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SELF-OBJECT DEFICIT, ANGER, AND ENVY
IN THE NARCISSISTIC CONDITION

presented by

LESLIE A. WOLOWITZ

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

_____Ph.D._____ degree in _Psychology_

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Major professor
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Date___December 2, 1991___

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SELF-OBJECT DEFICIT, ANGER, AND ENVY IN
THE NARCISSISTIC CONDITION

By

Leslie Anne Wolowitz

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1991

ABSTRACT

SELF-OBJECT DEFICIT, ANGER, AND ENVY IN THE NARCISSISTIC CONDITION

By

Leslie Anne Wolowitz

To test some theoretical explanations of narcissism, this author developed a scoring system to rate projective stimuli for the presence of "self-object" deficit, from Kohut, and for conflict with anger and envy, from Kernberg.

55 men and 88 women undergraduates were administered, in a group, the O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory (OMNI), selected TAT cards, and Blacky Picture Test cards, and asked to record a daydream.

The major hypothesis stated that self-object deficit, conflict with anger and envy, and "narcissistic" daydreams would positively correlate with narcissism. Other hypotheses were that men would show more of the "narcissistic personality" dimension of the OMNI, and that women would score higher on the "narcissistically abused personality" dimension. Additionally, the three types of narcissism measured by the OMNI were expected to be differentiated with respect to the separate contributions of the independent variables.

The significant findings gave modest support to the major hypothesis. Self-object deficits, conflict with anger and envy, and "narcissistic" daydreams showed the predicted relationship to narcissism. Kohut's concepts were not

confirmed as being stronger predictors of OMNI scores than did Kernberg's concepts. There were no significant gender differences in the types of narcissism observed. The three types of narcissism were differentiated in the following ways. The "narcissistic personality" dimension was best explained with unfavorable ratings of TAT father and conflict with anger. The "perfectionistic/ controlling" dimension was most correlated with unfavorable ratings of TAT mother. The "narcissistically abused personality" dimension was best predicted by unfavorable ratings of TAT father.

The neglected role of the father-figure in psychoanalytic explanations of narcissistic character formation was noted, as it was the overall, most consistent predictor of narcissism in the sample.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Wolowitz, of my "healthy narcissism"; a necessary condition for this work.

Finally, I would like to thank Arthur Dworetz. His patience, resourceful support and keen perceptiveness paved the way for the completion of the dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Narcissism: The Focus of the Study

Narcissism denotes a variety of psychological experiences. It is used to conceptualize internal states, to describe a developmental stage, and to characterize a kind of psychopathology. This study focuses on the latter. Yet it is important to note that narcissism, as a personality style, can be an immensely adaptive strategy and that narcissism is a key part of normal psychological development. Psychoanalytic theory has placed pathological narcissism in the middle of a spectrum that ranges from the "classical neuroses" (e.g., obsessive-compulsive and hysterical styles) to narcissistic and borderline organizations of personality, to the psychoses.

Clinical and theoretical interest in narcissism burgeoned in the past three decades. It is unclear whether this was due to an actual increase in narcissistic psychopathology. An alternative explanation is that the subject of narcissism remained a relatively less explored phenomenon for the second generation of analytic thinkers (after Freud) to investigate (Cooper, 1986).

Narcissism as Represented in Myth

The Greek myth of Narcissus provides a point of origin for the discussion of narcissism, as well as a meaningful set of themes and images. The story is a tragic one and

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speaks to the suffering and unfulfilled longing that underlie the narcissist's surface glory. As told by Ovid (Grant, 1962) the myth begins with the river-god Cephisus ravishing Liriope, a nymph. Liriope gives birth to Narcissus and Cephisus abandons them. Liriope asks the prophet Teresias if her son will live to a ripe, old age. He replies that Narcissus will live a long time only if he "never knows himself." Narcissus grows to be a beautiful teenager and attracts many suitors. The nymph Echo falls in love with him but Narcissus rejects her. Ill from unrequited love, Echo dissolves into a disembodied voice. In anger she prays to the gods for restitution. Nemesis devises a fitting punishment. Narcissus will see his reflection in a silver spring and fall in love. When he reaches out to hold the object of his desire (himself), it will disintegrate. Narcissus eventually dies from his love-sick longing (in one version from suicide). Narcissus's dead body then transforms into the flower, narcissus.

Sheldon Bach (1985) notes that the name of this flower is derived from the Greek word for narcotic. A narcotic, known for its power to soothe, is a fitting antidote for the suffering that Narcissus himself feels and evoked in Echo. The theme of body disintegration and the mirage of outward beauty portrayed in the myth, are central to the clinical understanding of the narcissistic problem. More germane to this study are the myth's depictions of mirroring and idealization that Kohut writes about with regard to

narcissism. Bach (1985) uses the myth as a starting point to describe his theory that narcissism is a problem of identity and consciousness. The narcissistic distortion arises from both a self-centeredness that compensates for failure and an impairment in the capacity to self-reflect. The ability to hold self-as-subject with self-as-object is disturbed.

Narcissism as Psychopathology

Narcissistic pathology is globally characterized by an intense need for admiration, self-involvement, an insensitivity towards the needs of others, overvaluation or devaluation of one's self-importance, rage in response to criticism, hypochondriacal concerns, transient states of shame, charm, grandiose schemes and fantasies, and self reports of emptiness and fraudulence (Adler, 1986). The diagnostic and statistical manual for Mental Disorders (DSM III-R) defines it as:

(1) a grandiose sense of uniqueness and self importance

(2) preoccupation with fantasies of power, brilliance, fame, beauty or love

(3) constant need for attention and admiration; a form of exhibitionism

(4) indifference, rage, or shame in response to criticism, defeat, or lack of interest from others

(5) interpersonal disturbance in the form of entitlement, taking advantage of others,

alternating between idealization and devaluation,

or a lack of empathy for others.

Goals of the Study

This study focuses on the contrasting views of
narcissism proposed by Otto Kernberg and Heinz Kohut in the
1960's. Kernberg held that narcissism was a variation of
borderline personality organization. He thought that in
place of the identity diffusion occurring in borderline
pathology, narcissistic pathology grew out of a fragile core
identity that was fraught with preoedipal conflicts around
envy and aggression. A pathological self-structure was
formed to manage these unconscious conflicts.

Kohut viewed narcissism as separate from borderline
pathology. The narcissistic disorder was based on
deficiencies in self-generated psychological functions,
accrued in childhood. Kernberg emphasized the role of
aggression and intrapsychic conflict and defense. Kohut
stressed the absence of self-functions as a result of
regularly occurring ruptures in the psychological matrix
created in the interaction between child and parent. Hence
the narcissistic self develops to gain the missing
experience of well-being. Both theorists note the
underlying fragmentation of this personality organization.

This study is an attempt to locate Kernberg's and
Kohut's basic concepts in narratives given by "normal"
college students. Another goal is to look at how these
phenomena correlate to varying subclinical levels of

narcissism and how they might distribute among gender and subtypes of narcissism. In trying to empirically validate these constructs, it is assumed that the two theories can co-exist in the data, despite the controversy that their differences have sparked.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Freud: Primary and Secondary Narcissism

Narcissism was first used as a clinical term at the end of the 18th century by Havelock Ellis. It referred to a sexual perversion where one's body was treated _as if_ it were that of a loved other. Ellis also noted narcissism in the feminine attitude of extreme self-absorption in appearance (Pulver, 1970). It is interesting that this self-obsession is portrayed by a male in the Greek myth. This speaks to the importance of culture in promoting gender-associated attitudes. Freud read Ellis and used the term not for a specific perversion, but in a larger context.

Freud's thoughts on narcissism culminated in his 1914 paper "On Narcissism: An Introduction." He believed in a primary and secondary narcissism. Primary narcissism was the overall psychological state of infancy; a state of awareness of self to the exclusion of others. He considered this to be a universal condition and adjunctively called it "normal narcissism." Freud (1914) commented, "The charm of a child lies to a great extent in his narcissism, his self-contentment and inaccessibility." Only later did the child develop an awareness of the presence of others as separate beings. This self-investment is linked to a sense of grandiosity and feelings of power and perfection (Freud, 1914; Cooper, 1986). Furthermore, the child's narcissism is

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a reflection of the parent's re-living of their own lost primary narcissism through their child. The parents collude in exaggerating their child's perfection and in ignoring any weaknesses. Primary narcissism is explained by the infant's limited consciousness and by the parental wish to re-create their own archaic grandiosity.

In the working through of the Oedipal complex, the intrapsychic world becomes structuralized in a constellation of ego, superego, and id. The ego-ideal (part of the superego) carries the vestiges of the primary narcissism. With the advent of object-love (and the capacity to perceive an "object") psychic energy, once directed completely towards the self, can now be invested in others. The varying degree and proportion of self and other investments depends on the character structure of the individual. Hence a narcissistic person would be more focused on self than other. Despite the concreteness of Freud's metaphors, he mapped out the process involved in narcissistic character formation.

Freud also hypothesized a secondary narcissism. Secondary narcissism was, in essence, a reaction to hurt. Disappointment in love or the experience of failure of the body in illness, caused a temporary reinvestment in the self. Freud illustrated this concept with the self-preoccupation found in adults suffering from serious illness. Disappointment in love (e.g., rejection) constituted a "narcissistic injury." This idea relates to

Bach's (1985) theory of the compensatory function of narcissism following a failure of the self as a locus of agency and mastery. This theme was also taken up in Adler's theory of the "Napoleonic complex" where defect is covered over with grandiosity.

In reference to more enduring states of psychopathology, Freud thought that narcissism explained the lack of contact with others in schizophrenia. To make matters more complex, he classified the choice of a partner as either narcissistic or anaclitic. The narcissistic object-choice involved finding a wished-for or idealized aspect of the self in the mate. For Freud, homosexuality represented a narcissistic object-choice. The anaclitic object-choice is based on finding someone who resembles early images of the parents and to those who fulfill conditions for love, rooted in infancy.

In addition to object-choice, Freud believed that health lay in a balance between self-love and object-love. Self-esteem grew from the integrity of one's primary narcissism and later in the ability to meet the demands of the ego-ideal. However he thought that object-love was essential to mental health and that the inability to find and fully invest in a partner caused decompensation. Freud warned that a "cure by love" is incomplete because it is always dependent on the lover. The process of psychoanalysis was to use object-love (the positive

transference) in the service of re-creating the self's inner structure.

Freud's paper established a multitude of meanings for the concept of narcissism. Both healthy and pathological forms of narcissism were sketched. However it was only later that psychoanalytic theory took up the problem of narcissism with such fervor. Some have suggested that patients labeled in Freud's time as hysterical or borderline were really narcissistic. Others, such as Christopher Lasch (1978), argue that modern values of ambition and competition inherent in a capitalistic economy engendered a "culture of narcissism." If so, then psychoanalytic theory looks at the problems and contemporary adaptations of the patients who seek to alleviate their particular suffering.

The Role of Envy: Kernberg's Perspective

Kernberg's theory of narcissistic personality formation focuses on the role that oral aggression and envy play in early life. Unresolved conflicts around aggression lead to a "pathological self-structure" that forms the core of this character structure. This study attempts to capture Kernberg's theory through the subject's relationship to their envy and aggression. Therefore it is necessary to briefly review these concepts in Kernberg's writings and in those of his predecessor, Melanie Klein.

In narcissistic character, the capacity for relatedness is thought to be seriously disturbed by a lack of concern and empathy towards others and difficulty in forming

interdependent bonds. This lack of engagement is seen as a defensive position that masks "chronic, intense envy". Specifically envy is warded off with the processes of devaluation of the other, omnipotent control, and interpersonal withdrawal (Kernberg, 1975). Real interest and contact is made usually when someone presents an opportunity for gratification, as in a temporary idealization of a significant person or when someone is admiring them. Kernberg traces this relational position back to the fantasy life of the two and three year old child. Where the normal child desires to have special qualities (e.g., beauty, intelligence) to be seen as loveable, the narcissistic child's fantasies revolve around being the exclusive owner of special traits, in order to be admired. The fantasy of exclusivity, in narcissism, has roots in the infant's perception of the mother as the sole owner of the goods that the child must wait to receive.

Kernberg's ideas about envy are related and to a certain degree derived from Melanie Klein's seminal work on envy. Klein was instrumental in demonstrating the primacy of envy in psychological life. Many of her colleagues in the British Psychoanalytic Society regarded her theory as controversial. Her theory continues to be a source of debate. Envy had previously been seen as a typically feminine attribute and weakness (Grosskurth, 1986). Klein, however, found envy to be a powerful, universal emotion that

shaped the infant's inner-world and subsequent
relationships:

> "Envy is the angry feeling that another
> person possesses and enjoys something desirable --
> the envious impulse being to take it away or spoil
> it. Moreover, envy implies the subject's
> relationship to one person only and goes back to
> the earliest exclusive relation with mother."
> (Klein, 1956)

The original possessor of something desirable is the

mother with her breast or bottle. Consequently, all

children have some degree of envy towards mother and

implicitly wish to rob or spoil her contents; her creative

power. According to Klein, the breast is never as

gratifying as one hopes for and frustration is felt as

actively sadistic. The early "part-object" of the

gratifying breast is gradually introjected into the child's

symbolic representations and forms the beginnings of a good

internalized object. This good internalized object paves

the way for satisfying relationships and protects the child

from feeling overwhelmed by the internal and external forces

that cause anxiety and persecutory fears. This process may

be hypothesized to function in separation anxiety and in

stranger anxiety. Before internalization has occurred, the

actual presence of the mother is needed as a barrier against

a sense of danger.

Klein ordered early life into two psychological

positions. Until age four the schizoid position

predominates. Here, the phenomenological world is felt to

be either all-good or all-bad. The good and bad within the

self (and experienced from others) are later integrated in the depressive position. The salient experiences of the earlier schizoid period are those generated from mother as part-object; the good gratifying breast and the bad withholding breast.

Klein framed her theory in Freud's language of drive and structure. She emphasized the importance of the presence of aggressive energy at birth. Envy and greed were seen as variations of aggression. Aggression is aimed at destroying hurtful external objects that are introjected as well (i.e., the experience of a frustrating or angry mother). Envy and greed are differentiated from general aggression in that they are directed at the good object (Klein, 1956; Grosskurth, 1986). Greed is defined by Klein as an "insatiable craving" expressed as a wish to destructively introject the good breast. Berke (1988) contends that greed is a less destructive impulse than envy. However Berke notes that envy and greed occur together and has termed this phenomenon "grenvy." Envy is the desire to spoil and rob the good object (e.g., to ravage). One mechanism, in envy, is to destroy the good perceived as contained in the other through projecting bad parts of the self onto this figure (Klein, 1956). In this way the "good object" is spoiled, envy diminishes, and the negative parts of the self are cast off.

Envy is differentiated from jealousy in that it is enacted as a two, rather than a three person scenario.

Klein posited envy as the more primitive, archaic emotion. Developmentally, later concerns with the oedipal triangle and sibling rivalry produce jealous feelings (Klein, 1956; Kernberg, 1980; Grosskurth, 1986).

Resentment at having to depend on mother as the dispenser of nourishment, attention, and safety gives rise to envy of her. In the Kleinian view, this ultimately leads to a wish to destroy another's creative power. Greed is the wish to have all the good inside oneself. Envy and greed are both strategies to control the "good object." Because envy involves spoiling (whether in fantasy or in enactment) it controls the good object at the expense of destroying it. The destruction of what is felt to be good in the world leaves the envious person in the position of having no good object to relate to. Therefore envy can generate anxiety and even terror, as the hope of a good relationship disintegrates in the process (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). There are many illustrations of symbolic envy in cinema. In Gone With The Wind, TARA, the O'Hara's home, is burnt down as the representation of the wealthy, white South which was maintained at the expense of Black slaves. This have and have-not theme is more currently depicted in Do The Right Thing. Here the "goods" are linked to an oral symbol that could stand for the bountiful but withholding breast. This is the Italian-owned pizza parlor in the Black ghetto that eventually gets burned down in a rebellion against oppression. One may speculate that the rage and destruction

directed by an oppressed group towards the "goods" owned by the oppressors, mimics the envy of childhood aimed at the mother and her bounty.

One explanation for the power of these pictures-as-symbols is that they speak to our envious fantasies to destroy the contents of what is felt to be good outside of ourselves. Klein thought that envy was a major reason for the so-called "negative therapeutic reaction" in psychoanalysis. Here, the patient's envy of the therapist's healing power results in the patient becoming worse, as if to negate the presence of the therapist's capacity to repair and create. The patient sabotages the therapeutic relationship as they have done with others in the past.

> "Needless to say, our patients criticize us for a variety of reasons, sometimes with justification. But a patient's need to devalue the very help he has experienced is the expression of envy." (Klein, 1956).

Where Klein mentioned paranoid patients as having excessive envy, Kernberg suggests that narcissistic patients have hidden, destructive envy of the analyst. At the earliest stage in development envy interferes with the internalization process between child and caretaker; a process vital to therapeutic change.

The other side of the young child's relationship to the good object is gratitude. Gratitude is the appreciation of the goodness and enjoyment received from the parents. The universal struggle between envy and gratitude, when balanced, leads to a capacity to identify with significant

other's success and to an ability to enjoy what is good in relationships (Grosskurth, 1986; Klein, 1956).

Kernberg assimilated Klein's theory and used envy to explain the narcissist's proclivity to devalue others and avoid mutual dependency. He describes narcissistic character pathology with an array of defenses that serve to depreciate and spoil others. The depreciation helps to avoid deeper conflicts with envy (Kernberg, 1970). If nothing is good and desirable then there is no impetus for envious feelings. The spoiling is a direct attack on the object. Since the "good object" must be introjected from an external person (the mother), envy undermines the building up of inner-representations of goodness. Without this reliable sense of inner-support, the narcissist depends on the approval and admiration of others. This places an unrealistic demand on relationships as a constant supply of admiration is needed for psychologic well-being.

Narcissistic persons envy what they don't have and envy those who know how to enjoy life. Alice Miller (1979) after hearing Kernberg's comment on the envy of those who enjoy life, elaborated, by saying that this was the essence of the narcissist's plight. As children, they have not been free to enjoy life or to be average, but have had to prove their specialness. The parents admire their childrens' talents for their own narcissistic purposes. Miller draws analogies between depression and narcissism. They are both obsessed with reclaiming a lost paradise and envy health in others.

The narcissist inflates his/her self to capture a sense of goodness, whereas the depressive mourns its loss. Miller reasons that narcissism involves the creation of a false (grandiose) self that hides and defends against painful feelings of anger, envy, and despair. However by cutting off psychic pain, they lose access to a host of emotions that are part of the experience of being alive. Tragically, the mask of narcissism is more deadening than the dreaded envy it hides (Miller, 1979; Greenberg and Mitchell, 1981).

Miller and Kernberg both take a step away from Klein in recognizing the role of the parents in creating narcissistic conditions. Miller puts more emphasis on the mother to explain the etiology of narcissism, whereas Kernberg fluctuates between accepting a drive-notion of constitutional envy and offering a more interpersonal theory. Miller (1979) describes a mother who uses her child as an echo (perhaps playing on the figure of Echo in the myth of Narcissus). The child must offer admiration and attention to the mother. The mother's secret envy and hatred of the child is communicated, leaving the child with false grandiosity and a hidden sense of shame, envy, and hatred. Kernberg (1970) describes cold and covertly aggressive parents who use the child in the family that possesses some special quality or who is an only child. This specialness arouses envy mixed with possible admiration and causes the child to equate dependency on others with hatred, envy, and exploitation.

Kernberg maps the self in narcissism differently than Miller. There are three selves; a real-self, and ideal-self and an ideal-other contained within the boundaries of the self representation. The following is an attempt to outline this rather maze-like construct of the self-structure in narcissistic character. The ideal-self is normally a part of the ego-ideal that forms one of the elements of superego. The ideal-self in narcissistic character is part of their ego, according to Kernberg, rather than being connected to the superego. Therefore the narcissist consciously experiences him/her self as their ideal-self rather than as striving for an (unconscious) image of perfection. In healthy and neurotic character, the ego-ideal composes a value system that the person tries to fulfill, in order to feel good about themselves. Because the ideal-self is contained in ego (in narcissistic character) and not in the ego-ideal, there lacks a sense of guiding values. Furthermore, the ideal-other becomes fused into self-representation, in narcissism, rather than remain as an internalized image of a fantasied other. In other words, the internal self-and-other images break down in the same way that Narcissus is confused by his mirror image and acts as if it were his beautiful lover. This creates boundary confusion; a phenomenon mentioned by Bach (1985) as well in regard to narcissism.

Kernberg describes the boundary confusion in terms of the phenomenological experience of self and how it affects

real relationships. The presence of the ideal-other as part of self representation (in the narcissistic condition) intensifies the "pathological grandiose self". A certain disinterest pervades relationships as a result of this self-other consolidation. This inflated sense of self is thought to be a compensation for envy. The narcissist withdraws into the self to seek gratification normally sought from others. The envy and complementary grandiosity distorts the value of others and results in attempts to control and minimize the importance of others (Kernberg, 1975). In psychoanalysis, the narcissistic patient devalues the analyst out of envy. This defensive tactic keeps the patient from feeling a terrifying degree of envy and hatred towards the analyst.

In summary, Kernberg explains narcissism working from an object-relations perspective. He understands envy, stemming from early oral aggression, to be a key factor in creating a certain self-structure and set of defenses. This "pathological self structure" is comprised of a grandiose self that blends ideal-self and ideal-other object images. Relationships with others evoke the underlying envy and are defended against with omnipotent control, devaluation and withdrawal. Many other analytic writers have corroborated the significance of envy in narcissistic disorders and have attributed this clinical finding to Kernberg (Rosenfeld, 1964; Miller, 1979; Adler, 1986; Modell, 1975).

The Role of Aggression: Kernberg's Prospective

Kernberg holds an extremely rich and complex view of aggression and its role in development. Aggression is thought to be a vital part of normal object relations, sexuality, and personal value systems (Kernberg, 1980). Aggression, as part of the contents of superego, contributes to a capacity for responsibility, concern, and commitment towards others. This superego aggression manifests as guilt and shame. Kernberg aptly states the value of aggression when he says that mature love is only possible in those who "love well and hate well" (Kernberg, 1980). Yet the kind of primitive oral aggression found in narcissistic (and borderline) personalities creates conflicts that, in turn, shape psychological structures that are qualitatively different.

Kernberg's theoretical perspective is taken from the early object-relations theories of Klein, Fairbairn and later, Jacobson and Mahler. Klein elaborated on the emotional and fantasy world of early life. Although Kernberg rejected Klein's postulation of a highly developed fantasy life in infancy, he accepted the notion of early forms of aggression, anxiety, and rudimentary inner-structures in the mental life of the first few years.

Another aspect of the influence of aggression on narcissism is the management of this painful affect through the primitive defense mechanisms of splitting and projection. Again it was Klein that first hypothesized

these defenses as ways to keep the anger and attendant bad self-object representations from destroying the good self-object unit. In splitting, an all-good representation and an all-bad representation are formed, so that the bad does not contaminate the good experience. In projection, the bad felt to be inside is externalized to an appropriate person or thing. Kernberg identifies splitting and projection as primitive destructive defenses that the borderline/narcissist rely on, to modulate their aggression and preserve their good self-and-object mental images. In more developed character structures, these all-good and all-bad representations become integrated and allow for realistic self-image and for complex perceptions of others with positive and negatively colored tones.

Fairbairn predated Kernberg in making a bridge between the drive/structure model and the relational model of personality. However Fairbairn felt that people were "object-seeking" from birth and developed hatred only in reaction to frustrating and depriving experiences with the environment. Kernberg retained the original Freudian view of innate libidinal and aggressive strivings. It is this difference that forms the core of the Kernberg/Kohut controversy, with Kohut using a more Fairbairnian assumption that rejects innate aggression. For Kernberg, the baby is both object-seeking and object-rejecting (Fairbairn, 1951; Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983; Kernberg, 1980). Aggression in the formation of narcissism is seen, by Kernberg, as

precipitating from both constitutional states and from parental treatment.

> "...it is an open question to what extent inborn intensity of aggressive drive participates in this picture, and that the predominance of cold, narcissistic and at the same time over-protective mother figures appear to be the main etiological element in the psychogenesis of this pathology." (p. 257, Kernberg, 1974)

The result of this overwhelming aggression is the pathological self-structure that Kernberg also refers to as the grandiose self. This is represented by a deviant fusion of ideal-self, real-self, and ideal-other, as was mentioned in the context of the role of envy.

This pathological self-structure is libidinally invested in narcissism. Since the picture of a good other is part of self identity, the self is loved with an intensity that would normally be invested in relationships with others; hence the narcissistic grandiosity and aloofness. Additionally, bad parts of self-and-object representations are projected outward, furthering the devaluation of others. The superego structure of the narcissist remains unintegrated and underdeveloped, as it lacks the energy given by the ideal self-and-other images. The narcissist's self-structure is defensively created during the phase of separation-individuation in response to "interpersonal difficulties." It is during this stage that internalized good and bad representations differentiate into libido and aggression. It is the force of this aggression that undermines the organization, differentiation, and

integration of good and bad self/other representations
(Kernberg, 1975; 1980; Glassman, 1988).

The narcissistic grandiosity defends against aggression
because the tension normally created by having to strive for
the idealized self is subverted. It is as if the narcissist
does not have to become the best that he or she can be (as
the U.S. military advertisement reminds us) because he/she
is already there subjectively. Aggression is manifested
more openly in the employment of devaluation, exploitation,
and depreciation of people and things that have a separate
existence. When the narcissist does idealize, it is only a
temporary stealing of glory and the idealized figure rapidly
falls from grace (Kernberg, 1975; 1980). Similarly, the
desire to be the idealized self, which has to do with values
and superego integrity, is used only as a vehicle to placate
others and to gain admiration. These admirers are perceived
as useless and empty once their admiration has been won.
Deep down the narcissist feels like a crook, according to
Kernberg (1975).

Interpersonal disappointment fills the narcissist with
anger and "revengeful wishes" rather than with the real
sadness of loss. Cooper (1986) summarizes the aggressive
function of the grandiose self by stating that it is an
attempt to destroy the object.

Other subsequent psychoanalytic theorists have used
Kernberg to develop different but related explanations of
the etiology and phenomenology of narcissism. Reich (1960)

finds early traumatic mothering to be the 'agent provocateur'. She describes invasive mothers who violate the infant's bodily and psychological boundaries. This trauma causes a narcissistic withdrawal into an endangered self. Magical defenses and fusions protect the child by metaphorically saying "I am not helpless, in fact I'm bigger and better than anyone else." Furthermore, they equate themselves with their idealized objects (Kernberg's refusion with the ideal-object within the self-representation). Intimacy is desired only when admiration can be found to help regulate painful swings in self-esteem. Reich hypothesizes that the narcissistic symptom of hypochondriasis is an encapsulation of unneutralized aggression.

Modell (1975) re-invents Kernberg's pathological grandiose self as a false self. The violation of the true self by an intrusive mother creates a false self-organization that defends against further intrusion. The major objective, for Modell, in narcissism is self-sufficiency. Avoiding closeness with others is tempered only by a need for admiration. The admiration from others is used to maintain autonomy. This anti-dependent stance is demonstrated by emotional withholding because affective expression exposes the underlying infantile dependency needs. The common sense of emptiness, reported first by Kernberg, is explained by Modell as a proof of the presence of a false self, devoid of any true likeness. Like

Kernberg, Modell thinks of narcissism as a defensive posture. For Kernberg it is a defense against inner aggression and envy; for Modell it is a defense against intrusion and further damage to one's true self. In Kernberg's theory it is assumed that the interpersonal world shapes the internal world so significantly that what may have began as destruction from the outside ends up as a need to destroy.

Similar to Modell, Miller (1979) believes that both the narcissistic and the depressive share a false-self organization. Grandiosity's role in narcissism is to protect against anger, envy, and loss. For Miller the splitting off of hatred, envy, and despair ultimately deadens the self; a self that was not allowed to be expressed in childhood.

Self and Self-object Deficits: Kohut's Perspective

Heinz Kohut modified Freudian theory and subsequent object-relational theory by taking out the drive and defense framework, so central to conflict theory. He fixed personality organization firmly in the relational sphere. Kohut countered the prevailing psychoanalytic view that narcissist's were unanalyzable. Freud had specified that a transference neurosis was necessary as part of analysis and narcissistic patients did not have these types of transferences. Following Freud's logic, Kohut identified what he believed to be three (since expanded) transference

reactions common to narcissistic patients: mirroring, idealizing, and merger transferences. He then categorized narcissistic personalities into two types: narcissistic behavior disorders marked by addiction and acting-out, and narcissistic personality disorders. The narcissistic personality was described by Kohut and Wolf (1978) as characterized by a lack of zest, hypersensitivity to slights, and hypochondriasis. Kohut's analytic work with narcissism led to his theory of self psychology and to a novel way of understanding the narcissistic condition.

Kohut's theory is based on how the self becomes constructed; its transformations and solidification. According to Kohut there are two developmental lines that together make up personality. One has to do with relationship to the self. The other line is object-love. A clear self emerges at about 18 months of age and is consolidated by age 8 (Wolf, 1984). Relationships outside the self can have narcissistic and/or object love aims. Most relationships are assumed to combine narcissistic gratification and love of the other (Kohut, 1977; 1983). The narcissistic personality disorder develops from experiences in the first seven years of life; as the self is developing (Wolf, 1984). Interference in the narcissistic developmental line is considered the key element in producing narcissistic pathology.

In a rather counter-intuitive statement, Kohut claimed that narcissists had been prevented from accessing their

healthy normal narcissism in childhood (Kohut & Wolf, 1978; Wolf, 1988). Having been unable to get their original narcissistic needs met, their grandiosity remained in its archaic form; split off and unintegrated. According to Kohut, the hunger for admiration and insistence on being special, constitute functional attempts to satisfy what _were_ normal childhood demands in adulthood. Assaults and deprivations regarding early claims for recognition and identification with idealized parents, engender intense shame and a vulnerable self open to momentary fragmentation.

Narcissism, per se, and as defined as "the libidinal investment in the self" (Hartmann, 1948) is not pathological, but is in fact one of the essential components of personality. The primary narcissism that accompanies the infant's blissful merger with mother matures and emerges in different forms as the narcissistic developmental line grows (Kohut, 1966). It is only when this developmental line is blocked that a developmental arrest occurs and a narcissistic personality disorder unfolds.

Mirroring and Idealizing

Mirroring and idealizing are psychological functions that naturally occur in the relationship between parent and child. These functions are assumed to be disturbed in the narcissist's early relationships. Therefore it is necessary to summarize Kohut's view of early development. Kohut thought that psychological survival and growth required a

healthy interpersonal atmosphere. He likened this interpersonal need to physiological needs for oxygen and water (Kohut, 1977; 1978). Because of the extreme dependence of the infant and the nature of early cognitive structure, Kohut speculated that the baby experienced others as part of their own self and not as separate beings. They need the parent to function on their (the baby's) behalf. Kohut developed a language for this primitive relationship: self and self-object. The self-object is the subjective percept of an important relationship (Wolf, 1984) beginning in infancy and continuing at least phenomenologically for the course of the life cycle. Adults continue to seek out a self-object matrix for maximum growth (Wolf, 1988). The "self" is sustained and empowered by certain self-object experiences; fragmented, weakened, and injured by others. Repeated positive experiences with self-objects allow the child to eventually appropriate these self-sustaining functions as his/her own, lending a resilience in the face of disappointment and frustration. Among the most important self-object functions are mirroring and idealizing.

Prior to the mirroring experience is the infant's need to merge with the self-object. Merging is concretized by the physical holding of the child. Later in adulthood this merger need may be expressed in a desire for a hug or in the sexual union of the couple. The need to merge is considered the most rudimentary of self-object needs (Kohut, 1983). The need for twinship has to do with the wish for sharing

one's experience with a silent, identical self-object and can take the form in childhood of imaginary companions and transitional objects, who are animated with the self's wishes and emotions.

Mirroring refers to the positive responsivity that a parent communicates towards their child. This includes positive but appropriate confirmation of the child's exhibitionism and grandiosity. The satisfaction of the need for acceptance and confirmation can be met by the mother's tone of voice, her gestures, gaze, and overall attitude towards her child. By age two the child has important exhibitionistic needs to show off. Appropriate admiration and approval of these needs greatly contributes to a sense of goodness, wholeness, strength, and perfection (Kohut, 1977; Wolf, 1988). This admiration must coordinate with an appreciation of the child's whole self. Too much focus on a certain attribute (e.g., the child's cognitive strengths) can in and of itself be a fragmenting experience and is not appropriate mirroring (Kohut, 1983). The caretakers must empathically respond to what is most important in the child's experience. Mirroring works to both facilitate the child's healthy narcissism and to contain it.

The facilitation of the infant's sense of goodness and perfection begins with "baby worship" (Kohut, 1983); the baby's perfection is continually affirmed in the normal self/self-object milieu. Mirroring responses are given in the mother's shining eyes and approving smile. The mother

provides a reflective image of the child's innate perfection that will lead to self-esteem later in development. The acceptance of child-initiated exhibitionism paves the way for the adult's comfort in performance and success. Therefore the mirroring self-object is instrumental in shaping the child's personality in the arena of ambition. Kohut believed that ambition and values form the two "poles" of personality.

As the child becomes more independent,the family's expectations change and mirroring responses change accordingly. "Optimal frustration" occurs as the parent cannot always provide mirroring and this helps the child to internalize the mirroring functions (Kohut, 1977; 1983). This internalization of self-object functions is described as a two-fold process called "transmuting internalization." First the external mirroring is subjectively altered to conform to inner needs. In this transformed state, mirroring is now experienced as one of the child's self-functions. Hence we hear an echo of approval or imagine a parent's loving gaze when we do something well. When the self-object's interactions are missing or inadequate the internalized mirroring function is used as a reservoir to maintain well-being. However if the original mirroring responses given by the child's self-objects are impoverished or faulty, then the child's self structure is compromised. He/she will be vulnerable to the approval or criticism of others and will be dependent on external praise. In the

narcissistic condition, the self is depleted of internal
mirroring and seeks the most archaic form of response from
others; namely admiration in its variety of forms. It is
this driven quality that differentiates the narcissist's
need for a flock of admirers from another person's need for
intimacy, love, and respect.

Because Kohut assumes that a healthy narcissism
continues to play a role in people's development,
exhibitionism continues to be expressed in more
sophisticated ways and propels the adult to search for
narcissistic supplies from others. The grandiose self
manifests in night-dreams, as in flying dreams, and in
daydreams and fantasies of greatness, power, beauty, etc.
For Kohut, the inflated grandiosity in clinical narcissism
signifies that the grandiosity is unintegrated. It is as if
the narcissist's grandiosity spills over into conscious life
and takes over, unsatisfied with the limited catharsis of
dreams and fantasies. These narcissistic demands are not
able to be partially absorbed by the self-structure (because
of deficits) and what we hear are the childish claims of
greatness and uniqueness. Unmodulated from within, the
narcissist experiences great swings between grandiosity and
triumph to shame and humiliation. Parents who were
themselves uncomfortable with their needs to shine may shame
the child for his/her exhibitionistic displays. This will
reactivate a dual sense of shame and grandiosity when the

child grows up and attempts anything related to narcissistic gratification such as creative work.

Idealizing

The other important self-object function, with regard to narcissism, is the process of idealizing. Idealized self-objects are used in the service of building up the self and make a fundamental contribution to self-structure. The lack of effective idealizable self-object's, in the preoedipal phase, is thought to be one of the causes of narcissistic personality organization. Idealizing, like mirroring, has an archaic form and continues as a potent psychologic need throughout the life cycle. The self, according to Kohut, is enhanced and solidified by participation with idealized self-objects. Whereas mirroring is "subject bound", idealizing is "object bound" and is directed at the other's characteristics (Kohut, 1983).

The first idealizing experiences begin with the infant feeling and merging with a sense of the parent's infallibility, calmness and omnipotence (Wolf, 1984). A typical experience of an idealizing self-object is when the mother picks up her child, communicating calmness and strength. Kohut speculates that this interaction resembles the adult's finding an idealized other and feeling uplifted in their presence. Idealization bolsters and guides the

self. The parent's soothing capacity and mastery of the world is assimilated by the child.

Early on in development, the parent's self-object functions become specialized with the mother carrying mirroring and the father containing the idealization. In male development, the boy longs to admire and imitate a successful father and be perceived as a "chip off the old block" (Kohut, 1971; 1978). Yet female children also turn towards father as the idealized figure. Chodorow (1978) believes that girls idealize their fathers because they are more distant (and hence idealizable) and as a way to break from the mother's narcissistic attachment with her daughter. Idealization is thwarted when the father is emotionally distant and inaccessible or when he is too embarrassed and shame-ridden to accept the child's mythology of father as hero. Sudden or massive disappointments in the idealized object can also lead to frustration. Kohut believed that in the normal course of development the child gradually acknowledges the parent's imperfections and flaws. Early, intense, disappointment in the idealized parent (before this self-object image has been internalized) can lead to an overwhelming need to admire and imitate others in adulthood.

In Kohut's bipolar model of personality, idealizing is the route to the second organizing pole consisting of values and ideals (the first being ambition). The actual content of the self's values and ideals may change across time, but a fundamental internalized set of ideals is first obtained

in the self's relationship to a sustaining idealized self-
object. The uplifting guidance of a value system
strengthens the self; and forms what the postmodernists
currently call "character". This ambition, from mirroring
and idealizing, form an arc that guides self-expression and
a sense of purpose. In this way the narcissistic
developmental line culminates in a mature desire to realize
ambition and to live by a set of meaningful ideals.

The individual's value system is part of the superego.
A lack of positive idealizing experiences can lead to
dependence on idealized others to support a weak sense of
self. Kohut contrasts those who relinquish their ideals in
the face of external rejection and persecution to people who
hold to their ideals even under the most extreme conditions
(e.g., political prisoners). The acquisition of values is
also related to the other developmental line of object love.
The original love of the parent's strengths is carried over
in our esteem for our ideals. So established values are
imbued with object-love, as well as a vital aspect of self-
confirmation and transformed narcissism (Kohut, 1983).

To more clearly illustrate how mirroring and idealizing
are part of healthy narcissism Kohut speaks of the two basic
narcissistic configurations: "I am perfect" and "you are
perfect, but I am part of you." Mirroring, the caretaker's
positive responsivity, generates the "I am perfect" that
leads to future self-esteem and confidence. The child is
not just a passive receptacle of parental mirroring but

actively seeks this out through normal exhibitionistic
display and delight in his/her increasing capacity to
perform in a variety of sensory modalities (i.e., to talk,
walk, etc.). Idealization begins with merging with the
safe, strong, larger-than-life mother. Later idealization
of father is initiated after the child has a sense of
separateness. The idealization, in its new form, both
contains and protects the pleasurable union (with mother)
that once existed. Idealization builds up the healthy
narcissistic self as it allies with the omnipotent object.
It also represents an archaic form of object-love as it
acknowledges the beneficent presence of another being.
Frustration of these two positions (the mirrored self and
the idealizing self) impairs the internalization,
integration, and modification of narcissistic demands for
perfection. Frustration occurs not as a momentous trauma,
but rather as a reoccurring faulty or injurious self-object
response. The personality of the parents determines how
they will habitually respond to their child's psychologic
needs.

The Self Psychological Explanation of Narcissistic
Personality Disorder

Kohut states that the personality of the parent(s)
creates narcissistic pathology in the child (Kohut, 1977;
1978; 1983). In "Forms and Transformations of Narcissism"
Kohut (1966) explains that interference with the

narcissistic self leads to narcissistic vulnerability
because the grandiose fantasy becomes repressed and closes
off to the environment. This disowned unconscious
representation of a grandiose self remains unmodified and
retains its archaic form because change through experiential
learning is now impossible. A psychic imbalance results.
Here, unmodified grandiosity engenders an overstimulation of
the self that exists alongside transient states of shame and
inferiority. Because the grandiose self is unintegrated
with the "core self", the narcissist's interior landscape
lacks zest. Kernberg describes this devitalization as a
pervasive inner-emptiness.

The parental interference with the child's narcissism
lies in the self-objects being "distant and
understimulating" (Kohut, 1984). Kohut believed that
classically neurotic personality organizations were caused
by overly close and overstimulating self-objects. Kohut and
Wolf (1978) further explain that distant parenting is
unresponsive to certain childhood needs that are essential
for the transformation of early narcissism. How does this
damage to the self, caused by self-object deficit, culminate
in the specific condition of narcissism?

Early injustices may evoke compensatory grandiose
fantasies (Wolf, 1988). The sense of powerlessness at the
hands of others is reversed through fantasies of greatness.
Wolf explains Kernberg's construct of narcissistic rage as a
reaction to hurt caused by self-objects who have threatened

and damaged the self. The rage is considered only as a
reaction and is thus secondary to the hurt and structural
deficit that the injurious treatment caused. Later
disappointments and rejection revive the old injury and
subsequent anger. The narcissistic disorder is viewed by
the self psychological perspective as "an injured self with
some degree of cohesion" (Wolf, 1988).

In summary, Kohut maintained that narcissism (in its
pathological form) was caused by a lack of a distortion of
self-object functions. Faulty self-object responses,
especially those concerned with the child's need to idealize
and be mirrored disrupt the development of a strong self
from ages two to eight years old. Because the self-object
functions were inadequate, the child could not transmute
these into self functions. Thus the narcissistically
wounded person struggles to achieve a basic sense of
wholeness and cohesion. She/he has difficulty in feeling
guided by an internalized system of values and ideals and
tends to search externally for this. This search is
characterized by excessive entitlement and angry demands on
others. However, fear of being hurt again evokes an
avoidance of intimate, interdependent aspects of the
relationship. The narcissist is caught between the Scylla
of their tyrannical need for others and the Charybdis of
their memories of injury from the original self-objects.

The mother fails to mirror the child's budding sense of
perfection by being (1) cold and unresponsive or, (2) over-

invested to achieve her needs at the child's expense or, (3)
stops mirroring when the child separates and acts
autonomously. The child, in the normal course of
development, then turns to father to meet idealizing needs.
The father thwarts healthy idealization by (4) not allowing
the child to imitate and feel a part of his strength or, (5)
is unable to portray idealizable qualities because of
emotional reasons or real-life failure. Kohut (1983)
implied that significant failures in either mirroring or
idealizing self-/self-object discourse contributed towards
narcissistic personality disorder and certainly the
thwarting of both prevented the integration and mature
transformation of healthy narcissism.

Theoretical Comparison of Kohut and Kernberg

Because these theorists have sparked extensive debate.
The following is only a synopsis of the clinical
literature's view of the similarities and differences
between their perspectives on narcissism. Adler (1986)
points to differences in patient populations to explain the
Kernberg/Kohut debate. Kernberg, working in an in-patient
setting, treats persons with more severe character
pathology. Kernberg is committed to understanding
narcissism as a variant of borderline organization of
personality and therefore emphasizes the primitive defenses
and severity of the narcissistic condition. Kohut, working
as a training analyst, treated mostly highly adaptive,

better functioning outpatients with psychoanalysis. This outlook suggests a spectrum of narcissistic pathology defined by proximity to borderline organization at one endpoint and neurotic organization at the other. However Adler is reluctant to account for all the discrepancies between the models with the difference in patient population. According to Adler, Kernberg gives recognition to the splitting and refusion of self and object representations in narcissism. These fractured internalized images are thought to be fueled by early unacknowledged aggressive impulses. Whereas Kohut blames the "failure of attachment" as the primary force giving rise to narcissism (Adler, 1986). Adler deftly illustrates their views with the meanings they attribute to the idealization and disappointment that therapists commonly find in narcissistic patients' attitudes towards the therapist. Kernberg sees the idealization as the projection of the grandiose self onto the person of the therapist. This construction is based on the Kleinian notion of transference as projection (Stolorow & Lachmann, 1984). Kohut interprets the primitive idealization as a reactivation of previously unsuccessful attempts to idealize the parents. These divergent explanations contrast a focus on the role of conflict and defense with a focus on the reworking of relational needs.

As for the other side of idealization, namely disappointment, Kernberg construes disappointment as a defensive position, shielding envy and anger of the other.

Whereas Kohut understands the disappointment as a deep feeling worsened by the many disappointments suffered in the context of their early history with self-objects. Adler attributes the variation in Kohut and Kernberg's models to their patients and to their distinctly different views of the role of aggression (as either primary or secondary to psychologic injury).

Stolorow and Lachmann are phenomenologists who identify with self psychology theory. They portray narcissism as a specific form of developmental arrest. They see Kernberg's construction as a relic from the old school of drive theory (Stolorow & Lachmann, 1980). For them, narcissistic behavior and attitudes are aimed at preserving vulnerable self-representations. Entitlement and grandiosity are ways to repair an injured self and prevent the frightening experience of fragmentation. Mirroring self-objects are used to restore and stabilize self-esteem. Stolorow and Lachmann contend that the narcissist's self cohesion is "defective or missing" and ultimately pre-structural. Stolorow says, "we absolutely disagree with the claim that excessive pregenital aggression is the etiological bedrock of narcissism" (Stolorow, 1975). They call for a new metapsychology that sees pathology as functional rather than as a particular economy of drives. This has also been labelled "experience-nearness" versus "experience-distance" and as a deficit model versus a conflict model of personality (Ornstein, 1974).

Greenberg and Mitchell (1983) in their overview of object-relations theory trace the current rift in psychoanalytic conceptualizations to contrasting vantage points similar to Stolorow and Adler. Self psychology, they observe, is based on the premise of "man as social" and represents a relational theory of psychology. Whereas the classical drive/structure model,used in a modified way by Kernberg,derives from the humanistic tradition of "man as individual."

From Kuhn's essays on the nature of scientific development, Tokin and Fine (1985) identify the Kernberg/ Kohut controversy as a struggle between an old and a new paradigm. Kernberg modifies the old psychoanalytic paradigm to incorporate new observations from his work with borderline patients. Tokin and Fine believe that Kernberg achieves insight into unchartered realms of psychopathology while using the language and metaphors of Freud and object-relations theory. Kohut works with a narrower range of psychopathology but creates a new paradigm and language with which to describe personality dynamics (Tokin & Fine, 1985). Kohut read Kuhn and was quite conscious of creating a new paradigm as illustrated by his 1979 paper, "The two analyses of Mr. Z"; one depicting a traditional analysis and the second illustrating self psychology.

Attempts to Integrate Kernberg and Kohut

Gorkin (1984) attempts to integrate the two competing models of narcissism. Both use the term "grandiose self" taken from Kohut. Kohut's grandiose self is a normal stage in development that is reached between the ages of two and eight. Narcissism signifies a developmental arrest because the grandiose self predominates self representation. Rather than viewing narcissism as a maturational lag, Kernberg views the "grandiose self" of narcissism as strictly pathological; a condensation of real-self, ideal-self, and ideal-object images. According to Gorkin, children come to realize that the good, gratifying mother has to be synthesized with the bad disappointing mother. Realistic ambivalent self and other images replace the former all-good-self and all-good-other images (the ideal self and ideal other). However the narcissist retains the ideal-self image and infuses it with aggression to destroy his/her bad mother image. In this process the grandiose self is promoted and the devalued bad-self is repressed and disowned. As a result the narcissist does not experience the mourning that accompanies the integration of good and bad self/object representations. The aggression <u>originates</u> from disruptive relationships in childhood causing an aggressive grandiosity coupled with a lack of neediness of others. Therefore Gorkin proposes that the narcissist's grandiosity is qualitatively different than the usual grandiosity of childhood. Gordin's integration of theory is reflected in

his treatment recommendation. He advocates Kohut's non-confrontative therapeutic stance to establish an alliance with the narcissistic patient, but feels that eventually the therapist must uncover the anger and envy to help the narcissist achieve the depressive position that will facilitate more loving relationships (Gordin, 1984).

For Morrison (1986) both theories capture separate but related aspects of narcissism. He identifies narcissism by the longing to be regarded as the sole object of importance. Others are seen as rivals for this position, resulting in an impairment of empathy. Morrison notes the infantile demands present in narcissism suggested by Kohut as well as the aggression described by Kernberg. Morrison conceptualizes Kohut's contribution as occurring in the realm of the experiential self and Kernberg's as in the structural self.

Reich (1960) combines Kohut and Kernberg in her formulation. She sees the hypochondriacal complaints characteristic of narcissism as manifestations of felt unneutralized aggression. However she acknowledges that early traumatic experience causes narcissistic defenses. Inferiority is magically transposed into a sense of superiority. Thus grandiosity serves as a defense to replace worthlessness with value. Reich hypothesized that the narcissistic preoccupation with a strong, beautiful body replaced the idealized image of mother. She/he turns away from an invasive mother to focus on an idealized self image.

Modell (1975) using Kernberg and Kohut speculates that narcissistic grandiosity affords an illusion of self-sufficiency. He argues that Kernberg was wrong in thinking that negative affect is defended against, but claims that affect is blocked in order to avoid another dependent relationship. The narcissist in effect hoards the feelings usually experienced through relationship so that she/he can be impenetrable and invulnerable. But this "precocious autonomy" breaks down in the pursuit of continuous admiration. For Modell a fragile self, in the Kohutian sense, is protected by a bubble of illusory independence. Unlike Kernberg, he believes that the narcissist is not out to destroy others but to deny them their significance and sphere of influence that would lead to dependency.

In summary, the differences between Kernberg and Kohut can be most generally described as a difference in focus between interpersonal and intrapersonal. Kohut has been the champion of a relatively new theoretical paradigm that is influenced by phenomenology and an assumption that pathology is functional in motive and arises from an interpersonal context. This "experience-near" perspective is contrasted to the more "experience-distant" position held by Kernberg. Kernberg takes an older psychoanalytic paradigm that focuses on internal structure, conflict and defense and modifies the paradigm to accommodate new observations. Perhaps the most powerful contrast emerges from the polarity between a conflict model versus a deficit model of narcissism. The

question is does narcissistic psychopathology represent a specific constellation of conflicts and defenses or does it speak to internal deficits in psychological experience. Despite the compelling differences between models, other theorists have combined these perspectives. This study assumes that both Kernberg and Kohut have discovered vital aspects of the narcissistic condition that are not mutually exclusive. Deficits in experience may produce variation in internal structure that render a person deprived, vulnerable, angry, and defensive. However this author assumes that although individual constitution influences parental treatment, it is ultimately the management of the particular child that "causes" personality organization and its potential for attendant psychopathology. Because Kernberg and Kohut so eloquently stated their cases, their differences may have lead to each being the other's "straw man" in a struggle between shifting paradigms and metaphors within psychiatry and psychology.

Review of Studies

Experimental studies have begun to emerge in the literature to operationalize and test Kernberg's and Kohut's theories of narcissism. The following is a brief review of relevant studies. One such study tested the links between sex-roles and subtypes of narcissism to clarify Kohut's concepts and the influence of gender on narcissism. Watson, Biderman, and Boyd (1989) predicted and identified four

styles of narcissism using a sample of 110 male and 146

female undergraduates. A "synthetic" type reflected a

combination of positive masculine and feminine traits

coupled with a healthy grandiosity and a capacity for

idealization. On the other end of the spectrum an "archaic"

type reflected on undifferentiated gender identity with

inadequate structural building of ideals and an

underdeveloped healthy grandiosity. An "internal/

narcissistic" type described an unhealthy masculine

grandiosity. Its counterpart was identified as "external/

narcissistic" and this was representative of an "undesirable

femininity and lack of structural ideals." These authors

conclude that stereotyped gender identity can lead to, in

males, an immature grandiosity and pseudoautonomy. In

females this is seen in a dependent character style that

lacks solidly internalized ideals. This study seems to

point to a preference for mirroring or idealizing that is

based on possessing a constricted and stereotyped gender

identity. It also suggests that a strong sense of self that

integrates cross-gender characteristics is linked with

healthy narcissism.

Causal modeling was used in one study to test

Kernberg's and Kohut's hypotheses on narcissistic

personality formation. Glassman (1989) administered

selected items from Gerson's splitting scale, the

narcissistic personality disorder scale from the MMPI and

Rosenberg's self-esteem scale to 130 graduate students.

Most of these students had been in long-term psychotherapy but were naive as to the nature of the study. Glassman found that Kohut's deficit model was twice as powerful as Kernberg's conflict model in explaining narcissistic pathology. He tentatively concluded that unmet dependency needs evolved from failures in the self/self-object interaction represent the most plausible etiological explanation for narcissism. However aggression was found to be a "major underpinning" of narcissism; commensurate with Kernberg's theory. What Glassman fails to note is that his sample more closely resembles Kernberg's clinical population and that Kernberg's theory is grounded in observations from therapy with considerably disturbed people.

Contrary to Glassman's findings, Shulman and Ferguson (1988) found Kernberg's hypothesis confirmed and Kohut's hypothesis disconfirmed. They used a small sample of 13 undergraduates who were identified as clearly narcissistic from results of the narcissistic personality inventory (NPI). They were exposed to subliminal stimuli consisting of sentences that were constructed to represent the two theories. Kernberg's model was measured by exposure to the sentence "I'm needy and hateful" whereas Kohut was measured by response to "I'm not a complete person." Exposure to the sentences differentially predicted narcissism as coded from TAT protocols and a sentence completion task. Shulman and Ferguson do qualify their finding's generalizability by

acknowledging that Kohut's theories may have been awkwardly conveyed in the sentence they chose.

Hypotheses

This study investigates Kohut's theory that narcissism is created by self-object deficits and ruptures in the self/self-object inter-subjective relationship. It is also an exploration of Kernberg's theory that excessive anger and envy play a significant role in narcissistic character formation.

Hypothesis 1: Self-object deficits and ruptures (as measured by projective protocols) will correlate positively with subclinical narcissism (as measured by the OMNI).

Hypothesis 2: Excessive and/or conflicted expressions of anger and envy (as measured by projective protocols) will correlate positively with subclinical narcissism (as measured by the OMNI).

Hypothesis 3: Kohut's theory will have relatively greater explanatory power than Kernberg's theory on a subclinical population.

Hypothesis 4: "Type I" narcissism (the "entitled/exploitative" dimension of the OMNI) will be more common among male subjects than females. Conversely, "Type III" narcissism (the shame-prone dimension of the OMNI) will be more common among female subjects than males.

Hypothesis 5: That Kernberg's observation that (subclinical) narcissism will manifest in recollections of

more narcissistic daydreams whose intent is to earn
admiration and envy rather than romantic or altruistic love.

The second purpose of this study is to see how the
different variables will contribute to the three subtypes of
narcissism described in the literature and identified by the
OMNI. Although no prediction is made it is assumed, in this
study, that the dependent variables will differentially
contribute to the three subtypes of narcissism.

Study Rationale

Most of the discussion of the Kernberg/Kohut
controversy has relied on clinical data and on further
theorizing, while there have only been a few studies testing
their theories. However, in reviewing these studies, the
results have been equivocal as to whose theory better
explains narcissism even when the studies used a fairly
homogeneous college sample. Therefore, the present study
began with the assumption that Kernberg's so-called
"conflict model" and Kohut's "deficit model" should be
viewed as complementary rather than as competing models of
both the etiology and the phenomenology of narcissism.

Another problem was that the measures used to identify
narcissism (in two of the studies) have only items that
measure the grandiose, exhibitionistic type of narcissism
that is more uniformly mentioned by Kernberg. These
measures (the NPI and the narcissism scale of the MMPI) did
not include the subtype of narcissism that is shame-prone

and "idealizing-hungry" that Kohut includes in his classification scheme. Only the OMNI, used as a measure of narcissism in this study, was constructed to reflect this variant. The OMNI enabled this author to identify three subtypes of narcissism that more accurately portray the pathology written about in his theory. A goal of the study was to test for differences (in the manifestations of envy, anger, and self/self-object representations) within these three subtypes of narcissism. This had not been examined in other studies of narcissism.

In order to validate psychoanalytic Kohut's concepts accurately, his deficit model was conceptualized in terms of the self/self-object relationship. No other study located the subjective experience of a "self-object" as a way of identifying a deficit. Since Kohut believed that these ruptures in self/self-object relatedness lead to pathological narcissism, it seemed important that studies actually measure this deficit when testing Kohut's ideas. For example, in the Glassman study (1989) Kohut's model was identified through the subject's "unmet dependency needs." He then posits that these unmet dependency needs grow out of failures in relatedness to self-objects. Although this seemed to be a theoretically sound way of operationalizing Kohut, it did not capture specific ruptures in internalized relationships. More precisely, Kohut referred to failures in mirroring and idealizing. This study measured mirroring and idealizing by eliciting stories of imagined self/self-

object relationships. Shulman and Ferguson (1988) actually acknowledged in their discussion section that their use of "I'm not a complete person" statement was an "awkward" way of representing Kohut's deficit model. Part of the problem, methodologically, was finding a way to measure hypothetical concepts about subjective, fantasy-oriented material.

With regard to Kernberg's theory, this study was constructed to test the role of envy as well as aggression. Previous studies concentrated almost exclusively on aggression and did not include the concept of envy that was central to Kernberg's hypotheses. Therefore this study was the first to measure both aggression and problems with envy, and to correlate them with degree of narcissism.

These affective states, as well as the self/self-object deficit were studied using projectives. While projectve measures are controversial and do not offer the standardization that regular test items do, they take into account the notion of the unconscious. Both Kohut and Kernberg assume that much of the defended against aggression and envy and processes of mirroring and idealization occur (at least in part) unconsciously. Therefore projective measures were used for as they are designed to obtain fantasy and subjective experience that is out of the field of immediate awareness. The only other study that utilized a projective was the Shulman and Ferguson experiment that used TAT protocols to code for fluctuations in narcissism. Any study that attempts to explore unconscious processes and

fantasy-based experience must use a methodology that elicits these productions. This study was designed to use data that included unconscious processes through the use of the TAT and the Blacky Test. Therefore, the design of this study improved the construct and content validity of measures of Kohut and Kernberg's theories on narcissism.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The primary goals of this study were to explore the viability of a link between representations of self/self-object relationships and management of anger and envy to narcissism, based on the theories of Kohut and Kernberg.

Undergraduate students were administered, in a group setting, a packet and instructed to write stories in response to projective cards, fill out a standardized measure of narcissism (the O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory) and to record a daydream they remembered. Students were told that the research data would be used to investigate personality styles. They were given a consent form and no identifying information was requested other than age and gender. The protocols from the projective measures were later scored using a system developed by this author and (for the Blacky cards) based on Blum's original scoring system for the Blacky. The daydreams were scored independently by this author and a research assistant. The projectives were scored independently by this author and a doctoral level clinical psychologist. The OMNI's were hand scored. The quantitative data was then analyzed using T-tests, Pearson product moment correlations, and step-wise multiple regressions.

Subjects

Data was collected from 143 undergraduate students at Michigan State University. 55 of these students were men and 88 were women. The mean age for men was 20 and for women 22, in this study. The group appeared to be predominantly white and all were English speaking. Any questionnaires that had missing OMNI's or more than two missing projective protocols were eliminated from the final sample. Therefore 14 potential subjects were not included. Students were given the investigator's phone number to call if they had any follow-up concerns.

Measure of the Dependent Variable: Narcissism

The dependent variable, narcissism, was measured by the O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory (OMNI) developed by Michael O'Brien in 1987. The OMNI was selected for this study because of its theoretical complexity and because it was normed with a college population (graduate students at Teachers College, Columbia) and with a clinical population. O'Brien's scale was constructed to target three forms of narcissistic pathology described in the object-relations literature. Other current measures of narcissism have focused exclusively on the "exploitative/entitled" kind of narcissism such as the NPI (Narcissistic Personality Inventory) constructed by Raskin and Hall in 1979.

O'Brien made up the 75 original items to reflect narcissistic attitudes as described in the Diagnostic and

Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders and by Kernberg,
Kohut, and Miller. These 75 items were independently
reviewed for construct validity by two clinical
psychologists. These items were then pre-tested with
graduate students at Columbia University. Forty-one of the
"yes/no" items accounted for 80% of the variance. These
items factored into three categories. Factor I consisted of
16 items that reflected Kernberg's notion of narcissistic
entitlement and was termed the "narcissistic personality
dimension". This dimension includes people who are thought
to have little reciprocity or empathy in interpersonal
relationships and who appear entitled, exhibitionistic, and
exploitative. Factor II was made up of 15 items that
reflected a controlling attitude towards others ("that one
should and can control others") and a sense of
perfectionism. This factor was named "poisonous pedagogy
dimension" after Miller's description of narcissistic
parenting. The third factor was represented by 10 items and
identifies a "shame-prone dimension" of narcissism where
shame is assumed to result from a failure or rejection of
grandiosity. These items reflect traits of self-
depreciation, approval-seeking and a tendency to put the
needs of others first and was called the "narcissistically
abused personality" dimension. Factor III was also derived
from Kohut's deficit model, specifically that
narcissistically abused persons seek out idealized others to

make up for a lack of idealizing experiences with appropriate self-objects.

The median correlation between the three subscales (Factors I, II and III) was .16 indicating that these subscales were fairly orthogonal. The internal consistency for the three subscales, using Cronbach alpha's, was .76, .73 and .71 respectively. Test-retest reliabilities after six weeks were .74, .72 and .71 respectively. Convergent and divergent validity was established. Factor I correlated with the NPI at $r=.38$, $p<.01$, suggesting that the OMNI measures something more than the traditional narcissism tapped by the NPI. The neuroticism scale of the Eysenck Personality Inventory correlated with all three factors of the OMNI at .56, .72 and .65 respectively. A correction for attenuation revealed that the O'Brien measures some additional factor (namely narcissism). The extroversion scale of the Eysenck correlated positively with Factor I, negatively with Factor II and not at all with Factor III (O'Brien, 1987). The OMNI was also tested using a clinical population. 256 outpatients in psychotherapy with primary or secondary diagnoses of narcissism scored significantly higher on all three factors than did the college sample (O'Brien, 1988). A copy of the OMNI is contained in Appendix A.

Daydreams as an Adjunctive Measure of Narcissism

Kernberg states that narcissistic persons have had, since childhood, daydreams that are qualitatively distinct (Kernberg, 1974). These daydreams revolve around the attainment of power (i.e., position, beauty, wealth, fame, status) in order to be envied and admired. They see themselves as the exclusive owner of the desired object. In contrast healthy children and adults daydream about achievement in order to win love.

Jerome Singer's seminal investigation of daydreams concluded that they are symbolic representations of potential roles and situations. Common themes were erotic pleasure, altruism, achievement, heroic deeds, unusual good fortune as well as other more everyday situations (Singer, 1975). It is interesting to note that narcissists often do live out these childhood daydreams of having power and of having an admiring (and often envious) audience. This fits with Singer's conclusion that the daydream is a way of practicing in imagination a desired outcome.

To test Kernberg's speculation, respondents in this study were asked to recall and record a typical daydream. The author developed criteria for a scoring system to code daydreams as (0) altruistic/love-oriented where the goal of the daydream story was to be loved, (1) miscellaneous, (2) narcissistic where something was achieved to evoke envy and admiration.

Measures of Self-Object Mirroring and Idealizing

Three different projective stimuli were used to assess the self/self-object, internalized relationship germane to Kohut's theory. Portrayals of self/self-object relationships that failed to provide positive experience or actively provided hurtful, growth-blocking experience were hypothesized to positively correlate with subclinical narcissism. Because the internalized representation of the "object" is assumed to be unconscious, projective measures were used. Projective stimuli can yield richer data than does a conscious report of the parent figure (such as in the Object Relations Inventory). Therefore, cards of mother and father figures were used from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) developed by Murray (1943). The TAT has 4 cards that lend themselves to a subjective description of unconscious images of parental figures. Cards 6 GF and 7 GF were used as the mother-daughter and father-daughter stimuli. Cards 6 BM and 7 BM served the function of mother-son and father-son stimuli. A third projective card was created by this author in conjunction with an artist to control for gender, as the TAT cards are not the same depending on the sex of the subject. This card was based on the Blacky Pictures developed by Blum (1950). The Blacky pictures were created to test basic psychoanalytic concepts using a cartoon-like dog. This card (see Blacky Card 1, Appendix A) depicts "Blacky", a puppy, resting while his/her mother pats him/her

on the back. Thus three projective stimuli (two mother and one father) were given to each subject.

As a psychological measure, studies have yielded inconclusive results as to the overall reliability and validity of projective measures. However, some studies suggest that the TAT has high reliability when used to investigate specific characteristics. The validity of the TAT is affected by error variance, and the physiological and situational state of the subject (Exner, 1976). Given these limitations, projectives are one of the only current methods of eliciting material that may be unconscious in origin, as they were constructed for that purpose.

These stories, written in response to each projective card, were coded according to a coding system developed by this author. The criteria were based on Kohut's theory about self/self-object relationships. Each card was coded on a four point scale. A Coding Manual (see Appendix C) was used to guide the scoring. Stories were coded for the mirroring and idealizing self-object functions ascribed to the parental figure. "Mirroring" was operationalized as any empathic response given by the parental figure or as any responsive communication expressed between the two characters in the story. Empathic responses included understanding, approving, encouraging, confirming, accepting, and admiring responses. The opposite, "mirror-blocking" was defined as unempathic communication that included rejecting, disapproving, disconfirming, shaming and

embarrassed parental responses. Between mirroring and
mirror-blocking were two categories. One was mirroring with
limited effectiveness that identified positive responses, on
the part of the parent-figure, that did not facilitate a
significant change or have much impact on the child-figure.
The other category was a mixed mirroring/mirror-blocking
where both facilitative and obstructing responses were
generated by the parental figure (i.e., the self-object).

Idealizing refers to the self-object's ability to offer
strength, a value system and guidance to facilitate
identity. Kohut thought that the idealized self-object
function passed from mother to father. The mother promotes
idealizing in her calm, protective communication to her
infant. Later the father serves as a role-model in terms of
his achievements and values in the world of work outside the
home. Idealizing responses include calming, soothing,
consoling responses. They also include a parental figure
who by example, models some form of mastery coupled with a
willingness to share his/her power with the child. The
idealized self-object would then be portrayed in terms of
professional/vocational mastery and the child would be
allowed to copy the parent. For example in the beginning of
one father-son TAT story, "They're both professionals; both
are wearing suits and ties." Idealizing-blocking refers to
self-object responses that are irritating, intrusive or
anxiety-provoking. They also include stories where the
father-figure is portrayed as powerful but unable to share

his power, or is seen as sociopathic; lacking in values.
Again, mother stories may share these themes and were coded
for them as well. Thus each card earned one of four
possible scores (1=mirroring/idealizing, 2=mirroring/
idealizing with limited effectiveness, 3=mirroring/
idealizing facilitating and blocking, 4=blocked
mirroring/idealizing).

Measures of Anger and Envy

According to Kernberg, conflicts with anger and envy,
stemming from excessive aggression, result in narcissistic
personality structure. These concepts were assessed from
stories written in response to projective stimuli. Two
cards based on Blum's Blacky Pictures were used. For anger,
the "oral sadism" card was used that portrays Blacky (a
puppy) angrily biting a dog collar marked "momma". For
envy, this author had an artist draw a picture of Blacky
looking at a poodle dog opening a gift (see Blacky cards 2
and 3 in Appendix A). The idea for this picture was based
on Berke's (1989) notion that children's birthday parties
represent typical situations that provoke universal envious
feelings in childhood.

Conflict with anger and envy was conceptualized as
existing on a continuum. This three-point continuum
constituted the scoring system for anger and envy developed
by this author (see Appendix D). This was operationalized
as (1) integrated management of anger/envy, (2) defended

responses towards anger/envy, (3) split/strong management of anger/envy.

An integrated management of anger/envy indicated an acknowledgement, on the part of the main character in the story, of some negative affect, specifically anger or envy depending on the card. However the anger/envy does not result in any harmful action taken against self or other. In addition the anger or envy is contextualized by a sense of being-at-play or by a resolution that allows the main character to have positive feelings as well.

Defensive responses were operationalized as stories that included an avoidance or denial of any subjective feelings of anger or envy. These stories often include a displacement of the anger/envy/destruction onto some other character (i.e., not the ones depicted in the pictures). Stories coded as "2" for anger often centered around Blacky finding momma's collar and worry about her whereabouts. This particular story denies that Blacky seems directly angry. For envy, a typical story was that Blacky gave the poodle-dog the gift and this story avoided the potential for Blacky to feel envious of the poodle-dog.

Split/strong responses were assumed to indicate the strongest degree of conflict with aggression. Here the negative affect is overwhelming and may result in Blacky acting in a harmful way. It also included Blum's (1950) criteria for scoring for strong anger based on specific details included in the story, such as "mention of killing."

A "split" response refers to the mechanism of "splitting" where good and bad affects are kept apart as a primitive way of managing intense aggression. Splitting has also been associated with narcissistic character cognition (Gerson, 1984). This supports the notion that a split or strong response towards anger and envy would correlate with higher levels of narcissistic pathology.

Coding of the Independent Variables

The three TAT cards and two Blacky cards (per subject) were scored independently by this author and a clinical psychologist (trained in the scoring method). Stories were ordered randomly and each story was rated separately. After approximately 50 cards were coded by both raters, the cards were reviewed to facilitate consistency of scoring. The initial inter-rater reliabilities on each type of projective stimulus were as follows:

TAT mother-daughter card = 87%

TAT mother-son cards = 89%

TAT father-daughter card = 87%

TAT father-son card = 91%

Blacky anger card = 90%

Blacky envy card = 88%

In cases where the raters disagreed, we discussed the codes until we both agreed on the final code used for each story (i.e., final inter-rater reliability was 100%).

Daydreams were rated, using the same method, by this author and a research assistant who was a senior undergraduate student, majoring in psychology. The initial inter-rater reliability percentage for daydreams was 94% (again final inter-rater reliability for daydreams was 100%).

Procedure

Two weeks before data collection, a teaching assistant for the psychology class used as subjects, announced that a doctoral student in the department would administer a questionnaire packet to students at the beginning of class (that was confidential and anonymous). Students were told that their responses would be used for research purposes. They were then told that the investigator would give a lecture on a topic related to the subject-matter of the study and that one final exam question would be drawn from this lecture (to encourage participation). Students were given the questionnaires at the beginning of class with consent forms. They were given 40 minutes to complete the packet and turn them in to the research assistant. The author then gave a lecture on healthy and pathological forms of narcissism.

Statistical Analyses

Descriptive statistics were generated to check the means, standard deviations and ranges for all measures. Gender interactions were calculated for all aspects of the

study using t-tests. To test the major hypothesis, Pearson
product moment correlations were performed on all pairs of
variables. To test for any differences between the three
types of narcissism, measured by the OMNI, step-wise
multiple regressions were performed on the total OMNI
scores, and type I, type II and type III. The step-wise
method was used because it reveals the largest contributor,
from a group of independent variables, first and then
eliminates any variables that do not contribute distinct,
additional predictive meaning of the variation in the
dependent measure.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The overview of the results of this study lend some
support to the hypotheses that self-object deficits and
conflict with aggression are correlated with narcissism, as
measured in this study. The predicted role of gender and
its impact on types of narcissism were not supported. The
three subtypes of narcissism, described by the OMNI test,
showed some differentiation with regard to how the
independent variables functioned in each different type of
narcissism. This was found by the multiple regression
analyses. The most surprising overall finding was that the
representation of father as defective (from TAT father) was
strongly associated with the measure of narcissism, and was,
in fact, the most consistent predictor of global OMNI scores
and the three types of narcissism. This may challenge the
prevailing psychoanalytic notion that preoedipal experience
with mother is the most important precursor to narcissistic
personality character formation.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics grouped by independent variables
and then dependent variables are presented in the following
tables.

The distributions of scores for the self-object deficit measures (i.e., TAT father, TAT mother, and Blacky mother) are listed in Table 1:

TABLE 1

Self-Object Measures

VALUE*	1	2	3	4	9	M	SD
TAT MOTHER	16	63	46	17	1	2.5	.84
TAT FATHER	12	57	61	12	1	2.5	.77
BLACKY MOTHER**23	64	45	10	1		2.3	.81

*1 = mirroring/idealizing
 2 = mirroring/idealizing with limited effectiveness
 3 = mixed mirroring/idealizing facilitating and blocking
 4 = blocked mirroring/idealizing
 9 = missing data

From the descriptive statistics of the self-object independent variables, the means appear to be similar and in the middle of the range of values. BLACKY mother had the largest frequency of "1" ratings and hence evoked the most idealization of a parental figure.

The distribution of values for anger and envy scores are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Measures of Anger and Envy

VALUE*	0	1	2	9	M	SD
ENVY	35	77	28	3	1.0	.67
ANGER	24	79	37	3	1.1	.66

*0 = integrated affect
 1 = defended
 2 = split/strong
 9 = missing data

The "Kernberg" variables show means in the middle of the range of values and appear to be distributed along a normal curve. The distribution of daydream scores are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Daydream Measure

VALUE*	0	1	2	9	M	SD
DAYDREAM	53	49	15	25	.65	2.0

*0 = altruistic/love daydreams
 1 = miscellaneous daydreams
 2 = "narcissistic" daydreams
 9 = missing data

Of note is the fact that many subjects did not record (or recall) a daydream. Furthermore the mean is much lower

than for the other independent variables and there were only a small number of daydreams that were scored as narcissistic.

The dependent variables are the measure(s) for narcissism. The OMNI was grouped by a total OMNI score (for each subject) and type I, II, III subscores. The following table provides a comparison between the descriptive statistics for the OMNI for this sample and compares these to the college student sample that was used to norm the measure, as well with a clinical sample. Because the OMNI was the only standardized measure used, it seemed useful to note the similarity between this sample and O'Brien's data.

TABLE 4

OMNI Means and Standard Deviations

	TOTAL (m/sd)	Type I	Type II	Type III
A	15.41/5.55	5.72/2.78	6.37/2.30	3.36/1.95
B		5.72/3.37	5.90/2.99	3.92/2.14
C		11.23/2.87	11.23/2.87	7.81/1.73

A = study sample (n=143)
B = O'Brien's college sample (n=256)
C = clinical sample (n=230)

The sample used for this study resembles the original sample used to standardize the OMNI with regard to the means and standard deviations for the OMNI. The clinical sample composed of outpatients with primary or secondary diagnoses

of narcissism show much higher means for the narcissism subscores.

Gender Differences

T-tests were run to measure mean differences between male and female subjects, for all variables included in the study. Only one mean difference was found for gender. Females gave less favorable ratings on the TAT father card than did males (t (139) = 3.65, $p<.001$).

Table 5 presents the gender difference in ratings for TAT father in percentages. There is a striking difference in the higher percentage of females who gave stories of a father-figure who blocked mirroring and idealization as compared to males. Furthermore, males gave more stories that were unambivalently positive.

TABLE 5

Percentage ratings of TAT FATHER by gender

value	males (n=54)	females (n=88)
1	16.7	3.4
2	48.1	35.6
3	31.5	49.4
4	3.7	11.5

1 = idealizing/mirroring
2 = idealizing/mirroring with limited effectiveness
3 = mixed facilitating and blocking
4 = blocked idealizing/mirroring

Inter-relationships between independent variables

Pearson correlation tests were performed between all pairs of independent variables. Since no prediction was made about these relationships (i.e., between anger, envy, TAT and BLACKY mother, TAT father), two-tailed test were used. The findings are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Pearson product moment correlations between subscales
(n=140)

	TATMO	TATFA	DOGMO*	ANGER	ENVY	DREAM
AGE	-.11	-.28[a]	-.15	.00	.00	.18
TAT MOTHER		.15[c]	.41[a]	.18[b]	.17[b]	.04
TAT FATHER			.21[b]	.35[a]	.27[a]	-.01
BLACKY MOTHER				.18[b]	.16[c]	.25
ANGER					.39[a]	.26[b]
ENVY						.22[b]

[a]p<.001 by a 2-tailed test
[b]p<.01 by a 2-tailed test
[c]p<.05 by a 2-tailed test

From the Pearson correlations it can be seen that there are extensive intercorrelations among the measures, although they vary in their pattern and magnitude. For the self-object measures, one of the correlations is between TAT mother and BLACKY mother, which might be expected since both measure representations of the mother self-object and this

lends some construct validity to these measures. TAT father
has a relationship to both mother cards but more strongly to
the measures of anger and envy. It seems that TAT mother
and TAT father are measuring distinctly different phenomenon
but share some properties. Anger and envy are associated
with all the other subscales including daydreams, except for
excluding age of the subject. Anger and envy scores were
highly correlated with one another. Narcissistic daydreams
are correlated with higher levels of anger and envy but are
not correlated with the measures for self-objects. Age was
only correlated with TAT father, meaning that the older the
subject the more favorable rating of TAT father.

From Table 7, which shows correlations of all other
scales with the OMNI, it is apparent that age is both
negatively correlated with TAT father and that age and TAT
father are correlated with narcissism. In other words,
younger subjects tended to give worse TAT father stories and
to score higher on the narcissism inventory. To separate
these variables, a multiple regression analysis was
performed, controlling for age. It should be noted that age
negatively correlated with narcissism (r square = .06) and
TAT father added an additional correlation of r square =
.16.

Hypothesis Tests

Pearson product moment correlations were performed
using 1-tailed tests to identify all predicted relationships

between the independent variables and the narcissism scores.
All subscales were hypothesized to correlate positively with
the OMNI-TOTAL scores and with some of the OMNI subtype
scores. This data is presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Pearson product moment correlations between subscales
and OMNI

	OMNITOT	OMNI I	OMNI II	OMNI III
TAT MOTHER	.26[a]	.17[c]	.24[b]	.14
TAT FATHER	.26[a]	.35[a]	.20[b]	.27[a]
BLACKY MOTHER	.22[b]	.25[b]	.09	.15
ANGER	.28[a]	.29[a]	.14	.23[c]
ENVY	.29[a]	.29[a]	.14	.23[c]
DAYDREAM	.36[a]	.35[a]	.24[b]	.20[b]

[a]p<.001 by a 2-tailed test
[b]p<.01 by a 2-tailed test
[c]p<.05 by a 2-tailed test

HYPOTHESIS I: (That self-object deficits evidenced by less
favorable ratings on TAT mother, TAT father and BLACKY
mother cards will correlate with higher levels of narcissism
as measured by the OMNI).

This hypothesis was confirmed. TAT mother correlated
with total OMNI as well as with OMNI types I and II. BLACKY
mother correlated with total OMNI and with OMNI type I. TAT
father correlated with total OMNI and with all three types

of OMNI; making the scores for father the most consistent predictor of narcissism among the three self-object measures (see TABLE 7). Although there was no explicit hypothesis to this effect, there was an assumption that mother images, due to the importance of the preoedipal phase in narcissistic character formation, would be the most predictive of narcissism. Therefore the TAT father finding was unexpected and of interest.

HYPOTHESIS 2: (That conflict with anger and envy will be positively associated with subclinical narcissism).

This hypothesis was supported. Expressions of higher levels of conflict with anger correlated significantly with total OMNI as well as with OMNI types I and III. Envy correlated significantly with total OMNI and with OMNI types I and III (see Table 7). It is interesting to note that the measures of aggression did not predict significantly any variance in OMNI type II.

HYPOTHESIS 3: (That self-object deficits will be a stronger predictor of subclinical narcissism than conflict with anger and envy).

This hypothesis was essentially disconfirmed by the results of the correlations (see Table 7) as there were no significant differences in the strength of correlations for all the different independent variables measured.

HYPOTHESIS 4: (That males will manifest more OMNI type I narcissism than females and that females will manifest more OMNI type III narcissism than males). This two-part hypothesis was disconfirmed. There were no gender differences in distribution of OMNI scores.

HYPOTHESIS 5: (That narcissistic daydreams will correlate with higher OMNI scores suggesting a link between narcissism and narcissistic daydreams). This hypothesis was supported. DAYDREAM scores correlated with total OMNI and with all three OMNI types (see TABLE 7).

Explorations of three types of narcissism

One goal of the study was to identify any differences in how each factor (of self-object deficit and problems with aggression) might differentially contribute to the three types of narcissism located by the OMNI. To achieve this, step-wise multiple regression analyses were performed for the three dimensions described by OMNI types I, II and III and for the global OMNI scores. Given that TAT mother and BLACKY mother were correlated and that both were used to measure a maternal self-object representation, TAT mother was selected for the regression tests. BLACKY mother seemed to have a "card-pull" for more idealized stories. Additionally, the Blacky mother stimulus elicited stories of seduction (i.e., mother seducing Blacky) that seemed to be more a function of the way the characters were drawn, making

it less "neutral" than TAT mother, as a projective stimulus.
DAYDREAM was also deleted from the regression analyses
because it was conceptualized in the study as another
manifestation of narcissism and not as a causal factor.
Thus TAT mother, TAT father, anger and envy were entered in
the step-wise regressions. The step-wise method was used
because the author was interested in the strongest
predictors of variance, and in eliminating from the model
any factors that did not add any distinctively different
predictive value.

OMNI Total

The results of the regression analysis for total OMNI
scores are presented in Table 8. From the step-wise
multiple regression, conflict with anger and TAT father
combine to form the best model accounting for a significant
part of the variance in total OMNI scores in this sample.

TABLE 8

Multiple regression model for total OMNI scores

SCALE	BETA WEIGHT	S.E.	R^2	F[*]
ANGER	1.98	.78	.115	13.44[a]
TAT FATHER	1.61	.69	.160	5.36[b]

*indicates test for change in R^2
[a] = p<.001
[b] = p<.04

OMNI I

For type I, the exploitative/entitled dimension, again anger and father proved to be the best predictive variables accounting for some of the variance in OMNI I (see Table 9).

TABLE 9

Multiple regression model for OMNI I scores

SCALE	BETA WEIGHT	S.E.	R^2	F^*
ANGER	1.03	.41	.11	12.81[a]
TATFA	.81	.37	.15	4.87[b]

*indicates test for change in R^2
[a] = p<.001
[b] = <.05

OMNI II

The type II dimension of the OMNI, named the perfectionistic/controlling narcissistic dimension, TAT mother best accounted for the variance on its own (see Table 10).

TABLE 10

Multiple regression model for OMNI II scores

SCALE	BETA WEIGHT	S.E.	R^2	F^*
TATMO	.81	.25	.09	10.46[b]

*indicates test for change in R^2
[b] = <.01

<u>OMNI III</u>

OMNI type III explores the "narcissistically abused personality" dimension of narcissism. This was best described in this sample by TAT father (see Table 11).

<u>TABLE 11</u>

Multiple regression model for OMNI III scores

<u>SCALE</u>	<u>BETA WEIGHT</u>	<u>S.E.</u>	<u>R^2</u>	<u>F^*</u>
TAT FATHER	.68	.25	.07	
7.68^b				

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*indicates test for change in R^2
b = $p<.01$

In summary, the results of the multiple regression analyses suggest that the three dimensions of narcissism, as identified by the OMNI, may be comprised of somewhat different factors, in terms of what was most important in contributing to the variance in each subgroup.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

One of the on-going debates in the current
psychoanalytic literature has been the alternative
explanations of narcissism put forth by Otto Kernberg and
Heinz Kohut. This study was an attempt to operationalize
some of these ideas and to test their usefulness with a
subclinical population. The study also looked at three
different types of narcissism. Gender was predicted to play
a role with regard to how men and women might more likely
manifest one narcissistic character style over another. The
third purpose of the study was to see if the different types
of narcissism could be differentiated with respect to the
Kernberg and Kohut variables.

The following is a brief discussion of the meta-issues
involved in researching the Kernberg/Kohut controversy.
Their contrasting theories of narcissism seem to provide a
forum for the broader issue of what Bollas (1989) calls the
"idiom" of personality. The disagreement can be viewed in
terms of the deeper issues of changing paradigms of how to
observe and communicate what is essential in human nature.
Their alternative models are described in terms of conflict,
drive, and defense versus deficit and relationship. More
importantly, the Kernberg/Kohut controversy pertains to the
differences between objective versus subjective ways of
understanding. This dichotomy between subjective and

objective perspectives (i.e., Kohut's 'experience-near' and Kernberg's 'experience-far') parallels an important feature of narcissism, that is the difficulty of holding an image of oneself as subject and object simultaneously (Bach, 1989). This difficulty is most vividly expressed in the myth's image of Narcissus' confusion about his mirror-image. Rather than asking if one perspective is better than another, ultimately, the more fruitful question is how do these two theoretical perspectives consolidate to form the most accurate picture of narcissism. The results of this study suggest that both Kernberg and Kohut's ideas contribute to the understanding of subclinical narcissism. There was no evidence that one helped explain the data better than another. Commensurate with this, one of the study's hypothesis (that self-object measures would be more strongly correlated with narcissism than anger and envy) was disconfirmed. Therefore, both the "objective" drive/defense perspective and the "subjective" deficit/relational perspective were useful in understanding the research findings.

The Role of Gender

Two types of narcissism that are thought to express opposite but related dynamics are 1) entitlement, exhibitionism, and exploitation and 2) shame and excessive idealization of others. These are measured in the OMNI by type I ("narcissistic personality") and type III

("narcissistically abused personality"). Some research has already considered these two dimensions as divided according to gender. Miller (1979) theorizes that these two character styles are opposite sides of the same coin; grandiosity being a defense against loss and shame, and depression being an exaggeration of the loss of the idealized self/other.

It was within this context that a hypothesis was formulated that men, in the study sample, would have greater type I OMNI scores than women and, conversely, women would show greater type III OMNI scores than men. Statistical analyses, however, revealed that there was no significant difference for men and women along OMNI score distributions. One explanation might be that a college student sample is notoriously "androgynous" and that other samples may have yielded differences. In contrast, Watson, Biderman, and Boyd's (1989) work (with a college sample) did show significant differences between the sexes along these lines. Nonetheless, the results of this study suggest that we may be stereotyping when we assume that men, as a whole, express exploitative aims more readily than do women or that women are more likely to feel ashamed and needy of direction from others than men.

The one gender difference in the study pertained to ratings of TAT father. Women tended to give TAT father stories that were less favorable, in their depiction of the father-figure, than those of men. There are several possible explanations for this finding. One is that men

tend to give a more favorable rating of father because of the identification with a same-sexed parent. There are many other possible explanations. The one that seems most plausible to the author, however, has to do with the actual difference in the projective stimuli used for men and women. The TAT father-son card depicts a close-up of an older and younger man's face right next to one another. The TAT father-daughter card shows two whole figures at some distance, the woman is seated and turned around with a surprised expression, and the man is holding a pipe. In the formal features of the cards, the father-son card illustrates closeness while the father-daughter card shows both distance and a startle-like expression. Both the author and the other rater remarked independently of each other at the number of TAT father-daughter stories that portrayed sinister sexual innuendo, a theme of being caught-in-the-act and intrusion. This theme was thought of in terms of oedipal conflicts, but was so repetitive that we questioned the neutrality of this card as a projective device. It seems that this card portrays, with some realism, one person frightening another, whereas the father-son card shows attachment between the characters. This brings into question how equivalent the projective stimuli were for the two TAT father cards. However, no statistical differences were revealed regarding gender's overall relationship to narcissism or in terms of Kohut and Kernberg's variables.

The other demographic finding was that age was negatively associated both with global OMNI scores and with ratings of TAT father. In other words, older subjects tended to have lower OMNI scores (i.e., less narcissism) and tell more favorable stories in response to the TAT father card. It may be that general psychopathology decreases with age. An additional and alternative explanation is that narcissism is a developmentally appropriate state of affairs in young adulthood. Perhaps as adolescents leave their family of origin they need to focus on themselves and only later re-establish communal concerns. This is in line with Erikson's eight stage theory of personality. Given that most of the subjects in this sample were in their early twenties they may have consolidated an identity but still were struggling with intimacy and fears of merging and losing identity (Erikson, 1968). This finding between age and narcissism had not been hypothesized.

The Relationships Between Independent Variables

Correlations were found between most of the independent variables (i.e., TAT mother, TAT father, BLACKY mother, anger, envy, and daydream). The following is a summary of the relevant inter-correlations among independent measures. TAT mother and BLACKY mother were highly correlated, giving some support to the construct validity of these two measures of mother. TAT father was correlated with both anger and envy. Thus, representations of pathogenic fathers were

linked to higher degrees of anger and envy. Theoretically,
Kernberg (and Klein) conceptualize early primitive
aggression, and envy as beginning with either a
constitutional legacy or as a response to pathogenic
mothering (and later to destructive parenting in general).
That negative affect is associated with TAT mother and TAT
father does not further clarify the causal issue in
narcissism, but it does suggest that anger, envy and self-
object deficit are inter-related. Anger and envy were quite
strongly correlated with each other. Since these two
affects are considered variants of aggression this finding
makes some sense. This finding could also be an artifact of
the scoring system for these two protocols that tapped
overall management of affect (anger and envy were scored as
either (0) integrated, (1) defensive, or (2) split/strong).

The many correlations between independent variable
measures, introduced a problem in the exploratory analysis
of the three types of narcissism. Because the variables
measured, to some degree, similar phenomena, it was more
difficult to draw strong conclusions with regard to how much
each factor contributed to the three types of OMNI for this
sample. It is possible that the concepts of self-object
deficit and conflict with aggression are truly
interdependent. The alternative explanation is that the
measures lacked the degree of refinement that would lead to
clearer results in an attempt to differentiate types of
narcissism.

Results of the Pearson Correlations regarding Hypothesis of the Study

The general results of the correlation tests between each independent measure and the dependent measure (OMNI scores) yielded modest support for hypotheses 1, 2 and 5. Hypothesis one stated that Kohut's concept of self-object deficit would be correlated with narcissism. Of the three "self-object" deficit measures (TAT mother, TAT father, BLACKY mother) all three were significantly correlated with the global measure for narcissism (total OMNI). For the three subtypes of narcissism, TAT father correlated significantly with all three subtypes, TAT mother with two of the subtypes and BLACKY mother with one of the subtypes. Therefore, the three measures of "self-object deficit" were all correlated with narcissism scores as predicted.

Hypothesis two stated that Kernberg's concept of conflict with anger and envy would be correlated with narcissism. Both of these measures of negative affect correlated significantly with the global narcissism score. Anger and envy were equally correlated with two of the three subtypes. Measures of "conflict with aggression" were also able to predict change in narcissism scores, as predicted.

Hypothesis three (that the Kohut variables would emerge as stronger predictors of narcissism than the Kernberg variables) was for the most part disconfirmed. This hypothesis grew out of the literature that suggests that Kernberg's and Kohut's differences are due to their having

treated separate groups of patients: Kernberg with

borderlines and Kohut with higher-level narcissists (Adler,

1986). It is important that even in a subclinical sample

that presumably carries a low degree of psychopathology,

that anger and envy seem to be equally viable in predicting

global narcissism as does self-object deficit. This finding

challenges the notion that aggression only plays a large

part in severe cases of narcissism. However, in one recent

study (Glassman, 1988) using a "subclinical" population

found that Kohut's concepts were slightly more useful in

predicting narcissism as compared to Kernberg's concept of

anger. However, in the present study a self-object measure

(TAT father) was the only one that correlated significantly

with all three types of narcissism. Studies using

comparison groups between clinical and subclinical groups

could better clarify this finding.

Hypothesis five was confirmed, that narcissistic

daydreams were associated with narcissism. This hypothesis

was taken from Kernberg (1975) who was struck with the

qualitative difference in daydreams revealed in

psychoanalysis between his narcissistic patients and other

patients. A daydream is an imaginative production that

should reflect a person's over-riding idiom, meaning that it

is logical that narcissistic persons would daydream of

scenarios that focused on the possession of power to the

exclusion of others. This is because the idiom of

narcissism is, in part, a compensatory grandiosity that

defends against a sense of inadequacy and defect. The

advantage of the daydream measure (over the projectives) was

that it captures a naturally occurring, relatively stable

(i.e., recurrent), intrapsychic event. Bach (1985) refers

to the same phenomenon (as found in Kernberg's notion of

narcissistic daydreams) as the "fantasy of exceptionality."

The following is an example of a woman's daydream scored

"narcissistic" from the study. Incidentally, her total OMNI

score was two standard deviations above the mean and she

scored highest on the "narcissistic personality" dimension

of narcissism that taps entitlement, exhibitionism, and

exploitation of others.

> "I daydream now about playing tennis with this one guy
> whom I find very attractive. We are looking great -- Me in
> a white pleated skirt (in which I don't even own) and a
> yellow V-neck sweater -- and he's looking like a slob as
> always but still gets my attention. I always win of course
> and we run up to the net to get the balls and we sit there
> and talk about stuff."

He next comments, when instructed to write about how

the people in the daydream feel about her are:

> "This person I have slept with 2 times in the past two
> weeks, but he really doesn't talk to me much when I see him
> at the bar and such. He pretends like he likes other people
> who walk by at the bar and makes stupid comments like,
> 'she's hot'. God, I could punch him -- but I really think
> he likes me but he's just an asshole."

The daydream nicely illustrates how the grandiose,

omnipotent fantasy compensates for a deeper feeling of

rejection and inadequacy. Her intense anger is also

evident.

Explorations of What Contributes Most to Subtypes of Narcissism

Step-wise multiples regression analyses were performed on each of the three subtypes of narcissism in an attempt to find statistically what were the most predictive groups of variable contributing to higher OMNI scores. The variables entered were TAT mother, TAT father, anger, and envy. For the total OMNI scores, anger and TAT father (in that order) accounted for 16 percent of the variance in global narcissism scores. Anger accounted for approximately 11% of the variance and TAT father for an additional 5%; together correlating with total OMNI scores at .16. The other variables when entered did not significantly add to the variance accounted.

OMNI I tests are what Kernberg considers to be narcissism (O'Brien, 1987) and is called the "narcissistic personality" dimension. Anger accounted for 11% of the OMNI I variance and TAT father for an additional 4%, making a total of 15%. This is commensurate with Kernberg's theory in that higher levels of aggression were indeed linked with a more exploitative attitude. However TAT father added some predictive power. This finding will be discussed in detail at the end of this section.

OMNI II was created to test a "perfectionistic/ controlling" dimension that comes out of Alice Miller's work on "poisonous pedagogy" where the parents, in particular the mother, forces her opinions and needs onto the child "for

your own good." Interestingly enough, only TAT mother on its own formed the best model for predicting OMNI II scores although it accounted for 9 percent of the variance. Thus a perfectionistic, controlling type of narcissism may be more related to pathogenic mothering (or more specifically the internalization of a non-mirroring, idealization-blocking mother). This suggests that Miller has indeed captured a subtype of narcissism, that utilizes omnipotent control and that may be caused by problematic mothering.

OMNI III measures a "shame-prone" variant of narcissism where the person feels constantly in need of idealized others for guidance, is shame-ridden and insecure. According to the statistical analysis the best predictor of this was less benign ratings for TAT father, accounting for 7 percent of the variance. If the shame-prone person inverts their grandiosity than it may be a defense against grandiosity. Therefore we would expect some similar dynamic between type I's who overtly express grandiosity and type III's who suppress and reject their grandiosity. For both type I and type III father was one of the best predictors. However type I revealed that excessive anger added its own contribution. It is interesting that character styles that appear quite different might share some of the same dynamics. This was predicted in the psychoanalytic literature.

Because of the overlap between variables the attempt to identify the differential contribution of measures to

subtypes of narcissism was made more difficult. Measures
that more distinctly tapped the concepts of self-object
deficit and aggression may have strengthened the analyses of
the different types of narcissism.

The Meaning of the Link Between Father and Narcissism

The most interesting overall finding that was not
hypothesized per se, was that TAT father predicted OMNI
scores most consistently, out of all the measures used. To
give the reader a more lively sense of the different images
of father (with regard to Kohut's theory about self-object
deficit) the following are some examples of stories given in
response to the TAT father card that might illustrate father
as a helpful self-object versus father as a deficient self-
object.

Story 1 (TAT father/son card)

"The older man in the picture is a veteran basketball
coach, and the younger man is his assistant. The younger
man is very nervous about his first time coaching in the
NCAA tournament, and he has told the head coach that he
doesn't think this squad matches up very well against the
team they are to play.

The head coach smiles reassuringly and pats the younger
man on the back and tells him they will do just fine. He
has been through it all before and knows there is more to
winning than just size. The next game they do go out and
use their quickness and hustle to beat a larger, more
powerful team."

This story was scored as a "1" (mirroring and
idealizing). The main characters are a more-experienced
coach and a less-experienced one. If one reads this as a
father-son story (which we did), then the "son" is indeed a

"chip off the old block" and the father figure allays the "son's" anxiety and helps guide them together towards success. This is a nice illustration of the idealizing function of a self-object, that is to provide a sense of guidance as well as to initiate the person in need of help into mastery and success. The head coach is a role model for the assistant coach and he allows the younger one to participate in his power and wisdom. The head coach also provides mirroring functions in that he soothes and consoles the other's distress and facilitates his ambition. The head-coach is somewhat idealized (i.e., powerful) but is affectionate and generous.

Story 2 (TAT father-son card)

"The son has just flunked out of law school. The old man in the picture, his father, is trying to understand his son's predicament. The boy never wanted to be a lawyer and take over his old man's business. He has always wanted to be a painter. But this would not do in his conservative family, since birth he has always been steered, subtly, to a law career. His father is a corporate lawyer specializing in getting large corporations out of personal injury suits brought about by their low-income customers. This picture reflects the last time the boy ever sees his father. He moves to a small town in northern Michigan, paints and works in a saw mill. His paintings never sell and he dies 8 years later of cirrhosis of the liver. Upon selling his cabin, his father takes his paintings to New York where they sell, years later, for an average of 4 million dollars each."

In this story the son attempts to imitate his powerful father but at the cost of not realizing his true wishes and skills. The father, we are told, has "steered" the boy to go into the family business of law. Kohut talks about the importance of parental responsivity, that the parent must respond to the actual needs and inherent talents of the

child and not impose their own narcissistic vision on the
child. As a self-object this father (the card was rated "4"
mirror/idealizing blocking) fails to respond to his son's
true self and we see the ill-fated consequences of this.
The father and son separate and the son dies (of
alcoholism?) at a young age. Furthermore it is interesting
in comparing these two stories that in Story 1 the father-
figure is the champion of the under-dog and tells his
assistant that their team can win even if they are
physically smaller. In Story 2 the father defends large
corporations against low-income customers. This seems to
mirror how these different stories portray the father-
figures' attitude towards the younger men. Even the end of
Story 2 results in the father getting something from his son
(the money from the paintings) while the dead son gets
nothing except perhaps a tragic posthumous recognition. In
Story 1 both the coaches "win" in the sense that they help
their team perform well and the young man's anxieties and
distress have been ameliorated.

This leads to a discussion of how a destructive father
may be a key element in the formation of some types of
narcissism, especially the traditional entitled kind and the
shame-prone personality. Narcissism in the traditional
usage of the term has to do with a search for power and a
disregard for the welfare of others. Others are valued to
the degree that they can function as an admiring audience.
The father figure may be one of the most important self-

objects in how one learns to relate to achievement. In other words (some) fathers love the child for what they can achieve whereas (some) mothers love the child for who she/he is in a more unconditional sense. Thus the narcissistic search for power, beauty, fame and wealth may be ways of trying to please or defeat a father who was not able to communicate a shared sense of power. These people may have experienced their fathers as thwarting their success, leaving them angry and in need of finding people to admire them for their achievements in a way that the father could not. However this picture is complicated by the fact that mother ratings did predict narcissism scores, especially in type II. The importance of TAT father in this study is that it highlights the importance of the paternal self-object in narcissistic personality formation. Interestingly, in the myth of Narcissus, Grant (1962) notes that the <u>father's abandonment</u> of Narcissus and his mother is the only causal precipitating event in this tragic story. Psychoanalytic theory, especially object-relations theory, tends to focus on the child's experience of the mother. The implications for this study's finding, for theory, is that the father's role needs to be carefully evaluated, at least in the case of narcissism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study using projective stories and daydreams of 143 men and women in college, found Kohut's

ideas of self-object deficit and Kernberg's notion of conflict with aggression as viable predictors of subclinical narcissism. Many of the independent measures were interrelated and it was not clear if this was a function of the lack of specificity in measures or if these phenomena were truly related. However despite these problems, three of the five hypotheses were supported. Self-object deficits and conflict with aggression were related to higher scores on the narcissism measure. The independent variables (TAT father, TAT mother, anger and envy) showed some differential patterning among the three subtypes of narcissism. Daydreams scored "narcissistic" tended to be given by more narcissistic subjects. Hypothesized gender differences were not revealed in the results of this study.

Future research is needed to continue to accurately operationalize psychological concepts in order to understand what processes contribute to the formation of psychopathology. The Kernberg/Kohut debate, as a whole, may benefit from attempts to integrate these two visions rather than to view them as competing. Even using a subclinical sample, Kernberg and Kohut's ideas appeared to be related to narcissism. Furthermore, the findings from this study suggest that different narcissistic personality styles may involve distinctly different kinds of self-object deficit and different levels of aggression. The three types of narcissism, explored in this study, seemed linked to specific phenomena that were documented in theory. Further

research may help to expound the variety of dilemmas expressed in narcissism and locate the relevant psychological processes involved in narcissistic character structure.

APPENDICES

CONSENT FORM

This is a study investigating some aspects of normal personality development. It uses projective cards that require a short story (5 of these), one 42 question test, and a written daydream.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you choose to not participate at any time, you are free to do so. No identifying information will be collected other than your sex and age. Your answers will be confidential and anonymous.

If you decide to participate please sign and date this statement. Please hand it in separately from your packet. This study should pose no harm. Your participation benefits psychological research. If you have any comments or questions at any time please contact me:

        Leslie Wolowitz, M.A.
        106 Psychology Research Bldg.
        Michigan State University (355-2627)

The whole procedure should take from 25-35 minutes.

NAME_____DATE_____

INSTRUCTIONS:

1)   Please fill out the test. There are 41 yes/no
questions. There are no "right" answers. If you can't
decide if your answer is "yes" or "no" to a question please
choose the answer that is closest to how you feel.

2)   There are 5 pictures in your packet. Please write one
story per picture. Your story should be long enough to
include what the characters are thinking and feeling, and
what will happen...how the story turns out. Please use your
imagination. Write out the story on the blank sheet after
the picture (if you need more space use the back).

3)   Please think about a recurrent daydream or a recent
daydream that you have had. On the last page of the packet,
there is a space for you to write down a daydream. Please
indicate if this was a recent one or a recurrent one.

Please write down your sex and age on this page. Do not
write down your name or any other identifying information.
Thanks.

OMNI

Please answer the following questions by circling EITHER <u>YES</u> or <u>NO</u>. If you can't decide please choose the best answer for how you feel. There is no "right" answer.

1. Would you rather try to please others than to have your own way? YES NO

2. Would you rather give a gift than receive one? YES NO

3. Do you find it easy to relax in a group? YES NO

4. Do you tend to feel like a martyr? YES NO

5. Do you tend to see people as being either great or terrible? YES NO

6. Do you usually find it hard to settle down? YES NO

7. Do you tend to get angered by others? YES NO

8. Do you have a tendency to over-react? YES NO

9. Are you jealous of good-looking people? YES NO

10. Do you tend to be secretive about your personal life? YES NO

11. Do you pay a lot of attention to the financial matters of others? YES NO

12. Do you think that movie stars have better lives than you do? YES NO

13. Do you try to avoid dramatizing your feelings? YES NO

14. Does your life deserve special recognition? YES NO

15. Will your experience greatly guide others? YES NO

16. When confused, do you think of your mother's wishes to help you resolve your conflict?

YES NO

17. Do you appreciate people who march to the beat of a different drummer?
     YES NO

18. Do you avoid rejection at all costs?
     YES NO

19. Do you have fantasies about being violent without knowing why? YES NO

20. Do you tend to feel humiliated when criticized?
     YES NO

21. Do you know how to solve other people's problems?
     YES NO

22. Would your secretive acts horrify your friends?
     YES NO

23. Do people love you for the way you improve their lives?
     YES NO

24. Do you find it easier to empathize with your own misfortunes than with those of others?
     YES NO

25. Do your views of people change back and forth easily?
     YES NO

26. Do you think that sexual intercourse is clean?
     YES NO

27. Do you wonder why people aren't more appreciative of your goodness? YES NO

28. Do you avoid telling people "what it's all about"?
     YES NO

29. Are you a perfectionist?
     YES NO

30. Is seduction the best part of your sex life?
     YES NO

31. Do you find that going through life is like walking on a tightrope? YES NO

32. Do you find yourself fantasizing about your greatness?
     YES NO

33. Do you have problems that nobody seems to understand?

YES   NO

34. Are you clever enough to fool people?
YES   NO

35. Do you worry a lot about your health?
YES   NO

36. Do you expect people who love you to spend money to show it?   YES   NO

37. Is it important for you to know how other people spend their time?   YES   NO

38. Do all your friends come from the same mold?
YES   NO

39. Are you especially sensitive to success and failure?
YES   NO

40. If you're tough on others, is it "for their own good"?
YES   NO

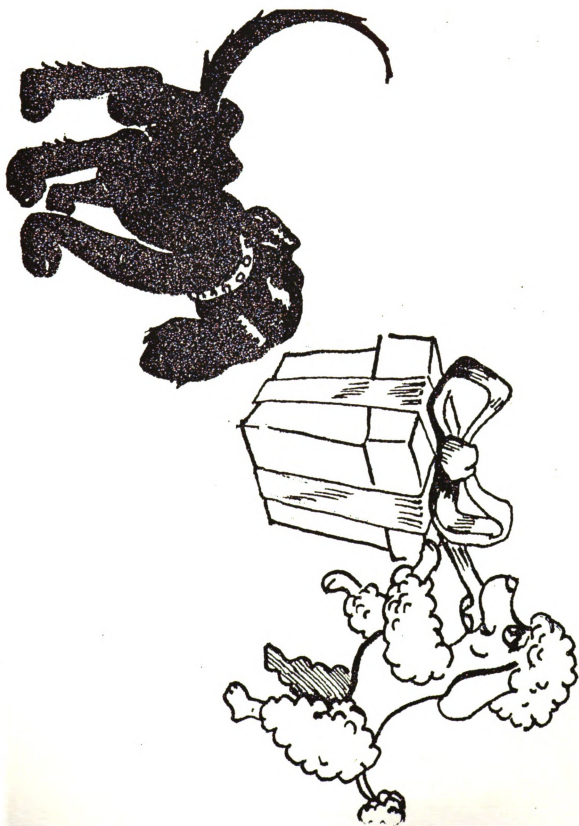41. Do you crave attention from others?
YES   NO
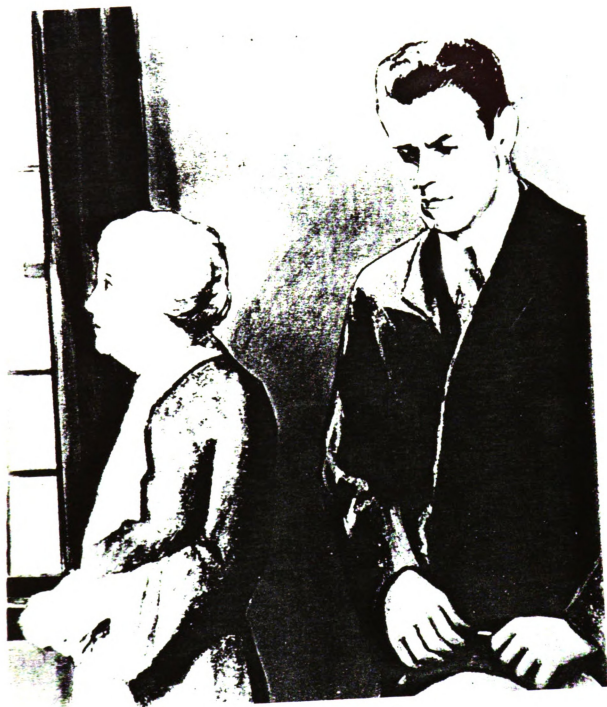
APPENDIX B: Criteria for Scoring Daydreams

Daydreams are scored in one of three categories. They either fit the criteria for Kernberg's model and are scored "2" or they indicate altruism, or a wish to be loved and are scored "0". Daydreams that do not fit either the love or envy categories are scored "1".

Criteria for Scoring Daydreams "2": narcissistic:

(a) Daydream involves subject having some positive attribute, skill, or object. For example wealth, beauty, talent, athletic skill, beauty, charm, power, status, creativity, prizes, fame, etc.

(b) There is no mention of helping or benefitting others, with exception of benefit to the subject. For example a daydream about a war hero who saves his people would not qualify, and would be scored "0".

(c) Mention that others look up to him, admire, or envy the subject. This must have a quality of envy/admiration and not love. If the subject seems to desire love and relationship then it is scored "0".

A and B are necessary conditions for rating the daydream "2". C may be present and can be used as an additional guide for selection.

INSTRUCTIONS:

Think of a typical daydream that you had as a teenager (if possible). Write it down in as much detail as you can remember. Are there other people in the daydream? If so, how do they feel about you?

Coding Themes of Mirroring and Idealizable
Self-objects

From TAT Cards 6 GF, 6 BM, 7 GF, 7 BM and Black Card 1.

Protocols are categorized as mirroring and/or idealizable
(=1), mirroring and/or idealizable with limited
effectiveness (=2), mixed mirroring/idealizable with mirror-
blocking/non-idealizable (=3), mirror-blocking and/or non-
idealizable (=4).

Guide to Mirroring Responses:

mother or father figure is understanding, approving,
accepting, admiring, confirming, generally giving and
responsive to child's needs

Guide to Mirror-Blocking Responses:

mother or father figure misunderstands, disapproving,
rejecting, overly critical, shaming, disconfirming,
generally draining or asking child to do for parent or
directive in a non-empathic manner

Guide to Idealizable Responses:

mother or father calms child, soothing, consoling,
reassuring, is portrayed as strong and/or successful (in
career) linked with child being able to identify or imitate
strength or success

Guide to Non-Idealizable Responses:

mother or father irritates child, is reactive, intrusive,
over-stimulating, parent is portrayed as weak or has talents
that are out of reach for child to identify/imitate

Mirroring and Idealizable Responses with Limited
Effectiveness

parent mirrors or allows idealization but child is mentioned
as still upset/distressed, etc. Stories where there are no
discernable mirroring, idealizable responses, on the part of
the self-object, as well as no identifiable mirror-blocking
or non-idealizable responses are coded as (3), the code for
mixed responses as this implies a deficit of mirroring and
idealizable self-object responses

Sample Coding of Stories:

(male response to Blacky Card 1)

"That's his mother. She's consoling him; encouraging him. He's done something that's not made him feel so well. So she's reassuring him. She is going to leave him to work out his problems...she won't be too overbearing."

Code = 1 (mirroring and idealizable responses - "consoling him...reassuring him...won't be too overbearing")

(female response to Blacky Card 1)

"Blacky's sad because she has no friends to play with and mom is trying to comfort her and tell her that 'everything will be alright.' Blacky doesn't really believe her, but she short of feels cheered up."

Code = 2 (mirroring/idealizable response with limited effectiveness - "Blacky doesn't really believe her")

(female response to Blacky Card 1)

"'C'mon honey, it's time to wake up for doggie school', says mom. Blacky thinks, 'do I have to? I'm still sleepy', even though he doesn't want to he'll mosey on up."

Code = 3 (mixed response because mother is portrayed as kind and somewhat helpful but essentially intrusive).

(male response to Blacky Card 1)

"Blacky is sulking. Something had gone on during the day that he took too personally. Mom is telling him to snap out of it. He doesn't listen to her. He's deep in thought and she doesn't really understand."

Code 4 (mirror-blocking, non-idealizable response - "snap out of it...she doesn't really understand")

In the TAT stories, the "self-object" can be portrayed as someone other than a parent. Whether the characters are viewed as parent and child or, for example boss and secretary/ young man and maid/ two lovers/, a self/self-object relationship is still assumed to be still present.

(female response to TAT Card 6 GF)

"Dad is just getting home from work. He's come over to his daughter to see how her day went. He's kidding around with her. Just making her feel really good, because he's jovial. She's feeling really good that he is home."

Code = 1 (mirroring/idealizable response - "...to see how her day went...making her feel really good").

(female response to TAT Card 6 GF)

"The daughter is thinking about landing this really good job. Dad came in and he startled her. He wants to jump in and help. She knows dad's really concerned. Dad is very successful and so is she.

Code = 0 (mirroring/idealizable response - "dad's really concerned....dad is very successful and so is she."

(male response to TAT Card 6 BM)

"Mark and his mother had a disagreement. Mark's a lawyer and he has to defend this child molester who is famous in this small town. The mother is giving him the moral side of it, that the molester is guilty. So she can't convince him and says, 'OK, you do what you think is right.' He's very torn by the good sense of his mother and the good sense of his career. He will defend this person and his mother will understand, but he'll realize someday that it was a big mistake."

Code = 2 (mirroring/idealizable response with limited effectiveness - "she can't convince him...mother will understand."

(male response to TAT Card 7 BM)

"This is John's uncle. He is in the title business and owns some real estate property. His uncle asks him to become a partner in business. They work together for a while. John realizes that he would rather be an artist, so he leaves the job. His uncle understands but is sad to see him go."

Code = 2 (mirroring/idealizable response with limited effectiveness - "they work together...John realizes that he'd rather be an artist...his uncle understands.).

(female response to TAT Card 6 GF)

"Boss and secretary. He's giving her some information about what to do next. She's surprised, maybe she goofed up. He's saying, 'what I need now is...'. Maybe he caught her doing something she should be doing. She'll play it off and say that she's happy to see him."

Code = 3 (mixed idealizable response - "he's giving her some information", "he's saying, 'what I need now is..." boss is both giving and demanding/critical).

(female response to TAT Card 7 Gf)

"This little girl doesn't look very happy. I think her mother and her had some kind of disagreement. Her mother isn't really mad and wants to make her daughter feel OK. But mother said something that made the girl upset. She's ready to walk away."

Code = 3 (mixed mirroring/idealizable response - "wants to make her daughter feel OK...mother said something that made the girl upset.")

(female response to TAT Card 6 GF)

"This is taking place during the forties. This is a woman and that's her boss at work and she just got this job as a secretary. He's point out, in no uncertain manner, what she did wrong the first week. She 's not quite sure how she's going to handle this whole thing as this is her first job in the big city. So she's just thinking how to get through the moment."

Code = 4 (mirror-blocking/non-idealizable response - "he's pointing out what she did wrong the first week.")

(male response to TAT Card 6 BM)

"She looks like a maid. He's got to tell her something. Even though she probably knows what it is, she doesn't want to hear it. He tells her anyway and leaves."

Code = 4 (mirror-blocking/non-idealizable response - "She doesn't want to hear it").

APPENDIX D: Coding Themes of Conflict with Envy and Anger

From Blacky Cards 2 and 3

Protocols are coded as integrated (=0), split/strong (=2), or defended (=1).

Anger: From Blacky Card 2, the "oral sadism" card from Blum's original set of pictures, depicting Blacky with a collar marked "mama" in his mouth. This card is meant to evoke the subject's relationship to anger. An integrated response would include recognition of Blacky's anger towards mother, but would not present strong sadism or portrayal of mother as all-bad. A split/strong story would include images of mother as all-bad and/or present a very marked anger that fits Blum's description of a "strong" response. A defended story, would either not acknowledge Blacky's anger or would do so in the context of anger towards someone other than mother.

Guide to integrated responses:

Blacky is viewed as angry but still having fun.
Anger is acknowledged but story ends with mother and/or Blacky acting in a peaceful way
Acknowledgement that Blacky is displacing anger onto mom's collar in a constructive manner

Guide to split/strong responses:

mom is mentioned only in the context of punishing/depriving Blacky
Blacky is seen as extremely angry or out of control
emphasis on chewing (Blum)
mention of feeding deprivation (Blum)
any mention of killing (Blum)
any act or threat of violence toward Mother; although if violence is seen as being perpetrated by someone other than Blacky it is coded as defended

Guide to denial responses:

specific denial of aggression (Blum)
introduction that does not mention anger
someone else, other than Blacky, mentioned as having taken Blacky's collar
Blacky is mad at someone else who has acted against mother

Sample Coding of Stories

"Blacky is playful, and has gotten Mama's collar away from her./ She's having a wonderful time pretending it's an animate object, and she must fight with it so as to make it be quiet./ The fierce look is fooling nobody but Blacky

(Code = 0, Blacky is seen as angry but in a playful mode; the anger is integrated.)

"Well Blacky is angry about something./ He's getting his frustration out. He's just going to get all his anger out of him. Then he'll be tired and will go to sleep."

(Code = 0, No mention of mother is made, indicating some defensiveness, but he gets his anger out in a constructive manner.)

"Blacky is very angry at mom./ They went to the store and Blacky wanted a toy and mom said 'no.' All the other kids on the block have the toy, so Blacky is angry and rips up mom's necklace. Mom looks for it and Blacky tells her that he was mad at her and so he ripped it up. Mom says, 'oh, that's too bad.'/ Blacky has gotten his revenge."

(Code = 2, Blacky's anger is acknowledged but mother is primarily made out to be depriving (all-bad). There is also the emphasis on ripping. The revenge also indicates strong anger.)

"Blacky's pissed off at mom./ Guess mom didn't let him do something he wanted to do, so he's displacing his anger onto his collar, at least he's not harming anyone./ He's still destroying something, which isn't really acceptable, he's chewing the collar."

(Code = 1, Although mom is mentioned as depriving, the majority of the story is devoted to Blacky's ability to get his anger out in a non-destructive way. The ending indicates some conflict and a defensive attitude towards anger - "isn't really acceptable."

"Blacky got mad at his mother/ and chased her around the yard. She got away from him, but he got her collar./ Blacky is still mad at mom, so he is chewing on her collar."

(Code = 2, Blacky is playful with his anger towards mom. The end though indicates that the anger lingers).

"Blacky is very angry./ She was outside playing, when she discovered that Mama had lost her collar and someone else had stolen it./ Blacky retrieved the collar and was determined to take it home to mama."

(Code = 1, the story starts out with acknowledgement of affect but defends against anger towards mother. Someone else is seen as acting against mother.)

"Blacky's mother's leash was stolen,/ and he ran off in the direction. He's extremely angry because it got stolen./ He'll devise a way of figuring out who it was and how to get the leash back."

(Code = 1, this is a completely defended story. Even though in the middle Blacky is said to be "extremely angry", it is linked to anger at someone else other than mother.)

Envy: From Blacky Card 3, this card was created to evoke the subject's relationship to envy. Because envy involves two people (whereas jealousy involves three), the card shows Blacky facing a poodle dog who is opening a wrapped box. The picture resembles a scene from a childhood birthday party. This birthday party scenario is a common trigger for envy, in childhood (Berke, 1988).

An integrated response would include recognition of feelings of curiosity and some mild feelings of envy. An integrated response (scored 0) would also portray Blacky as having some fun. Resolutions aimed at the poodle sharing the gift would also indicate integration. A split/strong response (scored 2) would manifest as strong envious feelings. This is denoted by a marked sense of loss or inferiority, on the part of Blacky. It can also be characterized by a devaluation of either the poodle or the gift. A defended story (scored 3) would either ignore any feelings of envy or loss and/or present as reaction-formation, whereby Blacky is portrayed as giving the gift to the poodle.

Guide to integrated responses:

Blacky seen as "curious", "envious", "wants to share", somewhat "sad"
mention that Blacky can share the gift with the poodle
a story resolution that portrays Blacky as still intact, having some fun.

Guide to split/strong responses:

Blacky seen as deprived, or inferior in some way

envious responses that include either the poodle portrayed
as undeserving, or a "bad" character (for example the poodle
is "uppity", "spoiled", "gets everything she wants"
mention that Blacky doesn't really want the gift, for
whatever reason
statement that the poodle will not share gift
the gift is really for Blacky

Guide to defended responses:

Blacky seen as very happy with no mention of feelings of
sadness or envy
Blacky portrayed as the giver of the gift
resolution that Blacky is hoping that the poodle likes the
gift

Sample Coding of Stories

"Blacky is looking at the box./ She's probably envious that
the other dog is going to open up the box. Even though she
is envious, she is happy too. They will probably share
whatever is in there./ Blacky doesn't look like she is
going to take off with the gift."

(Code = 0, this is very a integrated story. Blacky's envy
is acknowledged in the context of other positive emotions
and the prospect of sharing. At the end, Blacky is in
control of his impulses.)

"It's this little dog's birthday party, Fifi./ Blacky's at
the party and they are having fun. He feels a little bit
like he wishes it was his birthday./ So he's just hanging
back."

(Code = 1, Blacky acknowledges his envy in an integrated
manner, without devaluing Fifi or the present. At the end,
though, Blacky continues to feel loss which marks somewhat
strong envy.)

"Blacky was walking along and saw this other dog, standing
in front of a box./ He asked her what it was, she said she
didn't know, but she was going to open int and find out.
Blacky is waiting to see what it is./ He thinks it will be
a ball that they can play with."

(Code = 0, although Blacky's envy is not explicitly
acknowledged, it is implicitly because of his curiosity -
"waiting to see what it is", "he asked her what it was".
The sharing resolution also marks integration.

"We having met Fifi yet./ I don't know why Fifi is opening up the box because this present was Fifi's gift to Blacky. Why in the heck is she opening up his present./ I can't see his face so I don't know what he's thinking."

(Code = 2, Blacky is clearly very angry at Fifi for opening this gift that he thinks is his, marking strong envy. The ending also indicates lingering conflict, "I don't know what he's thinking.")

"Blacky's at a birthday party of Miss Prima Donna;/ a classmate of her's in kindergarten. She always gets what she wants. Blacky is interested. She wants to see if she gets the same kinds of things Prima gets. She opens it and it's a really grandiose mink goat; fluffy and pink./ Blacky doesn't really want it anyway."

(Code = 2, the poodle is viewed in a devalued tone, as a "prima donna", "gets everything she wants", indicating strong envy. There is a split between the poodle (having everything) and Blacky. The devaluation of the present also indicates strong envy, although this could be seen as defensive.)

"That's kind of sad./ This little white poodle has gotten a present. Blacky is curiously looking over. Blacky is feeling curious but sad because he kind of wants to share, but it is not really hers to share. Maybe this little doggie will share the gift./ But Blacky will probably go away defected and sad."

(Code = 2, the envy is acknowledged but Blacky clearly feels strong loss marking a strong envy. The subject does seem to be struggling with integration.)

"Today is princess poodle's birthday./ Blacky has been very excited. She bought her friend a very special gift./ She is anxious to see if the poodle will like the gift."

(Code = 1, the split in the introduction is expressed by the descriptor, "princess." Because Blacky is portrayed as the gift-giver, the rest of the story is defensive in nature.)

"This is the rich family that lives down the street./ They are haves and Blacky's a have-not. She gets everything she wants. If she doesn't act too uppity, then maybe they will share the gift./ If not she will switch her tail and go."

(Code = 2, Blacky is clearly seen as inferior to the poodle.
The poodle is also seen as uppity and rejecting in the end.)

"Wow, that's his dogie girlfriend./ He just bought her a
gift, it's her birthday. He's thinking how much he likes
her. She'll look very appreciative/ but he won't know how
to interpret that."

(Code = 1, this is basically a reaction-formation against
envy. Blacky is seen as the giver who is waiting for
appreciation rather than as a curious on-looker who maybe
can share at best.)

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