IS THERE LIFE AFTER SCHOOL?

PROBLEMS, PERCEPTIONS AND POTENTIALS OF GIFTED ADULTS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Counseling

by

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ABSTRACT

IS THERE LIFE AFTER SCHOOL?
PROBLEMS, PERCEPTIONS AND POTENTIALS OF THE GIFTED ADULT

by
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Master of Science in Counseling

While studies of the gifted are numerous, until recently, they have tended to focus on identification and special educational issues. Social and emotional issues have been explored as adjuncts to education. Except for a few longitudinal follow-ups of classical studies (Terman's and Hollingworth's), once the gifted individual has left school, he/she has been of little interest to researchers. Studies of adult giftedness have focused primarily on historically eminent individuals.

There have been two traditional views of the gifted in terms of emotional and social stability. The gifted are either viewed as too well adjusted to require assistance, or they are regarded as inherently neurotic, or even insane. The former view seems to apply in research and education, while the latter is prevalent in society at large. Both positions tend to treat the gifted individual as if he/she were an essentially closed system, as if the effects of social interactions and responses have been excluded from
consideration as factors in their lives.

This paper describes six personality types, and five personality traits ascribed to gifted individuals in terms of the issues they present for gifted adults. Developmental aspects are also delineated.

The gifted adult has grown up expressing traits that characterise giftedness, experiencing feedback from others, and has made choices for expression of excellence or satisfaction of intimacy needs based on this feedback. This forced choice creates internal stressors, while the overt expression of the traits of giftedness creates external stressors. These stressors lead to counseling needs unique to the gifted.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the Problem

Since Plato (427-347 B.C.) wrote the Republic, the issue of eminence, genius or giftedness (all incarnations of a single phenomenon) has ebbed and flowed with the needs of the times. Until the late 1800s, no concerted effort was made to study the phenomenon. When Terman (1925) began his ground breaking study, he set out to characterise the population known as "gifted" based on a specifically defined conception of giftedness, that of IQ. His subjects were drawn from urban California children. In a five-volume study of group demographics and changes through time, Terman et al (1925-59) established the foundation of our knowledge of giftedness. Over the years of his longitudinal study others joined the effort to describe the gifted and to understand what makes them gifted, most notably Leta Hollingworth. Contemporaneously, Hollingworth (1926) investigated giftedness in New York City school children.

Both Terman and Hollingworth's studies paid special attention to children with Iqs above 170-180. According to Zorbaugh, Boardman & Sheldon (1951), and Terman and Oden (1951), Terman and Hollingworth found these children were subject to greater social stress due partly to attitudes generally prevalent in society that these extremely gifted
individuals are emotionally unstable, in spite of lack
evidence to support this view. An important factor in the
extreme social stress these individuals experience may be
the absence of a peer group and the support peers provide.
Numbers of children with an IQ greater than 180 are very
small (between 1:100,000 and 1:1,000,000, estimated at the
time of Terman & Hollingworth's studies). Zorbaugh,
Boardman & Sheldon (1951) quoted Hollingworth's summary of
some of the problems these children face very early in their
development: "1) to find enough hard and interesting work at
school; 2) to suffer fools gladly; 3) to keep from becoming
negativistic toward authority; 4) to keep from becoming
hermits; 5) to avoid the formation of habits of extreme
chicanery" (p. 93). Terman also noted the extreme
adjustment problems of these children (1925). While they
may be mentally years ahead of their agemates, their
physical and social development tends to lag behind their
intellect thus complicating the problem of finding "peers".
Terman concluded that the socialization difficulties these
children face are among the most difficult tasks anyone ever
faces. They face them essentially alone.

In their own study of highly gifted children, Zorbaugh
et al (1951) found results similar to those of both Terman's
group and Hollingworth. They concluded that the highly
gifted children fail because of the acute adjustment
problems they face in development, not because of any innate
instability. These adjustment problems did not disappear
when children grow to adulthood. Two follow-ups of Terman's study group tended to support these findings (Feldman, 1984; Subotnik, Karp, & Morgan, 1989).

Apparently, no one has specifically followed up on the effects of these extreme difficulties on the adults' lives, although Terman's group did note the continued difficulties of some of their adult population. Nor has anyone really considered that these difficulties are extreme at the high end of the IQ spectrum, but also may manifest to a lesser degree in other gifted people. Until recently, the dynamics of these difficulties had not been investigated.

Considering the historical attention to this very high IQ group, it is interesting that researchers in the field of giftedness have apparently considered the group known as gifted to be uniform for the purposes of their research. Even Juntune's (1982) editorial "Myth: The Gifted Constitutes a Single, Homogeneous Group" ignored the social and emotional differences noted above as well as the information processing differences within the group.

Controversies regarding definition of giftedness, identification of the gifted, program and curricula design, allocation of resources, staffing, and counseling and guidance have fueled study of the gifted sporadically. Interest has spread to needs of older children and college students, women's special needs, those of the handicapped or learning disabled gifted, career issues, and finally, to the gifted adult.
In recent years, the search for new paradigms has spread to almost all fields, so now new styles of questions are being asked. Humanism and Eastern-influenced traditions are now being applied, tentatively, to the study of giftedness (Richert 1986). From global political structures to interpersonal relationships, events and ideas everywhere are in flux between trends of partnership, cooperation, and democratic ideals and those of domination, tyranny, and totalitarianism. In the hope of reaching a higher order of understanding, and reconciliation of opposites within such understanding, it is, therefore, appropriate to assess and re-evaluate our view of giftedness in concert with these new paradigm shifts.

Historically, understanding of the gifted has been evolving, as has concern for provision for the needs and comfort of all. Indeed, Shelley's lines:

How many a rustic Milton has passed by,
Stifling the speechless longings of his heart,
In unremitting drudgery and care! (Queen Mab, 1813)

would be more reflective of current conditions if they read:

How many a rustic Milton has passed by,
Stifling the speechless longings of his heart,
In misunderstanding and neglect.

Whitmore (1980) and others have described the phenomenon of misunderstanding and neglect. Evolution of misunderstanding into prejudice and fear can be expressed interpersonally and socially, and is exhibited in modern media. From statements
such as "too smart for your own good!" or "curiosity killed the cat", to fears of an intellectual elite, and questions about the usefulness of higher education, individuals and groups still express disdain for high intelligence. The technological consequences of high intelligence have often been characterised as dangerous, beginning with "Frankenstein" (Shelley, 1817).

Specific Statement of the Problem

Since the mid-1980's, descriptive interest in gifted adults has grown. Lovecky (1986, 1990), Piechowski (1984, 1986), and Betts (1989, he described children) have described sets of character traits or personality factors which influence gifted behaviour, and therefore, their self-perceptions, the perceptions of others, their needs, problems and potentials. Lovecky also described some counseling implications of these traits.

These descriptions have, for the first time, included reference to the worst case scenario for the gifted: dropout and/or delinquency as adolescents, and the potential for criminal activity as adults. It is often forgotten that a higher than expected proportion of juveniles referred to the juvenile justice system score in the gifted range on IQ tests (Seeley, 1985). It is probable that some of these may be highly gifted, and unable to resolve the problems of socialization.
Less obviously tragic, and less damaging to society, are the majority of gifted, who, as Terman noted with disappointment, never achieve eminence, though they may reflect on their lives as being fulfilling or satisfying (Sears & Barbee, 1977; Sears, 1977; Lassen, 1989).

Stereotypic visions of the gifted adult pervade our media. According to Campbell (1987), such films as "Star Wars" are modern expressions of myth, and within them giftedness is acceptable as divine inspiration or alien lifeforms (Mr. Spock was the prototypical popular version in the 1960s), but unless there is some flaw or human failing prevalent or readily observable, the gifted tend to be rejected, ridiculed (or, what is a nerd?), even vilified. At worst, the gifted is perceived as a "mad" scientist, one who cares naught for others or consequences, but pursued his own goals relentlessly; or as delinquents or criminals (for a first person perspective see Harry Harrison's The Stainless Steel Rat). Next to "mad scientists", nerds are probably the most prevalent current portrayal of the gifted in the media, from "Revenge of the Nerds" (Field & Samuelson, 1984), a rare positive statement to the computer nerds (a plentiful subgroup) in "Wargames" (Schneider, 1983), highly intelligent people are portrayed as undesirable. In the middle view, the gifted are socially inept, but well-meaning, perhaps idealistic misfits. At best, they are our heroes. But to be a successful (gifted) hero these days, you must be either divinely inspired, an
alien, or a humourous misfit/failure whose successes derive from an innate sense of luck (Indiana Jones). These perceptions are erroneous as stereotypes, and consequently damaging. Some damage is obvious, some subtle. In the case of the hero with human failings, the damage results from the pressure to be such a hero in order to be accepted. Such heroes are fictional; striving to be one is a losing battle.

These attitudes are pervasive, even among people trained to know better. Recently, the author was talking to a student in Early Childhood Education and was surprised to be told she thought someone should "tell the gifted to shove it" when the issue of their special needs was raised.

We need to reframe our concept of the gifted.

The first task of this document is to describe the population of gifted adults emphasizing differential personality traits, unique feelings and problems, and societal perceptions of them. Their potentials when intrinsic and extrinsic factors interact optimally will be compared with instances when interactions are less than optimal. How counseling might be used to ameliorate less than optimal conditions after the fact will also be considered.

This study is an evaluation of where we've been, where we are, and where we might go in order to meet the needs of the gifted adult, and to accord their needs the same status as those of any other minority group. The author hopes she may bring to light ideas and concepts that will help the
"lost" gifted adults back to themselves, or at least begin to end the process that alienates them from themselves and others. It is also hoped that this will serve as a springboard for more theory and research on the following:

1. self-perceptions of gifted adults
2. how others perceive the gifted
3. how the gifted are reflected in film and literature (and how these reflections influence perceptions)
4. traits of giftedness
5. how traits influence behaviour, needs, problems, defeat of potential
6. how traits can contribute to potential achievement and eminence
7. how traits can be reclaimed or reinvigorated

Hypotheses include:

1. the domain we call gifted is not uniform, but in fact contains subdomains which are distinguishable on the basis of a range of traits and trait clusters, and are collectively differentiable from those of the nongifted on the basis of traits as well as social and emotional needs.

2. these subdomains each have their own characteristic set of special needs which are determined by a combination of inherent abilities and environmental conditions throughout the lifespan.

3. these differences in traits, behaviours and perceptions generate special counseling needs in the gifted
4. the group with highest risk of problems is that known as the very highly gifted, the highly creative, etc.—those at the extreme end of the spectrum. This group will be better defined by the extreme expression of the traits/personality factors described by Piechowski, Betts, and Lovecky.

5. gifted men and women face different problems resulting from the interaction of gender, perceptions, and giftedness.

6. the attributes of giftedness are restricted in their recognition in adults to those adults who achieve eminence. The remaining gifted adults, by far the majority, do not achieve eminence. This has been attributed to inherent factors: mental illness or instability and the negative influence of personality factors such as lack of motivation. Social perceptions and prejudices, unmet needs, and societal expectations or restrictions have often been neglected as potential negative influences.

This paper will demonstrate the influence of these external factors in the lives of gifted adults, whether beneficial or deleterious. There is a subtle suggestion in the literature that the noneminent gifted may not be truly fulfilled, though fulfillment is an elusive concept, subject to social and personal interpretation.

These hypotheses generate a series of specific
questions:

1. What are non-eminent gifted adults achieving?
2. Are their achievements an accurate reflection of their potential?
3. If not, why not?
4. Can we assess the needs of the gifted adult based on what we know about the gifted as children?
5. If we extrapolate from gifted children and adolescents, what can we say about the needs of the gifted adult, especially as regards counseling?
6. Does the experience of being gifted influence the effectiveness of counseling techniques?
7. If so, what special techniques can we tailor to the needs of the gifted?
8. Can counseling be used to increase the match between potential and actual achievement and satisfaction in life (as opposed to school), and thereby reclaim the "lost" gifted?

Being gifted is not limited to having a high IQ, or being extremely creative or talented. Being gifted is an entirely different view of the world, a different quality of experience (Delisle, 1984, Krueger, 1978). Being gifted means seeing and interpreting the world through intensified characteristics (Lovecky, 1986, 1990, Piechowski, 1986, 1989, Piechowski, Silverman and Falk, 1985). Even
universities, and other intellectually oriented stimuli, rarely acknowledge or address the differences resulting from the heightened sensitivities. Support groups aside from those that are educationally sponsored, are virtually unknown (Willings, 1985). Once adulthood is reached, few if any resources are available to the gifted other than intellectual stimulation.

Some elements of giftedness depend on personality factors and inherent abilities, some on environment, and some on the interactions between these factors. A necessary piece missing from any one set of factors results in not being gifted, although the environmental factors may be somewhat correctable through counseling, and sometimes through personal growth efforts.

Expression of these intensified personality traits makes the gifted almost as visible as any other minority group. Just as Asians, Blacks and Whites experience the world differently, so do the gifted and those not considered gifted. However, the analogy does not hold up well, because the gifted have no culture to fall back on, perhaps not even family members who can understand their problems.

**Definition of Terms**

**Gifted:** the ability, and innate desire, to process more information more quickly and at a higher order of abstraction and to experience input of any nature at a
significantly more intense level than the norm.

Conceptually, the author visualizes this as an n-dimensional matrix in which a critical sum of traits is the limit above which we can describe giftedness. Only one trait seems to be critical in itself—entelechy (an intense inner motivation, drive, or curiosity). Whatever it is called, without it the other traits do not express as "gifted". One extremely high trait score may be influenced by other or lessor traits to its detriment or enhancement, or several high scores may be negated by lack of or stifled motivation.

The "lost" gifted are those gifted individuals who have not had their needs met, have lost the battle between intimacy and excellence by compromising themselves, or who for other reasons have given up or "lost" their gifts or themselves—they are not achieving up to their potential, may not feel satisfied with life, and are therefore not self-actualizing.

Adult: anyone over the age of 18.

This is an arbitrary definition, but since society defines adulthood as commencing between 18 and 21, it is reasonable. By age 18, most people are expected to behave as adults, and they are beginning to experience the responsibilities of adulthood. For many gifted people the responsibilities and expectations of adulthood come much earlier in terms of achievement, but social restrictions
generally apply until age 18.

**Very Highly Gifted:** anyone with an IQ of 175 or above (there is currently no other reportable measure useful to this definition).

For a perceptual definition, these are the individuals who are recognised by the gifted population as being especially gifted. They will express the extremely maladaptive traits more often than the general gifted population, and may never truly adapt to society in general.

**Genius:** an individual recognised by her/his peers or society at large as exceptionally talented or innovative in a particular field, or in several endeavours. Many people with genius level abilities may never be recognised because their endeavours do not meet social criteria or are too advanced to be appreciated by contemporaries. Genius status may be accorded posthumously.

**Eminence:** peer group or general social recognition and acclaim for ideas, talents, or abilities.

Reasons for this study are many. Primarily, this study is important because it looks at the individual gifted adult as the evolutionary product of growing up gifted. Terman (1925-1959), and others have described the population in detail and have performed statistical examinations of
growing up gifted before. Instead of being concerned with statistical evaluation, this study is oriented toward understanding and theoretical explanation of the personality traits and experiences behind the statistics. Therefore, social attitudes, expressed through the cycles of special programming and the media, the unique expression of personality traits characteristic of the gifted, and the effects of the lack of support services will be primary considerations.

While most 20th century studies have seemed to indicate the gifted do tend to grow up well adjusted, even Terman and Oden's (1959) sample showed twice the incidence of mental disorders as were found in the general population. The support services which do exist tend to be child or adolescent oriented, and to address a single, usually school related problem. Special guidance or counseling is usually offered only adjunctive to special programs.

Special programs themselves can cause problems. They often isolate the gifted from the general population, and encompass high expectations and pressures. An unfortunate manifestation of such high expectations is one of the arguments most frequently advanced in favour of special programming for the gifted: their potential to solve our plethora of social and other problems.

There are two problems with this argument. One, there is some debate as to whether or not this is true (Colangelo & Fleuridas, 1986, Myers & Pace, 1986). And, two, this
discounts a more fundamental and humanistic reason to meet their needs. Like all members of any minority group the gifted are entitled to the full benefits of society by virtue of being human beings in our society. If we espouse the democratic ideals of our history, how can we tolerate the misperceptions and prejudices against the gifted, much less expect the gifted to be present or absent, needy or fulfilled, according to society's perceptions of its own needs? Every minority group has experienced a phase of being acceptable solely because it was considered useful to society, but this is not, and should not be considered enough for any group. Many groups have risen in society's regard from "useful" to being important for themselves and their own individual human potentials, not just as tools for societal whims. It is time for the gifted to move forward as well.

As educators and counselors, we need to be aware of, and sensitive to the effects of modern media on public awareness and opinion/perception of the gifted. Because of the pervasiveness of television and film/video, and because they may be the only, or at least, the primary source of information on gifted individuals (or anything else) readily consumed by the public it is worth investigating the image of the gifted portrayed in the media. This image can then be used as a starting point for generating hypotheses and studies on general perceptions of the gifted. In addition, fictional characters are written to specifications, and can
therefore be either purer, or more broad-spectrum examples of gifted traits, or a combination of both. They are also, at least in film, consensus views of the gifted because so many people influence the final product or performance, from writers to actors to directors.

Finally, the author has personal reasons for this investigation, having participated in acceleration, enrichment, and skipping programs in school. She found in general, that they did not meet her needs, but were better than the lack of special social and emotional gifted-oriented resources available to adults. The author's personal experiences over the years more closely resemble the implications of the new theories than the old ones, and she hopes the new paradigms now being created will promote thoughtful changes in education, counseling and perceptions of the gifted.

Since very little has been done in the study of gifted adults, the author is reluctant to delimit the scope of this study more strictly than its emphasis on adult problems, perceptions and potentials. More stringent limitations will interfere with assessing a global view of the field as it is currently understood.

Outside limitations include the dearth of available data, which requires the use of information on children and adolescents and extrapolation from that data. Obviously, the process of extrapolation introduces the possibility of error in two ways: 1. the effects of the development of
adolescents into adults can only be hypothesized, and so the
two groups are not equivalent internally, and 2. societal
expectations of adolescents and adults are different, as are
the rewards, so the two groups are not strictly comparable
externally either.

Overview of Remaining Chapters

Rationale has been presented to support the
investigation into the special problems, perceptions and
potentials of the gifted adult. In the following chapters,
a critical review of the major foci of study within the
realm of knowledge we call giftedness will be presented.
Special attention will be paid to the implications of what
we know about children and how their developmental process
can inform us about adults, and the emerging implications of
a higher order overview of the problem of giftedness as
well. Case studies will be included where available. A
synthesis of the currently advanced theories into profiles
of the types of gifted adults will be presented, and
discussion of the interaction of these types with
environmental conditions in forming achieving or
nonachieving, eminent or noneminent persons will follow.
These types will be explored for counseling needs, useful
counseling techniques, and potentials not yet realised.
Throughout, the author will use examples drawn from the
television and film media, as well as biography, and case
CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature pertaining to this study. It has been divided into seven sections, each surveying one aspect of research into giftedness. The chapter begins with a review of the history of the study of giftedness, a summary of the pioneering studies in the field. Following from the historical studies, the literature on the highly gifted will be explored. This special subgroup of the population was identified in terms of special needs and problems very early in the study of giftedness, yet has not been thoroughly studied. This group is also the focus of controversy. There is disagreement about whether the gifted are better adjusted than others by definition, or whether giftedness presents special problems. Both points of view will be explored. Some authors have found no evidence to support the idea of qualitative differences between this group and other gifted people, while other researchers claim they have evidence to support such differences. There is also disagreement on whether or not these individuals face problems different in degree or in kind from those faced by more gifted individuals.

The studies of genius and prodigies, this group
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature pertaining to this study. It has been divided into seven sections, each surveying one aspect of research into giftedness. The chapter begins with a review of the history of the study of giftedness, a summary of the pioneering studies in the field. Following from the historical studies, the literature on the highly gifted will be explored. This special subgroup of the population was identified in terms of special needs and problems very early in the study of giftedness, but has not been thoroughly studied. This group is also the focus of controversy. There is disagreement about whether the gifted are better adjusted than others by definition, or whether giftedness presents special problems. Both points of view will be explored. Some authors have found no evidence to support the idea of qualitative differences between this group and other gifted people, while other researchers claim they have evidence to support such differences. There is also disagreement on whether or not these individuals face problems different in degree of in kind from those faced by other gifted individuals.

The studies of genius and prodigies, two groups
distinct from the highly gifted, and apparently the subject of greater scientific interest than the highly gifted, are the subject of section three. Genius refers to socioculturally recognised accomplishments attributed to exceptional ability. It can be broad-spectrum (da Vinci) or restricted to a specific area such as music (Mozart). Some researchers have referred to the latter as "talent" as opposed to "giftedness". Prodigies are those exceptionally talented children who display adult mastery of or ability in a subject in childhood.

Section four addresses three primary foci of study in "post-classical" research on giftedness: intelligence, cognition, and learning style. As will be shown in Chapter Four, cognitive differences related to giftedness influence and contribute to special problems of giftedness. Section five delineates these special problems of giftedness, and is subdivided into four topics: underachievement, social and emotional issues, suicide and the gifted, and parenting issues. Within this section, women's issues and career studies are included under social and emotional issues.

Following discussion of the issue of special problems, section six outlines research, programs, and recommendations into special guidance and counseling issues. For the purposes of this paper, "guidance" refers to school-oriented issues, while "counseling" is used in the sense of personal, social, and emotional issues. Obviously there is some potential overlap between the two. A separate topic section
Finally, section seven describes the research specifically on the gifted adult. This is the foundation of Chapter Four, and unlike the other sections which only survey the literature, this section covers every topical publication known to this author.

History of the Study of Giftedness

The subject of high intelligence was first studied and reported scientifically by a cousin of Charles Darwin, Francis Galton in *Hereditary Genius* (1869, republished 1892). With the advent of intelligence testing at the turn of the century, (Binet & Simon, 1905) the study of intelligence became quantifiable. Initially, the Binet/Simon test of intelligence was designed to detect the mentally retarded in order to provide special instruction for them (Zigler & Finn-Stevenson, 1987). This emphasis apparently set the tone for study and provisions for special education in the 20th century.

At almost the same time as Galton republished his volume, an Italian psychiatrist and criminologist, Lambroso (1891) published a work in which he attempted to show that genius was a degenerative psychosis. His scholarship has been criticized; however, his arguments were persuasive, and he presented correlational data representing individuals of high ability as "small, pallid and emaciated, often sexually
sterile, left-handed or restless vagabonds, tortured by religious doubts, and abusers of alcohol and narcotics" (Grinder, 1985, p. 18). Both William James and Galton were skeptical of Lambroso's insanity theory (neurosis is the price of genius), however, James (1902) eventually accepted it. Porter (1989) provided historical examples to substantiate the connection of genius and madness, primarily as known through authors, poets and musicians of the last three centuries. In a more general approach, Bett (1952) investigated the "infirmities" of genius. He linked both physical (Byron's lameness, Swinburne's epilepsy) and psychological ills (Shelley's neurosis, Smarts' insanity) with genius, and added consideration of drug use (de Qunicey's use of opium).

One of the first highly influential American students of intelligence, Lewis M. Terman (1916), was responsible for modifications to the original Binet IQ test which became known as the Stanford-Binet. In the early 1920's, Terman began the most extensive investigation into the characteristics and demographics of giftedness to date. Covering more than 30 years in the lives of his gifted subjects, and contained in 5 volumes, his Genetic Studies of Genius (GSG) is still the fundament of much research into giftedness. A short summary of the Terman studies can be found in Terman and Oden (1951).

Initially, Terman and his colleagues set out to study both the mental and physical characteristics of 1000 gifted
children (Vol. I, 1925). Terman believed the gifted student would be superior in general, stronger, more agile, and possibly larger in stature in addition to being more intelligent. As Terman and his colleagues followed their subjects through development into adolescence and adulthood, additional subjects were added. All of the children were drawn from urban California schools, and selected primarily on the basis of their Stanford-Binet scores (140+) with adjunctive teacher evaluations and other test scores. Parents and students were interviewed, physical examinations and measurements taken, as well as psychological assessments. Though they showed a wide range of physical characteristics, some below average, most were above average. Terman et al concluded that gifted children were superior in general. Due to extreme sample bias, this conclusion has been disputed (Myers and Pace, 1986)

In the second volume of GSG, The Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses, (1926), Cox, examined historical figures regarded as geniuses for many of the same traits Terman was evaluating in his population of gifted children.

Volumes III-V (The Promise of Youth, 1930, The Gifted Child Grows Up, 1947, and The Gifted Group at Mid-life, 1959) reported the continued study of the original gifted group. In Volume IV, Terman and Oden noted the increased incidence of mental disorders in their gifted population as compared to the population at large, yet the assessment of the gifted as superior in general, including in mental
stability, remained unchanged.

In the last 30 years, some investigators have continued Terman's longitudinal study, studying the gifted population through later life, especially in terms of life and career satisfactions at an average age of 62 (Sears & Barbee, 1977, Sears, 1977), and generalizability of findings (Subotnik, Karp & Morgan, 1989). Both Sears and Sears & Barbee's studies found high levels of satisfaction based on the variables considered. In Sears and Barbee's study of gifted women, variables included "joy in living" and perceived success in attainment of five goals including occupational success, family, friendships, cultural life, and service to society. Reports from children and parents from the 1920's were used as predictors of satisfaction. Women who worked outside the home were found to be more satisfied with their work than homemakers. Head of household women showed the highest level of satisfaction with work, while homemakers expressed greater satisfaction in general.

Sears (1977) looked at the life satisfaction of Terman's sample of gifted men in terms of four variables: life-cycle satisfaction with occupation, family life, work persistence into later life, and unbroken marriage versus divorce. Earlier reports from these participants were investigated for predictive factors. Sears found the best predictors of occupational satisfaction were work satisfaction, ambition and good health expressed as early as age 30, while family and marital success were best predicted
by social adjustment as children, mental health, retrospective positive feelings toward parents at age 40, and most accurately by the Terman Marital Happiness Test (administered at age 30).

Terman had set out to disprove Lambroso's theory of insanity and physical weakness as characteristic of genius. His studies and ideas were instrumental in altering the then prevalent view of the gifted as neurotic as characterised by Lambroso. In fact, he may have accomplished a complete reversal of opinion, creating the equally damaging myth that the gifted are so well adjusted that they have no need of special services.

Concurrently with Terman's study, Hollingworth (1926) studied the gifted population of urban New York. Her students were selected on the basis of IQ tests as well as mental health. Immaturity was selected against as she felt it was contradictory to giftedness. This choice served to bias her sample. Her students were placed in a special school for differential education. Therefore, her student subjects differed from Terman's in that all were schooled in a single, specially designed environment.

Following the studies of Terman and Hollingworth, numerous other scientists began investigating the phenomenon of giftedness. From the 1940's until the 1980's, these studies focused primarily on the needs of gifted children in terms of special academic programming, cognition and giftedness, learning style differences between the gifted
and others, and after they were recognised in the 1950's, school guidance needs of the gifted. Special emphasis has also been placed on the causes and remedies for underachievement in the gifted. Within the last two decades, interest in other issues and aspects of giftedness has grown. Consequently, social and emotional issues, traits of genius and prodigies, parenting of the gifted, creativity and giftedness, suicide among the gifted, and special counseling techniques designed to meet the needs of the gifted have been explored.

Over the years, interest in, and funding for gifted programs and study waxed and waned with the perceived needs of society. One major spurt of interest followed the launching of Sputnik in 1957, another occurred in the mid-1970's (Olerich, 1975).

The Highly Gifted

Both Terman and Hollingworth noted the special difficulties of students with exceptionally high IQs (175-180 and above). Terman commented (Burks, Jensen, & Terman, 1930, GSG Vol. III, p. 173):

It is in the case of the child with extraordinarily high IQ that the social problem is most acute. If the IQ is 180, the intellectual level at six is almost on a par with that of the average eleven-year-old, and at ten or eleven is not far from that of the average high school graduate. Physical development, on the other hand, is not likely to be accelerated more than 10 percent, and social development probably not more than 20 or 30 percent. The inevitable result is that the child
IQ has one of the most difficult jobs of social adjustment that any human being is ever called upon to meet.

Hollingworth included a separate chapter on these children in her book *Gifted Children, Their Nature and Nurture* (1926), in which she gave case histories of several of them. She found that these children tended to prefer solitary play, that finding playmates who are peers was difficult for them, and that they enjoyed not only intellectual exercise, but physical exertion as well, contrary to common beliefs of the time, but consistent with Terman's contentions.

The majority of her children testing above 180 IQ were from the higher socioeconomic levels, about half of them were first-born, and there was great variation in the ages of first walking and talking, though the median ages for both activities were quite early. More consistent was the age at which these children learned to read, often without formal instruction (at or before age three). Nearly all of these children were described as school problems. In 1931, she wrote a short article on their social difficulties and, later, a book specifically on the subject of very high IQ children (1942). She described several special problems including unmet scholastic and career counseling needs that contributed to development of cynicism and negativism toward authority. Hollingworth agreed with Terman about the origins of the socialisation difficulties these children face: 1. lack of available peers causing diminished social
interactions accompanied by atrophied social skills and isolation, 2. the contrast between physical, emotional, and intellectual development, and 3. reactions to these factors, both internal and external.

In the ordinary elementary school situation children of 140 IQ waste half of their time. Those above 170 IQ waste practically all of their time. With little to do, how can these children develop power of sustained effort, respect for the task, or habits of steady work?

Children who rise above 170 IQ are likely to regard school with indifference or with positive dislike, for they find nothing in the work to absorb their interest. This condition of affairs, coupled with the supervision of unseeing and unsympathetic teachers, has sometimes led even to truancy on the part of gifted children. (Hollingworth, 1942, pp. 258-259)

Carroll (1940, cited in Zorbaugh, Boardman, & Sheldon 1951, p. 93) was of the opinion that "although many children with IQ's above 170 succeed in making satisfactory play adjustments, the chances are great that they will not." He did not elaborate on the adjustments, but logically they can be connected to the conflict between full self-expression and social acceptance.

Zorbaugh, Boardman & Sheldon (1951) confirmed the findings of Terman and Hollingworth. In fact, the similarities in results were striking, considering the very small sample size in all studies of the highly gifted. Many of Zorbaugh et al's subjects showed evidence of paying a very high cost for maintaining their high level of intellectual function, others showed signs of depression or underachievement, while some showed no indication of marked
constructive originality. They concluded that the changes resulted from a growing internal focus, attributed to an increase in the stresses related to achieving or maintaining social adjustment.

Feldman (1984) did a follow-up study of 26 of Terman's subjects with IQs of 180 or above. He pointed out the dearth of literature on the subject of these extremely high IQ people (prior to his study, the only lengthy studies published specifically on the highly gifted were Hollingworth's). Feldman compared the above 180 IQ group with 26 subjects from Terman's original study selected at random, thus comparing the gifted with the extremely gifted, in terms of education, career, marriage and family, and life satisfaction. He found the distinctions between the two groups unremarkable, and concluded that the IQ of 180 "does not signify a qualitatively different organization of mind" (p. 522) or equivalence to genius as both Terman and Hollingworth suggested.

A special issue of Roeper Review edited by Feldman, was devoted to the issue of extreme giftedness. Some of the articles included address the subjects of girl prodigies (Goldsmith, 1987), the diversity of the highly gifted child (McGuflfog, Feiring & Lewis, 1987), a follow-up of some of Hollingworth's students (White and Renzulli, 1987), a case study of a 14-year-old college graduate (Sharkey, 1987), a review of ideas on genius (Powell, 1987), issues of guidance and counseling (Colangelo and Brower, Landrum, 1987), and
double mentoring (Clasen and Hanson, 1987). With the exception of White and Renzulli, the authors omitted consideration of the gifted adult. Even their study is a follow-up longitudinal study, not a study of specific needs or traits of gifted adults.

Programs for the highly gifted have typically been oriented toward rapid and/or frequent acceleration, sometimes placing 12-15 year olds in college. More often, acceleration has been limited by school authorities or other agencies, and the highly gifted child was left with neither academic/educational nor social and personal needs met. Lewis (1984) suggested alternatives to acceleration for the highly gifted child. She used two case studies to demonstrate that acceleration is not enough for these children, and that flexible scheduling and counseling are crucial to the success of any program for these uniquely gifted children.

Schmidt (1987) offered several possible explanations for the apparent simultaneity of high giftedness and psychiatric disturbance, including random coincidence, disposition of giftedness to symptoms similar to those of psychiatric disturbance, and observational error. Recommendations for prevention and treatment centered on an understanding and supportive family environment, and facilitation of coping strategies.

Powell and Haden (1984) concluded that the differences inherent in three groups studied (average, moderately
gifted, and highly gifted) implied that different approaches to parenting and teaching may be required by the highly gifted to avoid difficulties with self-esteem and self-conception.

Most researchers who have investigated the highly gifted have found they experience significantly different educational and social needs from the general population, and often even from the moderately gifted. In spite of this, special programs for them have been primarily superficial, and their social and emotional needs mostly ignored.

Studies of Genius and Prodigies

In addition to Cox's study (1926), Bowerman (1947), Clarke (1968), Ellis (1926), and Goertzel and Goertzel (1962) among others, have listed, described, categorised and investigated the familial trends of historical geniuses. A recent volume on genius, edited by Murray (1989) presented a historical review of conceptions of genius, but was primarily concerned with various expressions of literary genius.

In a study later disputed, Kretschmer (1931/1970) identified patterns of genius, which he labeled "the scientist", "heroes and leaders", "inspired characters", and "the prophet". While some of his ideas are antithetical to modern thought (genius and race, for example), his is an
early attempt to describe types of gifted adults based on expression of personality and other traits. Powell (1987) defined genius as a result of intellectual brilliance in two modes, analytic and synthetic. The relationship of these modes to learning style (spatial or sequential), to brain hemisphere function, or to fluid or crystallised intelligence was not explored, and remains unclear. The influence of social response to brilliance was also overlooked.

Study of prodigies has been carried out by Barbe and Adler (1972), Stanley, George & Solano (1977), Feldman (1986), and Starkey (1987). In Nature's Gambit Feldman (1986) presented an in-depth view of the meaning of prodigies in the evolution of human potential. The relationship between giftedness and human evolutionary potential is also the prime concern of a new journal, "Advanced Development". Both Feldman and the founders/editors of "Advanced Development" feel that prodigy (Feldman) or giftedness ("Advanced Development") is an evolutionary step, perhaps an indication of current human evolutionary trends.

While several studies of historical genius and prodigy have been made, there has been little attention paid to comparisons between the lives of historically eminent individuals or prodigies and the contemporary gifted population, and what such comparisons might indicate about the special needs of the gifted. The fact that numerous
eminent men and women have expressed social or emotional angst, have faced interpersonal difficulties, or have experienced serious psychological functional impairment has not been correlated with potential similar experiences in the gifted population today.

**Intelligence, Cognition, and Learning Style**

Over the years our conceptualisation of intelligence has evolved. Currently, three main theories are in the forefront. The psychometric view, which defines intelligence in terms of possession of quantifiably greater mental abilities, the information-processing view which emphasizes process over quantification, and the psychological view espoused by Feldman (1982, cited in Myers & Pace, 1986). In her book, *Problem Solving and Intelligence*, Rowe (1985) described the history and outlined the characteristics of the psychometric and information-processing models of intelligence. Hunt (1976) delineated varieties of cognitive power in terms of a process model of cognition.

Sternberg (1981a & b) drafted a componential ("triarchic") theory of intelligence, and suggested that intelligence can best be understood when conceived of through components employed in nonentrenched (novel) tasks. Components were categorised as metacomponents, performance components, and acquisition, retention and transfer
components. Interactions between components and types of components were theorised.

Sternberg and Davidson (1983) and Davidson and Sternberg (1984) suggested that the "attributes that best distinguish the intellectually gifted are probably not the same as those that best distinguish the retarded. Rather, the gifted are probably above average, but not necessarily exceptional, in those attributes that distinguish the retarded from the normal" (Davidson & Sternberg, 1984). They found that qualitative differences began to matter at exceptional levels of intellect, and suggested that one trait of qualitative difference is insight. In their conceptualisation, insight is composed of three separate processes: selective encoding (selecting relevant from irrelevant information), selective combination (synthesis of apparently unrelated data), and selective comparison (assessing similarities between new and old information).

In a related study, Hanson, Silver, and Strong (1984) researched the intrapsychic functional preferences of gifted grade school students. They found these students differed from a normal population in being primarily intuitors, and in basing information processing decision-making on their feelings.

Hollingsworth (1985) described a program to enhance thinking skills based on three categories of thinking (representational, procedural and heuristic knowledges) currently in use in a program for gifted education in
Several researchers have investigated the relationship between brain hemispheres and intelligence. McCallum (1981) investigated hemispheric specialisation and intelligence in terms of conjugate-lateral eye movement and found that intelligence did not influence problem-solving style in a comparison of gifted, average and retarded children. However, according to Bradshaw (1989), there is little evidence to support the contention that creativity or other functions are hemisphere-specific. In addition, Bradshaw found that hemispheric determination of cognitive style is a drastic oversimplification. He stated that there is no evidence that conjugate-lateral eye movement is a measure either of dominant or current information processing preference.

Karnes, McCallum and Oehler (1985) explored the relationship between information processing style preference (in terms of hemispheric preference-right, left, integrated and mixed) and personality in gifted students, and found a tentative relationship. The right and integrated groups differed significantly from the left and mixed groups on both the Undemonstrative versus Excitable and the Shy versus Excitable factors of the Children's Personality Questionnaire. They assessed their findings as preliminary only, but concluded that there was an interaction between learning style and personality.

Roubinek, Bell and Cates (1987) studied brain
hemisphere dominance of intellectually gifted junior high school students. They found a significant relationship between hemisphere dominance and sex, but no significant relationship between IQ and degree of dominance, or between IQ and left- or right-brain dominance. In their study, males tended to be more right-brain dominant while girls were more left-brain dominant. They also found that brain hemisphere dominance did not appear to be predictive of achievement in specific skill areas in gifted children, whereas some previous studies had indicated a predictive nature for dominance in some skill areas in the general population.

Perrone and Pulvino (1979) stressed the importance of assessing "cognitive style, representational systems, and consequent learning preferences" (p. 188) in order to increase productivity from both hemispheres of the brain. That is, they believe both convergent and divergent thinking abilities are required for maximum performance.

Estes (1976) examined the relationship between intelligence and cognitive psychology and found that high intellectual performance may reflect developmental advantages as well as, or even instead of, reflecting innate capacity differences. Shore (1986) asserted that understanding cognition is a key to understanding giftedness. Furthermore, he suggested the need for research on the processing differences the gifted use to solve problems based on the different factor structure of the
gifted's scores on WISC-R scales (Brown & Yakimowski, 1985, cited in Shore, 1986). Shore also pointed out that numerous researchers in the field of giftedness and cognition have not been trained in the education of the gifted, so their experimental results must be interpreted cautiously.

In order to understand the performance level differences in students of equally high intelligence, Borland (1988) studied cognition differences within the gifted. He found three cognitive styles among his gifted population, each consisting of a cluster of cognitive controls, defined by cluster analysis. The "strict percept-strict concept" style, characterised by active attention deployment and attention to fine differences in nuance, was found to correspond more closely with divergent thinking. Divergent thinking is one characteristic of the gifted with potentially negative consequences, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Resnick and Glaser (1976) argued that the ability to solve problems is fundamental to intelligence, and that problem solving behaviours can be used to understand the psychological processes of intelligence. Scruggs and Cohn (1983) described a study of verbal learning and paired-associate learning (word pairs are presented, then one word of each pair is provided and the subject is asked to supply the other half of the pair, a stimulus-response test). Their data provided no evidence that their verbally gifted students learn in a manner that is qualitatively different.
from the nongifted. In fact, the same strategies were applied by both the gifted (average age 13 years, 2 months) and the comparative group of undergraduate students. It is questionable whether or not a task of such limited scope is likely to elicit significant variation in strategies. It is also possible that the use of the same strategies is evidence for cognitive differences in view of the age and developmental level differences between the groups.

In an Australian study, Schofield and Ashman (1987) compared the cognitive processing of gifted, and high and low average students, with an emphasis on planning functions. They expected "a consistent and significant improvement... across all variables among the three intelligence groups... but this did not occur" (p. 17). Instead, there were significant differences between the low and high average groups, but the differences between the high average ability and gifted students were inconsistent, and not significant in two instances out of three. This may have been an artifact of sample selection, as the above average group (IQ 105-124) and the gifted group (IQ 124+) were not highly distinct. The distinction was further muddied by the inclusion in the gifted population of teacher nominated students without regard for IQ scores. The authors suggested that the difference between the high average and gifted groups were in metacognition (planning) and simultaneous processing. That is, the processing of the gifted more closely resembled adult processing than the
processing characteristics of their age peers (compare with Scruggs & Cohn, 1983).

If one of the primary distinctions used to identify gifted children is a tendency to process information more like older children or adults than like their agemates, then this distinction should diminish or disappear as the child becomes an adult. How, then, do we distinguish gifted adults from others?

Presmeg (1986) investigated the lack of representation of visualisers among high mathematical achieving high school students. Visualisation is credited as a right-brain function, while mathematical analysis, and school achievement in general are usually considered to emphasize left-brain functions. However, geometric mathematics requires an ability to visualise, and from Galton's time onward, theorists have suggested that an integration of brain hemisphere function is optimal.

Metacognition (self-knowledge of cognition and cognitive processes), origins and development, was discussed by Wellman (1985). He identified five distinct but overlapping aspects of metacognition: awareness of the existence of thoughts and internal mental states as distinguished from external events, the several distinct processes (guessing, knowing, dreaming, etc.), integration of the interactions between processes, the variables that influence the different acts of cognition, and monitoring of ongoing mental processes.
The role of metacognition in cognitive development was discussed at length by Yussen (1985). He elaborated on the various meanings attributed to the term (his own definition equates metacognition with problem solving), theoretical perspectives, development beyond childhood, and alternative frameworks for study of cognition.

Other studies on metacognition in the gifted student population include Flavell (1976), Dirkes (1985), Wingenbach (1984a & b), and Shore and Dover (1987). Flavell reviewed the study of metacognition in terms of problem solving. Dirkes recommended a metacognitive approach to learning for the gifted student as it facilitates maximization of abilities and opportunities for learning. Shore and Dover explored metacognition in the "triarchic" concept of intelligence espoused by Sternberg et al (1981, 1983, 1988) and Davidson and Sternberg (1983). They suggested that metacognitive characteristics are accompanied by flexibility and adaptability among cognitive styles in the gifted. Wingenbach explored the comprehension strategies and metacognitive techniques employed by gifted readers in the comprehension process.

Rogers (1986) reviewed comparative research into cognitive style differences, cognitive development, strategy selections, and social and emotional factors between gifted and nongifted populations from the mid-1970 to the mid-1980's. She stressed that characteristics associated with giftedness are not exclusive to the gifted population, nor
will all gifted students display all the traits. Rather, these are quantitative, not qualitative differences. However, she also pointed out that quantitative differences in the extreme (such as in the highly gifted population) may evolve into qualitative differences.

Dunn (1983) compared learning style and exceptionality in both high and low IQ populations in grades 4-12. She investigated environmental factors such as noise level, lighting, and setting formality, emotional factors including motivation, persistence and responsibility, sociological elements, physical elements such as perceptual strengths, diurnal patterns, and mobility, and psychological elements including hemispheric preference, impulsivity and global (spatial) or sequential learning. Using the Learning Style Inventory (LSI) (Dunn, Dunn, & Price, 1979, cited in Dunn, 1983), she found gifted/talented children "to be independent, internally controlled, self-motivated, persistent, perceptually strong, task-committed, and non-conforming", and noted that many of these characteristics related to persistence and commitment to task. She included a tabular summary of research on the ability of students to identify their own learning styles, the effects of "teaching through learning style" on achievement, and preferred instructional styles of gifted students.

Using an earlier version of the LSI (1975), Griggs and Price (1982) found gifted junior high school students were less teacher-motivated and more persistent than their
average peers. The gifted students also preferred quiet while being tolerant of sound, preferred not to learn by listening (such as lecture format), and preferred to learn alone. Internal motivation, persistence, and tolerance of noisy conditions were the most useful discriminators.

In 1984, Griggs expanded on the relationship between giftedness and learning styles by applying learning style preferences to school counseling of the gifted in terms of six learning style elements (independent learning, internal control, persistence, perceptual strength, nonconformist tendencies, and high motivation). Her recommendations parallel those of Lovecky (1990), detailed in Chapter Four.

Using a different Learning Styles Inventory (Renzulli & Smith, 1978), Stewart (1981) compared gifted and nongifted grade school students. The key differences she found were response to lecture, appreciation of independent study, usefulness of discussion and special projects. These variables were affected significantly by such things as grade level, sex, locus of control (assessed by the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale for Children, Nowicki & Strickland, 1973, cited in Stewart, 1981), and favourite subject. As in most other studies, the gifted students preferred independent learning, while the nongifted students desired more structure.

Okabayashi and Torrance (1984) explored the relationship of information processing to readiness for independent study and underachievement. Their results
suggested that style of information processing may influence underachievement, but seemed to have little relationship to readiness for independent study. High achievers showed an integrated style of information processing (utilising both left- and right-brain functions) while underachievers described a preference for right-brain style of information processing. They apparently did not investigate the relationship between this and differences between spatial and sequential learning, or the possibility that underachievement was a spatial learning response to sequentially oriented teaching.

The common difficulties experienced by spatial learners were described by Silverman (1989), who also described differential strengths and weaknesses of both spatial and sequential learners. She reiterated the thought that individuals with high proficiencies in both styles of learning have exceptionally high IQs. They may have the strengths of each type with the deficiencies of each type compensated for by the presence of the other, or they may have both types of difficulties.

Studies of intelligence, cognition, and learning style are numerous. However, there has been little agreement or synthesis of the results of these studies. This is partially due to the incomparability of samples, definitional disagreements, and the modern tendency to high levels of specialisation within academe. For example, the terms spatial learning and fluid intelligence seem related
to more right hemisphere activities while sequential learning and crystallised intelligence seem more related to left hemisphere activities. In spite of potential interrelationships, the terms have not been correlated in the literature. It is consequently difficult to apply results using one set of concepts to studies using another.

Problems Deriving From Giftedness

Although there was emphasis on social and personality factors of the gifted especially in the mid-1900s (notably Witty, 1951, and Strang, 1951, 1960), in general, 20th century studies of the gifted have followed Terman in assuming the gifted were superior in adjustment as well as in intellect. The exceptions to this rule were underachievers, and a few aberrant cases. Yet, Terman & Oden (1947) found their 30 year old subjects had twice the incidence of mental disorders as the general population, and Oden (1968) found the performance of the 50 year old subjects depended not only on intelligence, but was also strongly influenced by both motivation and emotional stability.

Strang (1951) attributed the majority of the problems of gifted students to normal or basic desires and needs which are denied normal satisfactions" (p. 131). She listed the following reasons to maintain the mental health of the gifted: 1) the expense of undeveloped talent, 2) the social
cost of misdirection of ability, and 3) the failure of the
individual to achieve the true satisfaction of self-
fulfillment. In spite of her concern for the gifted
themselves, her first priorities were the social costs of
unfulfilled gifts, not the effects of lack of fulfillment on
the gifted.

Underachievement

Probably the most thoroughly studied problem of
giftedness is the phenomenon of underachievement. Whitmore
(1980, 1986) has written extensively on this subject. In
Whitmore offered a historical perspective and overview of
research on giftedness as preface to her explication of
underachievement in some highly gifted students. Her
explorations into underachievement began with case studies
followed by consideration of the special vulnerabilities of
the gifted child such as supersensitivity, deficient social
skills, social isolation, and unrealistic expectations.

Whitmore offered detailed information on implementation of a
program designed to meet the needs of highly gifted
underachievers, including citizenship and leadership skills.
The efficacy of the program is described in depth, and
recommendations are offered on everything from the rationale
behind special education for the gifted to countering
financial reasons for inaction.
Whitmore (1986) condensed some of the content of her book in a short article primarily concerned with helping parents and teachers understand the lack of motivation to excel in some gifted children. She reiterated the point that the gifted often feel intense intrinsic satisfaction from self-directed activities, and commonly find routine school tasks (especially the repetitive or rote memory type) boring, or feel a lack of the extrinsic rewards they need in order to feel motivated. She stated

...gifted students need to know the rationale for basic curriculum requirements and to understand that the design of instruction is based on how most students seem to learn best (p. 68).

Implicit in this need is the need for the gifted to be aware of and understand their own uniqueness as gifted individuals. Members of MENSA addressed this issue in letters and articles in the MENSA Bulletin, and seemed, in general, to favour disclosure of giftedness to children contrary to generally accepted policy which has been to keep test results from children. MENSANS seem to be of the opinion that not knowing one is gifted makes the discrepancies between oneself and others more difficult to comprehend, and therefore more potentially damaging to the child. Colangelo and Pfleger's (1979) study also supported this view.

Dowdall and Colangelo (1982) reviewed the study of underachievement and educational program responses to it over the previous twenty years. They found "the
proliferation of material actually obfuscates the concept of underachieving giftedness because of inconsistent definitions" (p. 179). The same can be said about most research into giftedness.

Gonzalez and Hayes (1988) examined studies of the psychosocial aspects of underachievement, and suggested implications for intervention in a holistic developmental context. They pointed out that "giftedness exists prior to and apart from exceptional accomplishment" (p. 48). This is a rare acknowledgement of the independence of giftedness and eminence. Even Terman (1925-1959) expected eminence to follow from giftedness as a natural outgrowth.

Rimm (1988) used a characteristics approach to identify underachievement, and pointed out that in 1984 half of all gifted children were underachievers. Five dimensions she considered in underachievement were competition, responsibility, self-control, achievement communication, and respect.

Many researchers have found that underachievement is a common problem for gifted students. Application of the concept of underachievement to gifted adults, and the adult consequences of childhood underachievement have not been investigated.

Social and Emotional Issues

A number of books and articles have been written on the
problems of gifted children. Bridges (1973) considered the problems and needs of the gifted child of IQ 150. He pointed out the fact that gifted children have the same requirements for affection, recognition, and stimulation as other children. The difference, according to Bridges, is that giftedness may bring these needs out earlier, and cause them to be felt more intensely. Bridges attributed much of the boredom experienced by the gifted to the uninteresting and unchallenging nature of potential future employment. He also suggested consideration of the motivation behind social withdrawal before any efforts are made to cajole a child into increased social interactions, and that the gifted child needs an understanding of her/his own gifts in order to help form both accurate self-images and reasonable expectations of others.

Both of these suggestions contradict commonly accepted maxims. Hollingworth (1926, 1931, 1942) stressed the need for the gifted to avoid becoming hermits, but seeking isolation may be not only desirable, but necessary for the gifted according to Bridges (1973) and others (see Chapter Four). The gifted child's need for an understanding of her/his own gifts is in exact opposition to common practice which keeps knowledge of giftedness from children as much as possible, ostensibly to prevent exaggerated egos and feelings of entitlement. Bridges dismissed this possibility except when parents or teachers overstress the child's cleverness. Whitmore (1986) implied a similar need.
Gross (1989) distilled the difficulties of gifted children into a single dilemma: the choice between intimacy and excellence. This "forced choice" arises because of the psychosocial pressures exerted for achievement of both experiences. In the person of average ability there is little or no conflict, however, for the gifted student, pursuit of excellence often means alienation from age peers, while pursuit of intimacy may require deliberate underachievement to promote acceptance.

Newland (1976) regarded the social milieu of gifted children as especially important to their development. He offered a lengthy discussion of the definition of giftedness, as well as a consideration of social, psychological, philosophical and educational/administrative concerns in education of the gifted. He described the popular perception of the gifted in the United States as "Darwinian"—through social evolutionary process, responsible leaders, in numbers sufficient to meet the needs of society, will emerge on their own (be "naturally selected"). In this conceptualisation, giftedness is defined post hoc, as those who had demonstrated superiority. Until after Sputnik, little material effort was made in the interest of the gifted (Newland, 1976, Olerich, 1975).

Kaiser and Berndt (1985) found helplessness, social introversion, and low self-esteem were the aspects of depression most predictive of loneliness in gifted adolescents. Statistically, they found approximately one in
eight of their students reported significant loneliness, depression and anger. They did not compare these statistics with those of average adolescents.

Also in 1985, Seeley investigated the problems and potential of gifted adolescents with an eye to an alternative view of the source of these problems: normal adolescent rebellion. Seeley discussed the heightened sensitivity of the gifted, giftedness and delinquency, and the effects of fluid and crystallized intelligence on education and delinquency. It appears that high levels of fluid intelligence (intuitive basic mental abilities, innate problem solving ability, memory, speed of thought) may contribute to delinquent tendencies as these tendencies are more often punished than rewarded in school. High levels of crystallized intelligence (more conventional processes employing sequential logic and verbal mediation in problem solving) may serve as protection from delinquency.

Perrone (1986) described six personality characteristics consistently found among the gifted, divided into two triads. The first triad consisted of thought processes, task persistence, and goal orientation. The second was composed of internal locus of control, social awareness, and social effectiveness. The difficulties the gifted face in selecting a career, and what counselors can do to facilitate career satisfaction in the gifted were also outlined.

Franks and Dolan (1982) discussed the educational
implications of affective characteristics of gifted children. They included the traits of persistence, independence, and self-concept, and defined giftedness in terms of the social perception of the value of contributions made (this is more consistent with the term genius as used in this paper).

In a developmentally oriented volume, edited by VanTassel-Baska and Olszewski-Kubilius (1989) numerous authors described the influences of home environment, the self, and the school on gifted students. Of particular pertinence to this study is Buescher and Higham's (1989) study of adjustment in gifted adolescents. They considered age, sex, and special program participation in assessing adjustment, and outlined patterns of risks of special concern in this population. Lack of ownership of talent, sagging self-esteem, and the differential socialisation of boys and girls are the primary risks they identified. One major contributing factor is the feeling of being different from others at a time when a major developmental task is identity development (Erikson, 1963, 1968).

VanTassel-Baska (1989) explored the relationship of eminence and intelligence in an article on the developmental characteristics of the eminent. Factors promoting eminence included a home where learning is respected, encouraged and facilitated with resources, where parents may be highly opinionated, where the mother may dominate, and there is strife. Childhood traumas or troubles were thought to
combine with the emphasis on learning to drive the child to future eminence. Agemate relationships were found to be difficult or nonexistent. According to Terman and Oden (1959), the brightest members of their gifted sample never married. VanTassel-Baska found schooling of the eminent was often nontraditional, either private schools or tutors, and often the future eminents were school problems, who were bored, misunderstood by teachers, subject to abusive treatment by peers, and often considered failures. She offered a conceptual model for development of eminence.

The qualitative differences in the social and emotional experiences of the gifted were described by Blackburn and Erickson (1986). Based on a developmental model, they identified predictable crises in the lives of gifted students including developmental immaturity (especially in boys), underachievement, fear of success (especially in girls), multipotentiality, and nonsuccess (paralysing perfectionism). They suggested ways counselors can facilitate development of necessary coping skills by viewing each of these crises as developmental opportunities.

Schneider (1987) characterized the potential consequences of being a gifted child: possible social outcast, placed on a pedestal, lack of peer relations, delusions of ungrandeur, and reaction to the portrayal of the gifted in children's literature.

Scholwinski and Reynolds (1985) pointed out that research instruments used with the gifted have often not
been normed for this group. Therefore, systematic error can be introduced in interpretation of results.

Derevensky and Coleman (1989) compared the fears of gifted children with fears of "normal" children and found that the gifted children's fears were consistent with their level of development not with their age, that they displayed advanced cognitive and social ideation, and were similar to those of older children of normal intellect. Nuclear war and violence were the two most common fears described. Derevensky and Coleman noted the support their results provided for previous research findings that gifted students were more concerned with the implications of world news reports than their agemates.

Highly gifted children also experience an accelerated and intensified interest in world events. Many researchers in the field of the highly gifted have mentioned the early manifestation of concern over the meaning of the world, as well as world events and future prospects. This is another instance of developmental discrepancy that may contribute to socialisation difficulties for gifted children.

Considering the increased concern of the gifted child for the implications of world events, some researchers have investigated the need for moral education for the gifted. Lindsay (1988) recommended the use of teaching through discovery over teaching by authority. Roeper (1988) raised concerns about world and moral issues, and whether they should be included in programming for the gifted. Passow
(1988) favoured the inclusion of peace, ethics and futures education as part of gifted education.

Gelbrich and Hare (1989) investigated the effects of single-parent households on school achievement among the gifted. Their results indicated that single-parent households impact negatively on achievement, especially for boys. They pointed out several sampling biases which may have adversely effected their study, including voluntary participation, homogeneous sampling distribution, and use of parental ranking of children. In addition, this is one "normal" response to living with the stress of single parent households, and suggests that the gifted are not so inherently well adjusted that they can meet all challenges unassisted.

Gregory and Stevens-Long (1986) outlined some of the problems experienced in case studies of students in the Early Entrance Program at California State University, Los Angeles, and described some of the coping skills the students have developed. Family reluctance and unawareness of the emotional advantages in addition to the intellectual benefits were found to complicate early entrance. Overcontrolling parents were also found to be problematic, as was lack of positive communication between parents and child. They also suggested ways to use the case data presented in counseling highly gifted students. For example, the average college student is rarely encouraged to drop out after one low test grade, but a very young student
is often assumed to be unable to handle the advanced work after only one experience of "failure". The authors suggested regular observation and counseling along with teaching adjustment strategies.

Within the last few years, study of giftedness has expanded to include the special needs and problems of the gifted and handicapped, gifted women, career issues, cultural diversity and the gifted, and issues for gifted adults. Among those interested in handicapped gifted students, Gerken (1979) recommended the counselor play a major role in meeting the needs of this little understood population, especially in terms of self-concept, putting strengths to use, and in developing appropriate affect. In order to accomplish these ends, the counselor must be familiar with the needs of the handicapped as well as the needs of the gifted, and must synergise them.

Rodenstein and Glickauf-Hughes (1979) investigated the lifestyle of gifted women who were career-oriented, who chose to integrate home and career, or who chose to be homemakers. They considered antecedent factors including parental influence, marital status and educational attainments. Their data dispel the myth of a requisite choice between career and family, as one third of their sample successfully integrated the two. Personality and attitude were not assessed for their potential impact on choice and the success of choices made. Their integrators displayed good mental stability, a trait which Rodenstein
and Glickauf-Hughes credited with the successful integration of roles. Implications for counselors included demythifying careers and offering information on combining family and career.

Koritzke (1989) suggested use of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers, 1962, cited in Koritzke) over the Strong-Campbell (Hansen & Campbell, 1985, cited in Koritzke) in assessing the career prospects of gifted women. Her sample was drawn from MENSA members, and therefore, she stated that applications of her results are limited until replicated on a more general sample of the gifted.

Bell (1990) described the Impostor Syndrome, "the doubting and discrediting of one's abilities and achievements" which she found to be a problem especially for gifted women. In part this was attributed to the winner/loser perception of achievement, a dominator model in Eisler's (1987) terminology. Bell found women redefining the components of achievement (competence, success, failure) in terms of partnership and cooperation in order to increase their comfort with achievement. This is one instance of external and internal paradigm shift resonance.

Gifted girls often do not take math and science seriously in school, and may need to be encouraged by teachers and counselors. Casserly (1979) recommended homogeneous grouping of gifted girls with high science and math aptitudes, suggesting that teachers and counselors identify and encourage these girls in their studies, and
that older girls of high ability be encouraged to volunteer as mentors for younger girls. Lack of advanced math and science skills may prevent women from pursuing scientific careers.

Kerr (1985) discussed the special concerns of gifted girls and their consequences for gifted women, especially their failure to fulfill their potential. She found two foci of causation, internal and external. Internally, fear of success, the "Imposter" phenomenon, the "Cinderella Complex" or too great a facility for adjustment to society's lower expectations of women were the primary factors. Externally, sexism, lack of resources and discrimination were found to be primary causes for lack of fulfillment. She outlined guidance suggestions for girls from preschool through college. These will be described in more detail in Chapter Four.

Lemkau and Landau (1986) discussed assessment and treatment of the "Selfless syndrome" in women in terms of a match between societal expectations and women's behaviour. Treatment approaches suggested began with crisis management, symptom relief, stress reduction and developing environmental support resources. After the client reaches a stable state, therapy can promote awareness of the manifestations of the role of selflessness. "Homework" such as self-monitoring of activities and rating those activities for pleasure derived can reinforce the intellectual realisations. Marital therapy may be recommended concurrent
with individual therapy.

The specific career guidance needs of gifted girls, and the conflicts girls face in feeling forced to choose between family and career are also addressed by Wolleat (1979). Needs included resolution of the conflict between socialisation for the traditional female role and the gifted girl's lack of access to the kind of experiences preparatory of her desired role as achiever, suppression of performance in competition with males, avoidance of planning while awaiting the outcome of marriage and family issues, the difficulties of dual-career families, rejection of the traditional feminine role, lack of confidence, and attribution of success to luck and failure to personal inadequacy. Mentoring and support groups are among her recommendations.

Post (1989) identified six types of self-sabotage in high-achieving women: perfectionism, failure to prioritise, procrastination, excessive modesty, reluctance to confront, and putting needs of others first. She related these to self-esteem and sex-role socialisation, and offered psychotherapeutic strategies to alleviate the problems.

Held (1988) looked at the high price of success in male overachievers, and suggested that superachievement may be an overcompensation for feeling inadequate or inferior. According to Held, successful psychotherapy with this population is based on breaking habits of rigidity and drivenness. Apparently, gifted men and women have gender-
specific socialisation issues and personality trends the same as everyone else.

Hagen (1982) analysed issues and programs in the career education of the gifted. Her focus on issues included the purpose and rationale for career education, career planning, work orientation, social stratification, and sex roles. She described reasons for career education of the gifted including multipotentiality, conflicting societal expectations, and the amount of time, energy and money required to provide the necessary education. She also provided a list of career education programs identified by specialty (disadvantaged, handicapped, female, etc.).

Multipotentiality and investment are the two primary problems Sanborn (1979a) identified in the career development of the gifted. Kerr (1986) found gifted students preferred structured counseling and same-sex career groups to meet their career counseling needs.

Herr and Watanabe (1979) listed the following as special problems of career development of the gifted: multipotentiality, pressure from the expectations of others, career as lifestyle, financial and temporal investment, social isolation, dearth of role models, and being a gifted female. Each of these requires a particular type of counselor response, but in general, they believed career counseling for the gifted should be developmentally oriented, and individualised, but with opportunities for group interactions with other gifted students.
Frederickson (1979) identified and discussed five issues of career development for gifted students: 1) expectations of society, 2) premature career decisions, 3) frustration of multiple career options, 4) no one best occupation, and 5) identification of giftedness in several areas of competence. He divided career counseling into five stages: 1) readiness, 2) awareness, 3) exploration, 4) reality testing, and 5) confirmation. Frederickson (1986) suggests 9 career-planning activities for gifted students, (one of these is academic acceleration, if appropriate) including suggestions for assistance from parents and counselors.

Culbertson (1985) described five pitfalls in the career decision making of the gifted. Among these were multipotentiality, expectations of others, high self-expectedness, need for extended education, and social isolation. Recommendations to counselors included examination of college majors one at a time in order to facilitate exploration of real world factors and the student's own value systems. Groups of gifted students can be exposed to guests from various occupations who discuss their aspirations in high school, experiences in college, their path to success, and family involvement in pursuit of career goals.

Jepsen (1979) assumed that exploration is a prerequisite to choice in making career decisions, and that the gifted have special needs in career counseling. From
his investigation of these two ideas, he formulated four types of special career guidance for gifted adolescents: teaching exploratory strategies, arranging exploratory environments, encouraging various explorations, and stimulation of personalised interpretations of explorations. He concluded that answers to questions of career guidance for the gifted must be made by each counselor individually.

Part of traditional career counseling is advice against changing jobs too frequently. Torrance (1971) explored the possibility that a general bias against job changing is effectually a bias against giftedness. He recommended a re-evaluation of the negative interpretation of frequent job changes. Several job changes may be a reflection of the broad interest pattern and skills of the gifted, and not a sign of unreliability.

Colangelo (1985) urged counselors to pay attention to the special counseling needs of the culturally diverse gifted student, not just to their identification. These students need to integrate their ethnicity with their giftedness. He suggested use of Banks (1979, cited in Colangelo, 1985) five stages of ethnic identity development as a model to work from.

Fraiser (1979) distinguished between the terms "disadvantaged" and "culturally diverse" as applied to the gifted who are not members of the "advantaged" population. She recommended mentors, as well as encouragement of questioning attitudes and awareness of alternatives as tools
to assist these students. Fraiser also warned against alienation and upward mobility difficulties.

Exum (1979) described a method designed to meet the emotional and psychological needs of gifted Black students based on a model called deliberate psychological education which aims at identity formation, growth into formal operations, and engendering conventional moral reasoning. For gifted Black students this model needs to be modified to include a Black identity facilitation model. Exum (1983) combined the concerns of the Black family with counseling issues for Black students. Lindstrom and Van Sant (1986) discussed individual and cultural pressures influencing gifted minority students, especially identity issues, and long-range planning. Individualised programs administered within an environment both educationally and socially conscious of the effects of the minority experience was recommended.

The gifted are a minority in every culture. In spite of numerous reports on international gifted programs, very few of the foreign ideas on gifted education and needs have been incorporated into programs in the United States. Pirozzo (1985) described a community-based program for gifted students in Brisbane, Australia. Programs in the USSR, New Zealand, West Germany, England and Wales, Canada, Israel, and Japan have also been described (Fetterman, 1988).

Delinquency in the gifted has been described by Hauck
high than expected proportion of juveniles referred to the juvenile justice system score in the gifted range on IQ tests. It is probable that some of these may be highly gifted, and unable to resolve the problems of socialisation in an appropriate manner. Perry (1989) suggests mentors, community service, instruction for teachers and administrators on the characteristics of fluid intelligence, instruction for the student in negotiating the system successfully, and nonacademic responsibilities as methods to alleviate the discrepancy in experienced success between delinquent (spatial learners, fluid intelligence users) and nondelinquent (sequential learners, crystallized intelligence users) students.

One of the most aberrant cases of adjustment of the gifted is described by Bergman (1979). Two highly gifted boys, from wealthy families, felt themselves to be examples of Nietzsche's Ubermensch, and in order to prove their control over their own emotions, murdered another highly intelligent boy in 1924. Both boys had a history of minor offences such as shoplifting, and had graduated to arson and burglary prior to murder. They displayed great concern for the pain caused to others by their act of murder, while expressing no regret about the act itself. Lipton (1970) provided eight examples of historical figures who combined traits of giftedness or genius with criminality.
Suicide Among the Gifted

Delisle (1986, 1988) contended that the gifted adolescent is especially susceptible to suicidal ideation because they live in a social vacuum, they fear being human (i.e. failing), and they are undergoing the complications of adolescence along with the problems of being gifted. He suggested preventions including respect, awareness of the differences inherent in giftedness, tolerance, and parent/teacher participation in the adolescent's life. In 1988, Delisle explored the reasons behind suicide among the gifted. Lack of social interactions with peers, the assumption on the part of parents and teachers as well as society that social learning takes place with the ease of intellectual achievement and the consequential emotional isolation due to the discrepancy between the two learning processes, perfectionism and fears of not being perfect, and developmental immaturities were prominent factors. He recommended preventive steps beginning with respect for the child and his/her hurts and doubts, awareness of differences inherent in giftedness, tolerance, and participation in the key events of a child's life.

Farrell (1989) explored the research related to suicide motivation, the school system's contribution to stress levels, perceptual differences between the gifted and others, success depression, and common characteristics of the gifted that contribute to suicidal ideation. Preventive
counseling suggestions were presented.

Case Studies

Case study descriptions of the gifted provide more accurate data than historical studies for statistical purposes. Hauck and Freehill (1972) edited 10 detailed case studies of the gifted followed by implications from the studies. Paterson and West (1972) offered a case study of the negative effects of parental misunderstanding of giftedness on school performance. Natchez (1988) traced the development of two of Mexico's premiere artists, Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, husband and wife, who transformed their early traumas into creative expression. Their families fit the general profile of the families of the eminent described above.

The emotional and social difficulties related in case studies are valuable, but they are still second hand reports. Considering the potential eloquence of the gifted, it is amazing that this group has not been solicited more often for expressions of their own feelings and experiences of giftedness. In all the literature this author perused, only two volumes of descriptions of giftedness by the gifted (limited to children and adolescents) were found (Delisle, 1984, Krueger, 1978).
Isaacs (1987) provided suggestions for identification and parenting of the gifted-talented-creative child from preschool on. She explained how parents dismiss a child's giftedness by attributing superiority to benefits from an older sibling or grandparent's attention, extra attention resulting from being an only child, having attended a good preschool, and family interactions which are enriching (reading, travel, intelligent television). This leads the gifted child to believe he/she does not own her/his gifts, and/or that he/she has value only because of the gifts. This can be schismatic. Problem behaviours of both parents were identified, such as divided parental authority. Twenty-five recommendations were made for encouraging positive development of gifted children's abilities and traits. Among them were instilling values, facilitating self-discipline, goal-setting, encouraging self-understanding and acceptance of giftedness, cultural exposure, fostering life-long interest in learning and personal creative expression, the pitfalls of perfectionism, and setting examples and modeling of desired behaviours.

Kranz (1982) discussed parental strategies for raising gifted children, with primary focus on differentiating home "curricula" aimed at facilitating self-actualisation within a "normally crazy family". The "normally crazy family" is an evolving entity, characterised by flexibility, non-
conformity, willingness to take risks, strong opinions, and standing up for itself or its members. (see Chapter Four for how these characteristics resemble some traits of giftedness)

Shaughnessy and Neely (1987) summarized (in checklist form) the problems facing the parents of prodigies and other gifted children, from stages experienced in parenting, traits of giftedness, parental expectations of teachers, and warnings of excessive stress, to testing and curriculum issues.

Raymond and Benbow (1989) found greater paternal involvement and encouragement in the lives of precocious children as compared to moderately gifted children. They concluded that stereotypic behaviours of parents may have a negative influence on achievement of gifted girls in math and science, but that in general, parents nurture their child's specific talents and do not intend to, and are not aware of providing differential reinforcement to male and female children.

Karnes and D'Ilio (1989a) looked into the home environments of student leaders for clues to factors conducive to leadership. Information gathering (current events, autobiographies of world leaders, books with historical perspective) and discussion within the family were found to promote leadership. In addition, club membership and school or community association participation encouraged independence, enhanced self-reliance and
development of personal resources, which in turn enhanced leadership skills. In other research, Karnes and D'Ilio (1989b) studied leadership and sex role stereotyping among gifted children. Boys offered more traditional responses to queries, possibly because of the more limited portrayal of males in leadership roles in the media, while girls are offered more of a variety of roles.

Parker and Colangelo (1979) found the values of gifted high school boys and girls were comparable. In comparison with parental values, there were fewer differences between values of both boys and girls and fathers than with mothers, which suggested to Parker and Colangelo that there may be more conflict potential between students and mothers. The differential expression of values between mothers and fathers was not addressed. In all, they found 25 value differences between the students and the parents, an indication of considerable potential conflicts within the home environment. This is consistent with the previously described trouble in the home life of future eminents described in historical studies.

Special Programs and Counseling Techniques

As Perrone and Pulvino pointed out (1979), extrafamilial efforts to guide the gifted did not originate until the 1950's, nearly half a century after efforts to identify them. Federal emphasis on guidance of the gifted
waited until the beginning of the Space Age, when the National Defense Education Act was passed by Congress in 1958 in response to the launching of Sputnik. Recently, researchers have recognised that the assumption of superior intellect in conjunction with superior adjustment may not be reasonable. However, attention to the psychosocial problems deriving from giftedness has only really grown in the last decade or so.

**Guidance**

Early guidance efforts focused on adapting the gifted to the status quo. In Chapter Four, the efficacy of this strategy will be disputed. Drews (ed., 1961) offered an early description of the requirements for successful guidance programs within schools including vocational counseling. Endicott (1961) delineated the problems and needs of superior high school students. Of primary concern to the students surveyed were discovering their special talents, selecting a career, study habits, self-expression, program of study and educational expense, personal appearance, and family relations. McMillan and Loveland (1984) summarised the history of guidance as a part of gifted programming.

Delisle (1983) surveyed research on guidance of the gifted and concluded with a list of things we need to know in order to more effectively serve their needs, including 1)
how to define "gifted", 2) how to encourage students to utilise their potential, 3) the most effective form of guidance for the gifted, 4) which types of educational programs encourage emotional and academic growth, 5) what characteristics of teachers make them most effective in educating the gifted, and 6) what the gifted need in terms of career counseling, and how best to provide for their needs.

Feldhusen and Reilly (1983) described a multi-service secondary school model for gifted education including guidance and mentoring. Fletcher and Wooddell (1980) suggested the use of a futures perspective in educating the gifted in order to promote the skills, perspective and characteristics needed to cope with our rapidly changing world. They described the Milford Futurology Program as an example. Wooddell, Fletcher and Dixon (1982) provided an evaluation of the same program for gifted adolescents, including a comparison of the experiential differences between gifted and interested nongifted students after exposure to the program. One of the measures considered was self-actualisation and internal control.

Perkins and Wicas (1971) described a program of guidance for underachieving boys and their mothers. Counselors were trained specially in empathy, regard and genuineness. Following treatment, significant increases in grade point averages and self-acceptance were found. The effect of working with mothers, with or without conjoint
work with students, was found to be as great or greater than work with students alone. This suggested to Perkins and Wicas that environmental feedback can be a deciding factor in the question of achievement or underachievement. Zuccone and Amerikaner (1986) describe a family systems approach to guiding gifted underachievers in terms of development and treatment.

Sanborn (1979b) used two cases to illustrate the heterogeneity of personal and developmental characteristics of the gifted. He pointed out that the group termed "gifted" is often treated as a homogeneous group, especially when only "standardized expectations" of school performance are considered. He believed that whether educators and counselors meet their needs or not, the gifted usually behave and perform well. Sanborn concluded that gifted students "need someone in their school whose primary objective is to generate sound and useful information pertaining to their unique and important individual qualities" (p. 163).

Gowan (1979) suggested differential guidance for the gifted student from a developmental viewpoint. Arguing from a social base, Gowan described what constitutes good guidance for the gifted. He listed empathy for the individual and for the idiosyncrasies of gifted behaviour, as well as an understanding of the process of development and its implications for guidance as vital to successful guidance for the gifted. Gowan also departed from
traditional attempts to conform the gifted to the status, pointing out that trying to adjust the gifted to society may be pointless, for the gifted may see society itself as needing adjustment. He described the guidance counselor’s task in terms of Havighurst’s adolescent development tasks (cited in Gowan): becoming independent, social adjustment, sexual adjustment, vocational adjustment, and intellectual/moral adjustment. Of these, by research emphasis, society values vocational adjustment most highly.

VanTassel-Baska (1983) edited a guide to school guidance of the gifted with a practical emphasis, including an article by Silverman on problems in affective development including the meaning of being gifted, feeling different from peers, supersensitivity, idealism, feeling inadequate, self-criticism and perfectionistic tendencies, intense inner conflict, concerns with morality and justice, experiencing a lack of understanding from others, and unrealistic expectations and hostility from others.

Colangelo and Pfleger (1979) studied academic self-concept of gifted high school students. They found that students identified as gifted are cognizant of their abilities and have developed positive self-concepts as a result of this awareness and their successes. Overt recognition of success facilitated positive self-concept, and the authors recommended that guidance counselors actively promote recognition and appreciation of achievement. Roth (1987) recommended using early
recollections in discussion, visualisation, role-playing, reporting of other's early recollections and logging or recording one's own recollections as a useful guidance technique in therapy with gifted students.

Sawyer (1986) and Holahan and Sawyer (1986) described the necessity of the guidance and consultation components of Duke University's Talent Identification Program Summer Residential Program to successful adjustment of students.

Kaufmann, Harrel, Milam, Woolverton, and Miller (1986) investigated the role mentors had played in the lives of gifted people now in adulthood. They found both tangible and intangible benefits, and suggested counselors can play a key role in development of mentoring relationships by providing information to both students and mentors, by identifying and matching the two, by establishing mentorship programs in schools and professional organisations, by providing training in the mentorship process, and by providing support groups for both mentors and students.

Beck (1989) described the benefits, both personal and academic, of mentorships for children. She recommended mentorships be incorporated in gifted programs, and points out the need for female mentors. Hendricks and Scott (1987) described the need for a program of mentoring for young gifted children in order to facilitate lifelong curiosity and exploration, an attitude they felt is most in need of reinforcement.

Culross (1982) advocated a whole child developmental
approach to gifted child guidance. Cornell (1989) explored the parental use of the term "gifted" and child adjustment, finding overuse of the label (as distinguished from thinking of a child as gifted) may be detrimental to child adjustment.

Kenny (1986, 1987) recommended an arts activities approach to guiding the gifted, creative and talented including bibliotherapy, creative writing, visual arts, drama, music, poetry and dance.

Creatively talented students present particular problems for counselors and require effective guidance according to Borgers and Treffinger (1979), although good guidance practices benefit all students. Specific to creative students, needs were divided into three settings: personal counseling, school counseling, and family counseling. Within the personal counseling arena, creatively talented students were found to benefit from opportunities 1) to explore their feelings individually and within groups (especially of their peers), 2) to learn and practice skills of assertiveness, communication and general social skills, 3) to clarify values, 4) to encourage positive regard of self and others, 5) to learn to formulate goals, assess strengths and needs, make plans, and evaluate their own work, 6) to learn to apply creative skills to problem-solving, and 7) to learn about other gifted and creative people, including their problems, values, and contributions to society. At school, the counselor can
facilitate interactions between administration, teachers and
students, as well as serve as role models. Counselors were
found to be influential for the creative student at home as
well, by assisting parents to understand their child, to be
more effective as parents, to help parents encourage and
validate the child's self-image, and to encourage the
parent's own creativity.

counseling

Counseling of the gifted (as opposed to school
guidance) has received some attention recently, although the
core concept is still often associated with counseling for
school-related problems and/or counseling children.
Colangelo and Zaffran's (1979) volume devoted entirely to
counseling of the gifted offered numerous approaches
including Zaffran and Colangelo's (1979) general review of
the field. Berg and DeMartini (1979) suggested use of humor
as social facilitator, anxiety release, mode of expression
of unacceptable ideas/impulses, diagnostic tool, motivator,
and developer of insight. Their suggestions were based on
the work of Rogers (1961), Maslow (1961) and May (1953) (all
cited in Berg and DeMartini, 1979) all of whom credited
humour with great importance for a fully-functioning or
self-actualising person. In accordance with the thoughts of
some very recent researchers (Berndt, Kaiser & Van Aalst,
Fletcher and Dixon, 1982), self-actualisation and giftedness may correlate to some extent, making humour potentially important from two perspectives.

Berndt, Kaiser and Van Aalst (1982) investigated gifted adolescents in terms of depression and self-actualisation within situations wherein self-actualisation was valued, but where the students may not have been maturationally equipped to cope. They found little relationship between values and attitudes associated with self-actualisation and depressive symptoms. However, their sample selection criteria did not clearly distinguish immaturity in terms of self-actualisation and coping skills.

Betts (1986) described an approach to meeting the emotional and social needs of the gifted by using seven components of affective education identified as: 1) awareness, understanding and acceptance of others, 2) interpersonal skills (communication, interviewing, discussion, and conflict reduction), 3) group process and interaction skills, 4) creativity, 5) relaxation and visual imagery, 6) problems of being gifted, and 7) nurturing environments and people. Activities were selected from each category and offered to students during their school years.

Edwards and Kleine (1986) presented a multimodal approach to intervention in the multidimensional problems of gifted adolescents covering behaviour (low and high risk taking), affect (loneliness, cognition overshadowing affect, inappropriate humour, depression, intimacy versus
excellence), self-image, cognition (faulty cognition, lack of self-understanding, overemphasis on cognition, dichotomous thinking, global information processing style difficulties), and interpersonal problems (lack of peer relationships, interest pattern influences on social interactions, achievement versus group acceptance). Their intervention recommendations will be outlined in Chapter Four. In addition, they pointed out the need for further investigation into the psychosocial development of the gifted and the usefulness of longitudinal study of issues such as quality of life of the gifted after schooling is completed.

Roth (1986) discussed factors of disapproval, entitlement, and unmet expectations in terms of the counseling needs they evoke in gifted students. Ostrom (1981) described the use of guided imagery workshops in counseling the gifted, talented and creative.

Kitano (1986) pointed out that the vulnerabilities leading to underachievement and learning problems may be evident in the preschool years. Colangelo and Fleuridas (1986) discussed how identification and assessment practices employed with young gifted children often overshadow the provision of learning opportunities and challenges, and may therefore be damaging. They also described the additional vulnerability that comes with giftedness, and which, when combined with the national need to compete scholastically in the world, may deprive the young gifted of their childhood
by leading to a consideration of the gifted as a primary national resource, not as individuals. This conceptualisation deprives the gifted, child or adult, of their innate humanity, making them simply a tool for society's use.

Ogburn-Colangelo (1979) and others (notably Piechowski, 1986, 1989) have considered the contributions of Dabrowski in terms of their meaning for giftedness. Dabrowski studied eminent and creative people, and used this knowledge in formulating his theory of Positive Disintegration. Using his developmental theory, which emphasizes the control of the emotional function over behaviour, they have addressed the issue of counseling with the gifted. Nelson (1989) also explicated Dabrowski's theory in terms of its meaning to giftedness.

Piechowski (1986, 1989) discussed developmental potential in terms of Dabrowski's model at some length. He described the five dimensions of psychic life (overexcitabilities) in terms of their descriptiveness of giftedness. The overexcitabilities are: psychomotor (energy surplus, expression of emotional tension), sensual (sensory pleasures, expression of emotional tension), intellectual (questioning, problem-solving, learning, theoretical thinking), imaginative (free play of imagination, spontaneous imagery as an expression of emotional tension), and emotional (somatic expression, intensity of feeling, inhibition, affective memory, fear and anxiety, feeling of
guilt, depressive and suicidal moods, relationship feelings, feelings toward self). Piechowski outlined overexcitability patterns in subgroups of the gifted, and discussed developmental potential in terms of self-actualisation potential.

Creativity

Gowan (1971) described conditions for development of creativity, and offered definitions of both creativity and giftedness, linking them together by stating: "A gifted child is one who has the potential to develop creativity" (p. 242). He pointed out that this definition consequently lowers the IQ level of giftedness from 130 to 120, which is the point at which the correlation between creativity and giftedness seems to expire (Getzels and Jackson, 1960 and Torrance, 1962, cited by Gowan). Gowan described developmental creativity, pointing out that prior to an individual's majority, the forces promoting creativity (and presumably also those potentially stifling it) are generally outside the individual's control, whereas after reaching her/his majority, an individual's creative development is primarily self-determined. The same is often true of other aspects of development of the gifted.

In an expansion of his earlier ideas, Gowan (1979) suggested use of guidance to facilitate development of potential creativity in gifted children. He considered the
support of gifted female adolescents particularly important to stave off the effects of "cultural, social and male sanctions against creativity, and individual divergence" (p. 219). He recommended encouragement of creative development to facilitate cultural renaissances, which he saw as historically due to accidental bunching of creative adults in spacetime, and looked forward to a "structure d'ensemble" greater than the study of giftedness or creativity in isolation. Current paradigm shifts are moving us closer to Gowan's vision.

Bruch (1979) described characteristics of creative girls, including development, and offered suggestions for counseling and development of creativity in girls and women. She stressed the need for discovery and recruitment of role models as well as the need to place social value on the creativity of females.

Eysenck (1983) proposed that creativity, commonly viewed as a cognitive trait, may have roots in personality, and may therefore be related to qualities usually associated with psychotic and schizophrenic behaviour, reviving Lambroso's ideas.

Borduin and Mann (1988) recommended a multisystemic approach to treatment of behaviour disorders in creative adolescents based on a family-ecological context, a multidimensional conceptualisation. Creative adolescents were found to be more outgoing and playful, and less inhibited in their social relationships than noncreative
adolescents. They were also found to be critical, and often highly independent. These traits combined to form an image of greater maturity, prompting parents to respond by being more permissive. However, the creative adolescent does require parental direction provided through secure emotional relationships. Parental influence may be even more important if the creative adolescent experiences peer rejection, which is quite common. One response to rejection by peers is to join groups that encourage deviance which may have long-term negative consequences. Treatment must consider the interactions of family and social systems in order to maximise effectiveness.

Davis and Rimm (1979) described cognitive and personality traits of creative children which resembled traits of gifted children, offered case examples, suggestions for guidance, and a method for identifying creative talent in the elementary school. Tick (1988) asserted that loneliness accompanies creativity.

In a book oriented to a general audience, Briggs (1990) explored the roots of creativity and genius as a self-creative process. He credited the source of creativity to different foci of attention. That is, the creative person, (or genius in Brigg's terms), explores his/her contradictory feelings, and acts on nuances of perception so subtle that most people either do not perceive them or they ignore them. This subtlety of perception fits in with Piechowski's (1986, 1989) and Lovecky's (1986, 1990) assessment of heightened
perception as a trait of giftedness.

**Gifted Adults**

In spite of the energy and financial expenditure differential between programs for the handicapped and retarded and programs for the gifted (Olerich, 1975), a great deal of work has been done on myriad aspects of giftedness. If, as Whitmore (1980) states, "gifted children are the most misunderstood and educationally neglected group in American schools today" (p. 3), the gifted adult is surely even more misunderstood and neglected. Of the thousands of articles listed in ERIC on giftedness, less than a dozen are on gifted adults. Almost all of them, except longitudinal follow-ups, are less than ten years old.

Of the 1400 articles on the gifted indexed in PSYCHLIT, one refers to gifted adults. Granted there is still a great deal to be done to expand and elaborate on explorations to date, and a great deal of synthesis is needed, but there are also hitherto unexplored or severely underexplored horizons awaiting our attention. One of these is the gifted adult, especially those here termed the "lost" gifted adults--those whose needs, academic and psychosocial, were not met when they were children, who have failed to live up to their promise and potential, and have therefore been denied access to life satisfactions to which all of us are entitled.

Willings (1985) discussed one case, and used the
experiences of a small group of gifted adults to illustrate how the problems of gifted children, if unaddressed, can manifest in adulthood. Of the 24 gifted adults he discussed, 16 had contemplated suicide, and half of these had made one or more attempts. One interesting strategy he offered is helping the gifted adult to distinguish between career and creative growth, and to value both equally.

Lovecky (1986, 1990) outlined characteristics of gifted adults, and their resulting potential problems. Her second article expanded on the counseling needs resulting from these specific traits: divergency, excitability, sensitivity, perceptivity, and entelechy. Her ideas will be described in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Schroer and Dorn (1986) described a program to enhance the personal and career development of gifted college students. The program included assessment of motivation, achievement and personality characteristics of men and women.

Lassen (1988) compared high-achieving men and women on issues of achievement and intimacy, and offered advice to therapists on pitfalls and defensive differences between the sexes.

Reporting in a new journal devoted to adult giftedness, "Advanced Development", Alvarado (1989) examined the difficulties of being gifted as experienced by adult members of MENSA in addition to case studies, biographies, and research data. She proposed use of a different standard for
judging normality in the gifted, and recommended development of a strong and coherent sense of self and sense of group identity. She regretted the overemphasis of the positive aspects of giftedness, remarking that this is a disservice to those among the gifted who are experiencing problems.

It discounts their personal experience and places another expectation upon them: to be gifted, they must have better than average mental health, greater stability, better coping skills. Believing the gifted to be in little need of help, schools and clinicians may be less likely to develop support services and expertise, and a group very much at risk may continue to be ignored (p. 77).

Summary

This chapter has presented a diverse review of the literature on giftedness. It may seem to have included topics not directly related to the problems, perceptions, and potentials of the gifted adult; however, the dearth of literature on gifted adults necessitates extrapolation from other sources, and extrapolation gains accuracy from numerous data points. Extensive consideration has been given to cognition because it is considered fundamental to understanding the distinction between giftedness and nongiftedness, and because learning is a primary component of many counseling theories.

In addition, these references demonstrate the plethora of viewpoints on almost every aspect of giftedness. Having no standard definition of "gifted", no generally accepted
theoretical concept of "intelligence", no agreement on the need for special programming, much less content of special programs, and conflict over whether giftedness obviates or necessitates special mental health issues, throws the whole field open to endless theoretical arguments. Meanwhile, real people, with real problems are often left to cope alone in a jungle of conflicting input even experts cannot navigate with surety.

Finally, the social adoption of parts of Lambroso's theory and the research attitude influenced by Terman's demonstrates an additional difficulty of giftedness--double messages. The effects of this on a group of potentially misunderstood, highly sensitive individuals have yet to be explored. Some researchers have investigated the effects of peer group on the gifted (primarily adolescents), but no one has reported serious study of the influence of society and its attitudes on the self-concept and psychology of the gifted, especially as portrayed in popular media. In the last four decades, television and film have replaced books and extended family interactions as primary foci of social interactions. While less direct than peer group influences, social attitudes are more pervasive, are often conflicting, and begin operating at a much earlier age. These influences will be explored in depth in Chapter Four.
CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter will present the research methods employed in this study. Since this is a heuristic/theoretical document, the description of subjects, research instrumentation, research procedures, and statistical treatment of data is not applicable. Pertinent methods employed will be described following a statement of the research questions to be explored.

In Chapter One, a list of questions generated by certain hypotheses was given:

1. What are non-eminent gifted adults achieving?
2. Are their achievements an accurate reflection of their potential?
3. If not, why not?
4. Can we assess the needs of the gifted adult based on what we know about the gifted as children?
5. If we extrapolate from gifted children and adolescents, what can we say about the needs of the gifted adult, especially as regards counseling?
6. Does the experience of being gifted influence the effectiveness of counseling techniques?
7. If so, what special techniques can we tailor to the needs of the gifted?
8. Can counseling be used to increase the match between potential and actual achievement and satisfaction in life
(as opposed to school), and thereby reclaim the "lost" gifted?

In Chapter Four, these questions will be explored, some in greater depth than others. For example, it is difficult to assess the potential of non-eminent gifted adults based solely on theoretical research.

This document is based entirely on library and literature searches (including biography), and on a brief survey of related fictional literature and films. Library searches were conducted using ERIC and PSYCHLIT. Supplementary references derive from bibliographies of books and journals located through computer searches in addition to those in the author's personal library.

Fiction, especially science fiction, and film (not television) were surveyed over a period of time for statements about, or images of, the gifted portrayed in either positive or negative light. Both offer perspectives of giftedness and the gifted that are commonly available to the public, and so are likely to influence both public opinion of the gifted and the gifted's perceptions of self. These in turn, influence the experiences and problems of being gifted.
CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

Following establishment of personality type descriptions of gifted adults and suggestions for their origins, this chapter will present theories and data subject to directed synthesis, and grouped as ordered responses to the questions raised in Chapter One. These syntheses will draw together the diverse subjects reviewed in Chapter Two, and will demonstrate their interdependence in understanding the special problems, perceptions, and potentials of gifted adults.

Problems identified as characteristic of gifted children and adolescents will serve as a basis for extrapolation, as the literature on the specific problems of gifted adults is minimal (see Chapter Two). Syntheses will include use of film and fictional characters as illustrations, especially in terms of perceptions. Unrealised potentials, by definition, cannot be assessed accurately by definition; however, historical and current examples of accomplished gifted adults can indicate the wealth, as yet untapped, in gifted adults with unmet needs. Recommendations for counseling techniques which may prove effective in meeting these needs, based on effectiveness described in research with younger gifted individuals, will conclude this chapter.
Personality Types

Type Descriptions

Betts (1989) described six types of gifted children, based on Betts and Neihart's (1988) profiles of behaviour, attitudes and needs of gifted children. His descriptions are quoted in full below, followed by extrapolations to the corresponding adult profiles.

The Successful Type I When programs for the gifted and talented are first developed, the majority of gifted children and youth identified are usually Type I's. They have learned to adapt to the system, will be successful in school and are usually positive and easy to raise in the home. Parents love them, peers admire them and teachers select them for programs because they "buy" into the system, finish tasks on time, are extremely bright and want to learn. Parents expect Type I's to be well-mannered and well-behaved. They are extremely positive and excited about school and do well on achievement tests and tests of intelligence, but gradually may lose their ability to be creative and to be independent and self-directed. By the time they are in high school they are in the top ten percent of their classes and have won many awards. It appears that they will be extremely successful in life, but outstanding success in school does not predict outstanding success in life. The attitudes and abilities required in school are not necessarily the same ones which are required for outstanding performance and success in life. The Type I's have become convergent in thought and behaviour. They are nonrisk-takers, and often lack that deep self-esteem that allows them to venture into the unknown (pp. 1-9).

The Challenging Type II Type II's are not like Type I's and there is no way to change their behavior so that they will become Type I's. These students are not seen as successful in school because they do not "buy" into the system and do not develop appropriate behavior. They are bored
and frustrated with the system and have not learned to deal effectively with others. They often find themselves frustrated, critical and defensive. If challenged, they do not give in, but fight back through inappropriate behavior.

At home, Type II's are difficult to raise and will question parental authority. Negotiation and contractual agreements are essential in developing positive relationships in the home as well as the school environment. Many times parents do not understand the feelings, needs and behavior of these students. Because their behavior is inappropriate, parents and teachers want to change them, but it is essential to understand and accept them as they are. Without acceptance, they will become more frustrated and will continue to act out (p. 9).

The Underground Type III 'I don't want to be smart. I want to belong!' Students sometimes feel that it is not okay to be gifted. One student said, "Why should I be gifted? My friends will put me down, my parents will expect more from me and my teachers will make me do more and harder work!" And so many of our children begin to hide their giftedness.

At home, these children may have few friends, will be involved in individual activities and sports, and will often risk less and less. They are pleasant at home and will usually not challenge authority, but may become less confident in thought and action. Many young girls are a combination of Type I and III. They are usually pleasant and conforming at school, but they may also be unwilling to risk being different. They may be reluctant to develop their gifts and talents (p. 9).

The Dropouts Type IV Although these students may display the behaviors of Types I and III, they are usually Type II's who have not been understood, accepted or supported....It begins early, sometimes as early as third or fourth grade, and they begin to withdraw emotionally. They usually feel defensive and at odds with the system.

If intervention is not initiated very early, these students will see themselves as losers and will not be able to compete with their peers. They will continue to act out, get in trouble and drift further from acceptable behavior. By the time they have decided to drop out of school, they dislike their parents, their teachers and
themselves. They are resentful and angry. The system does not work for them (p. 9).

Double Labeled Type V Special education has been developed to identify the special needs of some children, and to develop individual education plans to work with these special needs, but what about the children with special needs who are also gifted? There needs to be a "marriage" between the fields of special education and gifted education (p. 12).

The Autonomous Type VI The goal for parents and teachers is to help all of our gifted children and youth to become self-directed, independent learners, with the appropriate skills, concepts and attitudes for life-long learning and success. Students who might be categorized in one or more of the above five types are all capable of becoming Type VI's.

These children, youth and adults have learned many of life's secrets, and are able to succeed, be happy and be true to themselves. They are self-confident, self-accepting and are able to be accepting and facilitative of others. For the Type VI, life is not a struggle, but an opportunity.

At home parents need to continue to do what they are already doing. In other words, they have been accepting and facilitative of their children and have given them the opportunity to develop their abilities in many different areas.

An essential ingredient for parents is to "protect the passions" of their children and even participate in them, because passions are rarely encouraged in school. True motivation for our gifted comes when they are able to participate in their passions....

Children, youth and adults who are autonomous are active, not reactive; positive, not negative; and involved in life on a maximal level. They love themselves, the people around them and are willing to seek the unknown, their areas of passions. Autonomous learners do not hesitate to risk, do not wait for the help of others to initiate projects of interest; they seek challenges because of the confidence they possess (p. 12).

Taking these six types of children and youth, consider what type of adults they might develop into:
Type I's are the adults who fit into the system, the Conformists. Successful, but usually not spectacularly so, because they lack the creative, risk-taking behaviours and attitudes necessary for "genius". This description is reminiscent of the majority of Terman's sample. They are not likely to be very assertive, as they lack the self-esteem required. They are good employees, who obey the rules, behave as expected, and do moderately competent work or better. In general, they will not be easily identified as gifted as adults, as they have learned to conform to the norm. In terms Gross (1989) would use, they have chosen intimacy, or acceptance, over excellence. They are also likely to be sequential learners, or at least to have sufficient sequential abilities that school tasks are readily accomplished.

Theoretically, proportionally few of these will be members of the very highly gifted population. It is more likely they will belong to the moderately gifted population, as the very highly gifted (IQ 170+) tend to have greater difficulties fitting into normal expectations, as Terman (1925), Hollingworth (1926) and Zorbaugh et al (1951) described. One of the very highly gifted who is a member of this group might attain membership because it was a sensible, logical thing to do, likely a deliberate action or decision rather than by default--an easy out from autonomy when bearing the burdens of being very highly gifted becomes too tiresome. In this case, he/she would actually display a
combination of behaviours of Types I and III.

Type II's are Rebels with no clear cause. They are likely to be underachievers at best, criminals at worst if they evolve into Type IV's (some statistics on percentages of gifteds among juvenile delinquents show a higher percentage than among the population at large according to Seeley, 1985). They are unlikely candidates for success unless they have found an anti-authoritarian method to success, such as finding the maturity to become a lawyer and fight the system (these could be considered Type VI's). The greater probability is that they will become members of a counterculture or subsistence workers. Their home lives are not likely to be peaceful, or rewarding, as they have not learned how to control themselves, and will continue to act out as adults. The character of Pete ("Rikky and Pete", Tass & Parker, 1989) was on the borderline between Types II and IV, though he didn't really cross over because his sister intervened.

Alternatively, they may drop out of society, having grown into a Type IV. Rupert Marshetta ("The Prince of Pennsylvania", Fishman, 1989) is a good example of how this may happen. He had dropped out of school, but was still trying to work within socially acceptable confines. With continued misunderstanding, and the overbearing, controlling behaviour of his father, he resorted to criminal acts.

On the positive side, if these people can harness their refusal to buy into the system in a constructive way, they
can become the visionaries who make significant contributions and changes within society. They can see the holes in the fabric of our paradigms, and point out the need for new ones.

The very highly gifted are more likely to be found in larger numbers (comparatively) here than in Type I. Whether the difference between them and the gifted is quantitative or qualitative, they are more likely to see through the system mythology, and less likely to be tolerant of it since it offers them little of value (in their own perception).

In learning style, Type II's are likely to be spatial learners whose needs are not well-served in schools. They are further turned-off by the frustration of repetition without need, as once they have grasped a concept they do not require, or at least they do not feel they require, rote memorisation. Following a potential line of their thought, it is nonsense to deliberately memorise tables of multiplication or organic chemistry formulae because: a) they know where to find specifics if they need them on occasion, b) if they need them often they can memorise them as needed and by use, without deliberate effort, and c) it makes no sense to keep a bunch of not immediately useful facts in mind, occupying memory which is finite, when they are so readily accessible in books, magazines, etc.

Type III adults stifle themselves, or want to, in order to belong. These Deliberate Underachievers are more extremely on the side of choice of intimacy than are Type
I's, and they openly fear expressing their excellence. They may deny their giftedness as adults, and make efforts to disguise or hide it. Ultimately, they are ashamed of their difference, and guilty about their capability levels, consequently they choose to become deliberate underachievers. Chris Townsend ("Permanent Record", Mancuso, 1988) is a subtle example of the adolescent Type III. He did not appear to be gifted, but he deliberately diminished his capabilities, was the best friend of the most gifted boy in school, and when challenged in the right way, accomplished much.

In the very highly gifted, this attitude may result in disguise of self as moderately gifted, as some traits of the very highly gifted will show through, most likely memory or range of knowledge, and more often with friends and family than with others due to frequency or length of exposure. Therefore, the highly gifted may find additional frustration due to their inability to succeed at stifling themselves. They may employ strategies such as deliberate self-deprecation to minimise the differences they are unable to camouflage.

Type III's can be either spatial or sequential learners.

Type IV's are the most dramatic tragedies among the gifted population, with the exception of the gifted suicides. These are the Type II's who did not stabilise their behaviour at a lower level of dysfunction, but have
rebelled more completely, becoming Social Drop-outs. They may turn to anti-social and criminal activities because they feel they are losers in the "normal" world. Their future does not hold promise unless they break the rules. They may be overwhelmingly bored. For an interesting perspective on the evolution of the gifted criminal mentality see Harry Harrison's The Stainless Steel Rat (1961) and A Stainless Steel Rat is Born (1985).

The very highly gifted may be a larger than expected proportion of Type IV's, as their needs are most neglected, they fit into the normal population less well than others, and they may feel their high capabilities entitle them to more than others. They are also bored more easily, and boredom is a great motivator to trouble. Because they are derivatives of Type II's, Type IV's are also more spatially than sequentially oriented, although among the very highly gifted the combination of high sequential and spatial abilities is thought to be more common. Such high giftedness theoretically results from highly efficient use of both hemispheres of the brain. Indeed, the combination of learning styles may be one key to the difference between moderately and highly or very highly gifted.

Type V's who are currently children may be among the gifted whose needs are more readily met by the system than any other type. Recognition of special education needs makes funding and popularity of programs more likely for them than for the gifted at large. Those Type V's who are
now adults are not likely to be very successful due to the conflicts between special education needs and giftedness. Their giftedness may not have been realised, lying dormant behind the mask of special education needs. They can benefit from group involvements, and need support and acceptance. A full description of the needs of this group is beyond the ambit of this paper.

Type VI's are the true success stories of the gifted population, the Self-Actualisers. They are some of the recognised geniuses of history, perhaps most of them. Type VI's are the "ideal" solution to the problem of giftedness, an integration of intimacy with excellence, in a transcendent balance. These people have the inner strength to pursue their passions in spite of others, yet they flower more quickly or completely with support and understanding. Their view of the world is positive because they have come to accept themselves and their limitations, or the lack thereof (another kind of limitation in itself), and are independent enough to survive the limited peer group interactions available, or have found their companionship in others, not necessarily other gifteds.

That this is only one type, and not the frequent end-product of gifted development as delineated by longitudinal studies (Terman, 1925-1959, Hollingworth, 1926) does not reflect well on our efforts to meet the needs of the gifted. Type VI is the goal or ideal of giftedness in its fullest expression. They differ from the others primarily in
attitude toward self and giftedness.

It is logical that one person may fall into more than one type at a time (as in many gifted girls combining Types I and II), and/or over some time period, as when a Type II evolves into a Type IV. Potentially, all Types I through V can become Type VI, whether through learning from their life experiences, through counseling, or through some other process.

**Development of Types**

These type descriptions are so recent that their developmental relationships have not been investigated. How these types might correlate with the developmental stages of Erikson and Piaget, or with Kohlberg's stages of moral development will be described next.

Looking first at Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, where might some of these types originate? In Erikson's Stage 1, the key issue is trust versus mistrust. The nature and consistency of care an infant receives in the first year or two of life is crucial to the establishment of trust. But what if the primary caretaker is unprepared for the rapid development of a gifted child? The acceleration of learning can be alarming whether or not "normal" development is understood by the parent(s). Simple comparison with other children can point up differences, especially in the highly gifted. What does a startled and
uneasy parent communicate to a child who at ten months old is speaking two word sentences? Is it reasonable to assume that a parent will not be affected in his/her caretaking by such discrepancies? Since there is evidence that gifted children are exceptionally sensitive, can we assume that they will remain unaware of parental unease, and will not be affected by it? What are the effects of comments such as "...too smart for your own good!" which may be frequently heard by these children? Young children especially need to trust their parents, it is a survival imperative. If their world is not safe and accepting they may internalise the environmental negatives in order to maintain the necessary image of external safety.

In Stage 2, theorised to occur from ages 2 to 3, autonomy is the primary issue. If a child's attempts at self-assertion are encouraged, but monitored, the child begins to learn to be an independent individual. However, if the parent(s) are overprotective, if they restrict his/her explorations unreasonably, and/or if they criticise his/her efforts at independence, the child learns to be ashamed of such efforts, to doubt his/her own capabilities. Well-meaning parents who are unprepared for the task of raising a gifted child, can accomplish the latter by simply applying normal standards to such a child. Restrictions that would be appropriate for a normal child can be stifling for a gifted child. Also at this stage, the discrepancy between intellect and physical development can become
annoying to the child. Knowing how to manipulate objects in a desired fashion, but lacking the fine motor coordination to accomplish the desired manipulations can be extremely frustrating. Alternatively, being treated as if the requisite coordination cannot be operational yet when it is, can also be extremely annoying. For example, a preschool may have rules that children must be a certain age to play with some toys. If the preschool "goes by the book", gifted children may be restricted unnecessarily, and/or may be told they are "too young"—a common experience for the gifted. Betts' Type I's may acquiesce to this attitude, learning very early to accommodate the opinions of others, and fit in.

When a child reaches ages 3 to 6, Erikson postulates they will focus on the issue of initiative versus guilt. If initiative, purpose and direction are not reinforced, guilt results. An overt, negative expression of guilt may be the Type II's frustration, impatience, and defensiveness, or the Type III's deliberate underachievement. Again, because of the ages of the stage, the primary source of stifling of initiative is likely to be parents and/or preschool teachers. Children at this age may begin numerous projects with great enthusiasm, but find carrying them out over a length of time too taxing on a youthful attention span. Comments from parents about lack of completion (an unreasonable expectation at this age), intended to encourage the child, can severely damage a child's self-image.
Alternatively, a young child who spends considerable time focused on a single project may feel parental pressure to socialise more, to pursue a number of activities instead of a single one, or even to devote the same concentrated attention to all of his or her pursuits.

A highly gifted child may learn to read spontaneously around age 3. If a parent or preschool teacher is intimidated by or afraid of this, the child may sense it is not proper. This is especially likely when the heightened sensitivity of the gifted is considered. At 4, 5 or 6, the child may already feel an internal sense of failure or futility. Each of these scenarios points out to the child that he or she is not doing what is expected or desired, promoting a sense of guilt and failure.

As children enter school, they begin to engage the issue of industry versus inferiority (Erikson's Stage 4). If a child's efforts are downgraded, if curiosity is stifled the child learns to feel inferior. A gifted child can also learn to feel inferior when a parent or teacher tries to prevent or reduce feelings of entitlement or superiority in the child, whether or not such feelings are evident. Gifted children may have difficulty coping with failure, as they often have little experience of it. It is important for these children to learn that "failure" is a necessary part of the learning experience, and that true failure results only from refusal to learn from mistakes. Low self-esteem, inferiority, feelings of inadequacy, and underachievement
can result. The insecurity, denial of talent, and confusion of Type III's may be a result, as may the Type I's refusal to take risks. Gottlieb and Hyatt (1987) view failure as a tool to expand opportunities and increase sources of meaning in life. Type VI's either instinctively know this or have learned it.

With adolescence comes the task of establishing identity. If identity is not achieved, role confusion results. This is an especially difficult task for gifted children because their "normal" development is discrepant or out of phase. Intellectually, a child may be years ahead of her/his peers, but social and physical development are not likely to be as dramatically accelerated, as first pointed out by Terman and Hollingworth. Therefore, the gifted child must somehow reconcile functioning at a near adult intellectual level while still a somewhat socially inept young adolescent, with the needs and drives of puberty as well as the other challenges of adolescence. The need to reconcile such disparate tendencies into a "whole person" personality may be beyond the individual without parental understanding or readily available counseling.

In addition, the attraction to the surety of intellectual success may supersede the option of uncertainty in other realms. Parents, teachers and society often reinforce the supremacy of intellect, prizing these accomplishments while excusing "deficiencies" in other realms because of the intellect. Type III may originate
because of this, as the need for a social life is vital in
the teen years, and the gifted therefore face the choice of
intimacy versus excellence overtly here, if not before.

Type II may evolve into Type IV in this stage, due to unmet
social needs and irreconcilable role confusions. The
additional pressure of the interactions of the role
confusions with expectations of parents and teachers may
become a main focus of dissent.

Unless the previous stages are successfully negotiated,
the young adult stage of intimacy versus isolation cannot
really be addressed. True intimacy requires a sense of
personal identity. The gifted young adult is likely to feel
some insecurity or dissatisfaction with self, having grown
up generally not fitting into classes, social groups, and
even perhaps, family. It is quite possible that the
historical figures surveyed (Bowerman, 1947, Cox, 1926,
Ellis, 1968) displayed a lower percentage of marriage than
the norm due to the difficulties of establishing identity,
and therefore intimacy, and that their overriding concern
with intellect was secondary to this developmental failure,
a consequence rather than a cause.

Generativity can be a true challenge for the gifted in
middle age. In the choice between generativity and
stagnation, Erikson evaluated marriage, parenthood, and
productive/creative work. The first two may preclude the
last for the gifted, especially for the gifted woman. If
they do not, work may preclude family. Erikson pointed out
that it is important not only to have work and family, but to enjoy them as well. Stagnation results if enjoyment of work and caring for others is not present. Therefore, unless the forced choice of intimacy versus excellence is resolved, stagnation results.

While it is possible that a majority of Terman's sample did resolve intimacy versus excellence, that is inconsistent with their apparent tendency to be Conformists. The generally high level of satisfaction expressed by them may have been another exercise of their ability to conform to expectations.

As old age approaches, the issue of integrity versus despair becomes paramount. For the gifted adult who felt stagnant, despair is quite likely. The previous challenges have not been successfully met, satisfaction has not been achieved, and there is now little time to begin again or to renegotiate the stages. The one advantage the gifted adult has is that these stages may well be experienced at earlier ages than Erikson postulated, and they may have more time to re-evaluate and correct past mistakes than others. The highly gifted may reach this last stage of development in early middle age when there is still an opportunity to change careers or find a fulfilling relationship.

Piaget's cognitive-developmental theory also sets up stages based on age as well as cognitive function. Carter and Omrod (1982, cited in Pendarvis, Howley, & Howley, 1990) have found some evidence that gifted children progress
through both the concrete and formal operations stages more rapidly than nongifted children. Pendarvis et al (1990) indicated that there is disagreement as to whether there is a statistically valid correlation between early attainment of stages and commonly used measures of intelligence. If there is a correlation, this may be another potentially problematic difference for the gifted child to contend with. Discrepancies between agemates' levels, especially if common "wisdom" is adhered to and children are not informed about their own giftedness, can lead to serious misunderstandings. For example, consider a highly gifted 5 year old girl who is unaware that she is different from her playmates. In the process of building with blocks one playmate repeatedly tries to get a cylinder to rest sideways on top of upended blocks, unable to understand that its roundness precludes this. The 5 year old doesn't understand why her playmate continues to waste effort on a task which is obviously doomed to fail. In frustration, she says something critical, and is punished for being rude or bossy.

Kohlberg's stages of moral development become important in light of the concern raised by some (Roeper, date, etc) about the appropriateness or necessity of moral education for the gifted. According to Shari Tarver-Behring (personal communication, 2 March, 1989), certain stages of cognitive development are prerequisites to stages of moral development. Formal operations capabilities allow an individual to take a societal (or larger) perspective,
consequently permitting an individual to achieve a postconventional level of moral development, and facilitating identity achievement. Concrete operations permits only a sequential and concrete role-taking, and therefore only a conventional level of moral development. Either identity development or foreclosure may follow. It is important to remember that moral judgement and moral behaviour are distinct concepts, and that the intention behind behaviour is important, as one behaviour may result from more than one stage of moral development following different paths of reasoning.

Type III's could be considered to be stuck at the preconventional level, finding their needs for the rewards of social acceptance so important that other issues are of secondary or tertiary concern. Type I's may have achieved the conventional level, being concerned with maintaining the expectations of others. Type VI's would be capable of attaining the postconventional or autonomous level in Kohlberg's terms. Both Type II and Type IV are difficult to fit into a positively oriented system of moral levels. They have gotten lost along the path of development.

Acceptance versus Abuse

Up to now in this paper, parents have been credited with having the best interests of their child as their primary concern. Recently, statistics on the number of
dysfunctional or abusive parents have become alarming. The stresses of raising a gifted child, and the dearth of support services may leave parents with unmanageable frustrations. The effects of a dysfunctional or abusive parent can easily compound the difficulties of growing up out of phase, as gifted children do. The effects of the social perceptions of the traits of giftedness expostulated by Lovecky are similar to the effects of child abuse (Deirdre Lovecky, personal communication, May 1990). The nature of the outcome of the combination of the two is unknown at this time. However, by employing a variation of Einstein's thought experiment, it is possible to explore the potentials.

In order to distinguish the effects of child abuse from the social effects of giftedness, let's consider six combinations: three girls and three boys. Effects on both sexes will be considered because the socialisation issues are different for boys and girls. All will be raised in environments considered optimal for giftedness, with the following differences: one of each of the three will be accepted and their giftedness nurtured, one of each will experience parental dis-ease in response to giftedness, and the final two will be subjected to abuse in response to giftedness.

Conditions considered optimal for raising a gifted child include: 1) the child is first-born or an only child (examples will consider only children for simplicity), 2)
mother stays at home to raise the child, 3) the home
environment is enriched with access to literature, science,
the arts, etc., 4) parents are well educated, and 5) the
family's socioeconomic status is high. In this thought
experiment, fathers and mothers combine knowledge and
interests in math, science, art and music. A variety of
scientific and artistic stimuli are available to the child
daily. The families live in close proximity to a good
university, where father works. Mother gave up her career
when her child was born, and has remained at home pursuing
her art in addition to childrearing. Both parents are
gifted adults who read extensively, and attend cultural
events.

In particular, the influences of the mother on gifted
children, and the effects of her behaviour on the child's
first day of school, evolving social interactions, and
attitudes toward school and success will be considered.
Effects of the mother were chosen because the instances of
fathers as primary caretakers are rare, and because society
still views childcare as a primarily female occupation in
spite of recent changes in sex roles. The moderating
influence of the father will be considered.

In the first two examples (boy and girl), mother has
voluntarily left work, and is happy to remain at home with
her child, finding her role as mother fulfilling, and
recognising her opportunity to return to work at some future
time. She has come to terms with her own giftedness, and

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accepts and encourages the giftedness of her child. Her own self-acceptance and coping mechanisms provide a good example for her child. She and her husband encourage their child to pursue her/his passions, and provide monetary and other required sustenance. As her child faces the various trials of giftedness and socialisation, she offers support while fostering their ability to cope independently.

Both male and female children are likely to thrive under these conditions, and there is a good chance they will become Type VI's. As they approach the first day of school, they may be caught up in the impending adventures in learning. These children often know their alphabets and numbers prior to school, and may well read early also. Having examples of self-acceptance at home, the frustrations they will experience in a normal classroom will be opportunities for learning how to deal with others and the inherent social and educational frustrations. Parental support and acknowledgement of sources of frustration, along with willingness to negotiate with teachers and other school authorities will teach these children proper, acceptable methods of coping with the difficulties of giftedness.

Feeling accepted as unique persons, these children will seek friends who are also secure and self-accepting, and may foster self-acceptance in others. Their friendship-seeking behaviours will not fall into either the self-deprecating humour or the inflated ego styles identified by (Henzlik, 1986). While they may experience a lack of true peers, they
will be competent enough in social skills to find commonalities with numerous others in order to meet their needs. They will not feel the necessity of choosing between excellence and intimacy.

These children will grow up accepting themselves, their friends, and society for what they are. Any changes they feel are necessary within society will be approached through socially acceptable means. Success, both in school and as adults, will be viewed in positive terms. It will be sought after, and valued, for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons, though the intrinsic ones will take priority.

Differences experienced due to sex will be minimised because of the mother's comfort with her options and choices, and her self-acceptance. These factors will palliate social pressures for conformity to traditional female roles. A girl raised in this environment may still choose a traditional role, but it will be an informed choice, not an enforced one.

In the second set of examples, mother left work voluntarily, and finds fulfillment raising children, but she has not come to terms with her own giftedness, being herself a combination of Types I and III. As her child grows, she finds herself feeling increasingly uneasy with evidences of her child's giftedness, although she constrains her overt expressions of unease. Nonetheless, her child is sensitive, and perceives her discomfort, internalising it as something wrong with her or him personally.
Here we must separate the two children, for boys and girls are socialised to respond to such perceptions differently. Girls are socialised to accommodate, to meet expectations, to fit in, much more than are boys. In addition, girls learn how to be women from the examples of their mothers, while boys learn to emulate their fathers. In this instance, the girl learns to be uncomfortable with her own abilities, that she does not fit in if she expresses them, and that this is not “proper”. She may follow her mother and become a combination of Types I and III, or she may rebel, depending on historical circumstances, as well as her father's attitudes, support from friends and teachers, and her innate personality.

A boy in these circumstances is less likely to be discouraged from being himself, providing he receives support from his father. However, he will still experience self-doubts, and will find the path to full expression of self (Type VI) more difficult to negotiate than the boy in the previous example. It is more likely that this boy will become a Type I, having learned from his mother to discourage his differences, while being expected to succeed.

Each of these children will view the first day of school with some trepidation, as they have not learned to be comfortable with themselves, and are not sure what parts of themselves will be acceptable to others and which will not. Initially, they will try to fit in, but unless special programming is available, and acceptable to their parents,
their efforts will be less than effective.

Socially, these children will either overcompensate for the lack of parental acceptance by behaving as if they believe themselves to be better than others, disguising their feelings of inadequacy with a mien of superiority and self-sufficiency, or they will employ self-deprecating humour to diminish the differences between themselves and others in order to achieve some acceptance. Finding lack of acceptance of their excellence at home, they will anticipate it in other interactions, and either choose excellence and isolation, or intimacy and repression of excellence. All social interactions will be tainted by the unresolved issue of unacceptance of self as a whole, and all efforts toward pursuit of excellence will be tempered with a desperation born of overinvestment.

These children's attitudes toward school and success will be influenced by socially determined sex roles as described above. The girl will either follow her mother's example, seeking social acceptability to alleviate her feeling of lack of acceptance at home, or she will rebel against the prerequisites of acceptance. For her, school and success will be somewhat threatening. The boy will feel the lack of acceptance somewhat less than the girl, since he relies less on his mother for a role model than the girl does. However, he will still find the choice between excellence and intimacy a necessary one. His solution is likely to be a combination of social conformity and modest
success, a Type I solution. School and success will be less threatening than to his female counterpart, but he will still feel it necessary to suppress expression of his whole nature. In our final two cases, mother has left work against her wishes, but feeling her duty requires it. She does not find childrearing fulfilling, rather she finds it stifling. Because of her educational level, she has little in common with other mothers, and this reinforces the isolation she feels as a gifted woman. She has never come to terms with her own giftedness, and frequently experiences anger and frustration as a result. When her child expresses the same characteristics she finds so unmanageable in herself, her anger increases. Having found no acceptable method of expression for her frustration and rebellion against her circumstances, her anger ferments, and she periodically explodes. Her explosions often take the form of accusing her child of some imagined transgression, and punishing her or him for it.

As the child grows older, and being perceptive and sensitive, he or she recognises the correlation between instances of expression of talent and mother's reactions. At the same time, mother and father overtly encourage the child, placing her or him in a catch-22: success produces violent responses, less than optimal performance produces parental disapproval. In order to feel safe, these children may learn very early how to manipulate their environment in
intricate fashions. Finding little understanding and acceptance at home, social acceptance from peers either becomes vital or seems impossible. These children may sacrifice excellence more readily than others in order to find some source of intimacy.

The first day of school for these children is potentially dangerous. They have no experience other than that at home on which to base their expectations, and may either anticipate greater freedom to learn, or repetition of the home dichotomy. In a school without special programming, the anticipation of greater learning opportunities will be thwarted. For the highly gifted, even special programming may still be insufficient. Teachers who are ill at ease with gifted students will reinforce the home dichotomy. In the rare instance of actual discouragement of expression of gifts, school can reinforce the necessity of not fulfilling potential more easily than it can counter it, especially for girls, who are more likely to be discouraged in the first place.

Both boys and girls raised with the attitude of being "too smart", and suffering abuse because of it, will find the concept of success confusing at best. What others perceive as success has had unpleasant consequences, even while being expected of them. Therefore, they will find themselves at odds with "normal" methods of pursuit of success, and may take ill-advised risks in order to impress parents and peers. These risks may be either sanctioned or
socially undesirable.

Since they experience violence at home, these children are unlikely to learn appropriate expression of anger and frustration, and may seek intimacy from other social outcasts. Both female and male children in these circumstances are likely to become Type II's, and boys are likely to evolve into Type IV's if no intervention is available. Due to differential socialisation pressures, girls are more likely to combine Type II and III, than to become Type IV's, although some do become dropouts. Also, it is important to remember that "dropping out" can happen at any time, it is not necessarily limited to the stereotypic high school dropout. A need for acceptance from parents who only value intellectual accomplishments can propel a student to graduate school or beyond before the student realises the futility of such approval-seeking behaviour and drops out.

Gifted children do not necessarily value the same things as society does. An abused gifted child may seek success in societally unacceptable ways, or may devalue pursuit of success altogether. Abused children are also likely to perpetuate the abusive cycle with their own children. In cases of severe physical and sexual abuse, there is some evidence that creative/gifted children sometimes resolve the stress of abuse by becoming multiple personality disordered (Chase, 1989).

A key to facilitating full development seems to be to
treat each child, or adult, as an individual, considering the plethora of capabilities and developmental discrepancies together in a holistic manner. Support, encouragement and empathy are required. While parents may be able to accomplish this, schools are generally not designed to meet such individualised needs, and neither is the workplace. Society in general is not constructed to facilitate meeting the needs of the gifted.

**Adult Development and Traits**

Piechowski (1986) conceives of giftedness as an interaction of talents, environment, and personality. While the first two factors have been considered in identification and programming to varying degrees, personality has essentially been ignored. In his critique of intelligence testing, he points out not only the lack of consideration of personality, but also the lack of models for development of talent. His addition of the developmental potential model to concepts of giftedness is designed to encourage educational consideration of self-actualisation and moral development of the gifted.

People with less fire in their veins look upon those who have it as different, abnormal, neurotic. [Shades of Lambroso] They avoid having such people as friends because they can neither understand nor appreciate them. If they could they would willingly avoid having such children (Piechowski, 1986, p. 190).

Dabrowski sensed something else behind the labels. He found
the "neurotic symptoms" of gifted adolescents correlated with indications of enhanced experiencing, and were therefore normal developmental phenomena indicative of developmental potential.

He conceptualised developmental potential as five overexcitabilities, or psychic dimensions, linked with talents and abilities as channels for informational input and output. The overexcitabilities (OEs) may be expressed in a variety of ways. They are "psychomotor (P) - movement, restlessness, drivenness, and augmented capacity for being active and energetic; sensual (S) - enhanced differentiation and aliveness of sensual experience; intellectual (T) - avidity for knowledge, discovery, questioning, love of ideas and theoretical analysis, search for truth; imaginative (M) - vividness of imagery, richness of association, facility for dreams, fantasies and inventions, animisms and personifications, liking for the unusual; and emotional (E) - great depth and intensity of emotional life expressed in a wide range of feelings, compassion, attachments, heightened sense of responsibility, self-examination" (Piechowski, 1986, p. 191). Without these intensities, Dabrowski sees talent as a "mere technical facility lacking heart and fire" (p. 191). Betts' Type I's may have doused their fires.

The strength of the OEs is positively correlated with developmental potential, and negatively correlated with reactions of others. People who express these OEs feel at
odds with others, different, and guilty for being different. Often they experience criticism or teasing for being themselves, and conclude something is wrong with them (Betts' Types I, II and IV). They may attempt to disguise the OEs (Betts' Type III), retreat into fantasy (Type II), and thereby suffer from denying their own potential (Maslow, 1971, cited in Piechowski, 1986).

Lysy and Piechowski (1983) have produced an Overexcitability Questionnaire (OEQ), useful in systematic investigation of OEs. Prior to the OEQ, Silverman and Ellsworth (1981, cited in Piechowski, 1986) compared a sample of gifted adults with graduate students in terms of OE profiles. In four of the five OEs (sensual, intellectual, imaginational, and emotional) the gifted adults had much higher scores than the students, even though graduate students are often bright, if not gifted. Another study (Piechowski, Silverman, & Falk, 1985) compared gifted adults and graduate students with artists, and found the artists scored higher in all the OEs except the intellectual (scores were about the same), with the artists imaginational and emotional scores exceptionally high. Other studies tend to confirm this (Eiduson, 1958, Getzels & Csikszentmihalyi, 1976, Roe, 1946, all cited in Piechowski). Differences in OE profiles also occur within groups. Artists studies displayed patterns of balanced OEs, dominance of emotional and sensitivity OEs, and lower emotional OE with others unintegrated (Piechowski and Cunningham, 1986).
Piechowski and Colangelo (1984) found correlations between elevated OE profiles and giftedness. They describe the impact of these traits of giftedness that are not assessed by intelligence tests, including the impact of these traits as causes of discomfort in others. Because of this discomfort, these traits are not socially valued. They characterise gifted adults as well as gifted children and adolescents, as do the internal conflicts resulting from social devaluation of one's most prized possession, the self.

Conceptually, developmental potential is concerned with the internal transformational process experienced by an individual. The transformational goal is to unify ideals and actions. To Dabrowski, personality development ascends through five levels. The fundamental level is typified by self-serving behaviours (self-protection, manipulation, conflict, possessiveness, self-centeredness). Level two feels like an internal split as a consequence of oscillations from one extreme to another. Personality at level two is defined by the expectations of others. In order to reach level three, the vulnerability of level two must be superimposed on an autonomous core. The vertical split resulting brings moral questions and universal ideals to the forefront. At level four, Dabrowski's concept of level four fits perfectly with Maslow's idea of self-actualising individuals. There is a strong sense of universal values and responsibility, a focus on problems.
outside of the self, rather than protecting one's own ego. At level five, those universal values become a complete dedication to a life of service to others. These higher levels (3-5) sound comparable to some of the traits of gifted individuals. No matter what the specific origin, the effects of the disparity between the universal outlook of the gifted and personal orientation of the nongifted can obviously lead to interpersonal conflicts.

Dabrowski's levels of development seem similar to Kohlberg's (1978) levels of moral development, but while Dabrowski was concerned with personality traits, Kohlberg was concerned with moral reasoning. Piechowski (1986) associates Kohlberg's stages 1-4 with Dabrowski's level 1, stage 5 with level 2, and stage 6 with levels 3 and 4. Kohlberg's hypothetical stage 7 may correspond with Dabrowski's level 5.

Lovecky (1986) describes a set of traits or characteristics of gifted adults (divergency, excitability, sensitivity, perceptivity, and entelechy) garnered from observation of gifted adult clients, colleagues, and friends, as well as derivation from Torrance's (1961, 1962, 1965, cited in Lovecky) descriptions of gifted children. In addition to identifying these traits, she addresses the social impact of these traits, going beyond Piechowski and Colangelo (1984). The traits Lovecky describes are themselves neutral, but "their behavioral manifestations make them socially and emotionally significant" (p. 572).
Behavioural manifestations vary with other factors including introversion or extroversion, learning style preference, and tolerance for ambiguity. For example, sensitivity may be expressed as empathy, touchiness, or vulnerability, and expression by one individual may vary with mood, or over time.

Divergency is defined as "a preference for unusual, original, and creative responses.....characteristic of divergent thinkers" (p. 572). Gifted adults with this trait employ creative problem solving techniques in many realms, including interpersonal ones. They can see numerous aspects of any situation. These people may encounter difficulties when a group consensus is required. For the divergent thinker, social situations may lack opportunities to fit in, as the divergent thinker may disregard generally accepted rules. They may display impatience with societal "niceties" such as avoiding criticising others publicly, or unquestioning following of an influential leader. Divergent thinkers need to find a way to remain individuals in spite of pressure toward conformity. Otherwise, they may feel alienated, and potentially, depressed.

They may also not be motivated by the same rewards as non-divergent thinkers. For example, Kevin Kline, one of our finest theatrical actors, has not had great success in or popular recognition from many of his films. With the exception of his Best Supporting Actor Oscar for "A Fish Called Wanda", most of his performances have only received
modest praise from critics and audiences. He does not choose roles for their star value. His rewards are of a different nature, and he is apparently uninterested in the trappings of stardom, the reward the public expects him to aspire to (Hoffman, 1990). In addition, his performances tend to reflect his penchant for physicality (high excitability?), and he has been criticised for both his onstage and offstage expressions of this.

Lovecky defines excitability as a "high energy level, emotional reactivity, and high nervous system arousal" (p. 573), but it is distinguished from hyperactivity by the ability to focus attention and concentrate for extended periods of time. The risk-taking behaviour of excitability can be distinguished from mania or impulsivity by the individual's awareness of the consequences, knowledge of limits (when to stop), and choice of risks (challenges rather than recklessness). There is an enjoyment of the excitement of taking risks and meeting challenges in these adults. On the positive side, the risk-taking can be creative, leading to innovations. Energy is available aplenty for projects as well as self. Excitable adults possess a knowledge of their own feelings, how to act on them, and lack the fear of expressing these feelings.

Negatively, excitability relates to self-regulation. Boredom and the need for stimulation can produce a habit of constant activity. Some gifted adults may be unable to follow through on projects because they crave novelty. A cycle of high interest and activity for a new venture, followed by loss of interest when the novelty decreases and details must be addressed,
can leave others feeling frustrated and angry (Lovecky, 1986, p. 573).

This is similar to the young child's numerous unfinished projects, and may have its origins in related unresolved issues. In addition, boredom can lead to less desirable pursuits such as activities which are socially undesirable or high risk (drugs, crime, etc) as pointed out by Bergman (1979).

Reversing the distinguishing characteristics of excitability, an individual may be aware of the risks, but dismiss the consequences as unimportant, may crave the "rush" of recklessness, and may refuse to stop when society or others deem it appropriate. Satisfaction may elude them, and drive them to extremes, or to depression, or both.

Sensitivity is described as a depth of feeling resulting in empathy, or a sense of identification with others. Gifted adults with this trait form deep attachments, "they think with their feelings" (Lovecky, 1986, p. 573). Sensitive adults are able to devote themselves to others, and to social causes, and can be very single-minded in their devotion. They may feel they live in close connection with the cosmos, or they may willingly sacrifice their own needs to meet the needs of others. The sensitivity of giftedness is not a pathological response to a dysfunctional home environment, as in copdependency. It is an inherent trait. These adults are also likely to be intensely aware of environmental influences such as colour,
sound, and the emotional imprint of situations and locations.

Superficially, these sound like positive traits. The difficulty arises from a lack of appreciation of the fact that not everyone feels so deeply, and that others may not have the same priorities. Gifted adults may be intolerant of these differences. If the gifted adult is extremely sensitive, others may be reluctant to share their problems, feeling "the gifted adult experiences their pain more intensely than they do" (Lovecky, 1986, p. 573). The resultant rejection may lead the gifted adult to a life of isolation, avoiding relationships that could be nurturing for themselves as well as others.

Perceptivity is the "ability to view several aspects of a situation simultaneously, to understand several layers of self within another, and to see quickly to the core of an issue" (Lovecky, 1986, p. 573). A perceptive adult may be adept at "sensing the incongruency between exhibited social facades and real thoughts and feelings" (Lovecky, 1986, p. 573), and may react constructively (therapy) or destructively (intolerance). Perceptivity may require the recognition of and the need for truth as an integral part of one's being. This may be one root of the rebellions inherent in Types II and IV.

Perceptivity may be related to intuition or insight, experienced as instantaneous assessment of people and situations. To someone without a great deal of
perceptivity, judgements based on these perceptions could appear to be baseless or arbitrary. A student who knows the answer, but not how it was arrived at could be using perceptivity. This could help to explain the difference between spatial and sequential learning.

Positive expressions of perceptivity include objectivity in self-evaluation, ability to assess motivations of self and others with acuity, and to respond to situations based on perceived dynamics which others may not see. Perceptivity may empower the gifted adult to seek their own path in spite of disapproval. Interpersonally, these perceptions may appear to others as "magic", or lead to friends or relatives of the gifted adult feeling vulnerable or threatened. Seeing layers of someone else can be confusing, and may make combining appropriate responses with situational requirements difficult and uncomfortable. This may explain the tendency of some gifteds to eschew society to become relative or actual hermits.

With perceptivity, the need for interpersonal support is especially intense, but for the gifted, attempting to meet the need risks rejection. Does the gifted adult choose to hide his or her insights, and to behave in what may for them be a superficial manner, (preserving intimacy) or use their gift (striving for excellence) and risk rejection?

Entelechy is a specific type of motivation or vital force that directs life and growth of self to its potential. Entelechy allows gifted adults to find rare sources of
intimacy, but others, drawn by this vitality, may have been incapable of reciprocating. Spontaneous expression of deep feelings by an adult gifted with entelechy may encourage others to be self-disclosing. Adults gifted with entelechy need to find nurturing without sacrificing themselves to others. Avoidance of closeness with others is one solution to the dilemma, but a very unsatisfactory one. In addition, entelechy, when combined with other traits of the adult gifted forms a synergy which others have difficulty understanding and sometimes great difficulty coping with.

The effects of the perfectionism and unrelenting pursuit of greatness displayed by Eddie Wilson ("Eddie and the Cruisers" and "Eddie and the Cruisers II: Eddie Lives") is an example of the potential cost of entelechy. Devotion to self-actualisation is trying for those whose motivations do not include it as a primary goal. Youthful expressions of entelechy often provoke conflicts with authorities.

The five traits described may lead to crises; gifted adults continuously face choices that seem to lead to either denial of gifts or rejection by others. Unless they learn to value self and find support from others, these adults will experience identity crises whenever the conflict resurfaces. This process entraps creative energy, which is then lost to creative production (Lovecky, 1986, p. 574).

In dealing with counseling needs, the gifted adult may find their need for independence drives them to find ways to nurture themselves.

Thus far, personality types and separate traits have been elucidated. How might these traits correspond with the
personality types?

In expression of divergency, Type I's choose to conform rather than diverge, while Type II's rebel against the necessity for the choice between divergency and conformity. Type II's also express divergency by questioning the social order, generally accepted rules, and modes of conduct.

For the Conformist Type I, divergency, excitability, and entelechy will all be stifled to a greater or lesser extent. Perceptivity will be expressed constructively, that is, within acceptable confines. Sensitivity may be fully expressed.

Types II and IV may be high in excitability, sensitivity, and perceptivity even for the gifted. Their expressions of these traits are usually destructive. Divergency may be high, powering a rebellion or resulting in a criminal mentality. Entelechy is likely to be stifled or misplaced.

The deliberate underachievement of Type III results from stifling or discounting of all these traits. To express any one trait fully would threaten their need for acceptance.

In Type V, the traits interact with the learning difficulties in various, unpredictable ways. Expression of traits is likely to be stifled by the combination of needs.

Only in Type VI can all traits be fully, comfortably, and constructively expressed; cost of expression is accepted, not burdensome. For the other types, intrinsic
personality traits engender problems, either externally through expression, or internally through suppression of expression. Specific problems will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Perceptions of the Gifted

Few potential sources of information are more pervasive today than the media of film, video and television. Prior to the advent of these media, information was available only orally, or in print. For much of history, only the rich could afford to learn to read or purchase reading materials. During the Twentieth Century, as in no time before, all types of information have become readily available to almost anyone. While this availability has promoted culture in many ways, it has also perpetuated unfortunate stereotypes. Perceptions of the gifted as a group, and as individuals, cannot avoid being influenced by these media. Therefore, since this is an investigation of the problems, perceptions and potentials of the gifted adult, it is important to consider the influence of the popular media on sociocultural perceptions and as a reflection of them. Due to the variety and consequent difficulty in assessing the portrayal of the gifted in the numerous television programs available on a daily basis, only film and video will be considered here.

Perhaps the most prevalent image of the gifted adult in film or video is the "mad" scientist. From the time of the
publication of Mary Shelley's (1817) *Frankenstein*, he (rarely, she) has haunted the nightmares of children and adults alike. He is by nature a seeker, but one who does not consider the ramifications of the seeking, or its goal. Invariably, his quest goes awry, and its consequences range from personal tragedy ("The Fly", Cornfield, 1986) to worldwide holocaust, as in any number of 1950s science fiction films including "Forbidden Planet" (Nayfack, 1956), or more recently "The Philadelphia Experiment" (Michaels & Curtis, 1984). Sometimes, a group of scientists replaces the single madman. Alternatively, he may be intentionally evil, a criminal Type IV (consider Sherlock Holmes opponent, Professor Moriarty, many of James Bond's adversaries, or Darth Vader).

Somewhat more realistic is the righteous misfit/idealist. He (again, rarely she) is often a man of many accomplishments who has displeased someone in power or refused to obey the commonly accepted rules, elevating individuality or quality above conformity. He may be a Type VI who has chosen martyrdom over compromise. "Breaker Morant" (Carroll, 1981) is a historical example about Harry Morant, a British horsebreaker, poet, and martyred soldier in the Boer War. A Type II example may be motivated by a desire to beat or avoid the system, as Walter is in "Father Goose". He left a position as a professor of history because he found his students and colleagues were more concerned with his wearing a tie than with his thoughts and
ideas. The audience can often see that the misfit is in the right, and the drama or comedy turns on whether or not he will win in the end. Sometimes, he uses the same weapons against society that he abhors in society's hands ("Captain Blood", Curtiz, 1935). While he doesn't start out as the same type of misfit, he does radiate a dislikable perfection ("The Coca Cola Kid", Roe, 1982) ends up resigning from society in protest. He has obeyed the rules as commonly understood, and tragedy has resulted. Another misfit, Nick Starkey ("The January Man", Jewison & Sweerdlow, 1989) sacrificed his own reputation to save his brother's, even though he knew his brother was guilty. His brother fit the system, and it was easier for the system's adherents to believe Nick was guilty. Nick Starkey also tends to feast on bizarre food (octopus, haggis), and work in nontraditional ways, upsetting friends and coworkers/supervisors.

One gifted hero has already been mentioned. Indiana Jones (Marshall, 1981, Watts, 1989) works as a hero because he has to work hard to succeed, and because he tends to undervalue his own abilities. He has a sometimes self-deprecating sense of humour about himself and the situations he faces. According to Henzlik (1986) this is one technique employed by the gifted to make non-gifted friends. In real life, this self-directed hostility is a high price to pay for friendship. Indy even fails at times, and does so with a becoming grace, perhaps because he will
inevitably succeed. Other recent popular heroes, such as Luke Skywalker (Kurtz, 1977), have been gifted almost in the ancient sense of divinely inspired. Still, in order to master his task, Luke has to work hard learning to use his gift. Few people would envy him his gift, because of the heavy price he must pay in order to use it—hard training, isolation, the prospect of a nearly single-handed uphill battle, a single Jedi to save the Galaxy from an evil empire. One gifted hero who didn't work well in film was Buckaroo Banzai (Canton & Richter, 1984), a character who was a skilled neurosurgeon, physicist, musician, crime-fighter, and comic book hero. Apparently, the film audience had difficulty identifying with him as a character in spite of his obviously fictional nature. He was too good at everything, he never failed, and he never expected to fail.

The socially inept gifted adult, often a scientist, has devoted so much of his efforts to learning that he has neglected people skills. He may even claim to lack the ability to deal well with people (Dr. Jeff Peters in "Making Mr. Right", Tuber & Wise, 1987), or simply have been so cocooned in his laboratory that his abilities with people outside of work have atrophied (Newton Crosby in "Short Circuit", Foster & Turman, 1986). Another version of the socially inept gifted adult is one who is not truly inept, but is still disliked until he shows himself to have human failings (Dr. Hugo Pine in "Teacher's Pet").

The gifted delinquent or criminal appears in several
guises. Sometimes he is a fairly realistic character who lacks constructive means for expressing his frustrations, or who has given up on acceptable means (Rupert Marshetta in "Prince of Pennsylvania", Fishman, 1989, Pete in "Rikky and Pete", Tass & Parker, 1989). Occasionally, he finds the lifestyle of successful constructive expression of his gifts boring or distasteful, preferring freedom to a life planned out for him by well-meaning but ill-informed others.

Gifted women rarely appear in film, but when they do, they seem less susceptible to stereotypic portrayal than men. In "Baby Boom" (Meyers, 1987), J.C. Wyatt is a highly capable advertising executive, who manages to become a good mother and start her own business. She changes from career-oriented to homemaker to integrator in Rodenstein and Glickauf-Hughes (1979) terms. In "Rikky and Pete" (Tass & Parker, 1989), Pete's sister, Rikky, is a trained geologist, once a law student, an art dealer, and a talented musician. She succeeds much more easily than Pete does, because her social skills are better than his.

"Permanent Record" (Mancuso, 1988) is a film that deals realistically with the suicide of the brightest student in school, and the effect his suicide has on his friends. In particular, the conflicts experienced by his best friend, Chris Townsend, who is probably a Type III male. Another gifted suicide scenario is not the primary theme of "Sophie's Choice" (Pakula & Barish, 1982), but the character of Nathan, a severely disturbed, but highly gifted
man, kills Sophie and himself in the end. In "The Chosen" (Landau & Landau, 1982) the difficulties of being gifted are lost to most audiences due to the cultural differences emphasised. Another serious film with a gifted character, "Code Name: Emerald" (Starger, 1985) establishes the extreme giftedness of Andy, then makes no use of it.

A recent comedy, "Real Genius" (Grazer, 1985), portrays several types of gifted college students, and while its characters have some moments of pseudoreality, they are basically caricatures and are played for laughs. The images conjured for the audience generally fit the above stereotypes. There is a greedy, manipulative egocentric professor, unconcerned with anything but his own aggrandisement, Chris Knight, a provocative clown (misfit), a 15 year old friendless genius, Lazlo Hollyfield, a reclusive genius, and a hyperkinetic female genius.

The prevalence of these stereotypic characters must impact on the lives of the gifted. Classmates and coworkers will tend to see the gifted in these familiar terms, not as individuals, just as ethnic groups and individuals used to be associated with stereotypic portrayals. Along with the other problems of being gifted, the erroneous perceptions of others make seeking solutions and assistance from others difficult, increasing the isolation of the gifted.
Achievements of Non-eminent Gifted Adults

In order to assess eminence or noneminence it is necessary to understand what eminence is, and how it comes about. In this paper, eminence is defined as exceptional achievement recognised by society. According to Pendarvis, Howley and Howley (1990) eminence occurs in two forms: one is traditional in nature, with low divergency, the other is based on founding new aspects of a field of study or cultural endeavour, therefore, with high divergency. While the former is widely respected, it contributes little, and may be fleeting in nature, being a reinterpretation or refitting of old information. It is often more respectable within its own time than divergent eminence which usually requires a historical perspective for full appreciation. Historically, intellectual giftedness in full expression has generally responded to the sociocultural order with rejection or rebellion, regardless of the ecopolitical ideology in practice. Since rebellion is only viewed positively if the rebels win, or with sufficient temporal perspective to appreciate its value, society in general discourages rebellion, devaluing a primary goal and potential accomplishment of the gifted.

Eminence appreciated in its own time most often requires use of intellect to further goals of government and society. The intellect of greatest value is not usually that characteristic of the highly gifted, but rather that of
the modestly gifted. As Pendarvis et al (1990) observe, someone with an IQ of 160 may lead a group of the gifted, but leaders of average groups generally have IQs only moderately above average.

Schools are empowered to teach acceptable behaviours and practical skills to this end. In so doing, they teach children that usefulness is of far greater value than Truth or Beauty. Pendarvis et al (1990) cite several studies supporting the contention that schools attempt to suppress rather than support and nurture intellect (Coleman, 1961; Hofstader, 1963; Oakes, 1985; Sawyer, 1988; Tidwell, 1980; Torrance & Myers, 1971). The gifted student, who values Truth and Beauty above practical concerns, will be at odds with the system until he/she transcends the disagreement, drops out, or caves in to the demands of society. By its very nature, the learning process as practiced currently, deters the gifted from full expression of their talent. Consequently, the gifted who achieve eminence have accomplished more than is readily apparent, bringing new insights to fruition in socioemotional isolation.

Adult success may be more common than school success, but eminence may be much less common than childhood giftedness. Pendarvis et al (1990) suggest use of a continuum of talent, with school giftedness at the lower end, and eminence and genius at the higher end. There is no necessary connection or progression along the continuum.

Goertzel and Goertzel (1962) investigated the family
life of eminent people in the 20th century, and found several common factors. At least one parent was characterised by a high commitment, ability or emotional intensity leading to an unpleasant or uncomfortable home life. Learning, achievement, and action based on principles were valued and emphasized by both parents. Eminent people tended to come from "abnormal" homes where stimulation is high, and independent thinking is approved of.

Kerr (1985) found several factors in common among eminent women. First, they refused to accede to the sociocultural limitations of gender. During their childhood they spent considerable time alone, whether by choice or by necessity, and often used it as time for reading. They were capable of combining roles, but avoided enmeshment, had a strong sense of identity in spite of (because of?) a difficult adolescence, felt responsibility for their lives, and sensed their own mission in life.

Perrone (1981) provides numerous examples of problem resolution and successful achievement in the arts and architecture, literature, music, theoretical science, inventing, letters and philosophy, politics, and business-finance-adventure. Primary motivation for success often came from an internal need to match performance with personal standards acquired from experience. Along with motivation, external rewards, effort, ability, difficulty of task, and luck all contribute to achievement. No one aspect is sufficient alone, the constellation of internal and
external circumstances must interact favourably in order to produce eminence.

Based on adult derivations of Betts' types, and the available data on origins of eminence, predictions can be made about achievements or their lack for each type. It is also possible to derive possible reasons for either achievement or nonachievement from the available information.

The Type I adult is reminiscent of the majority of Terman's sample. They are modestly successful, reasonably happy in their home life, but not noted for creativity, or for challenging the status quo. In general, they are good, solid citizens and family members who can be expected to function well within the confines of societal expectations, though they may tend to perfectionism. They are conformers, and conformity is not conducive to great or original achievement. Eminent Type I's are eminent in the traditional sense, not the innovative sense.

The apparent balance achieved by Type I's between career and family life quite likely results from their need to meet the societal expectations of both rather than from a true resolution of the intimacy versus excellence issues. They generally will consider themselves happy and fulfilled, but there may be an air of wistfulness, a sense of something indeterminate, but lacking. This is the remnant of the unresolved issue, sublimated, but always present.

Rebels with no clear cause, adults of Type II are not
likely to be very successful. Outward expressions of their internal frustration, boredom, and low self-esteem combine with their uncertainty concerning social roles to preclude a happy family life or great success in organisations. Tendencies toward inconsistent work habits, questioning of rules and policies, and poor self-control mitigate against cooperative behaviour in the work place. These gifted adults may change jobs often (voluntarily or involuntarily), may be out of work periodically, and may express these additional frustrations in a socially unacceptable manner. Consequently, they may become entangled in the legal system at the misdemeanor level for fighting, disturbing the peace, or as drunk drivers. Their behavioural difficulties are a dubious basis for achievement or eminence.

Members of Type III, the Deliberate Underachievers, may achieve a modicum of success socially, but this is at the cost of their excellence. Eventually, this cost will be felt and expressed in some manner. These individuals may become socially eminent, but they will not be risk-takers or innovators, and their satisfaction level will not be high. Like Type I's, these gifted adults will expend considerable energy to fit into expected social roles. The difference between the two types is in the level of achievement desired. Type I's want to achieve, but are dependent on external reinforcement. Type III's feel achievement precludes acceptance.

Type IV's may be successful in a way society does not
value—as criminals. These are the antiheroes of fiction and film, the evil scientist, the superspy or superthief, the Professor Moriartys, Slippery Jim DiGrizs, and Darth Vaders. Alternatively, they may be entirely unsuccessful, becoming societal dropouts, possibly drug addicts, alcoholics, or other "undesirables" such as terrorist or revolutionaries. At best, as society evaluates these things, they may be known as spacey workers, highly unreliable and isolated.

Since Type V's may not be accurately diagnosed as gifted, and since their handicaps present special additional problems in achievement or success, they are unlikely to become eminent without extreme compensatory efforts. The nature of the handicap, age of onset or notice, and application of special programming all interact in complex ways. However, eminence is possible, as the example of Leonardo da Vinci shows. His dyslexia was extreme, but he overcame the difficulties it presented, in large part because his father believed in him, and encouraged his talents. In today's world, he would probably not be so successful, as his dyslexia would be a more serious problem with the emphasis placed on written communication in modern society.

The only gifted adult type likely to become eminent is Type VI. These individuals have reconciled their needs for both intimacy and excellence, feel free to express their creativity, and have the self-confidence and enthusiasm for
learning required to pursue their profusion of interests. They have come to terms with the meaning of failure, are internally motivated, accepting of others, and self-actualising. These adults work well both alone and within social groups, follow through on tasks whether others offer encouragement or approval or not, and are willing to take risks and stand up for their principles even if these actions rock the social or work environment. They are able to use their tensions creatively and without the high cost engendered in other types pursuing the same path.

It is obvious that not all eminent people have been Type VI's. Individuals of other types may find strength and drive to self-expression which carry them to eminence. In these cases, the unresolved issues may well power the individual to expression of talent resulting in eminence. It is difficult to imagine a contented man writing Hamlet, exploring opiate use as Coleridge did, or expounding at length against society and religion as Shelley did. A certain discontent may be an advantage in literary or other artistic pursuits. However, that discontent must be expressed in a creative and recognisably constructive way in order to be accepted.

Achievement in science seems to be determined by other factors, such as intense curiosity and analytic ability. Antisocial behaviour will sometimes be tolerated by the scientific community if an individual's contributions are of exceptional significance.

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Social achievement requires at least the ability to feign sociability and interpersonal skills, if not the skills themselves. Type III's are more likely than the other types (except Type VI) to excel in this realm.

It is important to remember that achievement, like genius, depends on societal evaluation and recognition of work, and therefore, the influence of Lovecky's traits may be important. Extreme divergency can result in accomplishments beyond the ken of society. Nikola Tesla (Cheney, 1981) experienced this with many of his inventions, some of which are only now being understood. His immediate competitor, Thomas Edison, was interested in immediate commercialisation of his own inventions, and he used his people skills to achieve eminence, whereas Tesla's interests were focused on invention for its own sake.

Excitability can interfere by becoming the focus of attention, distracting from achievement. John Barrymore is remembered as much for his indulgences as for his acting, and his artistic abilities are mostly forgotten. Sensitivity may make the gifted person too aware of potential discomfort resulting from discoveries or ideas to pursue them. A negative sense of perceptivity may result in a sense of futility, and a decision not to express or utilise perceptions. Entelechy, especially directed inwardly, can lead to personal accomplishments, but these may not be recognisable or valuable to society.
Achievement and Potential

Every individual has a unique innate potential determined by personality, motivation, intelligence, gender, interpersonal skills, and other inter-related factors. Innate potential is reinforced, discouraged, or occasionally unaffected by such external factors as social roles, social values, socioeconomic status, cultural influences, and historical forces. For the gifted, innate potential may be greater than for others. Some authors (Lovecky, 1986, 1990; Piechowski, 1986) have equated giftedness with potential for self-actualisation. One journal, "Advanced Development", devoted to adult giftedness, emphasises "[S]ociety has much to gain from examining its most evolved members." Whether giftedness is seen as greater innate potential, self-actualisation, or higher evolution, most people agree that high levels of achievement are indicative of special abilities. The unrealised potentials of many gifted adults are tragic losses not because of the benefits denied society, but because unmet human needs are being ignored. How many Miltons, Shakespeares, Platos, da Vincis, Galileos, Einsteins, or Teslas have indeed passed by unnoticed?

From discussion of the personality types, it seems apparent that only one type (Type VI) can be expected to routinely achieve as expected by potential. However, as pointed out in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (15th edition, 1985) tests employed to determine IQ are only fairly
reliable predictors of grammar and secondary school achievement. College and graduate school achievement predictions are much less reliable. Reasons for this decline in predictability have not been explicated. It is possible that the social stresses of giftedness take their greatest toll in the socialisation of late adolescence and young adulthood, and therefore, that excellence is sacrificed in favour of intimacy to a greater extent during this time period than any other. Alternatively, success in graduate school requires consistent dedication and willpower which are not necessarily associated with giftedness.

Tannenbaum (1983, cited in Colangelo & Fleuridas, 1986) and Pendarvis, Howley and Howley (1990) delineate the nonintellectual factors in achievement. Environment (supportive or disruptive), luck, motivation, and opportunity are all influential factors. Due to the infrequency of eminence, and the lack of statistically useful data on historical cases, the study of the relationship between eminence and high intellectual potential is extremely difficult and conclusions to date must be considered unreliable. However, according to Kerr (1985), "[T]he highly gifted are never quite as "normal" socially as are the moderately gifted; they seem to be more concerned with self-actualization—being all they can be—than with adjustment" (p. 100). If this is generally true, it could explain why the highly gifted tend not to achieve eminence in statistically expected numbers.
The gifted individual's motivation to pursue theoretical and aesthetic interests may preclude consideration of potential employment opportunities. In a study of Stanford undergraduates by Katchadourian and Boli (1985), four groups of career concerns emerged. Two of these, the intellectuals and the careerists, distinguished two groups of gifted students. In the intellectual group, verbal skills were high, and primary motivation was intrinsic in nature. Finding or constructing global meaning from their myriad talents and interests was more important than substantial financial rewards. On the other hand, the careerists used their intellectual talents to achieve financial goals. For them, learning was only a means to an end, it had no intrinsic value. Their anti-intellectualism may have been a response to external pressures (parents, schoolmates, general social pressure).

Specific reasons for each type's failure to achieve as expected by tested potential may be generalisable; however, each individual will have a complex set of interacting traits and impulses that are responsible. Keeping the individual nature of these interactions in mind, the Type I person may achieve more than any other type except Type VI, but as stated before, they lack the drive and courage to take risks, and are not likely to be creative as a result. In them, the discrepancy between achievement and potential may escape notice; although, if these are indeed people similar to the majority of Terman's sample, concern and
disappointment regarding their lack of spectacular achievement exhibited was expressed by him.

Type II's "personality", their frustration, impatience, defensiveness, and rebelliousness mitigate against any great achievement. The self-deprecation and deliberate resistance to expression of ability of the Type III are also palliative of achievement.

Type IV's may achieve great things, but not in the socially acceptable realms. Many of them feel too rejected and angry to try, perceiving the act of attempting to succeed as selling out to the very people who rejected them. Without proper diagnosis and special educational programming, Type V's have an extremely difficult task in meeting the demands of life, much less achieving some kind of "greatness".

Again, many eminent people throughout history could be categorised in these types and not Type VI. Theoretically, however, the odds are more in favour of Type VI achieving great things than the others. In addition, moderate giftedness combined with "the right background, and occupationally relevant noncognitive characteristics is probably a more effective influence on occupational status than extreme ability alone (Pendarvis et al, 1990. p. 144).

**Extrapolating the Needs of the Adult**

With the dearth of data specifically on gifted adults,
it is necessary to extrapolate from the greater volume of data on children and adolescents. Any extrapolation has inherent unreliabilities. However, extrapolation also has been used in many psychological theories, and experiences of childhood are considered in many theories to have direct influences on adult personality and behaviour. Both Terman (1925) and Oden (1968) thought that early experiences were a significant influence in adult achievement.

With some caution in mind, it will be assumed that extrapolation from the experiences of gifted children and adolescents can be useful in understanding the problems of gifted adults. The assumption must be stretched somewhat to include the perceptions of gifted children as a basis for perceptions of gifted adults. Here, the reliability of the extrapolation decreases, as there is greater diversity of roles and opportunities available to adults than to children, or adolescents. Adults experience the freedom of behaving as they please to a greater extent than children, and are less likely to have someone take charge of them if they make mistakes, unless they break the law. Children and adolescents are subject to parental restrictions and supervision.

**Counseling Needs of Gifted Adults**

If we extrapolate the counseling needs of the gifted adult from the adult types previously described, and
Lovecky's (1986, 1990) traits of giftedness we may approximate the real needs experienced by gifted adults. These observations will be combined with extrapolations from reports of childhood and adolescent counseling needs.

In 1982, the first annual conference on Supporting the Emotional Needs of the Gifted (SENG) was held. Prior to that, little attention was paid to the emotional and social needs of the gifted in spite of the importance placed on these factors by Terman, Hollingworth, Witty and Strang.

Van Tassel (cited in Betts, 1986) attributed some of the school difficulties the gifted face to social and emotional problems which prevent them from using their full potential. According to her, almost half of the gifted student have lower than average ("C") grade point averages, and 14% of high school dropouts have IQs in the gifted range. Betts (1986) identified several social and emotional needs of gifted children and adolescents. Among these are the needs for self-awareness, self-understanding and self-acceptance, concomitant with awareness, understanding, and acceptance of others. The gifted also may need to develop interpersonal skills such as communication, interviewing, discussion, conflict reduction, and group interaction skills. A safe, nurturing group environment is needed in order to develop these skills and discuss the unique problems they face due to their giftedness. Adult role models who are independent and self-actualising can be very influential.
Without having these needs met, the developmental crises predicted by Blackburn and Erickson (1986) will not be successfully met. Elementary school underachievers differ from achievers in their development of self-confidence, persistence, and cooperation, all of which may be attributed to "a counterproductive learned reaction to inadequate curriculum and emphasis on conformity" (p. 553). Some researchers have found negative attitudes, a lack of internal control, and an external locus of responsibility, along with an inability or unwillingness to capitalise on opportunities for improvement characteristic of underachievers. Divergency is another primary source of underachievement, as its consequences are often undesirable. Underachievement does not end with graduation from school. Like giftedness, it can be a lifelong trait, and may well bring a gifted adult to counseling, even if indirectly. A pattern of underachievement, especially one established early in life will not be recognised as a source of personal difficulty, however, its symptoms may be. Dissatisfaction, ennui, depression all may accompany underachievement and may bring a gifted adult into counseling.

By virtue of their numerous abilities and interests, the gifted face a struggle in choosing an occupation. Their multipotentiality can offer a confusing array of mutually exclusionary choices, all of which may promise success for them. An attempt to succeed in every arena diffuses their energy, virtually preventing achievement to potential in any
arena, and fueling the self-critical cycle already tending to be out of control. Choosing one path to accomplishment can also lead to dissatisfaction, as there is potential for regret and guilt about paths not taken. The diffusion or regret may take years to be recognised for what it is, or it may manifest immediately. In either case, the adult life of the gifted child will feel the effects of the choice.

The gifted are generally accustomed to success. As they move from their home and school environment to college or a job, the rules change. Competition is greater, and success more costly. For the first time, the gifted may experience being "average", or possibly even fail, and being a new experience, they will be unprepared for either occurrence. These experiences may be inexplicable and devastating, destroying the image of perfection, and discouraging any pursuit in which success in is not assured. In childhood, this experience is met with greater flexibility than in late adolescence or adulthood, when recovery can be slow or nonexistent, and the gifted individual may fail to recognise the inherent challenge and opportunity in nonsuccess.

In describing a developmental approach to gifted guidance, Culross (1982) outlines several needs of the gifted in addition to the basic needs identified by Maslow (1970). Gifted children need to recognise and accept their own abilities, interests and limitations, as well as those of others, in addition to understanding the attitudes of
others toward giftedness. They need sufficient social relationships. The gifted need freedom to explore, discover, and create without censorship. They need to learn problem-solving skills, to work independently, to participate in making decisions that effect them. They need to learn to set realistic goals, and evaluate their progress pragmatically. Above all, the gifted need to be challenged, and to have the freedom to develop their abilities regardless of race, sex, or ethnicity. Gifted adults who have not learned or developed these skills still need to do so. However, for adults the process may need to begin with unlearning negatively adaptive attitudes and behaviours.

Blackburn and Erickson (1986) have established a set of goals for meeting the socioemotional needs of gifted students.

**Healthy, realistic self-esteem based on a clear understanding of strengths and weaknesses**
- A healthy sense of responsibility for development not contingent on fate or actions of others

**Internal motivation and evaluation through de-emphasis on competition with others and encouragement of personal goal setting and self-evaluation**
- Concept of self as a continual process rather than a finished product
- Understanding of the needs and motivations of themselves as well as others and use of empathy and identification skills to develop cooperative rather than competitive spirit
- A sense of acceptance of mistakes, resulting in pride in learning from errors and reduction in fear of failure

**Brainstorming and problem-solving skills to enhance naturally divergent creative thinking**
- Assertive behaviors in communicating with others about differences and concerns without being aggressive and obnoxious
Methods of using frustration and stress in creative ways to avoid burnout

Ability to accept help as well as give it to learn something from all persons, regardless of their level of intelligence, talent, or skill

A sense of humor about themselves and the events outside their control, allowing them not to take everything so seriously as to be debilitating and self-defeating (p. 554).

Many of these are adaptable to or appropriate for helping meet the needs of gifted adults as well.

In their multimodal approach, Edwards and Kleine (1986) summarise referral problems commonly found in gifted adolescents, and offer related interventions. In terms of behaviour, both low and high risk taking tendencies can be difficulties. Affective issues commonly include loneliness, eclipse of affect by cognition, use of humour to disguise affect, depression, and conflict between intimacy and excellence. Cognitive problems include faulty self-statements, lack of understanding of giftedness, overemphasis on cognitive skills, dichotomous thinking, and problems resulting from global information processing.

Interpersonal relationships suffer from inadequate access to peers, the impact of different interest patterns, and the choice between achievement and group acceptance. Self-image can be inadequate, and underachievement and motivation in school can be issues. Translating these to adults, school issues may transform into workplace issues, but the others remain the same until resolved.

Myers and Pace (1986) conclude their summary of the historical perspectives of counseling gifted students by
identifying a set of current problems under investigation. These include underachievement, perfectionism and overachievement, depression, suicide, school dropouts, delinquency, peer relationship difficulties, multipotentiality and career choice, expectations of others, and problems in values conflicts with family and others. Aside from school dropouts, these problems also affect adults.

Dunn (1988) separates creative individuals who seek counseling into subgroups: those at odds with their environment, those whose creative expression has been stifled, and those with severe psychopathology. Those at odds with their environment often face difficulties due to their intense concentration and the concomitant exacerbation of intra- and interpersonal problems. Stifling of creativity may be imposed from outside or learned, or it may seem to just happen, as in "writer's block". These are aspects of the same loss of confidence, anxiety and depression, and task-avoidance issues. Imposed or learned stifling may be lifelong problems, whereas writer's block is usually temporary. Either lifelong stifling or temporary blockage can contribute to depression, frustration, and general pessimism. Pathology in combination with creativity or giftedness, may be mild or serious. As Murray (1989) indicates, some dysfunctional or pathological manifestations may contribute to creative expression, but others, perhaps most pathologies, are detrimental to the creative function.
Problems faced by gifted adults are rarely viewed as related to giftedness (Lovecky, 1990). While society recognises giftedness in children, only eminence in adults is accorded the same exalted status. The gifted adult is not generally recognised as existing in the absence of eminence. However, the five traits Lovecky describes (1986) do have consequences for gifted adults, with or without eminence.

The trait of divergency may be perceived positively or negatively by others depending on how the gifted adult has learned to cope with the feelings amassed in childhood, and on the specific situation involved. Constant, unavoidable expression of divergent thought in a conforming environment will be viewed negatively, whereas the same behaviour in a creatively nurturant environment will be seen as positive. Highly divergent thinking is often squelched by groups, and this trend increases with age and level of organisation of the group (Torrance, 1963, cited in Pendarvis et al, 1990). By the time a highly divergent thinker is an adult, their divergency has probably been extremely costly, and may have been abandoned. If the gifted adult has learned to seek out situations in which divergency is valued, their development of self-esteem will be facilitated.

Divergency also has innate value, though it may not be appreciated as such immediately, especially if it challenges fundamentals of the status quo or "useful" stereotypes. Socrates, Galileo and Copernicus all displayed divergency.
that challenged the established order, and all paid a high personal price. Since their lifetimes, their ideas have been accorded the respect they deserved as they no longer threaten the establishment, and/or have been found to be more accurate reflections of reality.

Socially, divergent thinkers tend to disregard the normally accepted rules of conduct, such as not openly disagreeing with persons thought to be influential, or not criticising others in public. Social rules may be seen as useless, or contemptible, as preventing honesty and truth from being expressed. In a group of divergent thinkers, this may be not only tolerated, but rewarded. However, in a group of nondivergent thinkers, this is anathema. The distinguishing factor is the emphasis on either appearance (socially acceptable) or actuality (often not acceptable).

The cost to women who are highly divergent thinkers is even greater. Socially, females are expected to conform more than are males. A lack of conformity may eradicate any opportunities to connect with other women, or to find male companionship. Since women are socialised to be group or other-oriented, the stigma of difference and isolation is greater.

Male or female, one primary difficulty of the divergent thinking gifted adult is relationships. Having a history of lack of acceptance by others, they have low self-esteem, and few or no significant others. Some form of depression is the most common result. For divergent thinkers, trust can
be a primary issue, having felt so little acceptance from
others. If a mask or false self has been developed in order
to facilitate acceptance, the true self may have been lost
or forgotten, leading to an inner emptiness. Between these
two extremes is another difficult place: neither accepted
for self nor for conformity. Adults stuck here are
alienated from themselves.

Excitability is primarily an issue of self-regulation.
The world of the excitable child may have been perceived as
uncomfortable and unpredictable, leading to a sense of
insecurity and lack of control. If these children do not
learn to modulate their emotional responses as they mature,
they will be viewed negatively for avoidance of social
interactions, throwing temper tantrums, or for over-
expression of emotions or vulnerability. Aimless activity
in adulthood often follows childhood needs for constant
novelty and stimulation. These adults may have difficulty
following ideas or tasks through in detail. They may
procrastinate or be poorly motivated. If they do produce
prodigiously, they may feel a lack of accomplishment or
reward, and again self-esteem suffers. An adolescent
tendency to give up without completing academic requirements
can develop into job difficulties in adulthood. Lack of
ability to complete projects, lack of prerequisite
coursework as a result of restlessness, and tendency to
pursue danger or other excitement interfere with attempts to
get good or challenging jobs.
In social terms, the emotionality of excitable adults may be taxing. Normal levels of stimulation may be detrimental to their health, and colour their expressions with irritability, fatigue or a sense of being overwhelmed. They may feel unable to control (i.e. turn off) these powerful emotions, contributing to their already high levels of stress. This lack of control will commonly be viewed as immaturity, and will evoke responses of intolerance and misunderstanding. Emotional stability is more important on the job than is level of intelligence.

Excitable adults often do not realise that the negative responses they evoke from others are the result of their tendency to control their environment. They may be demanding, expecting others to live up to the potential of giftedness, thinking and processing at their accelerated rate of speed. When their expectations are not met, they become impatient. This is compounded by their lack of comprehension of the mistakes of others in tasks they find so simple, and may lead them to more forceful efforts to control others. The primary dilemmas faced by adults gifted with excitability are learning to self-regulate, following tasks through to completion, deriving satisfaction from their accomplishments, and finding constructive ways to express their high levels of energy and emotion.

Adults gifted with sensitivity may be both passionate and compassionate. Their passion may be all-pervasive, in effect "they may think with their feelings" (p. 73).
providing an additional source of complexity in their personalities. Compassion is not possessed by all those gifted with sensitivity, but those who do exhibit it commit time and personal resources to reducing the pain of other individuals and facilitating social causes. Sensitivity enables gifted adults to feel an intimate connection with the cosmos, a sense of oneness, which may bring great joy, as well as misunderstanding from others.

As with other traits, perceptions of adults will be determined in great measure by adaptations learned in childhood. With sensitivity, important factors are establishment of interpersonal boundaries, expression of sensitivity, ability to make connections with others, and the mode of expression, enthusiasm, sense of purpose, and passion. These adults are concerned with maintaining high standards of morality and justice because they are able to feel the needs of others intensely. At the same time, these adults may not comprehend that they are different from others—that everyone share does not their priorities. They may see the more common priorities as superficial, and refuse to tolerate any interference with their pursuit of a better world. Others may disappoint them, viewing their behaviour as immature, and fatally idealistic. When they do give their all, it may be too much, fostering a sense of helplessness in those they help. Seeing how much gifted adults care about causes and the more unfortunate members of society, unscrupulous people may use them, giving nothing in
return. Gifted women are at great risk for devoting themselves to others to the exclusion of their own needs.

Lovecky's fourth trait of gifted adults, perceptivity, provides insight into personal symbols, and intuitive views beyond the superficial into both people and situations. Social facades can become the equivalent of lies for the perceptively gifted adult. Falsehood, hypocrisy, injustice, and unfairness are readily detected and abhorred. Growing up with perceptivity can be a real trial. Since giftedness is a statistically rare trait, and not all gifted people exhibit perceptivity, the gifted perceptive may be alone in her/his insights, and learn to invalidate her/his own perceptions when faced with the contrast between their own and the majority's perceptions. They may feel something is wrong with them since others do not see what they see, and learn to value the opinions of others over their own opinions and experiences. Conversely, the person gifted with perceptivity may wonder what is wrong with everyone else. Why is it no one else seems to see the perfectly obvious? Perhaps more baffling, even when they do see the Truth, others may not act accordingly. Beginning in childhood, these individuals may find other people, especially authority figures, to be foolish. Both Types II and IV may develop from this perspective, rebelling against the unfairness of having to obey such "fools".

Interpersonally, perceptivity can be either beneficial or problematic. The ability to understand the motives of
others, to see the patterns of behaviour expressed by others, and to have insight into complex situations can help objectify interactions, and help others see more deeply into themselves. These same trait expressions may also cause discomfort in others who feel transparent beneath the gaze of the gifted adult. Some people may not wish to hear the truths perceived. Responses to the discomfort generated by perceptivity range from implementation of change indicated to outright hostility, such as attempts to discredit the gifted adult.

For the gifted adult, choosing a level of response when so many are apparent can be confusing. When a high level of response is chosen, the new patterns which may develop are not exclusively for the use of the gifted creator. Einstein's concepts of relativity led eventually to the development of the atomic bomb, an outcome he found extremely distasteful. The gifted adult needs to consider both immediate and potential long-term consequences of ideas since others can make use of them.

For the perceptively gifted, Truth takes precedence over prestige based on association with famous persons or monetary worth. This often leads to a clash of values, and an unwillingness on the part of the gifted adult to participate in school or office political maneuvering. Adding to the workplace conflicts of the gifted adult may be the tendencies to work beyond the job description, and the disregard of the traditional reward system. Coworkers and
supervisors may not understand this, and may attribute negativity to these differences.

Entelechy, a drive to self-determination and fulfilling of one's own potentials, can overcome tremendous difficulties. Even when the world tells them they are wrong, individuals with entelechy persevere. Other people find those gifted with entelechy magnetically attractive, inspirational, and zealous. This attractiveness has a downside, in that the dependence of others upon the gifted adult must evolve into partnership or devolve into dysfunctional dependency. Also, many of those drawn to the gifted adult will have little or nothing to offer in return, contributing to feelings of intrusion, and eventually to loss of the sense of magic others perceive in the gifted adult. Being human, and expressing human frailties, can be devastatingly disappointing to others who wish to consistently see the gifted adult in idealistic splendour.

A primary goal of those gifted with entelechy is achieving a more fundamental participation in life. They may be seeking a spiritual link, or greater potential intimacy with others. Their seeking originates in their own knowledge of their self-actualising process, and their desire for companionship on the journey. If the seeker finds a therapist able to meet these needs, a true meeting of peers is possible. The relationship established may continue beyond the termination of therapy, and may be a lone example of peership in the gifted adult's life.
Other gifted adults with high levels of entelechy pursue their dreams, and during the process find support from others. This support often cannot outlast the pursuit of the dream, and the former supporters become detractors, expressing their disillusionment in personal terms. For the gifted adult, this blaming may result in loss of hope, lessened personal power, and subsequent depression.

A few authors have described special counseling problems of the ethnic and gender subgroups of the gifted, and of career issues for the gifted in general.

Culturally diverse gifted students face special problems beginning with identification. Standardised tests have been improved, but there is still a question about whether they discriminate against nonwhites or against the economically disadvantaged. Questions regarding the inclusion of culturally diverse students in gifted programs have also been raised, especially issues of meeting "quotas" or lowering standards. As a result students included may be ambivalent about their status as gifted, and may require elucidation of their abilities and opportunities provided by gifted programs.

Gifted ethnic students tend to differ from nongifted ethnic students in having long-range goals which are established early in life, and tend to be specific and realistic. They also tend to have strong family loyalties, positive self-images, and feel a sense of control over their lives (Glaser & Ross, 1970, cited in Fraiser, 1979). Like
the developmental needs of other gifted students, ethnic
gifted need mentors, they need their curiosity encouraged,
and they need someone or somewhere to facilitate a sense of
belonging. In addition, ethnic gifted often face problems
of upward mobility, a problem Gowan (1972, cited in Fraiser,
1979) identified as the most common one faced by ethnically
diverse gifted students from lower socioeconomic levels.

Parents of culturally diverse students may be unaware
of the functions and opportunities provided by gifted
programs. They may be wary of the community reception of
giftedness in their child. Parents need a clear description
of the available program options and benefits, and may
profit from support groups composed of other parents of
gifted children.

Students from culturally diverse homes need to
establish an ethnic aspect to their identity in addition to
a gifted aspect. As gifted and ethnic, they may face
negative reactions for either factor, or for both. This
double burden can discourage the student from overt
expression of giftedness, since ethnicity is usually
difficult to disguise. In order to fulfill their potential,
according to Colangelo (1985), culturally diverse students
should be encouraged to develop a sense of multiethnicity, a
belonging within a pluralistic society. Although many
gifted students are not from culturally diverse backgrounds,
they too are likely to benefit from development of a sense
of belonging in a pluralistic society by virtue of their own
A primary issue for counselors of ethnically diverse gifted people is understanding the variations of ethnic identity and not mistaking them for pathology (Exum, 1983). Increasing familiarity with cultural precepts, in addition to characteristics of the population, resources available, and typical problems of the group are vital.

For those culturally diverse gifted students from the lower socioeconomic levels, lack of available learning resources and peers may be even more critical than for other gifted students. Adults who grow up experiencing an even greater number of unmet needs than other adult gifteds face increased numbers of, or more serious problems as a result. The effects of discrimination both for ethnic identity and for giftedness produce unknown effects, but it is logical to consider their interactions as compounding the difficulties faced by either ethnics or gifteds.

Gifted women face problems peculiar to their gender, just as gifted men do; however, the problems of gifted women have received more attention recently. Specific studies on the gender-related problems of gifted men are virtually unknown. Most information about gifted men comes from studies of the gifted in general. The effects of the pressure for success and leadership, directed primarily at gifted men are unknown from empirical studies. They may be similar to the internally generated pressures experienced by the "Type A" personality.
For gifted women, pressures applied by parents and society change around puberty from intellectual achievement to conformity and social attractiveness. Through socialisation, girls are taught to attribute their failures to lack of ability, and their successes to luck. Boys are taught the opposite--success comes from ability, failure from bad luck.

Among gifted women who attended a special gifted program in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Kerr (1985) found four patterns of adjustment to being female and gifted. The Happy Homemaker had made a full-time creative career of running her household. She used her talents in assisting her husband, raising their children, and devising new ways to improve their home. She was so good at giving to others, she didn't know how to give to herself, but she did take responsibility for her choice to be a homemaker.

The Disposable Career Woman had dropped out in terms of career. She held traditionally female jobs when they did not interfere with her duties as wife and mother. Even though she excelled at her job, her husband's career took precedence. If he was transferred, she left her job behind. The Disposable Career Woman experienced identity problems, partially as a result of being pressured to choose domesticity over career.

The Lone Achiever had no desire to marry. Her life focus was her career. While she experienced the same needs for companionship as other women, she had not met a man who
was her intellectual equal, and could not love anyone less intelligent, either for ideological or experiential reasons. Her support came from loving friends who respected her for her career orientation.

The Dual Career Coupler was married to another professional. Both partners were devoted to their careers. Job-related topics of conversation predominated, housework was shared. Children would greatly complicate their lives, and they may avoid having a family.

Two additional patterns were missing from Kerr's sample, though examples are known. A woman may be the breadwinner, while her husband cares for the home and children. Or, a woman may pursue a life of self-actualisation.

From Rodenstein and Glickauf-Hughes' (1979) study, it is apparent that both parental attitudes and the gifted girl's personality influenced the girl's choice of emphasis, home or career. Girls who were careers-oriented disregarded parental attitudes regarding career, and pursued their goals single-mindedly. Homemakers attended to their parent's opinions and were supported by their parents if they chose to pursue a traditionally female occupation. Women who combined home and career, integrators, were also primarily socially focused and had parental approval, but also had investigative (scientific) interests.

Society gives women two superficially incompatible messages: achieve your potential, but be feminine.
Resolution of these messages requires a transcendence of the traditional patriarchal definitions of femininity and of success. Historically, the feminine role has been accommodating, subservient, and of secondary importance. Success requires conquest (sometimes compromise), assertiveness, and primacy. Bell (1990) reported a move on the part of some women away from the male model of achievement (winner-loser dominance) to more egalitarian or partnership-oriented models. In the process, the concepts of competence, success, and failure are being redefined to be compatible with the feminine traits of cooperation, connectedness, and mutual support.

Compounding the social role disparity are internal forces, termed the "Horner Effect" or "Fear of Success", the "Cinderella Complex", or the "Impostor Syndrome". These are responsible for self-sabotage, and steal energy from use in pursuit of achievement.

Women's fear of success has been demonstrated by examining the differences in how women compete with other women and how they compete with men. Regardless of ability, women in competition with men underachieve. Horner (1972, cited in Kerr, 1985) suggested this underachievement may be due to the belief held by women that winning in competition with men is actually another way to lose.

The Cinderella Complex is a combination of fear of success and a desire to be cared for. Women who experience the Cinderella Complex are awaiting something or someone
outside of themselves to transform their lives. Their anger propels them forward, their fear holds them back. Parental disapproval of career goals, and encouragement of traditional roles is a major contributing factor (Kerr, 1985).

The Impostor Phenomenon is a denial of ability in spite of high levels of achievement. Success is attributed to luck, to fooling others, to mistaken evaluations by others, it is never earned. Fear of discovery plagues the Impostor, who explains away her accomplishments in order to avert the potential social stigma and self-concept complications resulting from achievement. Four sets of behaviours sustain this belief of impostorism. In one, hard work leads to praise which increases the fear of discovery, leading to harder work. The second begins with the feeling of phoniness followed with the Impostor telling authorities what they want to hear instead of what she really thinks. In the third, her charm and perceptiveness ensures approval from the authority figure, but the Impostor attributes success to the same charm instead of ability. Finally, an Impostor may not show confidence in herself, evoking rejection by others, especially men, leading to lack of nurturing and companionship, so she convinces herself she is not really intelligent in order to avoid the risk of loneliness (Kerr, 1985).

Even the purported superior mental health of the gifted may have an adverse effect on achievement of gifted women.
A healthy psychology combined with the feminine trend to accommodation can lead to a "resourceful adaptation to the environment--compromising and adjusting in order to survive and to cope psychologically" (Kerr, 1985, p. 140). This adjustment follows the same stages as adjustment to a disability or impending death: denial, bargaining, anger, and finally, acceptance.

While many studies seem to indicate gifted women are forced to choose between intimacy and excellence in the form of career pursuit, there is evidence that this is illusory (Rodenstein & Glickauf-Hughes, 1979, Koritzke, 1989). Indeed, the apparent forced choice of all gifted individuals can be reframed through counseling and facilitation of personal modes of integration.

The difficulties faced by the gifted in career selection can be addressed by developmental career counseling (Culbertson, 1985). The traditional career counseling process, aimed at finding the single best worker/job fit, consists of three steps: assessing the individual's interests and abilities, considering requirements and compensations of various occupations, and finally, matching the individual with the best occupation. This process is inappropriate for the gifted, who need flexibility in career options. Career choice influences lifestyle, socioeconomic status, and education. For the gifted, Culbertson suggested a card sort, categorising occupations into those worth considering and those rejected.

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In the process, the individual explored practical influences of the various jobs and how they fit with the individual's value systems. Another possibility is group meetings with gifted guest speakers who describe the intertwinings of their lives and careers, how they feel about their choices, and how they made them.

**Counseling Difficulties of Giftedness**

There is some evidence, both experiential and empirical, to suggest the following set of therapist characteristics contribute to successful treatment (Fischer & Hands, 1988):

1) a genuine interest in who the client is, her/his struggles and attempts to find meaning in her/his own existence,

2) sustaining an empathic and accepting relationship with the client regardless of client thoughts, feelings, and dreams,

3) an authentic belief that the therapist can be helpful,

4) the ability to maintain neutrality in the face of the client's conflicts, and

5) avoidance of simplistic, either-or patterns of thought regarding the client's existence.

These are ideal traits, and will generally be unsustainable with all clients in all situations. In particular, the
gifted or creative patient may evoke the therapist’s own unmet needs or unresolved conflicts, eliciting a sense of fascination rather than a therapeutic admiration, and resulting in loss of one or more of these beneficial therapist characteristics.

Other difficulties which arise in therapy with the gifted in addition to loss of one or more of the above characteristics, include resentment of constant questioning of therapeutic premises and ability to understand (Lovecky, 1990). Just as teachers and parents may find themselves frustrated with the endless questions and unusual thought patterns of the gifted child, so the therapist who is unprepared to cope with the common behaviours of the gifted adult may also become frustrated. It may also be difficult for a therapist to understand the difficulties of giftedness, in the same way many people do not appreciate the difficulties faced by a wealthy or worldly successful person. In these instances, focus of attention drifts inexorably toward the advantages, and the disadvantages drown out of sight. Frustration and failure to understand complicate the existence and expression of empathy. As in other instances of therapist-client mismatch, it may become necessary to refer a difficult gifted client to another therapist. It is advisable to ensure that the second therapist has a greater facility with the issues of giftedness before referring. This is especially important when the tendency of the gifted to draw conclusions based on
small amounts of data is considered. One unsuccessful therapeutic encounter may be sufficient to deter them from therapy, two will almost certainly discourage them, adding another failure to a potentially long list of failures to fit in and have needs met.

Counseling Techniques

As Myers and Pace (1986) point out, while there is an body of accumulating information on the needs of gifted people, there is a dearth of experimental evidence regarding the effectiveness of counseling techniques and strategies with the gifted of any age. Among factors contributing to this lack are the belief that the gifted have no problems, the controversy over definition and identification, labeling problems, the spectre of elitism, the absence of gifted-oriented graduate level training at most institutions, and the lack of available funding.

In spite of the lack of empirical evidence, some special techniques have been described for meeting the counseling needs of the gifted. Many of these suggestions derive from school guidance programs, and are specifically oriented toward school issues. Some of them are directed at other needs of the gifted. In a statement made jointly by the American School Counselor Association and the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision in 1969 (cited in Borgers and Treffinger, 1979), counseling is
described as an integral part of the educational process. Three modes of counseling function are described as fundamental: counseling of the individual, consulting with significant others, and coordinating programs and plans. If generally implemented, these modes would ideally alleviate the need for special counseling for creative individuals. In this idealized environment, it is assumed counselors would be sensitive to all internal and external forces that may act or interact to interfere with full development of potential, that the counselor would offer a variety of services to overcome these negative influences, and that the counselor would be developmentally-oriented and proactive instead of remedial or reactive.

Borgers and Treffinger (1979) suggested counselors pursue self-improvement specifically in dealing with the gifted and creative. In working with the gifted directly, they suggest providing opportunities for both individual and group interactions with other gifteds, learning and skill development (especially in assertiveness, communication and social skills), clarification of values independent of values espoused by others, increasing self-acceptance, goal formulation and evaluation, development and use of problem-solving skills, and learning about other gifted and creative people.

A number of researchers and practitioners have offered observations and suggestions specific to the creative patient. Many of these are equally applicable to the
gifted, if the division between giftedness and creativity is maintained. Since the following authors refer specifically to creative patients or clients, and not to gifted ones, the potential similarities will be identified explicitly.

Romanshyn (1988) considers therapy itself a creative process, and provides a case history to illustrate his point. Dunn (1988) offers a variety of therapeutic models for counseling the creative patient, as well as a discussion of the relationship between creativity, intelligence and personality. He lists three types or patterns of creative individuals in counseling: 1) the creative individual in conflict with his/her environment, 2) the person with stifled creativity, and 3) the creative person with psychopathology. Reading gifted instead of creative in these examples is also appropriate. Peirce (1988) points out the creative patient may use creativity to deal with life, to distort life-impressions, or to escape from life. The gifted may also employ these strategies.

Jasnow (1988) discusses creativity as it is understood by modern Western society, and describes his perception of the primary difference between "creative" and "uncreative" patients: the creative patients retained a greater capacity for play. A variation on this idea is Zaraleya-Harari's (1988) use of playfulness and imagination in both group and individual therapy. The gifted adult may have forgotten how to play, but with modeling and acceptance may regain playfulness. Silverman (1988) recommends the use of poetry
with creative adult patients.

Eng (1988) suggests we regard the therapeutic situation with a creative person as a creation of the patient in the service of his/her needs. In this context therapy is potentially a mutually creative experience. Foon (1988) considers the requisite conditions for patient creativity in a psychotherapeutic environment. The key, according to Foon, is internal locus of control, also an important factor in counseling the gifted when they are distinguished from the creative. Fischer and Hands (1988) distinguish between admiration and fascination within the therapist's professional attitudes. They believe therapists working with very creative patients are vulnerable to interference in the therapeutic process when admiration devolves into fascination. The same applies to gifted clients.

Hutzler and Schubert (1988) identified problems which commonly arise in psychotherapy with creative patients, and attributed them to preconceived beliefs on the parts of both therapeutic participants. They suggested strategies for dealing with these problems. As the same problems can occur in therapy with the gifted, some of their suggested solutions may be useful for the gifted as well.

Hoppe and Kyle (1988) discuss the neuropsychological basis of hemispheric specialisation and creativity in psychotherapy. Correlations between hemispheric specialisation and giftedness are being suggested, but as Bradshaw (1989) notes, they must be interpreted with care.
In considering environmental support of creative children, Davis and Rimm (1979) suggest offering flexibility of opportunities to facilitate independent learning and divergency, positive role models or mentors, reinforcement for quality work to build self-confidence, humour within guidance interactions, and empathy.

According to Dunn (1988), therapy for the creative individual must provide an opportunity to expand the possible realms of actions, thoughts and affects. Whether therapy was directed toward treatment of pathology, adjustment to circumstances, or self-actualisation depends upon the degree of psychopathology of the client. All three emphases may be important in sequence or in concert with a single patient, depending on circumstances. All of the following techniques have been suggested for use with creative clients: dream and fantasy analysis, use of journals, imagery and metaphor, paradoxical situations, and hypothesis-testing. In treatment for pathology, adjustment, or self-actualisation, a variety of techniques (as opposed to a single ideology) employed together or in sequence with the goal of providing information and independence was most effective.

In describing the conditions important to therapy with the creative, Foon (1988) stressed establishment of an environment that fosters permission of creative expression rather than a demand for expression. That is, the therapeutic environment must be without external evaluation.
or judgement of person or creative product. Control of the client by the therapist must be avoided. Instead, the therapist must allow the client to launch topics, to feel responsible for their own process, to create individual goals, and must facilitate an external environment conducive to establishment and growth of the client's potential(s). Some boundaries must be established. Truly deviant behaviour, especially when harmful to self or others, cannot be sanctioned, but free symbolic expression can be allowed, even encouraged. Foon hypothesised that an internal locus of control or internal perspective correlates positively with creative potential, that the greater creative potential is, the greater the benefit from therapy without external judgements, and that therapists who provide clients with more freedom and personal responsibility will determine the level of creativity within the client population.

Among specific techniques recommended, Berg and DeMartini (1979) suggested use of humour. Within the counseling setting, humour can be used to increase emotional impact, to assist in confrontational situations and exploration of uncomfortable subjects, to decrease resistance to therapy, to aid in establishment of a therapeutic environment, and to increase counselor tolerance and supportiveness. Between the gifted person and others, humour can reduce criticism, build interpersonal bridges through commonalities, increase flexibility of interactions, facilitate positive expression of opinions, feelings and
values, and encourage acceptance of evaluations. Humour is also useful in releasing anxiety and expediting relaxation, in preventing explosive release of hostility, providing an outlet for unacceptable or inappropriate impulses, and encouraging expression of negative feedback as well as thoughts or feeling formerly repressed. It can be valuable in diagnosis, as a test for sense of reality, depression, and defenses. Humour can also promote insight by providing perspective, by emphasising positive aspects of situations, by providing a sense of objectivity, by encouraging acceptance of painful feelings, and by seeing the absurdities of life and oneself, thereby reducing overseriousness. Humour is also integral to the self-actualising process.

Bell (1990) considered herself a recovering Impostor, and offered some suggestions for counteracting Impostorism. Understanding how Impostorism operates in each woman's life individually is a first step. Strategies for coping with Impostorism include refusal to hold oneself up to impossible standards, learning to seek feedback or help, deliberately experimenting with changing behaviours and expectations that have become ritual, owning ones' own accomplishments, keeping a record of those accomplishments, mentally listing all the people you have fooled, sharing ones' doubts, fears, experiences, and successes, mentoring programs, assessing and challenging the influences of stereotyping in the workplace, and examining the gender-different norms at work.
including the different ways men and women experience them.

Following his establishment of the Types of gifted personalities, Betts offered recommendations to parents and teachers for meeting type-specific special needs.

For Type I: Parents need to facilitate independence in thought and action instead of requiring their children to conform to the wishes of other people. These children need to make their own decisions and to develop ownership for those decisions and their impact upon the family. For Type I's, an important rule for parents is to "do it WITH them, rather than TO them.

In addition, parents should not place pressure on these children to perform, since they try so hard to please (Betts, 1989, p. 9).

Adult Type I's need to be challenged to take risks, and to think creatively. They need to recover their inherent ability to differ with common wisdom or opinion, to feel this is a valid goal, and to express their divergent ideas in socially acceptable ways. As with Type I children, therapy must be a cooperative process, not something done to them.

For Type II: Negotiation and contractual agreements are essential in developing positive relationships in the home as well as the school environment.

These children respond positively to family projects, which give them a sense of pride and ownership (Betts, 1989, p. 9).

Above all, Type II adults need to begin to feel a sense of belonging to some constructive group. As youths, they may have been in great danger of becoming involved with gangs. They need to learn a sense of pride of self and
ownership from work, that is they need to learn success, and to replace old, ineffective acting out behaviours with success-bringing ones. These individuals haven't progressed past the stage of childish rebellion against having to choose between excellence and intimacy.

For Type III: Parents need to encourage friendships with other gifted children when possible, and to serve as models for them to view learning as a life-long process. (emphasis in original) Family activities and outings are essential, as well as providing them with involvement and power within the home (Betts, 1989, p. 9).

These adults need to become acquainted with the positives of being gifted. They need group support, which is easier for adults than for children, as there is more potential parity of developmental stage available within the adult population than within children and adolescents. There are also organisations which cater to the adult gifted primarily (MENSA, INTEL). They might benefit greatly from participation in a gifted mentor program, both from contact with other gifted adults and from contact with a gifted child who still possesses joy in learning. Of course, they would need to be able to prevent transferring their negative attitudes onto the children.

For Type IV: Usually, the only effective form of help is family counseling. Individual counseling and involvement in a different educational environment are only temporary measures. If they remain in the same school and are not involved in family intervention, they will
probably not graduate, and will not be productive as adults, although there are a few who will 'make it on their own.' Acceptance of Type IV's is crucial at home, although it is very difficult to accept and live with these youth because of their behavior. They are defensive, sometimes explosive and often depressed. An attitude and environment that encourages cooperation needs to be developed, but cannot be accomplished by the family members alone. Outside intervention is a must! (Betts, 1989, P. 12).

A Type IV adult may come to counseling mandated by the courts for alcohol/drug treatment, or for other therapy at a court's discretion. It may not be initially obvious that such a client is gifted. Some therapists may even discount the possibility due to the popular myth of superior adjustment. These clients will challenge and rebel more than most, unless they play the game to "outsmart" the therapist. Their barriers have been constructed to protect them from a hostile world intent on using them, and without concern for their feelings or needs. Even if they are not from abusive homes, they have been socially abused. Some Type IV adults may come to therapy voluntarily, having dropped out of society, facing an empty life without constructive goals. Inexhaustible patience, absolute freedom to be who they are, and complete lack of judgement or evaluation are essential therapeutic tools. Type IV adults already feel lost, they have nothing left to lose.

For Type V: Parents must help Type V's to develop and participate in activities outside of school. Family projects are essential to help foster feelings of belonging, ownership and
participation with people who accept them (Betts, 1989, p. 12).

Type V adults need to seek special counseling to address their learning disabilities or handicaps, the social and emotional consequences, and the compounded frustration resulting from their giftedness. Specific recommendations should be made by counselors well versed in both the problems of giftedness and the problems of special education needs.

Type VI is unlikely to require special counseling, but do need continuing acceptance and facilitation (Betts, 1989, p. 12).

If Type VI adults do desire counseling, their needs would be primarily 1) someone to listen to feelings they need to share but have no one to share with, and to provide feedback, 2) someone to teach them other, more efficient mechanisms of self-understanding, or 3) someone to provide different ways to cope with the problems of being gifted. They may be ideal clients, as they are motivated, willing to work, responsible, self-accepting, self-confident and therefore internally driven to grow. They view problems as challenges to be overcome, and are confident of surmounting difficulties. The Self-Actualisers do not need to resort to the challenging and intellectually defensive behaviours described by Lovecky (1990) as characteristic of some gifted therapy clients.

The suggestion has been made that the effects of being
gifted are similar to the effects of child abuse (Lovecky, personal communication, May, 1990). In part this may result from the influence of parents who are ill-prepared for raising a gifted child. However, one primary influence is that of society, which behaves toward the gifted as emotionally abusive parents behave toward their children.

Covitz (1986) described three primary styles of parenting that contribute to emotional child abuse. The Inadequate Parent lacked confidence, and required support from her/his child, often reversing the Parent/Child role structure so that the child parented the parent. For the parent of a gifted child, it may seem that the child's knowledge and maturity, so adult-like in many respects, provide a safe source of support.

The Devouring Parent was overinvested in her/his child's life to such an extent that separation/individuation was prevented. The parent may have taken a managerial role, ruling and running the child's life, without considering the child's own thoughts and feelings. For the child, this style of parenting indicates he/she is unable to function without assistance. For the gifted child, who may have keener perceptions and understandings than many adults, the Devouring Parent undermined her/his sense of reality, invalidating perceptions, criticising sensitivities, and generally invalidating the child's sense of self. These parents may also be overprotective, keeping the child from learning to protect her/himself through experiencing little
day to day difficulties.

The Tyrannical Parent terrorised her/his child. This type of parent may be moody, subjecting the child to emotional whipping for imagined infractions. Physical violence is a common consequence. Such parents may actually betray their children in any number of ways (trustwise, financially, or by revealing or ridiculing emotional secrets), or they may be both inflexible in their expectations of the child and hypocritical in allowing themselves more leniency.

Society plays each of these roles with the gifted. It is Inadequate in that it does not provide for the needs of the gifted (child or adult), but does expect the gifted to become its caretakers. It Devours the personal goals and abilities of the gifted, steering them to its own ends, and discounting the reliability of the gifted to perceive and sense outside of the boundaries it sets. It is Tyrannical, punishing extreme divergency and perceptivity, sometimes ridiculing extreme sensitivity and entelechy, and often criminalising high excitability.

Since the effects of unmet needs resemble the effects of child abuse, it may be useful to engage in a variation of an abuse-based mode of therapy. Beezley, Martin and Kempe (1976) offer a set of observations of abused children in psychotherapy. Abused children typically test the therapist for potential punishment. The gifted client may also be prone to testing, but not for physical punishment. The
gifted client is seeking to discover whether the therapist will apply the judgements he/she has been subjected to by others. Both the abused child and the gifted client are slow to trust, having experienced violated trust repeatedly. The abused child and gifted adult have also both experienced a lack of nurturance, and they may be insatiably needy as a result.

In terms of object relations, the gifted adult may follow the tendency of the abused child to deny the importance of object loss (the numerous separations of failed friendships, misunderstandings and rejections from family, friends, teachers, etc.). Because of the overemphasis on intellect, the gifted adult may lack the ability to relax and enjoy life. Therapist modeling of uninhibited joy in play may be their first experience of fun-as-worthwhile-pursuit. As pointed out by Martin and Rodeheffer (1976) learning itself can be a defense mechanism. It may be necessary for the therapist to encourage cognitive restructuring of the purpose of learning itself.

More recently, Forward (1989) and Bradshaw (1990) have offered treatment suggestions for overcoming abusive childhoods. Forward emphasized that forgiveness is not necessary to healing, but confrontation is crucial. It is important for the abused child to correctly assign responsibility—he/she is not responsible for either parental or societal frustrations or other causes of abuse.
The adult child's responsibility is to her/himself and recovery, that is developing a definition of self, and healing the wounds. To Bradshaw, the process of overcoming abuse was one of reclaiming the inner self. Each stage of development must be renegotiated in order to complete business previously unfinished. The unfinished business is the baggage that weighs us down and distracts or prevents us from achieving fulfillment. His stages are based on Erikson's, and synthesised into a set of four regenerative cycles. His scheme for healing begins with original pain work, uncovering the original repressed feelings. Following the grieving process, work recovering and reparenting within the stages can begin.

Lovecky (1990) suggested pursuing the following personal/therapeutic goals in working with the gifted: assisting the client to know her or his own self through personal symbols, accepting that self and valuing one's own uniqueness to free creative energy, and finding sources of personal power by using loneliness, rather than avoiding it or fearing it, to increase available personal power. Each of the traits originally described by Lovecky (1986, 1990) presents special issues previously described in the Counseling Needs section. In order to meet the needs engendered by these traits, therapists should consider the following suggestions.

Divergency necessitates the assessment of the expectations of others, and a decision as to the merits of
meeting them. In some cases, a gifted adult is unable to match the expectations of others, requiring careful assessment and management of their environment in order to minimise conflicts and maximise rewarding experiences. Lovecky (1990) identifies the central problem divergent thinkers face as finding or creating both a social and a work environment that are nurturing personally and with respect to their talents. One such environment presented itself to large numbers of people in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In a study by Kaufmann (1981) of Presidential Scholars from 1964-1969, many of these highly gifted individuals went on to nontraditional careers, and most participated in the counterculture.

Excitably gifted people may find therapy a slow and intolerable process due to their need to be in charge, coupled with their inability to self-regulate. Completion of a single therapeutic goal may be their first experience of goal realisation. For those excitable adults who withdraw from stimuli, a simple acknowledgement of their need to avoid overstimulation, followed by informed choices regarding home and work environments can be vital. In addition, anxiety resulting from overstimulation can be diminished through forms of relaxation, meditation, and thought-stopping techniques.

Some highly sensitive gifted adults have been diagnosed with personality disorders (Lovecky, 1990). In some instances this is accurate, in others, it is not. High
levels of sensitivity lead to greater expectations of performance, motivation and dedication in terms of responsibility for others and the world. Like the expectations of academic giftedness, this may become burdensome. Their extreme empathy may preclude formation of a detached self. Developing comfort with being a fluid self-in-relation encompasses the connectedness highly empathically sensitive people feel, but it is not yet commonly accepted or encouraged.

Passion may need to be funneled into appropriate expressions, and understanding of the responses of others to traits of sensitivity is needed. Expression of passion is not without costs, and these need to be evaluated. Both the responses of others and the potential outcomes of expression of passion can be problematic. These adults need to maintain their sensitivity, to continue caring for others, to learn to use their empathy and compassion not only for the benefit of others, but also for their own development, all the while maintaining their vulnerability.

Approaching perceptivity problems from the point of view of who is right, me or them, is counterproductive. Use of the differences in perceptions between the individual and the group is a more vital issue. These adults need to learn when to emphasize accuracy, and when to consider feelings more important, in order to be able to "suffer fools gladly", as Hollingworth put it (1926, 1942). They also need to learn to be true to themselves, otherwise they may
find themselves living a lie. For those gifted with both perceptivity and sensitivity, one subject of great impact may be their own loneliness. Encompassed within this loneliness quite frequently is a longing for someone who can understand and perceive the self, as the self perceives and understands others. Social conflicts may convince the perceptive and sensitive of their innate unlovability.

Even therapists may find the perceptive adult disconcerting. If this occurs, the therapist can serve as a model of appropriate expression of vulnerability, and provide examples of coping mechanisms. It is important that the perceptive adult become cognizant of the signals others give out prior to overt feelings of discomfort. Upon recognition, the perceptive person needs to have available a set of skills to re-establish a safe and comfortable interpersonal distance.

Perceptively gifted adults may require the opportunity to explore methods for living a just life. Exploration of the cultural imprint of justice and morality can help alleviate the crippling absolutism that may colour the thinking of the perceptive, and free them to examine options for which one(s) are most pertinent to themselves as individuals.

Therapy with adults gifted with entelechy, may focus on salvaging parts of their dream, and facilitating understanding its loss. It may also be necessary to help
the adult understand that creative expression and career are not indistinguishable, and that a setback or failure in one aspect of life does not mean complete failure. New decisions and projects can be begun, the tools are still available. In these instances, it is important that the gifted adult perceive the failure as an opportunity to learn about other aspects of self, or different approaches to their dreams.

Since entelechy is so attractive to others, adults with entelechy may need to learn how to be selective in choosing friends and associates. If they can find one or two trustworthy and true friends, they may be able to counter their tendency for overinvolvement in the lives of people who have little to contribute in exchange for the benefits bestowed.

One unique approach to counseling the gifted is a variation on Campbell's (1972) idea of the need for myth appropriate to modern life in society at large. He discusses the conflicts between Oriental and Occidental myth and religion, and finds the primary conflict consists of the Oriental emphasis on submission of self to preordained roles and the Occidental emphasis on individual expression. In a parallel to the religious conflicts, the gifted adult faces resolution of the conflicts of the necessity to fit into social roles with the need for individuation. Perhaps gifted adults would benefit from creation of their own individual myths, expressions of their unique understandings.
of the world around them and their place in it. The structure of these personal myths may reveal inner beliefs even the gifted adult is unaware of. They would also provide opportunities for conscious understanding of the subconscious perceptions of the dynamic interactions between intrinsic and extrinsic influences, and offer potential resolutions. In one sense, giftedness can be seen as one version of the Hero's Journey, a mythological expression of the pursuit of self-actualisation.

Frequently mentioned as useful for children, and potentially beneficial for adults as well is bibliotherapy. Since the lack of peers is indigenous to the territory of giftedness, substitute, or pseudopeers may be found in biographies of eminent men and women. Their trials, failures and successes can serve as encouragements to the gifted adult who has lost her/his drive, and can offer proof he/she is not alone.

As with all services provided for the gifted, in order to be effective, counseling must take into consideration the unique processing abilities and personality traits of the gifted. Their penchant for independence, sensitivity, and perceptivity can make them challenging therapy clients. They will see through and challenge many therapeutic manipulations. Some may rebel against the necessity of learning tolerance and social-adaptive skills, finding such techniques "phony", and failing to understand why they have to adapt to or give in to a majority they believe are wrong.
While generalisations may be useful as guidelines, this population has been unfairly subjected to misuse of generalisations throughout childhood and adolescence, at home, in school, and in the community. Therefore, substituting generalisation-based therapeutic techniques for ones designed to meet individually assessed needs is tantamount to continuation of the damaging circumstances. The gifted client will benefit most from genuine empathy, encouragement of creative expression, support for their individuality, and appreciation as a unique and worthwhile human being, rather than as a tool to solve someone else's problems. Therapy may be a gifted adult's first chance to experience devotion to individualised needs.

The above therapeutic suggestions are based on few cases, and little research. However, it is unreasonable to await further empirical results before careful application of supportive and personal-development oriented therapies is employed in counseling the gifted. Gifted adults are in need now, and as new generations grow to adulthood with equally parsimonious attention to their special needs, they will join the ranks of the "lost" gifted—those whose potentials have been trampled by parents, schools, society, and the gifted themselves. Until the special needs of the gifted are accorded the same importance as the special needs of other minority groups, their problems will continue to grow. Positive changes are unlikely, because funding is short, and if current trends continue, greater amounts will
not be forthcoming in the near future, because emotionally-based prejudicial attitudes must change, and because the gifted themselves often find it easier to slip into the woodwork and disappear rather than stand up for their human rights.

The objective of this study was to survey current knowledge of the problems, perceptions, and potentials of the gifted adult. Facilitating an increased understanding of the interface between the academic setting and the gifted adult, and improving the efficiency with which these ends are achieved, specifically, this study addressed the issues of the highly-gifted, the understandings of non-valent gifted adults, whether or not their achievements truly indicate their potential, the efficacy of extrapolating from the needs of gifted children and adolescents to those of gifted adults, how different situations and circumstances present, and finally, how correction and aid to gifted adults may help regular and gifted or talented gifted with the issues of increasing achievement and personal satisfaction.
CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

Review: Objectives

The objective of this study was to survey current knowledge of the problems, perceptions and potentials of the gifted adult. Facilitating an increased understanding of the interface between the counseling process and the gifted adult, and improving its efficiency were adjunct goals. Specifically, this study addressed the issues of the group known as the highly gifted, the achievements of non-eminent gifted adults, whether or not their achievements truly indicate their potentials, the efficacy of extrapolating from the needs of gifted children and adolescents to those of gifted adults, how giftedness influences the counseling process, and finally, how counseling can be used to help regain use of lost or forgotten gifts with the goal of increasing achievement and personal satisfaction/self-actualisation.

Specific issues identified for investigation were:

1. self-perceptions of gifted adults
2. how others perceive the gifted
3. how the gifted are reflected in film and literature
(and how these reflections influence perceptions)

4. traits of giftedness

5. how traits influence behaviour, needs, problems, defeat of potential

6. how traits can contribute to potential achievement and eminence

7. how traits can be reclaimed or reinvigorated.

Review: Literature

Literature on the gifted is extensive, but has focused on specific, limited areas within the realm. Great attention has been paid to definition, identification, inter-relationships between creativity/talent/giftedness, cognition and metacognition, historical geniuses and prodigies, necessity for and content of special school programs including guidance, scholastic underachievement, and recently, the social and emotional difficulties of the gifted child and adolescent. Within the last decade, some research attention has converged on the career choice difficulties of the gifted adolescent, gender issues and special tasks of integrating giftedness and cultural divergency. Stresses of parenting gifted children have also been addressed.

It is only within the last five years that theorists have begun to address the culmination of all these programs, disagreements, multipotentialities, and frustrations--the
gifted adult. While there is disagreement regarding the existence of problems resulting from giftedness itself, there is evidence to support the contention that unique problems may accompany giftedness. Suggestions have been advanced to explain these difficulties, focusing primarily on the innate traits of the gifted, and the social responses elicited. While these studies do not assign blame to the adult, they do attribute the origins of the difficulties to their personality traits. Thus, the onus of the burden remains on the gifted themselves. Little or no notice has been accorded to the expressed social perceptions of the gifted in the media, or their potential to influence the self-perceptions and behaviour of the gifted.

There has been almost no empirical study of gifted adults, as the general consensus still holds adult giftedness equal to eminence, thus virtually ignoring the adult underachiever, or the gifted adult similar to the majority of the Terman sample—non-eminent. It seems that society and academe view non-eminent giftedness as insignificant past adolescence, in spite of evidence to the contrary. Gifted adults also tend to be viewed as either intrinsically neurotic or as so well-adjusted they are not in need of special attention. The median view, that some gifted adults will face the same types of problems as other adults, complicated by the problems of giftedness has been advanced more than once, but has not been incorporated into research or popular thinking.
Review: Hypotheses

As a heuristic/theoretical study, this paper did not test research hypotheses. A set of theoretical hypotheses consisting of the following were examined.

1. the domain we call gifted is not uniform, but in fact contains subdomains which are distinguishable on the basis of a range of traits and trait clusters, and are collectively differentiable from those of the nongifted on the basis of traits as well as social and emotional needs.

2. these subdomains each have their own characteristic set of special needs which are determined by a combination of inherent abilities and environmental conditions throughout the lifespan.

3. these differences in traits, behaviours and perceptions generate special counseling needs in the gifted adult.

4. the group with highest risk of problems is that known as the very highly gifted, the highly creative, etc--those at the extreme end of the spectrum. This group will be better defined by the extreme expression of the traits/personality factors described by Piechowski, Betts, and Lovecky.

5. gifted men and women face different problems resulting from the interaction of gender, perceptions, and giftedness.

6. the attributes of giftedness are restricted in their...
recognition in adults to those adults who achieve eminence. The remaining gifted adults, by far the majority, do not achieve eminence. This has been attributed to inherent factors: mental illness or instability and the negative influence of personality factors such as lack of motivation. Social perceptions and prejudices, unmet needs, and societal expectations or restrictions have often been neglected as potential negative influences.

Eight questions were formulated from these hypotheses, and explored in theoretical terms.

**Review: Methods**

By virtue of its heuristic/theoretical nature, the research methodology employed consisted of literature and library searches, extensive reading, sampling of movie and video portrayals of the gifted, and synthesis of material.

**Conclusions and Discussion**

**Summary of Findings**

Descriptions of five personality types and traits of gifted adults were formulated from extrapolations and literature review. Potential origins for these types were suggested. The analysis of the data collected and synthesised is presented here as summaries of answers to the
questions posed. Based on these types and traits, the eight specific questions generated by the hypotheses, were addressed.

Five primary personality types were adapted from type descriptions of gifted children. These were the Conformists, the Rebels, the Deliberate Underachievers, the Social Dropouts, and the Self-Actualisers. A sixth derivation, the gifted/handicapped combination was only briefly discussed. Each of the five primary types exhibits certain personality characteristics and adaptations to giftedness. These types are not mutually exclusive, blends do occur, and one person may express several types over time.

Following the lead of Dabrowski and Lovecky, five personality traits of giftedness (divergency, excitability, perceptivity, sensitivity, and entelechy) were described, and their social consequences enumerated along with their correlations with and possible influences on the formation of the five personality types. Counseling needs and trait and type specific techniques were suggested.

In response to the first question, "What are non-eminent gifted adults achieving?" it was found that noneminent gifted adult's achievements vary depending on their expression of personality traits (divergency, excitability, perceptivity, sensitivity, and entelechy) and their choice of personality type solution to the apparent forced-choice between excellence and intimacy.
Socioculturally inappropriate expressions of traits mitigated against achievement in socially acceptable pursuits. Those adults who rebel against the social pressures to conform theoretically either do not experience success, or find their success among the criminal or revolutionary circles. The forced-choice to value either excellence or intimacy over the other also negatively influenced achievement. Only those adults who pursued a self-actualising path were found to be likely to be high achievers. Even so, their aims and achievements may not be socially valued, hence they may not become eminent.

In response to the questions, "Are their achievements an accurate reflection of their potential?", and "If not, why not?", it became obvious that the achievements of gifted adults rarely reflect their true potential. So many factors interfere with expression of potential that it is not surprising that few of the gifted fulfill their potential. Essentially, the gifted are left to fend for themselves in a world that does not support or appreciate them or their talents, except for how they may be used to benefit society. For most of the gifted, it becomes easier to conform, thereby abandoning their creativity and innovative potential, ironically rendering them less able to fulfill the only purpose society accords them—solving its plethora of problems.

Question four, "Can we assess the needs of the gifted adult based on what we know about the gifted as children?"
has an inherent Catch-22: if we cannot do so, then we have no information upon which to base our understanding of the gifted adult until empirical studies are reported. While there are certain incompatibilities between the experiences of children and adults, a great deal of psychological theory is based on the precept of childhood experiences influencing adult behaviour. Just as species evolve, and incorporate aspects of previous evolutionary stages, so human personalities evolve, carrying their past entombed within adaptations and the imprints of more recent experiences. In addition to this theoretical support, it was found that there are sufficient corresponding experiences for both gifted children and adults to justify careful extrapolation.

Closely related to the appropriateness of extrapolation is the next question, "if we extrapolate from gifted children and adolescents, what can we say about the needs of the gifted adult, especially as regards counseling?". In order to answer this question, it was necessary to rely heavily on extrapolation since there are fewer than one dozen articles indexed by ERIC or PSYCHLIT that consider adult counseling needs of the gifted. Extrapolation provided the following areas of concern:

- Self-concept (self-awareness, self-understanding, self-acceptance) and realistic expectations,
- Interpersonal skills and acceptance of others (communication, group interaction, conflict)
reduction),
Perceived locus of control and preference for independence,
Underachievement and overachievement (school or job-related),
Multipotentiality and career choice,
Limited experience with failure,
Temptation to drop out (school, society, life) or to sacrifice or stifle self to fit in,
Coping with the social and emotional consequences of the traits of giftedness.

The three final questions all relate specifically to counseling. "Does the experience of being gifted influence the effectiveness of counseling techniques?" addressed the issues of the effects of the special traits of giftedness on the therapist, on how the gifted client perceives the therapeutic process, and on how counseling techniques interact with the traits of giftedness. Many gifted clients can be intimidating or fascinating (not therapeutically) to their therapists. The range and depth of information available to the gifted adult can be astonishing, and if they are therapy-wise, they can subvert therapeutic techniques, anticipate desired responses, subtly manipulate sessions, question therapeutic techniques or goals inexhaustibly, or "out-logic" attempts at cognitive restructuring.
Since the gifted adult client may be especially difficult, and since they have special needs determined by their personality type or trait expression, "what special techniques can we tailor to the needs of the gifted?"

Numerous suggestions have been offered for assisting the gifted child or adolescent, but again, the gifted adult has been neglected. Techniques suggested for children or the creative client emphasise supporting and encouraging (but not demanding) creative thought and expression, bibliotherapy to help assuage the effects of lack of peers, humour and playfulness to counter the potential over-emphasis on serious achievement, and multimodal approaches to multipotentiality. Many of these ideas are appropriate for gifted adults as well. However, gifted adults have often experienced lives similar in many ways to adults who were abused as children. Therefore it has been suggested that techniques employed in treating Adult Children be adapted to therapy for gifted adults.

Finally, "can counseling be used to increase the match between potential and actual achievement and satisfaction in life (as opposed to school), and thereby reclaim the "lost" gifted?" If the goal of counseling is to fit the gifted adult into social expectations, then the answer is probably "no". If counseling has as its goal the reclamation of the inner self, the lost child, the ability to pursue a path of self-actualisation, then the answer is, conditionally, yes. The primary conditions necessary are the desire of the
gifted adult client to make use of the reclaimed facilities and abilities, and the social acceptance of their goals. Self-actualisation is not synonymous with eminence, achievement or genius. Many gifted adults may find their drives best pursued in solitary modes, and their results may be of great personal value, but of little importance to society. Since society evaluates achievement and satisfaction differently than gifted adults may, the evaluation of the match depends on the evaluating agency.

**Summary of Findings, Interpretations and Literature Support**

The analysis of the data collected relative to the principle objectives of the study indicated the presence of previously un- or under-explored special problems inherent in giftedness in adults. These problems arise from the interactions of personality traits unique to the gifted, the social reactions and perceptions resulting from trait expression, and from unrealised potentials deriving from unmet needs. Unlike most others, the gifted adult has often been forced to choose between self-expression and excellence, and needs for intimacy. Their needs for intimacy may be greater than those experienced by others due to their lack of potential peers throughout life.

In this author's opinion, the data synthesis indicates the existence of a vastly misunderstood and underserved population, gifted adults. There is theoretical evidence
for, and working descriptions of five major personality
types or subdomains of gifted adults. It is postulated that
these subdomains can be measured in terms of trait clusters
by an instrument similar to the Overexcitability Evaluation
Questionnaire. Both the personality types and the traits of
giftedness (as described by Dabrowski or Lovecky) give rise
to social and emotional needs unique to the gifted. The
nongifted do not need to sacrifice their potential or their
intimacy needs, nor do they find expression of their
personality traits socially or emotionally detrimental as a
general rule.

Personality traits associated with giftedness are
assumed to be inborn. The personality types described
result from the feedback cycle of trait expression--
environmental response--trait expression modification. This
cycle frequently leads to repression or negative expression
of traits because of the negative responses elicited to
trait expression. The repression or negative expression of
traits commonly results in intra- and inter-personal
conflicts. These constitute the special counseling needs of
the gifted.

Another subdomain set is composed of the different
levels of giftedness. What differentiates the moderately
gifted from the highly gifted is the greater measure of
these traits of giftedness in the highly gifted. This
greater measure of traits is partially responsible for the
compounding of difficulties by the decreased potential pool
of peers, and the increased frustration of the mismatch between individual and school or work environment.

Society perceives the achieving gifted male as successful, the non-achieving male as the victim of bad luck. In the same terms, the achieving gifted female, who often has to work harder than her male counterpart to achieve the same level of success, is commonly viewed as lucky, while the home-oriented female is seen as successful in feminine terms. These influences have been changing, but they are still generally accepted and pervasive. More women are working outside the home today than ever before, but even among gifted women, jobs held tend to be traditionally female (teacher, nurse, secretary), or of secondary importance to their husband's career. Only a third of gifted women are as career-oriented as men in general.

Gifted men also face problems peculiar to their circumstances. Social orientation for both the gifted and men is success in the workplace. While women still have the choice of home, career, or an integration of the two, men are severely stigmatised for choosing either nontraditional careers or home over career.

While some authors may disagree (notably Feldman, 1984), there are numerous reports from researchers, therapists and school officials, and the gifted themselves, that the gifted do encounter these problems routinely. Feldman compared a small moderately gifted subgroup with an equal number of the highly gifted subgroup of Terman's
original sample, and concluded the distinctions were unremarkable. Since there is some question about the biasing of Terman's sample, and since Terman himself was disappointed with the representation of eminence within his group, in spite of the self-reports reports of high levels of satisfaction, the generalisability of these results is questionable. Also, Feldman did not look specifically at the social and emotional consequences of differential giftedness, so his report of a lack of evidence for a qualitatively different mental organisation does not contradict these findings.

Numerous studies exist that support the superior adjustment of the gifted in general, though they may also support the added difficulties of the highly gifted. In general, these studies have not considered the pressures applied to the gifted to conform, or needs of the gifted for companionship, both of which may influence social adjustment. They have also tended to define adjustment in terms of social acceptance rather than in terms of self-actualisation.

Problems and Limitations

The problems and limitations of this study derive mainly from its theoretical nature, and the consequent reliance on the accuracy of previous studies. The dearth of studies specifically topical and the resulting need for
extrapolation, and the plethora of definitional and other disagreements among researchers in the field of giftedness and intelligence are also sources of potential error.

In a theoretical study, no empirical evidence is gathered to support or dispute the hypotheses. While logic is an important tool in comprehending any field of knowledge, by itself it has often proven inadequate or inaccurate. The history of science is littered with logical explanations which were later discounted when empirical evidence was obtained. The simplest conceptual solution to this problem is to design a set of experimental studies to gather the needed empirical data.

Reliance on the previous studies assumes they were performed with rigorous attention to scientific method. In reality, few of the studies on giftedness meet these criteria, often neglecting such fundamental points as operational definition of giftedness, number and specific IQ ranges of subjects, tests used to determine giftedness, and generalisability of results. If the range of IQs considered gifted begins at 130, there are at least 70 IQ points, or more than 4 standard deviations within the group. Yet research on the gifted in general ignores the potential for subgroups, even though subgroups have been outlined for classification of the mentally retarded where the IQ range is similarly large. Alleviation of this problem requires either strict adherence to scientific standards in future research, or careful screening of past studies for potential
sources of methodological or interpretive error.

Since study of the gifted adult is new, and reports of research are few, extrapolation from studies of gifted children and adolescents was required. As described previously, extrapolation has inherent inaccuracies. The need for extrapolation will diminish as more studies of gifted adults are reported.

There is no general agreement on the definition or nature of giftedness or intelligence, on the inter-relationships of intelligence, creativity and talent, on the interactions of intelligence and personality, or on what measures should be applied to concepts of achievement (internal or external). Lack of agreement seriously impedes research coherence and general applicability of research results. Clearly, these definitional and theoretical disputes require resolution not only to avoid interference in future studies, but also to facilitate synthesis of data into a coherent, theoretically sound, whole body of scientific knowledge.

Practical Implications

A number of practical implications are apparent from this study for counselors, researchers, and for the gifted adults themselves.

In terms of counseling, the potential for specialisation in counseling of the gifted is wide-open.
Few specialists address the needs of gifted children or adolescents, fewer still have special interest or training in counseling gifted adults. Since gifted adults theoretically face not only the problems common to all people, but also problems derived from giftedness itself, they may seek counseling. It is advantageous for any counselor to acquaint her- or himself with the types of problems unique to the gifted, and the potential techniques and solutions available based on current knowledge. The gifted client is unlikely to walk into session and announce their problem is that they are gifted. The ability to interpret the pattern of difficulties characteristic of the gifted personality types and traits can enhance therapeutic efficiency.

For the researcher, the study of gifted adults offers myriad opportunities for exploration of everything from attitudes and achievements to socialisation issues and thought processes. The types and traits described herein are theoretical; empirical study of their occurrence, interactions, causes, and consequences is needed. In addition, these traits and types can be investigated for expression in children and adolescents. Difficulties with previous research methods and interpretations point to a need for more careful adherence to scientific methodology in future studies.

Gifted adults can benefit from acknowledgement of their innate differences and consequent difficulties. As there is
now a theoretical basis for the origins and effects of the
problems of giftedness in adults, gifted adults need no
longer feel they are to blame for their difficulties.
Rather, they can learn to take responsibility for the
choices they make (and have made) about expression of their
unique abilities. Those gifted adults who have felt
neglected or abused by society may find a basis for their
feelings has been established, and solutions offered. If
nothing else, they may have come to understand that their
differences are real, and have real consequences which did
not end when they left school.

Suggestions for Further Research

Directions for future research have already been
indicated. Empirical studies of gifted adults, especially
regarding the applicability of the types and traits
described here, longitudinal developmental studies of how
the traits and types may originate and evolve from childhood
to adulthood, and how they effect the lives of the gifted
need to be explored. In order to accomplish this,
appropriate assessment instruments are required. The
Overexcitability Questionnaire could be used as a point of
departure for assessing the personality traits. Type
assessment could be based on clinical evaluation or an
assessment instrument specifically designed to delineate
these personality types.
The efficacy of specific counseling techniques for the gifted also is open for exploration. Here again, type and trait specific assessment is potentially valuable, requires instruments for assessment, and may yield new concepts or techniques. Case studies are useful, but do not lend themselves to the rigorous statistical analysis required by a scientific investigation.

Conclusions

The gifted adult faces a set of problems unique to giftedness, directly related to the traits which contribute to giftedness, and to the personality type choices made by the gifted in response to reactions to these traits. Contrary to both Terman's and Lambroso's beliefs, the gifted are neither so well adjusted they have no need for assistance, nor are they inherently neurotic or psychotic. The group labeled "gifted" is composed of human beings with specific needs and problems, as is every other minority group. Also as with many minority groups, the gifted have been stereotyped, ignored, vilified, and rarely treated humanely.

Previous studies of the gifted have often been oriented toward fitting them into society, not toward meeting their needs. In fact, Hollingworth's list of the needs of the gifted (see Chapter One) can be revised as follows: 1) to find enough hard and interesting work in school or in life,
2) to develop skills to cope with "fools", and appropriate modes of expressing their frustration or disdain when such feelings are inevitable, 3) to become realistic as regards their view of authority and social power structures and games, and to encourage change where appropriate, 4) to find creative ways to meet their own needs for solitude without resorting to an all-or-nothing stance such as becoming a hermit, and 5) to find personally and/or socially rewarding modes of expression of their divergency and frustrations in order to use them, not abuse them.

This paper has outlined theoretical explanations of the differences between the gifted and the nongifted, in the hope of promoting understanding of the gifted by others as well as by the gifted, and in keeping with the more egalitarian-oriented paradigms sweeping through science, politics, and society. While it is only a beginning, there are indications that for the gifted adult, there can indeed be life after school: a life of personal fulfillment, satisfying social interactions, and excellence in their chosen endeavours. Such a life for the gifted requires understanding and acceptance from themselves and from society.


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