-actualization in women contradicts their innate submissiveness and creates a number of social problems, for example, “most males” are not attracted to women who are “strong, assertive, self-confident, self-sufficient” and if they are, it is likely that the males’ “feminine component” is attracted to the females’ masculine counterpart (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 346). Maslow added that we also see psychologically mature and strong males attracted to psychologically mature women “who may look too ‘strong’ for the average, more delicate male” (Maslow, 1971/1976, pp. 346-347). He suggested that “men have been afraid of women and have therefore dominated them” and that “only as men become strong enough, self-confident enough, and integrated enough can they tolerate and finally enjoy self-actualizing women, women who are full human beings” (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 87). An important component of self-actualization is devotion to an outside cause, usually one’s work or a social cause. In a discussion of devotion to outside interests, Maslow noted that women can devote themselves to the task of being a mother, wife or housewife, however, Maslow cryptically concluded, “I should say that I feel less confident in speaking of self-actualization in women (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 292).

Cullen (1997) also referred to Maslow’s belief that self-actualization meant taking one’s place among the fully human elite – an implicitly masculine elite, charged with the responsibility of helping others through their superior perception of reality and through their paternalistic and stern, but loving approach to guidance.

Self-actualization was also a significant component of Maslow’s influential work on management theory (Maslow, 1965, 1968). Based on his observations at a plant manufacturing

electronic equipment in California in 1962, Maslow concluded it is important for organizations to create a positive environment, allowing employees to maximize their innate potential to develop and thus to become the corporate elite – managers – and thus to also maximize their productivity (Maslow, 1965). Maslow believed that the self-actualizer assimilates work into his or her personal identity, his or her work becoming an integral part of the definition of him or herself (Maslow, 1965). Thus, a reciprocal relationship evolves between work and development – one’s development (self-actualization) provides “the ideal attitude toward work” while a positive work environment helps “o.k. people” to further improve (Maslow, 1965, p. 1). Therefore, Maslow felt that, in addition to the educational system, the workplace provided an excellent vehicle to influence the masses of people and thereby improve society (Maslow, 1965).

Reflecting Maslow’s belief in the innate basis of the hierarchy of needs, with a supportive environment, employees with strong potential naturally rise to upper management in an organization while those with “inferior potential” remain at lower levels (Cullen, 1997). Again implicit in this approach was the idea that males represent “natural born” leaders in society and in business, demonstrating more innate potential to become elite managers based upon their dominance and propensity to self-actualize compared to females. Cullen (1997) went on to discuss how Maslow’s hierarchy of needs was used to justify the use of managerial power while minimizing managerial accountability and that while his theory of management is still influential, its foundation of motivational insights based upon primates is at odds with recent primatological research.

Maslow (1970) saw the expression of lower instincts as a necessary and healthy feature: “The first and most obvious level of acceptance is at the so-called animal level. Those self-actualizing people tend to be good animals, hearty in their appetites and enjoying themselves

without regret or shame or apology” (p. 156). Maslow (1970) went on to say:

They are able to accept themselves not only on these low levels, but at all levels as well; e.g., love, safety, belongingness, honor, self-respect. All of these are accepted without question as worthwhile, simply because these people are inclined to accept the work of nature rather than to argue with her for not having constructed things to a different pattern. (p. 156)

Maslow was clear that self-actualization does not involve a discrimination of features; all features that are present are accepted and actualized equally. Thus, in describing self-actualizing people, Maslow (1970, p. 155) said: “Our healthy individuals find it possible to accept themselves and their own nature without chagrin or complaint or, for that matter, even without thinking about the matter very much. They can accept their own human nature in the stoic style, with all its shortcomings, with all its discrepancies from the ideal image without feeling real concern.” Emphasizing accepting one’s self as it is, Maslow (1970, p. 156) said: “the self-actualized person sees reality more clearly: our subjects see human nature as it *is* and not as they would prefer it to be.” These individuals were described as more objective and less emotional, less likely to allow hopes, dreams, fears or psychological defenses to distort their observations of reality.

Another premise of Maslow’s theory is that the self-actualizer will not have significant anxiety that would distort or interfere with his or her reality perceptions or growth processes. The relationship between anxiety and self-actualization is an important one to consider especially when comparing Maslow and Dąbrowski. An interesting study by Wilkins, Hjelle, and Thompson (1977) specifically addressed anxiety in actualization and contrasted Dąbrowski’s view as presented by de Grâce with that of Maslow’s as measured by the Personal Orientation

Inventory. de Grâce (1974) concluded that there were no significant differences in anxiety between actualized and non-actualized subjects. Wilkins and his colleagues criticized both the theoretical position and the research conclusions presented by de Grâce. “The problem to be resolved is whether Dąbrowski’s view of the positive aspects of neurosis is the same as Erikson’s concept of fear or May’s concept of normal anxiety, etc. Succinctly stated, is neurosis neurosis and normal normal or, as deGrace argues, is any kind of psychological disequilibrium neurotic? It seems preferable to these writers to keep the conceptual distinction between types of disequilibrium rather than to use neurosis in the indiscriminating manner proposed by Dąbrowski and deGrace” (Wilkins et al, 1977, p. 1002). It is not clear how versed Wilkins and his colleagues were with Dąbrowski’s approach, from this article, it appears that they did not have a full appreciation for the depth of Dąbrowski’s understanding of neuroses. The results of this research “convincingly demonstrated that psychologically healthy persons are more free from neurotic anxiety than non-healthy persons” and that levels of anxiety are lower among high self-actualizing college students, leading to the conclusion that manifest anxiety is incompatible with optimal mental health (Wilkins et al, 1977, p. 1004).

Although there have been many critical reviews of Maslow’s theoretical position, I will only mention a handful, for example, Daniels (1988), Geller (1982) and Neher (1991). Geller (1982) concluded that Maslow’s theory must be rejected and that self-actualization is a “radically mistaken” approach. Whereas Daniels (1988) also focused on self-actualization, Neher (1991) reviewed Maslow’s overall theory of motivation and pointed out a number of logical contradictions in Maslow’s thinking. Another critique of Maslow’s overall theory and definitions was provided by Heylighen (1992). Heylighen noted that Maslow presented a theory of motivation that spawned a definition of self-actualization and, in a more or less independent way,

he also made observations of healthy personalities, leading to a descriptive profile of the self-actualized individual. “Though he has tried to explain his empirical results by means of the theory, the observations are more detailed than what the theory can predict, and as we will see further they sometimes even seem to contradict the theory” (Heylighen, 1992, p. 42). Heylighen (1992) concluded that it is not obvious that “self-actualizing” as described by Maslow’s theory and as described by his observations are actually addressing the same phenomenon.

Although there are several instruments focused on measuring self-actualization (Jones & Crandall, 1986; Lefrançois, Leclerc, Dubé, Hébert, & Gaulin, 1997; Shostrom, 1974; Tois & Lindamood, 1975) it is interesting to note that Maslow’s original conceptualization of the factors associated with self-actualization has received relatively limited research attention. Wright and Wyant (1974) conducted a factor analytical study that supported five of Maslow’s fifteen components of self-actualization. The authors concluded that the data lent “some support” to Maslow’s conceptual scheme and they called for additional research to further clarify the components of self-actualization (Wright & Wyant, 1974, p. 874).

A study by Leclerc, Lefrançois, Dubé, Hébert, and Gaulin (1998) examined the essential attributes of self-actualization and identified 49 indicators of self-actualization that were then reduced to 36 factors, 23 derived from the literature and 13 suggested by a panel of expert consultants. These 36 indicators were placed into three categories as described in Table 1 (Leclerc et al., 1998, p. 79). The study defined self-actualization “*as a process through which one’s potential is developed in congruence with one’s self-perception and one’s experience*” (Leclerc et al., 1998, pp. 78-79). This study concluded that more research needs to be done in clarifying and refining Maslow’s original formulation of self-actualization.

Table 1

Indicators of Self-actualization described by Leclerc et al. (1998)

A). Openness to experience:

Self-actualizing individuals:

1. Are aware of their feelings.
 2. Have a realistic perception of themselves.
 3. Trust in their own organism.
 4. Are capable of insight.
 5. Are able to accept contradictory feelings.
 6. Are open to change.
 7. Are aware of their strengths and weaknesses.
 8. Are capable of empathy.
 9. Are capable of not focusing on themselves.
 10. Live in the present (the here and now).
 11. Have a positive perception of human life.
 12. Accept themselves as they are.
 13. Have a positive perception of the human organism.
 14. Are capable of spontaneous reactions.
 15. Are capable of intimate contact.
 16. Give a meaning to life.
 17. Are capable of commitment.
-

B). Reference to self:

Self-actualizing individuals:

1. Consider themselves responsible for their own life.
 2. Accept responsibility for their actions.
 3. Accept the consequences of their choices.
 4. Act according to their own convictions and values.
 5. Are able to resist undue social pressure.
 6. Feel free to express their opinions.
 7. Enjoy thinking for themselves.
 8. Behave in a congruent authentic way.
 9. Have a well developed sense of ethics.
 10. Are not paralyzed by the judgment of others.
 11. Feel free to express their emotions.
 12. Use personal criteria to evaluate themselves.
 13. Are able to get outside established frameworks.
 14. Have a positive self-esteem.
 15. Give meaning to *their* life.
-

C). Openness to experience and reference to self:

1. Maintain contact with themselves and the other person when communicating.
2. Can cope with failure.
3. Are capable of establishing meaningful relationships.
4. Look for relationships based on mutual respect.

Sheldon (2004) objected to Maslow's approach, complaining that Maslow had resisted empirical studies of self-actualization on the basis that this would violate the uniqueness of the individual and that self-actualization was too rare a conceptualization, only occurring in one in a thousand people (Sheldon, 2004, p. 9). Based upon his own observations, Sheldon (2004) concluded that one third of the population is functioning "reasonably optimally" and cautioned us against becoming "sociospiritual crusaders." "Again, there is a danger here – that scientists working in the area of optimal human being may become zealots and inadvisedly try to cross the treacherous bridge leading from 'is' to 'ought' (Sheldon, 2004, p. 4). In supporting this opinion, Sheldon cited a scathing article by Kendler (1999). Kendler (1999) said that Maslow's conclusions were dangerously seductive – "Maslow shaped his evidence to create a tautological relationship between facts and values to give the impression that his values were justified by empirical data. He simply selected people who shared his moral code and his conception of fulfillment and thus assigned them the honorific status of being self-actualized" (p. 830). Kendler (1999) continued: "the assumption that psychological facts will lead directly to moral truths is contradicted by the failure of *is* to logically generate *ought*" (p. 832) and he went on to dismiss those who "preach a positive conception of mental health" (p. 834) concluding "the logic of this analysis leads to the conclusion that a negative concept of mental health, not a positive one, serves the needs of democracy and the demands of science (p. 834).

Something blocks development

Maslow suggested that the human infant possesses an impulse towards growth, towards the actualization of his or her potential but went on to note that only a very small number of people achieve identity, selfhood or self-actualization. Thus in Western society, most people achieve their D-needs but few people progress to the level of metaneeds. Maslow was somewhat

ambiguous about the actual number, his estimates ranged from one in a hundred or one in two hundred adults (Maslow, 1968, p. 163, p. 204) to “only a fraction of one percent” (Hoffman, 1992, p. 72).⁶

Maslow suggested two primary reasons for these low numbers: weak developmental potential and forces blocking development, primarily fear and neuroses (Maslow, 1971/1976). In terms of developmental potential, Maslow said that part of our human nature is a “will to health” encouraging the individual to develop and creating “pressure to self-actualization” (Maslow, 1968, p. 193). Although Maslow believed that the yearning for self-actualization “must be considered to be a potential in every newborn baby until proven otherwise” (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 315), he also presented the contradictory view that genetic differences are seen in this will to health and that some people display stronger growth motivation while others lack sufficient will to develop.

In addition, there are strong forces of regression operating and it takes significant willpower and courage to leave the relative safety and defensive posture of the status quo in order to take chances and grow (Maslow, 1968). Maslow (1966, p. 22) emphasized the dichotomy between growth versus fear, saying that “fear must be overcome again and again.” People fear and doubt their own potential abilities (Maslow’s “Jonah complex”).⁷ People also fear losing their existing level of security and paradoxically fear deviating from entrenched cultural expectations that stifle individual development.

Maslow was ambiguous in his description of neurosis, at one point suggesting the term

⁶ This number is contradicted by other authors, for example, Loevinger (1976, p. 140) suggested that self-actualization only occurred in one in a thousand college students and Sheldon (2004, p. 9) stated “Maslow claimed that fewer than one person in a thousand achieved self-actualization.”

⁷ The Jonah complex is a defense mechanism against growth, essentially an individual’s denial of one’s abilities, greatness or destiny (Maslow (1971/1976, p. 34).

“human diminution” better captured failures of growth and was preferable to the term neurosis “which is anyway a totally obsolete word,” and then went on to offer several different formulations of neuroses (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 29). Colin Wilson (1972) noted Maslow’s view that neuroses represented a kind of stabilization of the impulses to grow and that this stasis removed one’s motivation to pursue higher growth opportunities resulting in a negative passivity causing both depression and neuroses. Thus, a neurosis represents an essentially passive state – noise without action – that is essentially self-destructive largely due to frustrated life energies turned inward (Wilson, 1972, p. 173). For Maslow, neuroses represent a failure of personal growth – a “blockage of the channels of self-actualisation” (Wilson, 1972, p. 198).

Perception of reality is an important consideration and Maslow said that self-actualized people have a more efficient and more correct perception of reality and thus have more comfortable relationships with reality than the average person. Maslow (1970) said self-actualizing individuals distinguish:

far more easily than most the fresh, concrete, and idiographic [individual] from the generic, abstract, and rubricized [stereotyped]. The consequence is that they live more in the real world of nature than in the man-made mass of concepts, abstractions, expectations, beliefs, and stereotypes that most people confuse with the world. They are therefore far more apt to perceive what is there rather than their own wishes, hopes, fears, anxieties, their own theories and beliefs, or those of their cultural group. (p. 154)

The conclusion to be drawn is that a “correct view of reality” is often distorted by one’s wishes, hopes, fears, anxieties and so forth. As mentioned above, Maslow emphasized that the individual should avoid getting “hung up” on dreams and just accept things as they are – to see reality as it is and not as one wishes it to be. Maslow (1970) suggested that a person with a

neurosis does not perceive the world accurately and therefore he or she is not emotionally sick, rather, he or she is cognitively *wrong* about the world. Neuroses associated with faulty cognition are a blockage to a correct world view and to development.

Maslow (1970) also described the neurotic as being “psychologically retarded,” failing to overcome his or her childhood perceptions and acting as if he or she is afraid of receiving a spanking. “Such a person behaves as if a great catastrophe were almost always impending, i.e., he is usually responding as if to an emergency” (Maslow, 1970, p. 42).

Maslow (1970, p. 142) endorsed the Freudian view of neuroses as coping mechanisms. According to this view, neurotic behaviors are primarily functional or provide coping mechanisms and do an actual job for the person such that he or she is better off for having the symptom. Maslow (1970, p. 142) observed that the necessary role played by these symptoms, analogous to a foundation holding up a house, made therapy “dangerous for truly neurotic symptoms.”

In another passage, Maslow (1968, p. 205) described a neurosis as a defense against one’s inner core, or an evasion of it, as well as a distorted expression of it. One expresses one’s neurotic needs, emotions, attitudes, definitions, etc. at the expense of expressing one’s true inner core or real self. These neurotic expressions reduce the capacity of an individual to be him or herself, thus producing a “diminished human being.”

Ironically, although Maslow did not perceive a qualitative difference between animals and humans, he did describe “remarkable qualitative as well as quantitative differences between normal and neurotic people” (Maslow, 1942a, pp. 268-269).

In summary, Maslow’s primary conclusion was that a combination of lack of will to develop and fear hold most people back from making the day-to-day decisions necessary to

grow. People choose safety and fall into a crippling passivity, often leading to neuroses that further block development (Maslow, 1971/1976).

Dąbrowski's multilevelness

The basic differentiation between the lower, unilevel experience of life, versus the higher experience of multilevelness, is fundamental to Dąbrowski's approach. Dąbrowski said that he felt his revival of a multilevel approach based upon the schema first presented by Plato (c. 428 – c. 347 BC) was one of his most important accomplishments (Dąbrowski, personal communication 1978). A multilevel approach is used to describe all phenomena and a multilevel description forms a critical element of our understanding of reality. "We call it multilevel because there is an observable hierarchy of mental functions" (Dąbrowski, 1972, p. 39). This approach views levels of reality as objective entities that can be studied empirically, developing scientific, objective descriptions that allow us to differentiate and understand lower versus higher levels. Dąbrowski's application of multilevelness to psychology was based upon his observations that development involves changes in the qualitative character and expression of psychological functions and this allows us to see differences between the different levels of functions. These qualitative differentiations are what make humans unique and their expression is what makes an individual authentic. Applying this multilevel approach to psychology, Dąbrowski was able to account for the range of human experience, from the lowest, most instinctual and primitive behaviours, to the highest achievements of Humankind.

"By multilevelness of reality we mean external and internal reality of various levels conceived by means of sensory perception, imagination, intellectual, intuitive or combined operations. Perception of the various levels of reality depends on the kind and level of receptors

and transformers of an individual. Its objective discussion and description is grounded on empirical and discursive methods” (Dąbrowski, 1973, p. 5).

The traditional Western approach to development is based upon the idea that higher levels are characterized by increasing cognitive control of impulses, instincts and emotions by seamless socialization. We learn to control our lower impulses (including our emotions) by incorporating social prescriptions and intellectual rationalizations (the “thou shalt” of Nietzsche) in order to conform socially. This control and conformity represents the herd or tribal mentality and is a vital component of social order. In many models, social conformity is seen as the apex of development. For example, Freud suggested that the self – the ego, must control the instinctual functions of the id and in turn, the superego (“the internalization of a policeman standing on the corner”) controls the ego. Dąbrowski suggested that the highest levels of individual development go beyond the external forces of socialization to involve individually determined characteristics and motives. At these highest possible levels, external control of behaviour (socialization) fades and behaviour now stems from an inner locus of control that reflects uniquely personal values and motivations. These individual, internal motivations are created based upon one’s core values – the personality ideal, and they reflect a conscious, multilevel experience of the reality function. With multilevelness, we see all of the subtle shades of life – both high and low – and this contrast assists us in seeing and choosing the higher path over the lower. Conscious and volitional behaviour in pursuit of higher alternatives replaces and transforms the robotic social and animal instincts inherent in the lower levels. In summary, the division between lower and higher levels parallels the distinction between the human as a herd animal or unthinking robot versus the authentic, autonomous, self-thinking and volitional human being.

While Dąbrowski was influenced by philosophy, he approached his description of levels of development as a medical doctor and psychiatrist and neurology was always an integral part of his theoretical approach. Dąbrowski was influenced by the English neurologist, John Hughlings Jackson (1835 – 1911) and the hierarchical model of the nervous system he developed. In his influential 1884 Croonian lectures, titled “On the Evolution and Dissolution of the Nervous System,” Jackson outlined an evolutionary, level-based model of the nervous system that described differences between lower and higher levels (Jackson, 1884; also see Taylor, 1958). Dąbrowski (1970, p. 103) outlined three major principles of Jackson’s that guided him:

- (1) Evolution is the transition from the simplest [and most stable] toward the most complex centers [but least stable and most fragile].
- (2) Evolution is the transition from a well organized lower center toward higher, less well organized centers.⁸
- (3) Evolution is the transition from more automatic toward more voluntary functions.

In addition, the operation of lower levels tends to be subordinate to the control of higher levels. Jackson described evolution (development) as the movement from lower to higher levels and therefore toward more complexity, less organization, and more deliberate, voluntary actions. Dąbrowski included these attributes in his definition of higher levels: “[B]y higher level of psychic development we mean a behavior which is more complex, more conscious and having

⁸ Dąbrowski (1970a, p. 103) qualifies the second principle: “One can raise some reservations with respect to the second of Jackson’s laws which postulates the transition from a well organized lower center to a less well organized higher center. A higher center, in order to be indeed higher, i.e., in order to assure better control of a wider array of nervous functions, cannot be less well organized, rather we should expect it to be organized differently. The difference would involve a greater role of reflection, greater plasticity, and an ability for integrated global handling of situations through intuitive-synthetic processes.”

greater freedom of choice, hence greater opportunity for self-determination” (1972, p. 70). Thus, higher levels are characterized by increased functional autonomy and greater volitional control, reflecting recent evolutionary advancements. Lower levels are “holdovers” of early evolution and largely involve primitive survival instincts and other autonomic, habitual functions. The lowest levels essentially run automatically, maintaining our physiology and expressing our instincts with very little (if any) conscious thought or volition involved. The lowest levels provide an instant, ready-made response set to respond immediately to situations that were once commonly encountered in life (see LeDoux, 1996). In other words, the lower levels operate on a Stimulus-Response (SR) model, generally designed to help us flee or to prepare to fight off danger. If higher levels do not develop or if their inhibitory function somehow fails, then the lower levels are free to express their primitive nature unchecked, an idea very similar to Bailey’s (1987) theory of paleopsychological regression.

In summary, following Jackson, Dąbrowski (1964, 1972) hypothesized that lower levels of development demonstrate simpler, more organized, more rigid, and more resilient psychological structures. Appearing earlier in evolution, the lower levels are more automatic (reflexive), better organized and less vulnerable to damage or modification. Higher levels, appearing more recently in our evolution – and literally higher – structures at the top of the brain like the neocortex that allow more influence of voluntary control, but are less well organized and thus are more prone to disruption and reorganization.

Dąbrowski followed Jackson’s neurological orientation and described multilevelness in neurological terms as a: “division of functions into different levels, for instance, the spinal, subcortical, and cortical levels in the nervous system” (Dąbrowski, 1972, p. 298). More reminiscent of Janet, Dąbrowski also gives a phenomenological description: “Individual

perception of many levels of external and internal reality appears at a certain stage of development, here called multilevel disintegration” (Dąbrowski, 1972, p. 298). Thus, the multilevel experience of life – Janet’s highest level – reality function provides a more complex and more subtle reality than is experienced in unilevelness. Dąbrowski emphasized that the individual is not totally a slave to his or her perceptions – recall Janet’s emphasis on individual synthesis. Dąbrowski said people can develop their own synthesis of reality and thus consciously and volitionally move beyond the “is” of the given world. We can use our imagination to move towards a possible future. Multilevelness is a realization of the “possibility of the higher” (a phrase Dąbrowski frequently used) and of the contrasts and conflicts between the imagined higher and the actual lower in life.

As the process of hierarchization becomes stronger, the distinction between that which is more myself and that which is less myself becomes clearer. At the same time, the distinction between what is and what ought to be also becomes clearer. This creates an internal mental struggle between the lower and higher elements within oneself – a multilevel conflict – the hallmark for the potential of further psychological development.

By endorsing a multilevel approach, Dąbrowski developed a theory explaining how differences and levels in the nervous system are expressed as psychological phenomena. Alternatively, we can observe differences in psychological functions and now understand how they result from neural substrates on different levels. The five psychological levels Dąbrowski described underlie and explain the broader realms of human function. This approach allowed a new flexibility in understanding the wide ranges seen in human behaviour. Higher level behaviour is seen as moving beyond the largely unconscious, S-R mode, to a model based on an individual’s conscious, volitional autonomy. This also moves us into a deeper and more realistic

philosophy of what it means to be an authentic human being, a philosophy emphasizing phenomenology and existentialism.

Maslow and Dąbrowski

Maslow and Dąbrowski met in Cincinnati in 1966. Maslow was sufficiently impressed that he offered Dąbrowski a position to work with him and also an invitation to become the leader of an institute in psychology at the University of Cincinnati (Przybyłek, 2000, p. 278). Several issues prevented Dąbrowski from accepting the invitations, notably his refusal to renounce his Polish citizenship in order to become an American citizen. The two went on to become friends and correspondents and although they agreed to disagree over their respective theories, Maslow supported Dąbrowski's 1970 book with a glowing endorsement (Dąbrowski, 1972, back cover).

Confusion was introduced into the Dąbrowskian literature when Piechowski equated Level IV with the characteristics of self-actualization (Brennan & Piechowski, 1991; Piechowski, 1978, 1991, 2008). When comparing Maslow's concept of self-actualization and Dąbrowski's approach, there are many similar aspects but there are also several fundamental differences that prevented Dąbrowski from endorsing Maslow's theory. Although Piechowski was well aware of Dąbrowski's objections, he pressed ahead with this connection, recently saying that: "The fit between Level IV as the structural skeleton and self-actualization as the flesh of rich description with which to cover the bones is too good not to be true" (Piechowski, 2008, p. 58). In this section, I will provide several illustrations of how Maslow's views stand in stark contrast with Dąbrowski's beliefs and show why Dąbrowski was adamant in his rejection of equating his work with Maslow's.

An important objection to Maslow's approach concerned his conceptualization of human

nature and its relationship to animal instincts. To fully appreciate Maslow's use of the term instinct requires a careful reading of his work. In 1949, Maslow rejected the common assumption that man's nature must be tamed or transformed (Maslow, 1949). Maslow considered this a presupposition and prejudice and he asked "*need* the primitive be bad? *Must* it be tamed and transformed? I have no hesitation in denying these assumptions" (Maslow, 1949, p. 274). In this important article, Maslow suggested that humans lack instincts "in the pure lower animal sense" but that human instincts reflect "certain tags and remnants" of our animal ancestry to the extent they should be referred to as "instinct-like" or "instinctoid" (Maslow, 1949, p. 275). The distinction of lower versus higher animals later appeared in a paper originally published in 1954, where Maslow elaborated that it is common but unfair to compare human nature with animals such as "wolves, tigers, pigs, vultures, or snakes rather than with the better, or at least milder, animals like the deer or elephant or dog or chimpanzee" (Maslow, 1970, p. 83). In addition, traditionally, instincts have been considered negative (for example, leading to hate, jealousy, hostility, greed and selfishness). Maslow (1949) suggested that these negative traits are not instinctive, they are usually acquired and represent neurotic reactions to difficult situations. Instinctive traits (what he called our "innate equipment") should also include such positive traits as rationality, curiosity, religious and philosophical theorizing, the need for love and a desire for security, to name a few. Healthy personality was associated with having peace and genuine serenity and happiness and these individuals are also observed to be the most pagan, the most instinctive and the most accepting of their animal nature (Maslow, 1949, p. 277). This article concluded by suggesting that our rational and emotional impulses are not opposing – they are allies with a common instinctive origin.

In an article originally published in 1967 entitled *Neurosis as a failure of personal*

growth, Maslow (1971/1976, pp. 30-31) extended his discussion of the biological basis underlying human psychology. Maslow suggested that an important task of development is to first “become aware of what one *is*, biologically, temperamentally, constitutionally, as a member of a species, of one’s capabilities, desires, needs, and also one’s vocation, what one is fitted for, what one’s destiny is” (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 31). This amounts to getting in touch with one’s “instinctoid,” one’s animality and specieshood. Maslow explained that he believed it possible “to carry through this paradigm even at the very highest levels of personal development, where one transcends one’s own personality” and he said that our highest values, including the spiritual and philosophical aspects of life, reflect our instinctoid character (1971/1976, p. 31). Maslow (1971/1976, pp. 313-314) said; “what all this means is that the so-called spiritual or value life, or ‘higher’ life is on the same continuum (is the same *kind* or *quality* of thing) with the life of the flesh, or of the body, i.e. the animal life, the material life, the ‘lower’ life. That is, the spiritual life is part of our biological life. It is the ‘highest’ part of it, but yet, part of it.” Maslow (1971/1976, p. 31) considered it a scientific advantage to construct a single continuum of humanness that ranged from the lowest instinctoid character, “the kinds of sickness that psychiatrists and physicians talk about” to the highest concerns of the existentialist.

Dąbrowski objected that it made no sense to talk about animal instincts and human authenticity as being on a continuum, there must be a qualitative break separating animals from humans, parallel to the qualitative demarcation between unilevel and multilevel experience. As we have seen above, Maslow was very clear that he did not believe in such a break – flowing from his early primate research, Maslow believed that our animal instincts and our highest values both come from the same realization of our instinctoid, our “biology” as he called it. Dąbrowski said that he found this approach abhorrent because it is overcoming our animal nature that

differentiates humans *from* animals. The “higher mental functions of man, particularly those of an autonomous and authentic nature, differ qualitatively from lower mental functions and from mental functions of animals” (Dąbrowski, 1970, p. 149).

There are many other examples in Dąbrowski’s writing where he objected to this line of thought, for example, Dąbrowski (1964, p. 61) said: “The individual human being, through his personality, masters his impulses. This process consists in purifying the primitive animal elements which lie in every impulse or group of impulses.” We can readily see why Maslow could not accept such a premise – he was convinced that at most, culture could repress animal instincts but he could not see how society could “kill” their impact (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 152). As shown above, Maslow took the opposite approach to Dąbrowski, saying that, while a cat knows how to be a cat, the problem is that humans have lost their “impulse-voices” and that we need help to hear them more clearly (Maslow, 1970). Based upon this logic, self-actualized individuals display the clearest “animal naturalness,” while neuroses and illness reflect losing touch with one’s animal nature. In summary, this discussion has highlighted Maslow’s perception that human growth maintains a connection with one’s animal ancestry – an approach that Dąbrowski simply could not accept.

There is no sense of “ought” in Maslow; he advocated the discovery and actualization of individual (self) potential as it exists; we need to go from “what we are” to “what we can be”⁹ (Maslow, 1970, p. 272). Neher (1991, p. 96) summarized Maslow’s position as: “you can become what your native potential allows you to become, and nothing else” and criticized Maslow as overly pessimistic in this stance. We repeatedly see Dąbrowski’s fundamental objection to this idea and his exhortation that one must raise from what one can be to pursue the

⁹ Now represented in a recruitment slogan of the United States Army “Be all that you can be.”

higher ideals of what one ought to be: “To be authentic does not mean to be natural, to be as you are, but as you ought to be” (Cienin, 1972, p. 22).

This paper will not discuss each of Maslow’s 15 factors individually. While many of the specific factors associated with self-actualization may generally reflect advanced development, it is important to also consider the developmental processes theoretically underlying each of these factors. For example, the developmental *process* that Maslow described in association with given factors, although sometimes somewhat vague, often appeared to be at substantial odds with Dąbrowski’s approach. Let us take one example, Maslow’s fifteenth factor of resistance to enculturation. Here is what Maslow had to say about the derivation of the value system of the self-actualized person: “A firm foundation for a value system is automatically furnished to the self-actualizer by his philosophic acceptance of the nature of his self, of human nature, of much of social life, and of nature and physical reality” (Maslow, 1970, p. 176). Because self-actualization involves the actualization of a unique self (no two people are alike), the highest portion of the value system of the self-actualized person “is entirely unique and idiosyncratic-character-structure-expressive” (Maslow, 1970, p. 178). But we need to reconcile the “ready-made” value structure the individual has accepted with his or her individuality – Maslow addressed our concern: “They are more completely individual than any group that has ever been described, and yet are also more completely socialized, more identified with humanity than any other group yet described. They are closer to *both* their specieshood and to their unique individuality” (Maslow, 1970, p. 178). From Dąbrowski’s perspective, each person must construct a unique hierarchy of values, ideals, and aims to strive for, differentiated and distanced from existing social values. As Dąbrowski (1970, p. 106) said “In short, the hierarchy of aims is the superstructure of the hierarchy of values; it is the hierarchy of ‘what ought to be’ erected on

the underlying structure of ‘what is.’”

Although Maslow talked about transcendence and metamotivation, he rejected the importance of existential and individual choice, instead arguing that the source of transcendence and higher values lay in the realm of biological instinct (Daniels, 1982). Metaneeds are instinctoid and “have an appreciable hereditary, species-wide determination” (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 315). This represents a crucial difference from Dąbrowski’s approach, an approach emphasizing both essence and existentialism in contributing to individual development. Maslow appears to leave little room for emergence and there is no sense of individual personality shaping, again, a critical aspect of Dąbrowski’s approach. Although one begins with one’s essence, the conscious evaluation and day-to-day choices that one makes in shaping one’s personality ultimately determine the endpoint of individual development. In his “be all that you can be” approach, Maslow sets the developmental bar too low – limited to and by biological factors. Dąbrowski’s “be all that you ought to be” approach emphasizes the importance of transcending one’s limitations in pursuit of one’s ideals.

Both authors described developmental potential. Maslow saw individuals as having a unique essential nature (“some skeleton”) of both needs and potentials. In his approach, Maslow suggested that everyone has an intrinsic impulse or instinct toward self-actualization and that the higher brain circuits that form the neurophysiological foundation of self-actualization are not created as one develops; they already exist, laying dormant and waiting to be activated. In this sense, the evolution of self-actualizers is predetermined by the biological structure of the human brain (Wilson, 1972). The universality of the instinct toward, and potential for, self-actualization was emphasized by the fact that Maslow did not draw a sharp qualitative distinction between self-actualizers and non-actualizers (Wilson, 1972). Maslow suggested that self-actualization

was not “an all-or-none affair,” it was “a matter of degree and of frequency” (Maslow, 1968, p. 97).

Dąbrowski’s perspective was that the features comprising developmental potential are not universal, some people have little potential, many have equivocal potential and some people have strong potential. In Dąbrowski’s approach, echoing Hughlings Jackson, the brain circuits underlying higher development are not pre-existing and resting dormant, they form and are honed as one develops, in particular as the transition to multilevel perception is achieved.

Another important difference between Dąbrowski and Maslow in their approach to developmental potential related to the importance of environmental conditions. As we have seen, Dąbrowski believed that strong developmental potential could overcome even a very negative environment. But, even though Maslow clearly stated that the inherent characteristics of the individual are critical, he was also clear that self-actualization required positive environmental conditions – “*Very good conditions are needed to make self-actualizing possible*” (Maslow 1970, p. 99). In his initial formulation, Maslow suggested that the emergence of self-actualization depended upon the satisfaction of the lower needs described in his hierarchy (physiological, safety, love and esteem needs). Later, Maslow suggested such a positive environment may be a necessary precondition, but not a sufficient condition, for metamotivation and self-actualization (Maslow, 1971/1976, p. 290). Maslow’s interpretation of social influence was limited; a bad environment can inhibit actualization, a good environment can foster actualization but the environment does not play a role in determining the nature of actualization. The individual character of actualization is predetermined by one’s genetic makeup. In Maslow’s view, self-actualization does not automatically flow from basic need gratification. Herman (1995, p. 271) suggested that self-actualization was a by-product of the conditions found in an affluent post-war

America and that “Mental health, the product of a psychic economy of plenty, resulted from economic affluence. It could be bought and sold.” This comment also underscored another aspect of humanistic psychology – that it was peculiarly a North American phenomenon (Royce & Mos, 1981).

Maslow’s approach to autonomy and motivation was similar to Dąbrowski’s idea of the third factor. As Dąbrowski (1972) pointed out:

Both Maslow and I underline that the course of development depends on the strength and character of the developmental potential, on the strength and character of environmental influence, and on the strength and range of activity of the third factor which stands for the autonomous dynamisms of self-determination. (p. 249)

Dąbrowski and Maslow disagreed on the *role* of mental conflict – Maslow described neuroses and psychoneuroses primarily as psychological defects; as blockages to achieving one’s full humanness. Maslow (1970, p. 269) said “it is now seen clearly that most psychopathology results from the denial or the frustration or the twisting of man’s essential nature” and he asked “What is psychopathological? Anything that disturbs or frustrates or twists the course of self-actualization” (Maslow, 1970, p. 270).

“Maslow seems to interpret the psychoneuroses as representing a weakness in the capacity of a person for the healthy realization of self, as a diminution in humanness” (Dąbrowski, 1972, pp. 247-248). Maslow did not agree with Dąbrowski’s view that these mental conditions and their symptoms help define what makes us human or that they were a prerequisite for, or even a form of, growth. In reviewing Maslow’s contributions, Moss (1999) made a telling remark concerning Maslow’s approach to neuroses: “Maslow envisioned humanistic psychology

as a psychology of the whole person, based on the study of healthy, fully functioning, creative individuals. He criticized the psychologists of his time for spending too much time studying mentally ill and maladjusted humans and for seeking to explain higher levels of human experience by means of neurotic mechanisms.”

In contrast to Maslow’s negative view of neuroses, by endorsing a positive, Dąbrowskian view of symptoms, we see that this interpretation is now open to revision – one’s dreams and ideals actually represent images of a higher reality waiting to be discovered or created. This ultimate reality is not in some future promise, rather, as Nietzsche emphasized, it exists as a potential within each of us in the here and now – the only place it can exist, however, for this reality to be realized requires one’s awareness, one’s disintegration from the routine view and one’s reanalysis.

In summary, Dąbrowski eschewed using the term self-actualization in his descriptions of advanced development, or even equating his levels with self-actualization. Dąbrowski felt that his approach went beyond self-actualization because the self must not be accepted as is and actualized (Maslow), rather, it must first be vertically differentiated, the lower elements inhibited and transcended and only the higher elements actualized. Initially, these higher elements may only exist as imagined ideals, as development proceeds, these ideals become clearer and are eventually realized in practice. A critical component of this differentiation is that the individual must consciously examine his or her character and inhibit elements that are less like oneself and to enlarge the elements more like oneself. Again, this stands in stark contrast with Maslow’s approach.

Dąbrowski advocated for us to try to overcome or transcend our lower instincts and lower levels. Humans can inhibit, reject, or transform their animal instincts thus allowing uniquely

authentic human development. Authentic human development is not simply more advanced (by degree) than animal functions; advanced human functions are different in kind. Dąbrowski's approach to development added the component of vertical comparison and conflict – a major element of growth that is missing from Maslow's concept of self-actualization.

Multilevel actualization

It is obvious that a neo-Dąbrowskian, neo-Maslowian synthesis of multilevelness and self-actualization needs to be accomplished. What is missing in Maslow is an appreciation of Dąbrowski's multilevel dimension incorporating the vertical differentiations between the lower and the higher. Maslow's "as is" must be replaced by Dąbrowski's ideal seeking "ought to be." Before actualizing aspects of the self, this vertical differentiation must be made. While Maslow's description of the hierarchy of needs (the pyramid) and the levels of consciousness represent higher and lower contrasts, as pointed out above, his approach still does not incorporate the kind of qualitative differentiations needed to represent the multilevelness observed in human psychology and therefore runs the risk of becoming simply another Flatland empiricist psychology. To emphasize this point, recent approaches to research on Maslow have used unilevel instruments (see Rowan, 2007).

Maslow's hierarchy differentiates physiological needs from psychological but there is no sense of a hierarchy of mental functions as described by Dąbrowski. In Maslow's usage, the tendency towards hierarchization is external – people tend to regard others as either superior or inferior (Maslow, 1943e). Thus, to accomplish a true hierarchization of self-actualization, an internal differentiation must be undertaken that involves two processes; one, the active repression, inhibition and elimination of those features that are considered lower and "less myself," and two, the actualization of those features one considers higher and "more myself."

Maslow's continuum, beginning with animal instinct and ending with the highest authentic human values, must be bifurcated to reflect the qualitative differences between these two vital but largely contradictory aspects. Thus, the lower, animal, instinctoid aspects need to be qualitatively differentiated from the higher, authentically human and creative aspects that distinguish us and that allow humans to set ourselves apart from our animal ancestry. As Dąbrowski has ably pointed out, these higher human traits may be traced back to instinctual roots but they differ substantially from those of animals. In addition, a distinctly human characteristic would appear to be the presence of emergent qualities which arise from but go far beyond our biological and instinctive imperatives.

Amend (2008) pointed out that development involves day-to-day choices and that in advanced growth the conflict between our natural tendencies and our true self creates psychological tension. Amend often uses the example that when a person tries to meditate there is a natural tendency to be distracted. This tendency often creates tension for the person and he or she has to learn to overcome this tendency in order to achieve meditation. In many cases, these tendencies and distractions are obstacles to growth. To confront these natural tendencies against growth, the individual must make developmental choices to consciously counteract these tendencies and move in the direction of fulfilling one's personality ideal. When this happens, the focus of the tension shifts from an incompatibility between one's tendencies and one's goals. Now, this tension becomes developmental and helps the individual achieve autonomy and personality. Dąbrowski illustrated how difficult this task is by quoting the Polish poet Mickiewicz: "“In the words you see the will only – in activity the real power. It is more difficult to be truly good throughout one single day, than to build a tower” (Dąbrowski, 1973, p. 26). To actively make the moment to moment decisions that are required to move toward authenticity

and the expression of one's personality ideal is a monumental task on par with the effort required to achieve the greatest physical accomplishments of mankind. Dąbrowski also emphasized that this tension is always present as a stimulus to ensure that, once achieved, authenticity is maintained and that still higher goals are pursued.

A multilevel-actualization approach creates a powerful and satisfying level of analysis with which to analyze human development. Many of the specific descriptions and attributes of Maslow's actualization can readily be applied, especially when perceived in a multilevel context. The use of the term multilevel-actualization makes it clear that we are differentiating a new synthesis in our discussion thus avoiding any misunderstanding as to Maslow's or Dąbrowski's respective approaches and meanings.

Maslow (1971/1976) made the astute point that whenever one works with a concept of health or normality, one must be cautious as it is very tempting and easy to introduce one's own values and self-description, or one's description of what one thinks it ought to be like, what people should be like, and ironically, Maslow was criticized for doing exactly this (Kendler, 1999). As tempting as it may be, it is not enough to simply use a checklist approach in trying to assess the fit between self-actualization and Dąbrowski's levels. A detailed analysis indicates that a synthesis creating a new, neo-approach is called for to provide the multilevel foundation to actualization that allows our authentic humanity to rise above our animal heritage and instincts.

Following up upon the study by Leclerc et al., (1998), a future challenge is to refine and further research the qualities that should be associated with actualization in general and specifically with multilevel actualization. This discussion may be particularly pertinent to the field of gifted education given Pufal-Struzik's (1999) finding that gifted students demonstrated a significantly higher level of self-actualization compared to an average ability control group.

Summary

This paper has clarified the relationship between Dąbrowski's approach to personality growth and traditional views of self-actualization. Dąbrowski was clear that his theory differed significantly from Maslow's approach, enough so to prevent the synonymous use of their respective concepts and terminology. I have introduced the concept of multilevel-actualization to differentiate a neo-Dąbrowskian, neo-Maslowian synthesis of actualization of one's potential within a multilevel framework. This approach contributes significantly to Maslow's original ideas by integrating a multilevel and Dąbrowskian perspective.

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Footnotes 10