

Educating for Eupsychia: Maslow's Unfinished Agenda and Aldous Huxley's Role in Its Advancement

Journal of Humanistic Psychology

2023, Vol. 63(4) 459–476

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DOI: 10.1177/00221678211038104

journals.sagepub.com/home/jhp



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Abstract

Although Abraham Maslow never specified how eupsychia (his paradigm for the best possible human society) might be achieved, he was inspired in the 1960s by Aldous Huxley's notions that major changes in education were vital for its attainment: in Maslow's view, spurring personality growth and fulfillment and ultimately leading to self-actualization on a societal level. In this light, Maslow's scattered writings on the necessity for revisioning education provide meaningful direction for realizing the eupsychian ideal. Drawing particularly on his enthusiasm for revamped pedagogy as presented in Huxley's utopian novel *Island* and related writings, we highlight three elements that Maslow deemed crucial: valuing children's constitutional and temperamental differences, incorporating somatic and movement education including dance, and, related to peak experiences, fostering a sense of wonder. We also add a fourth element that Maslow was beginning to embrace at the time of his death—eudaimonic education comprising aspects such as volunteerism, mentoring, and civic engagement.

Keywords

Abraham Maslow, eupsychia, utopia, humanistic education, Aldous Huxley

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Precisely 60 years ago Abraham Maslow first published his notion of eupsychia. It appeared in the second issue of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, which he and Tony Sutich had co-launched in 1961, and for the remaining 9 years of Maslow's life, eupsychia figured prominently in his work. In that seminal article, based on a radio interview in 1960, Maslow (1961) defined eupsychia as "a culture generated by a thousand of these (self-actualizing) mature individuals . . . placed on a desert island and not confronted with outside cultural forces" and "where everyone would be psychologically healthy" (pp. 4, 10). Later, *Eupsychian Management* was Maslow's (2019, Appendix B) title for his ground-breaking book on humanistic organizational theory, and his course on "Utopian Social Psychology," as he called it, significantly incorporated his evolving conceptualization. Indeed, during Maslow's final days before his death, he was grappling with formulations for a new book intended to apply eupsychian concerns to political theory (Morrell & Hoffman, 2021).

Interwoven with Maslow's engagement with eupsychian thought was a passionate concern for revisioning education. Both his published writings and private journal entries from the late 1960s reveal an antipathy for mainstream pedagogical theory and practice (Maslow, 1968, 1971). Undoubtedly his early mentor Alfred Adler exerted a major influence in this regard, for Adler viewed school as the key social institution for forging a society based on cooperation rather than interpersonal competition (Hoffman, 1994). In Adler's (1938/1998) final book, he asserted, "The only means we can use to effect societal change is the school" (p. 229). Though Maslow never specifically wrote about revamping childhood and adolescent education as a pathway to eupsychia, it is possible to glean his ideas from several sources in his later years: most notably, his reaction to Aldous Huxley's utopian novel *Island* (1962b) and his related writings (Huxley, 1944, 1962a). In this article, we therefore highlight Maslow's unfinished agenda for achieving eupsychia based on three streams of educational innovation: (1) valuing children's constitutional and temperamental differences, (2) incorporating somatic and movement education, and (3) related to peak experiences, fostering a sense of wonder. Before doing so, we believe that it is important to provide a biographical sketch of Huxley and his intellectual impact on Maslow. For Maslow enthusiastically not only endorsed Huxley's envisioned pedagogical system as the epitome of cogent thinking in this domain but also admired him as an exemplar of self-actualization. For this reason, Maslow (1979) wrote in his private journal, "It's as if his praise & use of my work *really* validate it . . . the lesser ones don't matter. I think it's because he's of (the) Eupsychian club" (pp. 61-62). In addition, Maslow prized Huxley's life journey from elitist, cynic intellectual to unabashed advocate for Eastern

spirituality, mysticism, and the seemingly promising realm of psychedelic experience.

Huxley: The Man Who Kept Growing

Born in 1894 into a family with an impeccable intellectual pedigree, Huxley counted among his grandparents the Victorian evolutionary biologist Thomas Huxley and the influential social critic Matthew Arnold. Educated at Eton and then Oxford University, Huxley abandoned plans for a medical career when, at the age of 16, he lost much of his eyesight due to an eye disease and shifted to literary pursuits. During the 1920s, Huxley's three novels advanced his reputation as a popular, witty chronicler of life among England's well-educated and pretentious social classes. However, it was *Brave New World*, published in 1932 and depicting a future dystopia of unyielding social control, which established Huxley as a consummate master of the "novel of ideas."

Temperamentally restless, Huxley left England in 1937 with his family (wife Maria Nys and their teenage son Matthew) for America, where he forged an enduring friendship with another British expatriate, Frieda Lawrence, the widow of novelist D. H. Lawrence. Huxley settled in southern California, and as a highly paid celebrity scriptwriter, he became friendly with Hollywood luminaries such as Greta Garbo, Helen Hayes, Harpo Marx, and Charlie Chaplin, yet another British expatriate among them (Dunaway, 1989). Huxley continued to publish both fictional and nonfictional social commentary throughout this period. Had his career ended there, he would still be known to posterity for having helped define the modernist canon of 20th-century British and American literature.

But Huxley's relentlessly inquiring mind was not content to stop there. Overcoming a youthful bias against religion, he developed an intense interest in Eastern mysticism, and beginning in 1938, became close with Jiddu Krishnamurti. A year younger than Huxley, Krishnamurti had grown up in India, and after close association with Annie Besant of the Theosophical Society, who had groomed him to be a messianic-like "World Teacher," he had decisively broken with the group in 1929. Rejecting all organized religions and ideologies in favor of individual spiritual growth, Krishnamurti evinced an ecumenical outlook and dignified bearing that greatly appealed to Huxley. Their friendship led him to study at the Vedanta Society of Southern California under Swami Prabhavananda and later to write *The Perennial Philosophy* (1945).

Drawing on a wide variety of Eastern and Western traditions, Huxley's theme was that all true mystics shared the same awareness that a divine

“Ground of Being” underlies and animates everything in the universe. It was published in 1945, and the following year, Huxley joined with Krishnamurti and others to establish a boarding school consistent with this spiritual outlook (Sawyer, 2002). For the rest of Huxley’s life, the necessity for radical pedagogical innovation would become an ever-growing theme in his writings and public addresses. These included a series of lectures in 1961 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a major article titled “Education on the Nonverbal Level” (Huxley, 1962a) published the following year. Arguing that schools focus almost entirely on the verbal transmission of factual information, Huxley’s (1962a) key thesis was that virtually no effort was made to familiarize children and youth with their creative inner realm (dreams, fantasies, musings) or heighten their sensory sensitivities to the outer realm that exists all around them. He noted,

This world of symbols is only one of the worlds in which human beings do their living and their learning. They also inhabit the non-symbolic world of unconceptualized or only slightly conceptualized experience. However effective it may be on the conceptual level, an education that fails to help (the young) to make the best of the inner and outer universes on the hither side of symbols is an inadequate education. (p. 282)

In this article, Huxley (1962b) strongly advocated applying nonverbal humanist education as a necessary corrective to an overreliance pedagogically on mere verbal formulae. He poetically described the human individual as a “multiple amphibian” (p. 281) who occupies divided and different worlds: both the verbal and the nonverbal, the real and the virtual, and the actual and the imaginary. Because these domains are so radically diverse, it is imperative that children and youth develop the flexibility to move between them. How? By enlightened education “to be started in the kindergarten and continued through all the years of school and college” (p. 283) encompassing both verbal and diverse nonverbal modalities of experience. Huxley’s conceptualization was one that Maslow (2019) found immensely important, evidenced by his distributing the article to his students in “Experiential Approaches to the Study of Personality.”

It is hardly surprising that Huxley had a strong interest in education, for his father, Leonard Huxley, had spent 17 years as a school teacher and administrator at the prestigious Charterhouse School. Huxley’s education at Eton and then Oxford University was conventional for England’s socially elite families like the Huxleys, so he probably first became acutely interested in pedagogical innovation when his son Matthew attended Dartington Hall School in Devon during the early- to mid-1930s. A coeducational boarding

school founded a few years earlier by Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst, it drew on the ideas of John Dewey and the Indian poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore to provide a radical educational alternative and quickly attracted members of Huxley's intellectual circle including Gerald Heard and Bertrand Russell. Indeed, Dartington has been described as "a principal source of inspiration behind Huxley's *Island*" (Parsons, 1987, p. 10), his utopian novel that greatly influenced Maslow's own pedagogical outlook.

Huxley's Visionary Novel Island

Published in the United Kingdom and the United States in early 1962, *Island* was destined to be Huxley's final novel; it fully adumbrated all those themes surrounding the question of utopian polity that had dogged him since *Brave New World* (1932) and to which Huxley returned in the essay collection *Brave New World Revisited* (1958). *Island's* setting was contemporary—an imaginary, small Pacific island called Pala. A cynical and emotionally troubled London journalist named Will Farnaby washes ashore in shipwreck and, over the course of the novel, basically discovers that he has landed on utopia. Through main characters who speak to Farnaby in big chunks of monologue, readers learn Pala's 120-year history, social structure, religious outlook, and especially its educational system. People dwell in small, egalitarian communities; children are raised communally rather than in biological families; laws are essentially nonexistent, and Eastern-based spiritualities are fused with psychedelics induced by a local psychotropic herb, *moksha* (derived from the Sanskrit word for "liberation") to impart a reverence for nature and all earthly existence. Initially skeptical that life on Pala is truly as blissful and harmonious as described, Farnaby gradually becomes convinced of its reality.

Though *Island's* abrupt ending is unhappy, Huxley's underlying message is hopeful that such a society can be created, and the novel's admirers included many innovative social thinkers including Maslow. As book reviewer for *The New York Times*, the literary critic Chad Walsh (1962) asserted,

In recent years, the supply of new Utopias has dwindled in quantity and quality. "Island" is a welcome and in many ways unique addition to the select company of books—from Plato until now—that have presented in imaginary terms, a coherent view of what society is not but might be. (p. 234)

Huxley's Influence on Maslow

Huxley's acquaintanceship with Maslow lasted only 3 years but exerted a profound impact. It began in the fall of 1960 when they met after Huxley's

lectures at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and intensified when Maslow wrote to him a year later, confiding that he had nearly abandoned his upcoming lecture on peak experiences (for the General Semantics Society) in Los Angeles until reading Huxley's novel *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan* (1939). As Maslow (1979) recounted in his private journal, "It set me off again, and I woke up the next morning all inspired again & with the whole business falling into place in a nice organized way" (p. 124). In Maslow's journal entry during the same week, he related that "Huxley was excited, even fascinated, by (my) beautiful-room experiments. Others have *not* been excited, as they *should* be. . . . It takes a Huxley to see this" (p. 126). Maslow gave his lecture on November 3 as planned, and the next day, the two men met at a social luncheon convened by the General Semantics Society. They met again in July 1962, and Maslow admiringly noted how Huxley "keeps on changing, deserving & getting new enthusiasms, & being eternally curious & open to new things. Always renouncing a past career & past success to go on to new discovery" (p. 175).

Approximately a year later Maslow offered an innovative course at Brandeis University during the fall 1963 semester titled "Experiential Approaches to the Study of Personality." He assigned several of Huxley's books for students including *The Doors of Perception*, *Heaven and Hell*, and *The Perennial Philosophy*. As noted earlier, he also distributed Huxley's article on nonverbal education to the class. In a handout titled "Experiential Techniques and Experiments," Maslow cited Huxley's exercise in mindful eating as well as his wife Laura Huxley's cubic magnifying glass technique for gazing mindfully at small things like flowers. Maslow also referred in class to Huxley repeatedly during that fall semester, particularly his novel *Island*, and in response to a student's question, Maslow (2019) stated, "Huxley is a very fine man. . . . He *is* a very good example of self-actualization" (p. 137). In the Maslovian universe, no praise was higher. Maslow told his students that he hoped to see Huxley soon and perhaps they would meet him on campus, but these events never materialized. Huxley died on November 22, the same day of President John F. Kennedy's assassination.

Maslow's admiration for Huxley, however, did not end with the latter's death but continued unabated. For example, Maslow assigned *Island* in his 1967 Brandeis course on "Utopian Social Psychology," duly distributing a handout comprising his wide-ranging commentary and thought questions concerning Huxley's novel. Later, after taking a medical leave from Brandeis University, Maslow continued in public lectures and writings to praise Huxley's vision. In Maslow's (1971) posthumously published *Farther Reaches of Human Nature*, he asserted,

Just before he died, Aldous Huxley was on the brink of an enormous breakthrough, on the verge of creating a great synthesis between science, religion, and art. Many of his ideas are illustrated in his last novel, *Island*. . . . The most revolutionary ideas in it are those pertaining to education, for the educational system in Huxley's Utopia is aimed at radically different goals than the educational system in our own society. (p. 173)

Toward A New Educational Agenda

It would be no exaggeration to say that Huxley was the single most important influence in Maslow's conception of educating for eupsychia. But he was also inspired by other innovative thinkers whom he knew personally, particularly Adler and William Sheldon. In this section, we highlight the specific aspects of eupsychian education that Maslow endorsed and their contemporary status. As his ideas remain ahead of our time, such an analysis may help bring his vision of a benevolent society based on synergy (Saetra, 2020) closer to fruition.

Eupsychian Education: The Role of Temperament

A little known component of Maslow's educational agenda involved incorporating children's temperamental differences into pedagogy. In this regard, he was initially guided by his mentor Adler who argued for the salience of organic or physiological factors in children's psychological development and learning (Hoffman, 1999). For example, Adler (1930/2016) asserted that children's organic deficits and strengths were highly relevant to their performance in school. Maslow was also strongly influenced by the work of another mentor, Sheldon, who in the mid-1920s first developed his typology for evaluating human physique or "somatotype" on three distinct dimensions: ectomorph (slender and sensitive), mesomorph (hard and muscular), and endomorph (soft and round). Sheldon argued that each physique was associated with a particular personality type and that all people can be categorized by their relative position on these dimensions.

As one of Maslow's closest professors at the University of Wisconsin in the early 1930s (Hoffman, 1999), Sheldon likely catalyzed his interest in this topic. By historical coincidence, Huxley met Sheldon soon afterward, in 1935, when the latter was a visiting psychologist at Dartington Hall where Matthew, Huxley's son, was enrolled. After Sheldon published his two major books on somatotype and personality in the early 1940s, Huxley became a vigorous promoter and popularizer of *constitutional psychology* (as it was generally termed) for the rest of his life.

For example, in an effusive review for *Harper's Magazine*, Huxley (1944) described Sheldon's classificatory system for understanding personality differences based on the three bodily types (viscerotonia with endomorphy, somatotonia with mesomorphy, and cerebrotonia with ectomorphy) and then argued that "constitutional analysis and appraisal . . . makes possible for us to know who we and other people really are" (p. 520), a view echoed in Maslow's (1971) later insistence that "a very important part of (personality growth) is to become aware of one what is, biologically, temperamentally, constitutionally . . . a kind of phenomenology of one's own inner biology" (p. 31).

In the same article, Huxley (1944) specifically touted the implications of Sheldon's work for revamping pedagogy: "In this improvement of the (educational) system, constitutional analysis is likely to prove extremely helpful. Ideally, there should be several educational systems, one adapted to each of the main varieties of human beings" (pp. 520-521). Maslow never explicitly endorsed this intriguing notion, but as noted earlier, he was enamored with Huxley's (1962b) final novel, *Island*, in which schoolchildren are "taught to pay attention to what they see and hear . . . and how their feelings and desires affect what they experience of the outer world" (p. 256). Moreover, Sheldon's physiognomic conceptualization figures prominently in Pala's utopian system of pedagogy. For instance, Pala's undersecretary of education states,

Our first business is elementary education . . . (which) has to deal with individuals in all their diversity of shape, size, temperament, gifts and deficiencies. . . . Adolescents learn in their . . . physiology classes, that each one of us has his own constitutional uniqueness, everybody's different from everybody else . . . (As educators), we begin by assessing . . . (each child) in the organic hierarchy, which takes precedence—his gut, his muscles, or his nervous system? How near does he stand to the three polar extremes? How harmonious or how disharmonious is the mixture? (Huxley, 1962b, p. 249)

Sheldon's somatotypic system eventually fell into relative obscurity (Vertinsky, 2002, 2007). Although subsequent researchers have accorded increasing attention to children's temperamental differences in affecting their school adjustment and achievement (Beceren & Ozdemir, 2019; Duckworth & Allred, 2012; Rudasill et al., 2013; Yoleri, 2014), much of this research has been narrowly focused on the impact of temperamental traits such as high activity, difficult to manage in the normative classroom setting. Though a growing trend exists to incorporate children's temperamental variability into wider pedagogy (Keough, 2003; McClowry, 2014; Rothbart, 2006), Maslow's (1971) admonition that educators help children discover

their “subjective biology . . . (which they) can *then* proceed to actualize” (p. 179) and his call for the fostering of “introspective biology . . . biological phenomenology” (p. 179) have yet to be realized. Indeed, it could be argued that the increasing use of medication for schoolchildren who display attentional and behavioral variances represents a marked step backward (Erlandsson & Punzi, 2016; Wilson, 2013). Of course, Maslow’s broader emphasis on self-knowledge as vital to personality growth has long been recognized by educators (Moustakas, 1966; Moustakas & Perry, 1973). A fundamental concept of humanistic education is that children’s full learning necessitates attention to one’s inner world of “feelings, values, and perceptions” as well as the external (Combs, 1981, p. 446)

Educating for Eupsychia: Embracing the Body

For most of Maslow’s life, he had little interest in physical activity or exercise. A well-known photo that shows him batting at a Brooklyn College faculty-student softball game belies his preferred sedentary lifestyle; even after a major heart attack in 1967, he showed meager inclination to change (Hoffman, 1999). Nevertheless, Maslow’s final years reveal increasing advocacy for somatic and movement education—that is, involving bodily awareness and expressive movement including dance, respectively. In this regard, two key influences can be identified: Huxley’s (1962a, 1962b) writings and Maslow’s close association with the Esalen Institute, a major promulgator of experiential learning (Anderson, 1983; Hoffman, 1999; Kripal, 2007). For example, Esalen’s cofounder Michael Murphy (1969) heightened Maslow’s interest in “the wisdom of the body” as vital to education for transcendence, and his intense experiences with bodywork and massage at Esalen led him to assert in a diary entry that “this is part of finding the real self, the biological core . . . discovering one’s body” (Maslow, 1979, p. 584). Thus, Maslow (1971) eventually came to embrace the pedagogical importance of this domain:

Dancing or rhythm . . . melt into each other (and) are a path to peak experiences . . . (such as) the kinds of things that kids can do with drums . . . music and rhythm and dancing are excellent ways of moving toward the discovering of identity. . . . This is also an experiential kind of education that . . . would lead us into another parallel educational establishment, another *kind* of school. (pp. 170-172)

Maslow never endorsed or cited any specific “schools” of somatic or movement education, partly because the fields were so new at the time

(Mullan, 2014; Serlin & Leventhal, 2019). Thus, books on aikido (Leonard, 1992, 2000), bioenergetics (Lowen, 1975), and somatics (Hanna, 1980) by prominent Esalen associates appeared only after Maslow's death. Nevertheless, clues can be found in Maslow's admiration for Huxley's more pointed writings on this topic, particularly concerning the work of Frederic Matthias Alexander (1869-1955). Born in Tasmania, Alexander was an orator who had healed himself from vocal damage and published his first book on mind/body reeducation in 1910. Relocating to London for most of his life, Alexander in the mid-1930s met Huxley who was so physically and emotionally fatigued that he was practically bedridden; Alexander's lessons in bodily retraining through breathing and posture impressed Huxley so much that he repeatedly praised the Alexander Technique in his essays and novels (Dunaway, 1989; Leavey, 2015).

For example, in "Education on the Nonverbal Level" (which Maslow distributed to his college students) Huxley (1962a) called for "a thorough training in elementary awareness . . . (to) be started in the kindergarten and continued through all the years of school" (p. 283) and specifically recommended the methodology of Alexander among others. More significantly, Huxley's (1962b) *Utopian Island* is replete with references to Alexander's pedagogical ideas. These include an emphasis on correct breathing and posture when children are "working, playing, studying," "mind-body" training (pp. 231-232) to develop gracefulness and minimize muscular strain, and nurturing a delight in physical activity, even among those intellectually oriented. As James Leavey (2015) observed in his detailed study on the impact of both Sheldon and Alexander on Huxley's writings, *Island* reveals Huxley's continued "endorsement of Alexander's principles . . . almost thirty years after he first encountered them . . . an interlocking web of complementary ideas and techniques" (p. 106). As evidence, Leavey cited this statement by one of Pala's educators:

What's the proper way of handling yourself while you're buttoning your clothes? . . . We answer the question by actually putting (the children's) heads and bodies into the physiologically best position. And we encourage them to notice how it feels . . . in terms of touches and pressures and muscular sensations. By the time they're fourteen they've learned how to get the most and the best—objectively and subjectively—out of any activity they may undertake. (pp. 101-102)

This pedagogical statement precisely fit Maslow's viewpoint for creating a new type of education, one embracing the body as well as the mind. It also should be noted that Maslow was impressed with Huxley's depiction of rock

climbing and dancing as major pedagogical features of Pala, neither of which was part of Alexander's approach to mind/body training. In this respect, Huxley typically preferred to incorporate eclectic areas of knowledge and practice regarding self-development rather than remain a loyalist to a single "school" (Poller, 2019; Zigler, 2002). Though novelistically acknowledging that rock climbing could be dangerous for youth, Huxley regarded its inherent physical challenge as valuable for inculcating physical confidence, and in Maslow's (2019) course handout for "Utopian Social Psychology," he concurred that "Many psychologists are beginning to think that some kind of overcoming of difficulties . . . involving danger and hardship is desirable and perhaps even necessary" (p. 410). Growing research on the benefits of wilderness training for adolescents (Bettmann & Tucker, 2011; Bowen et al., 2016; Gass, Gillis & Russell, 2020) suggests that Maslow's viewpoint was well-founded—improving resilience, social self-esteem, and family relations among youthful participants. As for somatic and movement education including dance, a positive shift is also occurring (Brown-Aliffi, 2020; Buono, 2019; Dragon, 2015). In a recent survey of New York City charter schools, Brown-Aliffi (2020) found that nearly 75% reported dance programs including both curricular and extracurricular formats.

Educating for Eupsychia: A Sense of Wonder

A third component of Maslow's educational agenda was fostering a sense of wonder. This focus was inextricably bound with his long-held interest in peak experiences, for these were often associated with feelings of joyful amazement. As Maslow reported to an interviewer, his own sense of wonder greatly intensified after his major heart attack in 1967:

My attitude toward life changed. The word I use for it now is the *postmortem* life (and) . . . one very important aspect . . . is that everything gets doubly precious. . . . Everything seems to look more beautiful rather than less, and gets the much-intensified sense of miracles. (as cited in Hoffman, 1999, pp. 306-307)

During Maslow's (1970) final months, he increasingly emphasized the benefits of this outlook, for example, writing that "to be looking elsewhere for miracles is a sure sign of ignorance that *everything* is miraculous" (pp. x-xi). However, it is important to note that he regarded the sense of wonder not merely as a tool for aesthetic delight, but as crucial for creativity and, ultimately, self-actualization. Why? Because wonderment enables us to perceive the "godlike possibilities" (Maslow, 1971, p. 182) within ourselves and

overcome the inertia that impedes personal growth. Indeed, he identified wonderment as the cure for the Jonah complex, the tendency to evade our potentialities for great achievement. In this context, Maslow (1971) provided a concrete example by describing Huxley's capacity to "accept his talents and use them to the full . . . by perpetually marveling at how interesting and fascinating everything was . . . by saying frequently, 'Extraordinary! Extraordinary!'" (p. 38).

In essence, Maslow (1971) was suggesting that eupsychia can be attained only when a sense of wonder pervades our society. But how? He saw education as a key institution in this regard, prizing Huxley's depiction in *Island* and insisting that rather than stifling wonderment,

We must learn to treasure the "jags" of the child in school, his fascination, absorptions, his persistent wide-eyed wonderings . . . (and that because) "peak experience, the experience of awe, mystery (and) wonder" (are present in history, mathematics, science, music, and philosophy) . . . should we not try to maximize these studies as sources of peak experience for the child as well? (p. 182)

Maslow's (2019) recommendation came from his view that children are naturally prone to wonderment because their life experiences are so fresh. For older students, the pedagogical task is to help them overcome the constricting effects of habituation. "The wonder is lost because it's all got so familiarized," Maslow wrote in a handout for his college class, "(but) it's possible to break through the familiarization and to recover the triggering power of a snowflake or a leaf or a sunset" (p. 399). Contending that familiarization also causes us to disregard others inadvertently, he began formulating activities for "cognitive refreshment" (his term), such as imagining that one is seeing a beloved friend or family member for the last time.

Maslow, of course, was decades ahead of his era in advocating for wonderment in education, as little progress has yet occurred. Kirk Schneider (2004, 2009, 2017), a leading psychological theorist on awe, recently observed, "Since the emphasis on STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), the sense of wonder and particularly awe, which energizes wonder with veneration and intriguing unease, has been conspicuously missing in childhood education" (Schneider, January 13, 2021, personal communication). However, a countertrend may be emerging, as a growing number of educational theorists and researchers are advocating that this dimension be incorporated into pedagogy (Schinkel, 2017, 2018; Valdesolo et al., 2017) and even specifically within the fields of mathematics and science education (Bianchi, 2014; Cuzzolino, 2021; Hadzigeorgiou, 2014; Zazkis & Zazkis,

2014). Such approaches are highly consistent with Maslow's (1966) assertion that "Not only does science begin in wonder, it also ends in wonder" (p. 15).

Toward the Future. It seems clear that Maslow's educational agenda for achieving eupsychia comprised the three dimensions we highlighted earlier. However, like Huxley, whom Maslow greatly admired, he kept evolving intellectually, refusing to be content with previously espoused formulations. Thus, it seems reasonable to ask, "had Maslow lived several years or possibly even decades longer, what else would he have advocated for major pedagogical change?" In our view, the answer lies in his last published writing—namely, the revised preface to *Religions, Values, and Peak Experiences*—composed the month before his death in June 1970. In part, it reflected Maslow's growing concern that his concept of self-actualization was being widely misinterpreted, particularly by American countercultural youth (Hoffman, 1999).

In this preface, Maslow (1970) warned first against an emphasis on the "merely experiential" (p. viii) and the danger of one becoming permanently "self-absorbed and inwardly searching" (p. viii) and insisted that "the sacred . . . is to be found in one's daily life, in one's neighbors, friends, and family" (p. x). Second, Maslow argued that experientialism and social reform were hardly mutually exclusive, but rather "the empirical fact is that self-actualizing people, our best experiencers, are also our most compassionate. . . . One necessary aspect of becoming a better person is *via* helping other people" (p. xii). And third, Maslow asserted, "I can say much more firmly than I ever did, for many empirical reasons, that basic human needs can be fulfilled only by and through other human beings, i.e., society. The need for community . . . is itself a basic need" (p. xiii). He then linked these statements directly to his "study of the failure of most Utopian efforts" (p. xiv)—that is, their inability to satisfy individual longing for companionship.

In this light, we are certain that Maslow would have added a fourth component to educating for eupsychia—that of encouraging and nurturing what Adler (1930/2016, 1938/1998) termed *social interest* and Suttie (1935/1988) described as "a need to give" (p. 53)—that is, to express love and affection from infancy onward. Maslow in late career prized Adler's insights on the importance of social feeling for healthy psychological functioning (Hoffman, 1999) as well as Suttie's (1935/1988) notion that modern Western civilization has a "taboo on tenderness," which stifles children's innate friendliness and generosity, leading to "a hardness and cynicism" as they develop into adults (p. 96). More recently, Franceconi (2018) applied the Aristotelian concept of virtue as essential to individual well-being in advocating "eudaimonic education" for large-scale societal improvement.

Limitations of space prohibit a detailed analysis of educational programs and interventions based on such psychological underpinnings. However, as Alex Lin (2013) noted, students in the primary grades generally receive classroom training in developing empathy, collaborative ability, conflict resolution, and related skills, whereas those in higher grades engage in actual volunteer work. Growing research in areas such as youth volunteering, civic engagement, and school-directed community service have shown a variety of beneficial outcomes for participants including gains in self-esteem, communicative ability, leadership, problem solving, and intrinsic motivation (Kim & Morgul, 2017; Lin, 2013; Stukas et al., 2016). In view of the relevance of these characteristics for Maslow's concepts of self-actualization and synergy, it seems likely his educational agenda today for eupsychia would include methods for accentuating their development in children and youth. In this light, Huxley's (1962a) pedagogy of nonverbal education involving "wise passiveness" (p. 287) may also have heightened Maslow's enthusiasm for training in this domain, for dating back to his early work on peak experiences, he had become convinced of the inadequacy of routine discourse to express higher experiential truths.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank W. C. Compton and Kirk Schneider for their conceptual contributions and Ahrisue Choi for her research assistance.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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