



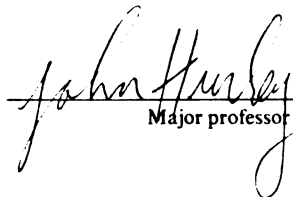
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**ADULT ATTACHMENT,
NARCISSISM, SHAME, AND DEFENSIVENESS**

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**ADULT ATTACHMENT,
NARCISSISM, SHAME, AND DEFENSIVENESS**

**By
Betty Feintuch**

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

ADULT ATTACHMENT, NARCISSISM, SHAME, AND DEFENSES

By
Betty Feintuch

Examination of relationships between attachment and narcissism, shame, defenses, and the positive and negative affects (n=538 undergraduates) revealed close association between security of attachment and shame and the affects, whereas other predicted relationships only occasionally reached significance. Secure attachment positively correlated with positive affects and negatively with shame and negative affects, while fearful-avoidant and preoccupied attachment yielded substantial correlations in the opposite direction on these same affects.

Interestingly, predicted correlations between attachment and narcissism yielded opposite results for the O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissistic Inventory (OMNI), (O'Brien, 1987), and Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI), (Raskin & Hall, 1979), on the various dimensions. On OMNI narcissism, secure attachment showed a negative correlation with narcissism while fearful-avoidant and preoccupied attachment showed robust positive correlations, as predicted, unlike parallel predictions using the NPI narcissism scale (Raskin, 1979) where correlations were more usually opposite the prediction. Additionally, unlike the other attachment dimensions, the dismissing-avoidants generally showed lower

or, more usually, absent or reverse findings in relation to those expected.

The predicted correlations between attachment and choice of defense mechanisms did not achieve significance. However, the women's data (n=345) showed clear patterns consistent with theories of psychopathology and preference for mature versus primitive defenses, in surprising contrast to the data from men (n=193). Implications for the finding are discussed.

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This Manuscript is dedicated to

my father, Marvin Kelley

my mother, Gladys Curtis

my children, Jeffrey, Mark; and Jettie

my grandchildren, Jeremy, Anna, and Tharyn

and

my teacher, chairman, mentor, and friend, John Hurley, Ph.D.

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ADULT ATTACHMENT, NARCISSISM, SHAME, AND DEFENSES

Infants begin to make subjective order of their experiences with persons as well as with objects from the moment they are born, in a very active way, on every level of which they are capable, to reach the highest level of organization attainable at that time.

Daniel Stern, 1989, p. 169

INTRODUCTION

This study examines adult attachment and its relationship to narcissism, shame, psychological defenses, and the positive and negative affects. The goal is to examine ways in which attachment theory may be integrated with theories about narcissism, shame, and the use of defense mechanisms as well as the relationship between attachment and a range of positive and negative affects.

Interpersonal relationships form the affective environment within which the individual "self" develops in unique ways, becoming a dynamic living personality (Bowlby, 1979; Horney, 1950; Joffe & Sandler, 1968; Kumin, 1996; Rogers, 1961; Sullivan, 1953). In recent years researchers have examined early relationships through the direct observation of infants and their caregivers. This has led to a better understanding of the infant in his or her early interpersonal

environment, and its influences on subsequent quality of relationships and level of functioning over the lifespan (Ainsworth, 1967, 1969; Ainsworth, et al, 1978; Ainsworth & Bell, 1970; Bowlby 1953; Cassidy, 1988; Stern, 1985, 1989; Winnicott, 1965, 1971).

Researchers have consistently found that the quality of early person-to-person interaction is important. This early caregiver environment, with its nurturing and its deficiencies, appears to significantly enhance and limit expression of the individual's potential and personality. Thus, better understanding the patterns of connections between the quality of internal attachment representations and related personality characteristics can be useful. It can provide a framework which can inform clinical practice, and enhance our understanding of a full range of both intrapersonal and interpersonal feelings, thoughts, and actions.

Two central concerns in the forefront of psychological theory and treatment are the importance of the quality of the patient's object relations in both therapeutic and intimate relationships, and issues surrounding the difficulty in treating persons with strong narcissistic characteristics. Such patients invariably have problems with relationships, including the therapeutic relationship, which are severe, pervasive, and resistant to change.

More recently, there has been increased attention to shame, a most painful affect, and its inherent connection to narcissism. (Miller, 1985; Morrison, 1989, 1996; Nathanson 1987, 1992). Kaufman (1992, 1996) and Lewis (1971,

1987) have both written extensively about the role of shame in both the disruption and the maintenance of relationships. Schore (1994) has discussed the role shame plays in socialization of the toddler and the critical importance of reparation when shaming occurs. Attending to the interpersonal nature of shame, these theories suggest conceptual and organizing links between attachment style, narcissistic phenomena, and vulnerability to the shame affects.

An important aspect of shame is its painful and devastating potential for disorganizing the self system and basic feelings of well-being (Kaufman, 1992, 1996; Morrison, 1989; Vaillant, 1985). In fact, Morrison (1989) refers to shame as the "underside of narcissism". Vaillant (1985, 1993) has referred to narcissism as a multisyllabic word for pain. This suggests that it would be important to pay particular attention to the use of related defense mechanisms in the study of narcissism and shame (Cassidy & Kobak, 1988; Freud, 1926; Jacobson, 1994; Wurmser, 1987, 1994).

Empirical examination of selected critical aspects of these theories and their possible connections may help elucidate our understanding of these key psychological concepts. It is the interface at which issues of attachment style, narcissistic characteristics, the affect of shame, and ego defenses interact which is the focus of this study.

THEORY AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Attachment Theory and Research

Attachment theory postulates that it is the basic need for human contact and relationship that initiates and maintains the infants tie to the mother (Bowlby, 1958, 1969, 1979, 1988). There is also considerable evidence that this need for human relationships continues to be important and is initiated with significant others over the entire life span (Ainsworth, 1967, 1969, 1989; Beherends & Blatt, 1985; Bowlby, 1979). A "secure base" established with the responsive early caregiver is believed to facilitate exploration and provide the internal working model for rewarding and intimate relationships throughout life (Bowlby, 1988).

Attachment theory further postulates that the loss of, or deficits in, these important early attachment relationships, may leave the individual with a variety of insecurities, problems, and psychopathologies (Berzoff, 1989; Benjamin, 1993; Bornstein, 1989; Bowlby, 1973, 1980; Kernberg, 1980, 1984; Kohut, 1977; Parkes, 1991). Bowlby viewed insecure attachment resulting from "loss" situations, such as the trauma of separation and loss of the mother-figure, or inadequate mothering, before six years of age, as having many significant sequelae including psychopathology and assorted personality disturbances (Bowlby, 1969, P. 3-35; 1979, chap.1). Others have discussed attachment

failures as etiology in adult mental illness (Bowlby, 1953, 1973, 1980; Frances & Dunn, 1975; Kestenbaum, 1984; Kumin, 1996; Melges & Swartz, 1989; Mikulincer, *et al*, 1990; Munro, 1969). There has also been considerable interest and a number of research findings related to the intergenerational transmission of attachment styles (Bretherton, 1990; Fonagy, Steele, & Steele, 1991; Main & Hesse, 1990; Ricks, 1985; Steele & Steele, 1994).

According to Sroufe and Waters (1977) and Sroufe and Fleeson (1986), attachment is best conceived of as a developmental and organizational concept rather than as a trait. These authors believe attachment is most relevant when viewed in its functions, the outcomes achieved, and its situational influences. This view is consistent with Pistole's (1995) belief that insecure attachment strategies reflect attempts to manage narcissistic vulnerability. Such dynamic models suggest methods that can help us to better understand the interface between interpersonal (behavioral) and intrapsychic issues and concerns (internalization, internal working models) in a more dynamic and meaningful way.

Attachment Models and Measurement. The predominant theoretical models and derived measures currently used in the empirical study of the beginnings, development, and consequences of the quality of human ("object") relationships are based on John Bowlby's original attachment theory (Bowlby, 1958, 1969, 1973, 1980). A range of empirical assessment tools for older children and adults have followed on the heels of Ainsworth's creative invention of the Strange Situation designed to measure infant and toddler attachment

status. This measure specifies a fixed laboratory procedure for observation and rating of infant or toddler attachment behavior with the caregiver present, in the presence of a stranger, during separation, and at reunion with the caregiver. Children who show appropriate distress, respond constructively to comforting, and then return to normal play are classified as secure. Children who cling and are not comforted on reunion are described as ambivalent or anxious-resistant. Avoidant children are those who do not seek proximity, interaction, or comfort with the caregiver at reunion.

Based on these early findings, attachment theorists subsequently developed a number conceptual and empirical tools for assessing certain manifest behavioral and cognitive qualities of internalized representations of object relationships. Researchers have studied various aspects of the theoretical internal "working models", and have applied these empirical tools to a wide range of persons in diverse situations.

Attachment Research. LaFeniere and Sroufe (1985) and Arend, Gove, and Sroufe (1979) found that early attachment status was related to levels of social participation and dominance and to ego-control and ego-resilience in older toddlers and elementary age children. The securely attached exhibited distinct advantages. Evidence that early attachment patterns have a remarkable level of stability has been confirmed in numerous studies (Ainsworth, 1989; Bretherton, 1985, 1990; Bus & Van Ijzendoorn, 1988; Cassidy, 1988; Emde & Harmon, 1982; Sroufe & Waters, 1977).

Moving into adolescence, Greenberg, Siegel, and Leitch (1983), Kobak and Sceery (1988), Ryan and Lynch (1989), and Steinberg and Steinberg (1986) have studied attachment in relation to the development of autonomy and related issues. Berzoff (1989) and Kenny (1987a, 1987b, 1990) examined the function of attachment and its impact on separation and autonomy among college students. Collins and Read (1990) and Hazan and Shaver (1987; Shaver & Hazan, 1987, 1988; Shaver, et al, 1988) have conceived of love as attachment in late adolescence and adulthood, while Feeney and Noller (1990, 1994), Hazan and Shaver (1987), and Brennan & Shaver (1995) found the quality of attachment to be a predictor of the quality and longevity of romantic love relationships.

Measurement of Adult Attachment. Although researchers have developed a number of models and measures for assessing the quality of attachment representations and relationships (Fishler, *et al*, 1990; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994; Sperling & Berman, 1994; Sperling, *et al*, In Press), most attachment studies have used a three-factor model (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1987, 1990; Main, 1990; Main & Hess, 1990; Simpson, 1990). These three-category models address the question of whether an individual perceives their important object(s) as generally available and responsive, with the usual possible answers being, conceptually, "yes", "no", or "maybe" (Hazan & Shaver, 1994a, 1994b). These answers are postulated to indicate a predominately secure, or avoidant/dismissing, or

ambivalent/preoccupied quality of attachment, respectively.

However, there are two notable exceptions to the three-factor models. Main (1990) and Main and Hess (1990), have found that a number of infants and toddlers studied did not fit criteria for any of the three categories, but exhibited behavior which she has labeled "disorganized" or "unresolved" attachment. These children show disturbing, distressed, and random behavior which might be interpreted as their having been unable to develop any consistent attachment strategy, i.e., separation or behavioral strategy.

Additionally, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) and Bartholomew and Perlman (1994) have developed a prototypic four-category model and analogous measures, intended to more closely follow Bowlby's theoretical internal working model of attachment. The four outcomes are based on the possible pairings of positive and negative views of self and other. A positive view of self and others represents a secure position. Insecure styles result from internal working models which include negative self and positive other (preoccupied), positive self and negative other (dismissing), or, negative self and negative other (fearful).

In reviewing various adult attachment measures Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) noted that the interview method categorized avoidant persons as denying distress and attachment needs, whereas the self-report measures categorized them as feeling distress when close to others. This further suggested two levels or types of avoidant attachment strategies (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991, p. 227). Thus, the positive self, negative other was labeled

"dismissing", and the negative self, negative other, "fearful" (Bartholomew and Perlman, 1994).

As discussed below, narcissism is also viewed as having similar dichotomous manifestations, depending on the predominance or absence of certain characteristics. These divergent narcissistic phenomena appear to be somewhat analogous to the dismissing-avoidant and fearful-avoidant attachment categories. Because of this possible relationship, the four-category theoretical model of attachment and the corresponding measures were selected for use in this study.

Narcissism as a Psychodynamic Concept

One cluster of personality characteristics that seems to result in an inordinately large number of problems in social, intimate, and psychotherapy relationships is narcissistic personality phenomena. While most authors recognize a 'normal' narcissism, evidenced by healthy self interest, exaggerated attributes of narcissism lead to serious interpersonal problems.

Most often the term narcissism refers to a category of behaviors and a relationship to self and others that reveals an excessively heightened importance of the self as the primary object of interest. Other attributes may include the sovereignty of a grandiose self, a heightened tendency towards idealization, reliance on external recognition, and disruptions in reasonable levels of self-esteem. These characteristics seriously interfere with intimate and authentic interpersonal relationships (Freud, 1914; Kernberg, 1974, 1975, 1980; Kohut,

1971, 1977; Masterson, 1981; Morrison 1989, 1996; Sandler, et al, 1991). Thus, while the narcissistically inclined frequently have a number of interpersonal relationships, these are usually based on the heightened need for recognition and approval, along with an avoidance of closeness and intimacy. In fact, a hallmark of narcissism is the turning away from objects and significant withdrawal from close relationships.

Narcissism is generally thought to be a developmental outcome related to failure in the early relationship with caregiver(s). (Bromberg, 1983, 1986; Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1971; Kumin, 1996; Symington, 1993). According to Kohut's theory of narcissism, the development of pathological forms of narcissism is largely dependent upon the actual failures of the environment to provide appropriate empathic responses to the infant's needs. Such failures lead to developmental arrest and fixation at primitive levels of grandiosity (Kohut, 1971, 1977). Kohut's formulation has been referred to as a "developmental arrest" model, and represents the self psychological perspective.

Kohut (1971) described the grandiose self and the idealized self-object as "the two great narcissistic configurations". (p. 327). These complementary stances represent a search for absolute perfection and power, an attempt to regain the omnipotence of the original narcissism, referred to by Freud as the "purified pleasure ego". It is clear that these heightened states cannot be consistently met in reality, and thus disappointments can precipitate a rapid fall in enjoyment leading to intense shame-related feelings (Tomkins, 1963). This

shame response, and the type of psychological defenses that may be recruited, is of particular interest in this study and is discussed in a subsequent section.

In contrast, Kernberg's (1975) formulation has been referred to as a "conflict" model. His model is based on both ego psychology and object relations theories, and recognizes the central importance of affect, especially aggressive impulses. Kernberg believed that the narcissistic condition signified problems or defects in the formation of the intrapsychic structures, and consequently, the internalized objects. He stated that,

...the pleasurable and painful affects are the major organizers of the series of "good" and "bad" internalized object relations, and that they constitute the major motivational or drive system that organizes intrapsychic experience. (p.339)

and, that,

...the ultimate nature of narcissism...is dependent upon the development of affective dispositions of the libidinal and aggressive series as they relate to the development of internalized object relations and their structuring into the ego, superego, and id. (p.341)

Further,

The organization of these two drives [libidinal and aggressive] occurs under the influence of the developing internalized object relationships, which, in turn are integrated under the organizing influence of affects. (p. 339)

It is just here that this study seeks to focus attention at the intersection of the person's intrapsychic or internalized relationships to his or her "object", as similarly conceptualized in attachment theory; the vicissitudes of pleasurable and unpleasurable affects, shame being the prototype interpersonal and socializing

affect; and, the narcissistic defenses.

In attempting to understand and predict the relation between attachment and narcissism, Bromberg's (1983) model is especially useful. He stated that the narcissistic "grandiose self" represents a "core patterning of self-other representation designed to protect the illusion of self-sufficiency at all costs.." (p. 364). He believed that the narcissist uses "...detachment as an ego defense...to convert the fear of being abandoned, an ego-passive fear, to an active movement away from relationship." (p. 364). This is consistent with Modell's (1975, 1986) discussion of the narcissistic defense against affects the need to maintain an illusion of self-sufficiency. Thus, in this study it is anticipated that narcissism will be associated with avoidant attachment styles, as previously suggested.

Additionally, a number of theorists have observed two opposing sides to narcissism, which will also be of interest in this study, especially in their possible relation to the two avoidant attachment patterns. It is this dual nature of narcissism that Andreas-Salome (1962) called the "reactivity to narcissism", the necessity to recognize at some level, however dimly, that on the other side of the ideal image we hold of ourselves and others resides the "contrary features of *littleness* and *ugliness*" (p. 17). Often with narcissistic denial and projections, it is this other side that can not be recollected and integrated within the personality. Bromberg (1983) recognized this narcissistic defense when he wrote of "...the use of detachment or self-containment as a means of avoiding the experience of

inadequacy..." (p. 379). Lax (1975) discussed the narcissistic grandiose self, whose main job it is to be perfect, in terms of self-righteousness as a narcissistic defense (p. 283). And, Morrison writes of shame as the underside of narcissism (Morrison, 1989).

Further, these two aspects of narcissism are consistent with both Kohut's (1977) and Kernberg's (1975) recognition of forms of both covert and overt narcissism which may be seen in the clinical situation. Wink's (1991) empirical study of the "two faces" of narcissism supports the view that, while there are strong common attributes of narcissism, there is also a grandiose, exhibitionistic manifestation and a vulnerable, over-sensitive version. It is this narcissistic sensitivity and vulnerability to criticism, and particularly the exaggerated response to the painful shame-related affects which are of particular interest in this study and will be discussed further in the next section.

The Affect of Shame

In examining affects, and the affect of shame in particular, several theorists offer promising perspectives. While all agree on the central importance of shame to intrapsychic development and interpersonal functioning, these theorists differ on how they view the origin and nature of shame, how it manifests, its internal generation or source, as well as its outcome, meaning, and even definition. They are variously influenced by their own models of the psyche, including the models they are attempting to refute or revise after finding them less than fully adequate to explain their own observations. The three principal

perspectives are affect theory, psychoanalytic theory, and self-psychological theory.

The Perspective of Affect Theory. Tomkins' (1962, 1963, 1991, 1992)

extensive study of the affects led him to postulate affect as the primary motivating mechanism, and his work has provided other theorists with a rich organizational map from which to further investigate affect. Most theorists subscribe to his basic tenets, and especially to the centrality of affect as well as the importance of shame in both human development and interpersonal relationships. Tomkins argued that affects hold a central place in the psychological organization of individuals. In his view, "...the primary motivational system is the affective system, and the biological drives have motivational impact only when amplified by the affective system" (1963, p. 6). Tomkins further described the affect system as "...the primary provider of blueprints for cognition, decision and action" (1963, p. 22).

More specifically, he viewed shame as an innate affect, and further, considered shyness, shame and guilt as not distinguishable from each other at the affect level (Tomkins, 1963). In Tomkins' view "...it is the differences in the other components which accompany shame...which are experienced together with shame, which make the three experiences different" (1963, p. 118). Shame itself is defined by Tomkins (1963) as an auxiliary affect because it becomes activated whenever there is an incomplete reduction in the affects of excitement or enjoyment, the positive affects. Thus, an affective state of excitement or

enjoyment must be present and must become blocked or suddenly diminished, but only partially, in order for shame to be activated.

In examining individual differences in the particular meaning attributed to any shame experience, as well as its varying manifestations, Tomkins makes the following argument:

...the total field in which shame is embedded in the central assembly of components of the nervous system at the moment will give quite different flavors to shame depending upon its intensity and upon the objects which appear to activate it and the objects which appear to reduce it.

These differences in intensity and in objects have important consequences for the nature of an individual's shame response and the role that it plays within his personality. (p. 119)

Consistent with this particular theoretical perspective, we would expect to see significant differences in shame responses for the various dimensions of attachment, which is also a central tenet of the current study.

In Tomkins' (1963) formulation, shame is therefore necessarily linked to love. The threat of loss of love or rejection is central to the interpersonal nature of shame. For Tomkins, defeat "is most ignominious when one still wishes to win. The sting of shame can be removed from any defeat by attenuating the positive wish" (1963, p. 138). Also embedded in Tomkins' theory of shame is a suggestion of the narcissistic strategy which involves maintaining perfection while preventing rejection through avoidance and detachment. In the narcissistic strategy, projection and denial become additional means for protecting the vulnerable self.

To extend this formulation further we have only to consider how Tomkins views the possibilities for counteracting excessive shame:

When [the] cumulative debt of shame from unfinished business, from moral violations, from the indifference or derision of others, from unrelieved defeats reaches a total which cannot possibly be paid out of esteem income, shame bankruptcy may be resorted to by a conversion experience in which a new self is created which is free to renounce past humiliations and to start anew. (1963, p. 139)

Thus, the "false self" of Winnicott (1965), the "invulnerable" self of Rutter (1985), the "as if" personality of Deutsch (1942), and the "grandiose self" of Kohut (1971, 1977), are very likely created, at least in part, as strategies to regulate shame.

This tendency to "renounce past humiliations" further points to narcissistic strategies of defense specifically along the avoidant dimensions of attachment.

The Perspective of Psychoanalytic Theory. Working from a psychoanalytic perspective, Helen Block Lewis (1971, 1987) viewed shame as both distinct from guilt, yet frequently also occurring along with it. She viewed shame as more primitive than guilt, and shame-rage or humiliated fury as actually preceding the more sophisticated state of guilt. From her perspective, guilt is viewed as the object-preserving, superego response to a revengeful hate stemming from the shame-generated rage. In her view, she contrasts guilt with shame; guilt is defined as an internalized identification with the threatening or moralizing punitive parent along the lines of the superego whereas shame is defined as the failure to live up to the idealized internalization of the loved and admired parent in the form of the ego ideal (Lewis, 1971).

Further, Lewis viewed shame as motivated by emotional needs, directly tied to the human need and wish to preserve loving relationships, and therefore related to the attachment system and to socialization. In Lewis' definition, shame "is about the whole self and is therefore 'global'. Guilt is more specific, being about events or things" (1987, p. 18). She further described overt, but still unidentified shame in which there is a state of self-hatred, and also a state of bypassed shame which often passes unnoticeably into guilt. In Lewis' view, we see the superego at work protecting the loved (and also hated) one from a shame-humiliation-rage-revenge sequence. Such a pattern is also consistent with avoidant dimensions of attachment. Specifically, the overt unidentified shame that Lewis recognized as a state of self-hatred suggests the fearful-avoidant attachment dimension, and the one of bypassed shame suggests the dismissing-avoidant dimension.

The Perspective of Self-Psychology. Still other theorists have examined shame from the perspective of self-psychology, often with object-relational implications. Consistent with Tomkins, several theorists have discussed the central role of shame as an affect, one that is seen as particularly disruptive to the self experience, and which is also viewed as central in the dynamics of the so-called narcissistic personality (Broucek, 1982, 1991; Morrison, 1989, 1996). These theorists further hypothesized that an excessive proneness to shame is a prominent, if not the prominent, narcissistic self-experience (Broucek, 1982, 1991; Morrison, 1989, 1996). Further, Morrison considered shame to be "...a

dominant painful affect of patients suffering from narcissistic vulnerability" (1989, p. 134). Morrison's (1989) view was also reflected by Broucek (1991) when he argued that "...shame in the young child represents maternal failure in providing adequate mirroring for the child's developing sense of self" (Broucek, 1991, p. 55). Arguing from a self-psychological perspective, Broucek described three sources of shame: 1) the infant's inability to initiate and maintain a "mutually gratifying intersubjectivity"; 2) self-objectification as a kind of "self-alienation or primary dissociation"; and 3) the experience of "being unloved, rejected, or scapegoated by important others" (1991, p. 24).

As Morrison (1989) defined it, shame from a self-psychological perspective represents the affective response to failure of mirroring by early self-objects, and, is therefore, as he aptly labeled it, the "underside of narcissism." Thus, Morrison's perspective places shame in a distinctive context within self-psychological theory:

...shame sensitivity and anxiety will reflect concern about the detailed empathic attunement of, and attachment to, significant objects who function as selfobjects....shame may be experienced as humiliation or embarrassment with regard to an external object (the humiliation) or to an internalized object or function (the ideal self) (1989, p. 196-197).

Working from a self-psychological perspective, Morrison places shame squarely within the infant-caregiver relationship. The "empathic attunement" of the selfobject parallels the emotionally available and responsive mother of the securely attached infant in attachment theory. And further, Morrison's

"internalized object or function" is parallel to Bowlby's (1969, 1979, 1988) internal working model of the attachment relationship.

Extending his view on the role of shame in narcissism to include the use of psychological defenses, Morrison also offered a picture of how defenses operated from a self-psychological perspective:

...for patients with primarily narcissistic patterns, shame will tend to be more totally pervasive and will lead to the core of all aspects of narcissistic vulnerability. Defenses against underlying shame will tend to be more active and primitive, representing, in particular, manifestations of projective identification. (1989, p. 96)

It is precisely this characteristic of "active and primitive" defenses that can be seen in the insecure attachment styles. Such primitive defenses as denial, projection, and projective identification disrupt or preclude rewarding interpersonal relationships. They are also disruptive to the self when negative affects do not remain accessible for processing and eventual integration into the personality.

Consistent with self-psychological theory, Morrison (1989) believed that shame may be hidden while still functioning as a central underlying concern. Recognizing Kohut's (1971, 1977) contribution, Morrison (1989) also referred to the adaptive nature of the narcissistic externalizing and projective defenses against shame, including anger, rage, contempt, envy, and/or depression. However, it should be noted that contempt can also be turned inward. Here again is the nexus of attachment, narcissism, and shame, coupled with a particular defensive style that is the focus of the current study.

Shame Theory and Attachment Theory. From an object-relational perspective, Krystal (1988) discussed the primary disturbance occurring in the affective sphere. He focuses particularly on the use of avoidance as an attempt to mitigate effects of potential or threatened trauma from perceived or anticipated painful negative affects:

The implication is that the attitude toward one's affects, which results from the nature and extent of infantile, or later massive, traumatic experience, becomes a determinant of perceptual and cognitive styles, which in turn significantly determine the nature of the defenses employed to prevent trauma. A dread of one's affects may, for instance, determine a tendency to use avoidance patterns, including a dread of emotional "involvement" with objects or even of self-exploration. (1988, p. 207)

Thus, one might expect to see an avoidant attachment style related to such a scenario, with shame as a central motivating force. As Krystal described the experience, it is the attitudes towards one's affects which determine the characteristic defenses. When such a painful affect as shame occurs, it is extremely difficult to hold, process, and integrate resulting in the use of primitive and externalizing defenses and an avoidant attachment style.

Also coming from an object-relational orientation, Wilson (1987) believed that shame

may eventually come to play as crucial a role theoretically in understanding object relations and intersubjectivity as the role now occupied by anxiety in psychoanalytic theorizing about individual intra- or intersystemic conflict. (1987, p. 189)

Indeed, Freud (1926/1955) had moved from discussing anxiety as a response to a danger situation to specifying it as a reaction to possible or anticipated object

loss or loss of object love. These views further suggest a highly salient connection between shame, defensive strategies, and dimensions of attachment.

While the focus in the various theories of shame is most often on the pathological or pathogenic aspects of shame, as in narcissism, nevertheless a certain level of shame may be a desirable feature of the optimal socializing process. Shame can short-circuit misdirected behavior and, if soothed responsively, can become appropriately integrated (Kaufman, 1992, 1996; Morrison, 1989, 1996; Schore, 1994; Tomkins, 1963). However, excessive amounts of shaming or the failure to recognize and repair the narcissistic injury, especially if intense or enduring, will significantly interfere with the development of positive self-experience and the optimal capacity for interpersonal relatedness and intimacy. Problems in caregiver attunement and responsiveness are clearly implied in excessive shaming and reparative failure (Kaufman, 1992, 1996; Schore, 1994).

Internalized Shame and the Role of Contempt. Arguing principally from an affect theory perspective, Kaufman's (1992, 1996) theory of shame represents a synthesis of affect theory, interpersonal theory, and object relations theory. He viewed the principal activators of shame as having an interpersonal origin. The interpersonal activation of shame involves breaking the interpersonal bridge, and shame is defined by Kaufman as feeling "seen in a painfully diminished sense" (1992, p. 8) For Kaufman exposure is the defining characteristic of shame.

By extending Tomkins' perspective further, Kaufman (1992, 1996) then

developed the concept of internalized shame. Kaufman viewed the innate affects as becoming stored in memory in the form of scenes. This is the basic process by which shame becomes internalized as integral to both personality and identity. It is internalization of shame that ultimately results in a shame-based identity.

Once shame becomes internalized it must be defended against, as for example, by responding to others with contempt in order to protect oneself against shame. Tomkins (1991) viewed contempt as a learned blend of dissmell and anger, two of the innate affects. Contempt functions as a signal of rejection to others and as a way of distancing from others. Contempt secondarily can also serve as a retaliatory and externalizing defense by triggering shame directly in others. In describing contempt as the "affect of rejection" (1996, p. 40) Kaufman viewed contempt as a strategy of defense that operates prominently in all narcissistic disorders. When it is directed at others, contempt always involves an attempt to elevate the self above others, thereby making others appear inferior. In this way, contempt produces a defensive sense of superiority, which typically results in conceit and arrogance, but which also culminates in narcissistic grandiosity with a dismissing-avoidant attachment style.

It is particularly the model of internalized shame, as originally developed by Kaufman (1992, 1996) and based in affect, interpersonal, and object-relations theories, that informs the current study. An investigation of the narcissistic person's attachment style, shame proneness, shame internalization, and use of

defense mechanisms, will illuminate how shame is related to fundamental patterns of attachment. Understanding these patterns will be informed by Kaufman's (1992, 1996) view of interpersonal events as activators of shame and the subsequent impact of internalized shame on later attachment.

Defense Mechanisms and Defensive Styles

Psychological defense mechanisms represent the tools and processes of the ego's compromise between demands emanating from internal desires, impulses, and affects and demands from the environment, especially those related to meaningful objects and which cause anxiety or a sense of danger (S. Freud, 1926; A. Freud, 1937/1955). In some ways, the psychological defense mechanisms can be viewed as parallel to the physiological immune system. Both may have a similar homeostatic value to the individual (Krystal, 1988; Vaillant, 1993). In this role the defenses serve a necessary protective function.

However, in contrast to the immune system, which destroys the invaders, the psychological defenses can neutralize or metabolize threatening stimuli in much more creative, flexible, selective, and useful ways. Theoretically, this may be a highly important distinction to make, as it may be not the use of defense mechanisms but rather the degree of flexibility versus the rigidity with which they are used which is indicative of a relatively healthy or pathological level of psychological functioning. Conceptually, this flexibility and selectivity in the use of defenses may be thought of as representative of an active, alert, synthesizing ego (Nunberg, 1931).

Anna Freud in her seminal book, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense (1937/1988) stated that,

...if the instinctual demands with which they are associated are to be warded off, these affects must submit to all the various measures to which the ego resorts in its efforts to master them, i.e., they must undergo a metamorphosis. Whenever transformation of an affect occurs...the ego has been at work and we have an opportunity of studying its operations. We know that the fate of the affect associated with an instinctual demand is not simply identical with that of its ideational representative. Obviously, however, one and the same ego can have at its disposal only a limited number of possible means of defense. At particular periods in life and according to its own specific structure, the individual ego selects now one defensive method, now another--it may be repression, displacement, reversal, etc.--and these it can employ both in its conflict with the instincts and in its defense against the liberation of affect. If we know how a particular patient seeks to defend himself against the emergence of his instinctual impulses, i.e., what is the nature of his habitual ego resistances, we can form an idea of his probable attitude toward his own unwelcome affects. If, in another patient, particular forms of affect transformation are strongly in evidence, such as complete suppression of emotion, denial, etc., we shall not be surprised if he adopts the same methods of defense against his instinctual impulses and his free associations. It is the same ego, and in all its conflicts it is more or less consistent in using every means which it has at its command. (Emphasis added) (A. Freud, 1937/1988, pp. 32-33).

This view of the defenses is one model that informs the current study.

This research will examine more closely the relationship of various affects, especially shame, to the use of alternative defenses and style of attachment.

Thus, using attachment status as a proxy for early object relations, an examination of narcissism and of responses to shame in relation to defensive strategies may permit a better understanding of the dynamics of narcissism, including "normal", problematic, characterological, and pathological varieties.

Ihilevich and Gleser (1993, Ihilevich, 1968), who developed the defense measure employed in the current study, viewed defense mechanisms as "unconsciously motivated, involuntary reactions that are activated automatically whenever perceived threats are too painful to confront consciously." (p. 15). After extensively reviewing the history of assessment and measurement of the use of defense mechanisms, they concluded that various groups of people differ, "...not on the kind of defenses used but on the rigidity with which these defenses are deployed and the extent of reality distortion involved." (p. 6).

The measure of defense mechanism utilization developed by Ihilevich and Gleser (1993) uses five defense categories, including aggressive, projective, intellectualizing, intrapunitive, and repressive defenses. Their quasi-projective technique uses story completion tasks with structured and forced defensive responses, selected for both most and least preferred "solution". Thus, the rigidity and preference for specific defenses and their relation to the reality of the situation presented can be assessed.

Integration and Linking Research

While a great deal of empirical research has been done in the area of attachment, less has been done in relation to shame, and a large proportion of that has focused on the difference between shame and guilt. Narcissism has remained largely in the domain of psychoanalysis, with the development of a rich prolific theoretical and case study literature. However, little or no empirical research was done on narcissism until moderate interest was generated with the

inclusion of the narcissistic personality as a diagnostic category in DSM-III (1986), and the development of self-report measures of narcissism by Raskin & Hall (1979, 1981) and O'Brien (1987, 1988).

Although various theorists have discussed different aspects of the relationships between attachment and/or object relations, certain narcissistic characteristics, and shame dynamics, there is a relatively limited body of empirical research addressing their interconnections. For example, Pistole (1995), in her theoretical and review article, argued that insecure attachment strategies reflects alternative ways of managing narcissistic vulnerability and self-esteem problems. She briefly recognizes this as a defensive action and alludes to shame's role in a dynamic understanding of these patterns of behavior.

Few studies have examined the relationship between narcissism and shame. For example, Harder and Zalma (1990) in their study of two shame and guilt adjective endorsement measures found a robust negative correlation between shame and narcissism on one measure, but no correlation between shame and narcissism with a second such measure, perhaps due to differences in the specification of affects to be endorsed. Neither of these shame measures was used in the current study, but it will be interesting to discover whether the level of endorsement of shame on the internalized shame measure is positively associated with the various insecure attachment dimensions or with narcissism . In a related study, using a limited measure of defense and self-report labeling of

shame, findings also suggested that, in general, highly defended individuals reported little shame (Harder & Lewis, 1987). Consistent with these findings, Wright *et al.* (1989) found a modest negative correlation between narcissism and shame, and a stronger correlation between these two variable when using only the pathological exploitive component of narcissism.

In contrast, Gramzow and Tangney (1992), using only the pathological exploitiveness factor residual of the same measure of narcissism and a shame scale, the Test of Self-Conscious Affect (TOSCA) that measures shame more indirectly by rating responses to brief scenarios, found a significant positive correlation between narcissism and shame. These findings, taken as a whole, suggest that individuals with pathological narcissistic characteristics have strong defenses against recognizing shame, or alternatively, that narcissism may itself be understood as a defense against the painful affects, including specifically shame.

The relationship between shame and defenses is an intimate one. Shame is first and foremost the emotion experienced when we feel uncovered, exposed, or "seen". Wurmser (1987) wrote of three forms of shame: 1) shame anxiety, 2) shame affect as a complex reaction pattern, and, 3) shame as a preventive attitude. He viewed the latter as a defense, specifically a reaction formation, with the urge to hide and dissemble (1987, p. 67-68).

Because of these conflicting findings, this study will examine the shame response by including a direct measure of shame and by integrating pre- and

post measures of affect, with shame and shame-related affects, such as embarrassment, humiliation, etc., imbedded in the measures. The complex connections between attachment style, shame, and narcissism will be analyzed in their more subtle interrelationships.

Summary and Conclusions

Narcissism is believed to be a problematic outcome of failures in the early caregiver relationship (Symington, 1993), and is hypothesized to be associated with the dismissing-avoidant and fearful-avoidant attachment styles. Shame is thought to be a basic affect instrumental in the socialization process (Schorer, 1994), as well as a very painful affect ensuing from "a break in the interpersonal bridge" (Kaufman, 1992, 1996). Since shame has also been hypothesized to be either the "underside of narcissism" (Morrison, 1989), or sometimes predominant in the more vulnerable, shame-ridden narcissistic individuals, it would seem likely that shame may sometimes be defended against, and therefore might best be looked at in the context of the pattern of use of psychological defenses mechanisms. Further, shame will be assessed using a direct measure of internalized shame both at the beginning and at the end of testing. The patterns thus discerned can help us learn more about the self's inner, phenomenological experience. Perhaps, with the inclusion of measures of internalized shame and the preferred defense mechanisms, something can be learned about aspects of functioning in these areas of the psyche in relationship to attachment.

Some gender differences in both shame and narcissism are expected,

consistent with mixed findings in several other studies. For example, Wright *et al* (1989) found women more prone to shame, while men were more prone to guilt. They also found that for women, shame was inversely correlated with grandiosity and leadership, while for men it was inversely correlated with exploitiveness. In contrast, Schwartz (1991) did not find gender differences in narcissism in a non-clinical population. Specifically, her study focused on examining whether grandiose-based and shame-based narcissism, as hypothesized by Broucek (1982), Morrison (1989), and others was gender-related. Thus, gender differences will be examined in all aspects of analysis of data in the current study.

Hypotheses for Current Investigation

1a. Correlations of narcissism with both the dismissing-avoidant and fearful-avoidant attachment dimensions will be positive and significantly higher than those of narcissism and either the preoccupied or secure attachment dimensions.

1b. Correlations of narcissism with the preoccupied attachment dimension will be positive and significantly higher than those of narcissism and the secure attachment dimension.

2. Scores on the Internalized Shame Scale will correlate significantly more positively with fearful-avoidant attachment dimensions than with dismissing-avoidant dimensions.

3a. Scores on the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension will be

positively correlated with scores on the use of "Turning Against Others" (TAO) and "Projection" (PRO) defenses.

3b. Scores on the fearful-avoidant attachment dimension will be positively correlated with scores on the use of "Turning Against Self" (TAS).

4. Those scoring higher on the three insecure attachment dimensions will score lower on the positive affects, and higher on negative affects, on the Positive and Negative Affects Schedule (PANAS) than those who are securely attached.

METHOD

Subjects and Procedures

Participants in the study included 538 students (345 females and 193 males) from undergraduate psychology and management classes at Michigan State University. Ninety-five percent of the students (512) were under 25 years of age, 17 were between 25 and 35 years of age, and 9 did not specify an age. Participants received class credit by enlisting in the psychology subject pool. The experiment which participants were asked to signed up for was labeled the "Self Awareness Study". The pencil and paper tests were administered in monitored groups of 25 or fewer subjects.

Each participant was given a Consent Form (See Appendix A) attached to a manilla envelop containing the measures they were to complete, along with appropriate answer sheets. They were instructed to read the Consent Form, and then remove the measures from the manilla envelop, taking care to keep the two part test in the same order as they found it.

Participants were pre-instructed to place the completed surveys in the unmarked manilla envelope in order to assure confidentiality and anonymity, while also increasing feelings of privacy. Participants were also provided an address and telephone number to reach the experimenter should questions,

concerns, or comments arise.

Materials & Measures

Summary and Overview of Measures. Items provided in the packet of measures, which are discussed in more detail below, were included in the following order: 1) Positive and Negative Affect Schedule--general level feelings (PANAS-1); 2) Positive and Negative Affect Schedule--feelings in the current moment (PANAS-2), (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988); 3) Relationship Questionnaire (RQ); 4) Relationship Style Questionnaire (RSQ), (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1994; 5) Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI), (Raskin & Hall, 1979); 6) O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissistic Inventory (OMNI), (O'Brien, 1987); 7) Internalized Shame Scale (ISS), (Cook, 1994); 8) Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI), (Ihilevich & Gleser, 1993); 9) Positive and Negative Affect Schedule--feelings in the current moment (PANAS-3); and, 10) a Brief Demographic Sheet. These were presented in one sequentially numbered set, without reference to individual measures, but divided into two stapled sets primarily to call attention to the change in answer marking strategy required for the Defense Mechanism Inventory.

Because the DMI was the longest of the battery of tests, its instructions were the most complicated, and it appeared that a number of participants were either failing to complete this measure entirely or partially, or were clearly not following instructions, 120 participants were given the DMI first. This provided a partial counterbalancing of test order, particularly in regards to the effect of test

length (Faulkner & Cogan, 1990).

The Consent Form. Each subject was given a Consent Form (See Appendix A), which informed them they would be participating in a study to examine the accuracy with which people are able to label their feelings relative to situational and relationship factors. To mitigate social desirability factors and attempt to diminish the tendency of the narcissistically inclined to shy away from more unpleasant feelings, the discussion of the research purpose in the Consent Form was framed in a way to encourage and to communicate acceptance of all feelings and emotions. The purpose was to make it more ego syntonic to acknowledge negative or painful feelings, emotions, and thoughts. This was thought to be particularly important because some findings suggest that there may be a differential response to feelings for persons high and low in narcissism. It is believed that this difference may sometimes be less related to the denial or repression of painful feelings, than the divergence of meaning attributed to such feelings and what participants may do as a result of experiencing such painful or unpleasant feelings (Brennan & Shaver, 1995; Kupper 1992; Nunberg, 1931).

Further, the Consent Form advises that because the ability to accurately label feelings and emotions, especially the negative ones, is so important to success in school, career, and relationships, it is important that we better understand these characteristics. The goal was to encourage the accurate labeling of participants' feelings, and to provide an atmosphere of acceptance and safety whatever their response. The confidential nature of their responses

was also stressed in an attempt to mitigate tendencies towards socially desirable responses or other psychologically protective resistances and defenses.

Attachment Measures. Bartholomew & Horowitz's (1991) Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) is a single item instrument where the individual first selects one of four categories, yielding a categorical measure of attachment style. Then, using the four categories, he rates the degree to which each category applies to himself on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "not at all like me" to "very like me", thus yielding a continuous and qualitative measure of attachment. This RQ measure was adapted from Hazan And Shaver's (1987) three-item measure; while the "secure" category remains, "insecure/ambivalent" becomes "preoccupied", and "insecure/avoidant" is split into "fearful" and "dismissing" categories.

Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991) designed two studies to determine the validity of this four-category model. The first study found that the results of self-report ratings, a sixty-minutes attachment interview, and friend-report ratings were consistent with the model. Measures of self-esteem, self-acceptance, and sociability also supported the expected relationship of positive and negative views of self and other to four category attachment measure. In the second study, the researchers used the attachment interviews, completing one hour interviews 1 to 2 weeks apart, with one interview related to their family and the other regarding their friends. Participants also complete self-report attachment measures. All attachment categories demonstrated divergence between the four

attachment styles and convergence of ratings between family and peer attachment styles.

The Relationship Style Questionnaire (RSQ) (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994) is a 30-item measure with each item evaluated on a Likert-type 5-point scale ranging from "not at all like me" to "very like me." This measure provides a more indirect measure of attachment style. Subscales indicate attachment patterns in the four-category model and also provide a continuous measure.

The RSQ measure showed convergence when the four categories were compared with the attachment interview, with the corresponding categories ranging from $r = 0.22$ for "secure" to $r = 0.50$ for "fearful". In contrast, correlations among all differing attachment categories were very low or negative. Internal consistency for RSQ scores ranged from $\alpha = .41$ for the secure style to $\alpha = .70$ for the dismissing style. The author attributes the sometimes relatively low internal consistency to the fact that the two orthogonal dimensions of self- and other-models are combined.

Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI). The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI), (Raskin & Hall, 1979, 1981), uses a forced-choice format that requires choosing between two diametrically opposed statements. The 40-item measure was developed by selecting statements that conformed with or contradicted criteria from both DSM-III characteristics for narcissistic personality disorder and Kernberg's descriptive theory of narcissism (Raskin & Terry, 1988). In this questionnaire, designed to measure individual differences in narcissism as

a personality trait (Emmons, 1987), the participant is asked to choose between two contradictory choices, one of which is scored as narcissistic and the other as non-narcissistic.

A number of studies support the validity and reliability of the NPI as a measure of narcissism (Emmons 1984, 1987; Raskin, et al, 1991a, 1991b). Emmons (1984, 1987) and Shulman & Ferguson (1988a, 1988b) have reviewed many of these studies. Emmons (1987), in three studies using the NPI, found significant correlations with basic personality factors using conceptually related measures as well as similar correlations with peer ratings of narcissism.

The NPI has shown internal consistency, as measured by Cronbach's coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951), of .86 and a split-half reliability of .80. It had an alternate form had stability of .72 over eight weeks (Raskin & Hall, 1981).

Emmons' (1984, 1987) factor analysis identified four major components, including Leadership/Authority, Self-Absorption/Self-Admiration, Superiority/Arrogance, and Exploiteness/Entitlement. Emmons (1987) assessed internal consistencies of full scale NPI and each subscale, obtaining Cronbach's coefficient's alpha of .87, .69, .81, .70, and .68 for the full scale and the four scales in the order listed above.

O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissistic Inventory (OMNI). The O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissistic Inventory (OMNI), (O'Brien, 1987, 1988), is a 41-item inventory where the participant is ask to respond to statements or questions with either a "yes" or "no" answer (O'Brien, 1987). The items are derived from

narcissistic characteristics listed in DSM-III, taking into account both Kohut's and Kernberg's description of narcissistic traits, but also drawing heavily on Alice Miller's theory of the "Narcissistically Abused Personality" (Miller, 1981a, 1981b, 1984). The latter includes issues related to belonging, putting others before self, and sometimes a rigid need to control others.

The OMNI has demonstrated convergent and discriminant validity in a number of studies. For example, O'Brien (1987) found the OMNI self-report responses to be correlated with reports by parents, spouses, and close friends, and aspects of a widely used personality inventory. Factor analysis yielded three factors labeled, 1) the Narcissistic Personality Dimension, consistent with DSM and Kernberg's criteria (48% of variance); 2) the Poisonous Pedagogy Dimension, consistent with Miller concepts (21% of variance); and, 3) the Narcissistically Abused Personality Dimension, consistent Miller's concept of the same (10.4% of variance).

Internalized Shame Scale (ISS). The Internalized Shame Scale, (Cook, 1994), is a 30-item measure which uses a Likert-type scale with choices from zero to four indicating never (0), seldom (1), sometimes (2), often (3), and almost always (4), respectively. It contains statements related to feelings surrounding a subjective sense of shame. The measure is based on the concept of internalized shame that has become a part of the self representation and integrated into the schema of the self, i.e., is internalized.

Cook (1994) has provided an extensive review of a wide range of

commonly used measures which show either a positive or inverse correlation with the ISS, in accordance with theory and predictions. For example, correlations in the predicted directions have been found using various measures of depression, self-esteem, anxiety, anger, level of intimacy, and personality attributes. Further evidence of its validity is suggested by its ability to discriminate between clinical and non-clinical populations.

Cook (1994, p. 9) found that "item-total" correlations (based on each item's correlation with the total score based on all the remaining items) for the non-clinical group ranged from .56 to .73. He also found a parallel median correlation of .63 in a non-clinical sample of college students. The coefficient alpha was .95 for this same sample .

Defense Mechanism Inventory (DMI). The Defense Mechanism Inventory (DMI), (Ihilevich & Gleser, 1993), is a pencil and paper self-report instrument designed to measure the extent to which individuals use each of five different defensive styles. It uses a quasi-projective story completion technique, with stories carefully constructed to elicit defensive reactions. The structured alternative responses are empirically derived. The measure consists of ten brief vignettes, two with elements related each of the five defensive styles. Each of the ten vignettes is followed by four questions regarding the participant's 1) actual behavior, 2) impulsive behavior (in fantasy), 3) thoughts, and 4) feelings related to the scenes and events described. For each of these four types of questions, the person selects from five alternative responses--

representing the five defensive styles: aggressive, projective, intellectualizing, intrapunitive, and repressive--indicating both the answer which most represents their reaction and the one which least represents their reaction.

These five defensive styles, and the five choices offered following each question, make up the five subscales of the DMI. The specific defense mechanism categories, or subscales, include: 1) the aggressive, Turning Against Object (TAO); 2) projective, Projection (PRO); 3) intellectualizing, Principalization (PRN); 4) intrapunitive, Turning Against Self (TAS); and, 5) repressive, Reversal (REV). Additionally, the ratings on these individual scales are combined through a formula that yields an overall Maturity Scale, providing a indication of the degree to which the person endorses mature versus immature types of defenses.

The adult version of the DMI was constructed using an adult population, 20 to 50 years of age (Ihilevich & Gleser, 1993, p. 22). The measure's validity has been supported in numerous studies, beginning with Ihilevich's development of the measure and its relationship to field dependence-independence, as a part of his doctoral dissertation in 1968. Studies too numerous to mention have found appropriate and predicted correlations between the DMI and its various subscales and measures of self-esteem, locus of control, anxiety, addictive behavior, MMPI scales, coping, and numerous other measures. Other studies have also found theoretically expected correlations with several diagnoses, including alcoholism, obesity, coronary disease, and the various psychiatric

diagnoses. The reader is referred to Ihlevich and Gleser (1993) for a detailed and extensive review of such studies.

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS). The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS), (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), is a brief 20-item measure in which the person is presented with ten positive and ten negative affect words, intermingled with each other. The person is asked to describe the self on a Likert-type scale from one to five (very slightly or not at all, a little, moderately, quite a bit, or extremely, respectively) in relation to a specific time period.

While Watson, *et al*'s (1988) scale contained twenty affect-related words, the only word pertaining directly to shame is the word "ashamed". Since shame was an important affect considered central to this study, a third set of five additional words containing the shame-related words, "embarrassed", "shame", "humiliated", "rage", and "revengeful", were added. In addition five positive affect words, which are approximate antonyms to shame, were also integrated in order to maintain the previous positive-negative word mix format. Further, the new words were added as a separate third column so as to maintain intact the original order and format. Thus, the measure as originally developed was scored as a unit and compared with Watson's *et al*'s (1988) validated results. Comparison was also made between the original scale and the new component, thus establishing a high degree of validity in relation to the original measure.

While Watson, Clark, & Tellegen (1988) developed the scale for its

possible use in referencing several alternative time periods, in this study participants are asked to complete the measure separately for three instances. At the beginning of the testing session the participant is asked to rate each feeling stimulus word on how it describes the self for two time periods, first, "on the average", and then "at the present moment". At the end of the testing session, after completing all other measures, the person is asked to rate the same words again, relative to "the present moment" only. This gave a general baseline, a beginning of session "in the moment", and a final "in the moment" measure of the person's experience of a wide range of affects, especially relative to optimism versus negativity, including several specific shame-related affects.

The original scales were shown to exhibit a high degree of internal consistency, to be largely uncorrelated with each other, and to be appropriately stable over a two-month period (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Evidence for both discriminant and convergent validity was also found. The internal consistency obtained, using Cronbach coefficient alpha, ranged from .86 to .90 for positive affects, and from .84 to .87 for negative affects. The test-retest reliabilities over eight weeks were .54 and .45 for positive and negative affect "in the moment", respectively, and .68 and .71 "in general", respectively (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

RESULTS

Demographic Description of the Sample

A total of 538 students completed this study.¹ Participants included 193 men (36%) and 345 women (64%). Most (512, or 95%) were under 25 years of age. The participants include 181 freshmen (34%), 102 sophomores (19%), 181 juniors (33%), 64 seniors (12%), and 10 nonresponders (2%).

The majority (447, or 83%) designated themselves as Caucasian, with the remainder approximately evenly divided among Afro-American, Latinos, Asian, and nonresponders. Most students reported being single (95%), with 246 (46%) not in an exclusive relationship, 117 (22%) in an exclusive relationship less than a year, 154 (29%) in an exclusive relationship more than a year, 11 (2%) engaged to be married, and 10 (2%) not responding.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics, including means and standard deviations on all tests for all participants and separately for men and women, are displayed in Table 1. Comparative analyses revealed significant gender differences on the fearful-avoidant attachment category, the NPI and 4 of its 7 subscales, and on

¹Of the original 630 participants, 92 were not included because they failed to complete, or incorrectly completed, one or more of the measures, usually the DMI. These 92 participants were excluded from all data analyses.

Table 1
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Measure	All(n=538)		Men(n=193)		Women(n=345)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
<u>Attachment</u>						
Secure	.00	(1.79)	.02	(1.63)	-.01	(1.87)
Fearful	.00	(1.82)	-.22	(1.62)	.12	(1.91)
Preoccupied	.00	(1.78)	.08	(1.79)	-.05	(1.78)
Dismissing	.00	(1.60)	.09	(1.55)	-.05	(1.63)
<u>NPI/Narcissism</u>						
Authority	18.33	(6.65)	<u>19.44</u>	(6.70)	17.71	(6.56)
Exhibitionism	4.78	(2.15)	<u>5.10</u>	(1.99)	4.60	(2.21)
Superiority	2.61	(1.76)	<u>2.47</u>	(1.85)	2.69	(1.71)
Entitlement	2.47	(1.39)	<u>2.50</u>	(1.43)	2.45	(1.37)
Exploitativeness	2.14	(1.48)	<u>2.48</u>	(1.46)	1.95	(1.45)
Self-Sufficient	2.10	(1.44)	<u>2.44</u>	(1.50)	1.92	(1.36)
Vanity	2.84	(1.43)	<u>3.05</u>	(1.57)	2.72	(1.34)
	1.39	(1.10)	1.40	(1.06)	1.38	(1.12)
OMNI/Narcissism	17.06	(5.09)	16.72	(5.15)	17.25	(5.06)
<u>ISS (Shame)</u>	28.29	(15.70)	26.71	(14.97)	29.18	(16.05)
<u>DMI (Defenses)</u>						
PRINCIP	44.21	(6.22)	<u>42.75</u>	(6.31)	<u>45.02</u>	(6.03)
PROJECT	39.05	(5.76)	<u>40.82</u>	(5.44)	38.06	(5.70)
REVERSAL	37.02	(7.52)	<u>36.68</u>	(7.64)	37.21	(7.46)
TA_OTHER	42.19	(9.03)	<u>44.08</u>	(9.84)	41.13	(8.37)
TA_SELF	37.53	(7.46)	<u>35.63</u>	(6.89)	<u>38.60</u>	(7.56)
MATURITY	-.01	(22.52)	<u>-5.47</u>	(23.56)	<u>3.05</u>	(21.35)
<u>Positive Affect</u>						
In general	51.64	(8.65)	<u>50.99</u>	(9.67)	52.00	(8.02)
Beginning	38.13	(11.60)	<u>38.30</u>	(11.66)	38.03	(11.59)
End	35.71	(12.00)	<u>38.08</u>	(12.41)	34.39	(11.58)
<u>Negative Affect</u>						
In general	29.56	(9.36)	<u>29.86</u>	(9.37)	29.38	(9.36)
Beginning	21.41	(7.64)	<u>21.89</u>	(7.36)	21.14	(7.79)
End	22.76	(7.78)	<u>23.54</u>	(8.39)	22.32	(7.39)

Note: Underscored values significantly ($p \leq .05$) exceeded their cross-gender counterparts.

Note: M = mean; SD = standard deviation.

4 of the 5 DMI scales. Therefore, separate analyses were performed by gender on all measures and for all comparisons.

Specifically, women scored higher than men on the fearful-avoidant attachment dimension ($M=.12$ vs. $M=-.22$, $p \leq .05$). In contrast, on the NPI, men scored significantly higher than women on overall narcissism ($M=19.44$ vs. $M=17.71$, $p \leq .05$), and on the narcissism subscales of authority ($M=5.10$ vs. $M=4.60$, $p \leq .01$), entitlement ($M=2.48$ vs. $M=1.95$, $p \leq .01$), exploitativeness ($M=2.44$ vs. $M=1.92$, $p \leq .01$), and self-sufficiency ($M=3.05$ vs. $M=2.72$, $p \leq .01$). Women in the current study were more likely than men to endorse the defensive styles of Principalization ($M=45.02$ vs. $M=42.75$, $p \leq .01$) and turning-against-self ($M=38.60$ vs. $M=35.63$, $p \leq .01$), whereas men preferred the defensive styles of projection ($M=40.82$ vs. $M=38.06$, $p \leq .01$) and turning-against-others ($M=44.08$ vs. $M=41.13$, $p \leq .01$) more often than did women. Likewise, women scored higher on the maturity scale than did men ($M=3.05$ vs. $M=-5.47$, $p \leq .01$). Additionally, men claimed feeling significantly more positive affects at the end of the testing period than did women ($M=38.08$ vs. $M=34.39$, $p \leq .01$). Thus, because of these frequent gender differences, all analyses have been completed on the data from each gender separately.

Comparisons With Normed Samples

The single item Relationship Questionnaire (RQ), which asks the person to choose from among four options the description of their relationships which best describes how he or she feels, allows for assignment of each individual to a discrete attachment category and provides a basis for comparison with other

attachment study samples. In the current study, on this frequently used single item, forced choice attachment measure, 41% of the students classified themselves as secure, 17% as preoccupied, 25% as avoidant-fearful, and 16% as avoidant-dismissing. These findings show a distribution pattern among the attachment categories roughly consistent with prior studies, in that the latter works have commonly found a somewhat higher percentage of securely attached, a correspondingly lower percentage of avoidantly attached, and fewest in the anxious/ambivalent (preoccupied) category. For example, various studies have found about 55% securely attached, about 25% avoidantly attached, and about 20% (preoccupied) ambivalently attached (Hazan & Shaver, 1987, 1990; Mikulincer, Florian, & Tolmacz, 1990, Pistole, 1989; Shaver & Hazan, 1987). In the current study, combining the avoidant-fearful and avoidant-dismissing categories into a single avoidant category results in approximately equal percentages of securely attached and avoidantly attached individuals in this sample population, also with the smallest proportion endorsing the preoccupied attachment style.

Participants in the current study scored higher on the NPI ($M=18.33$, $sd=6.65$) than did Raskin's sample of 1018 college students on which the current version of the NPI was normed ($M=15.55$, $sd=6.67$). The difference between men's and women's scores in the current sample ($M= 19.44$, sd 6.70 versus 17.71, sd 6.56) is similar to the gender differences in Raskin's sample ($M=16.50$, $sd=6.86$ versus $M=14.72$, $sd=6.35$) |

Cook's Internalized Shame Scale was also normed on college students,

with the mean for non-clinical males somewhat lower ($M=30$, $sd=15$) than the for non-clinical females ($M=33$, $sd=16$). Similarly, male participants in the current study obtained a mean score of 26.71, $sd=14.97$, while the females also obtain a somewhat higher mean score of 29.18, $sd=16.05$.

On the Defense Mechanism Inventory (DMI), scores for the five dimensions of defensive style were similar to a sample of 958 male and 987 female college students used to norm the measure. Comparisons of the means and standard deviations on the DMI for men and women are shown below in Table 2.

Table 2
DMI Comparisons With Normed Sample*

	<u>Normed</u>		<u>Sample</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
<u>Males</u>	(n=958)		(n=193)	
PRINCIP	44.9	6.3	42.7	6.3
PROJECT	40.0	5.8	40.8	5.4
REVERSAL	37.1	7.4	36.7	7.6
TA_OTHERS	41.6	9.2	44.8	9.8
TA_SELF	36.4	6.8	35.6	6.9
<u>Females</u>	(n=987)		(n=345)	
PRINCIP	46.6	6.2	45.0	6.0
PROJECT	36.8	6.0	38.1	5.7
REVERSAL	38.0	8.0	37.2	7.5
TA_OTHERS	36.7	8.8	41.1	8.4
TA_SELF	42.0	7.2	38.6	7.6

*Ihilevich (1968)

Study Findings

Hypothesis 1a: Correlations of narcissism with both the dismissing-avoidant and fearful-avoidant attachment dimensions will be positive and significantly higher than those of narcissism and either the preoccupied or secure attachment dimensions.

The correlations of the OMNI and NPI measures of narcissism with attachment dimensions are shown in Table 3 separately for men and women. Dismissing-avoidant attachment is positively correlated with NPI narcissism for women as predicted but is negatively correlated with OMNI narcissism for men (opposite the prediction). The other two correlations for dismissing-avoidant attachment are essentially zero. Fearful-avoidant attachment is positively correlated with OMNI narcissism for both sexes, as predicted, but not with NPI narcissism.

Table 3
Attachment Correlations with the NPI and OMNI Measures

	<u>NPI</u>	<u>OMNI</u>
<u>Males: (n=193)</u>		
Secure	.22**	-.24**
Fearful	-.13	.19**
Preoccupied	.02	.35**
Dismissing	.05	-.15*
<u>Females: (n=345)</u>		
Secure	.17**	-.29**
Fearful	-.09	.27**
Preoccupied	-.15**	.36**
Dismissing	.19**	-.02

Note: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, two-tailed test.

Table 4 lists the t-tests for the predicted differences between correlations. The correlation with dismissing-avoidant attachment is significantly higher than with preoccupied attachment for NPI narcissism for both men and women as predicted, but it is significantly lower for both men and women for OMNI narcissism (opposite the prediction). The correlation with dismissing-avoidant attachment is significantly higher than with secure attachment for both sexes on OMNI narcissism as predicted, but not for NPI narcissism. The correlation with fearful-avoidant attachment is significantly lower than for preoccupied

Table 4

t-test for Dependent Correlation Coefficients*:
Comparison of Correlations of Attachment and Narcissism
on the NPI and OMNI Measures**

<u>Narcissism:</u>	<u>OMNI</u>		<u>NPI</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
<u>D</u> ismissing				
DI < Preoccupied	-5.0**	-4.9**	<u>2.4*</u>	<u>4.3**</u>
DI < SEcure	<u>2.6**</u>	<u>3.6**</u>	-1.6`	0.3
<u>F</u> earful				
FE < PReoccupied	-2.8*	-1.5	-1.7	0.9
FE < SEcure	<u>3.1**</u>	<u>6.0**</u>	-2.8**	-2.6*
<u>P</u> reoccupied				
PR < SEcure	<u>8.0**</u>	<u>8.7**</u>	-1.8	-3.9**

Note: **p < .01, * p < .05.

Note: Underscored values are significant (p ≤ .05) and support the study predictions.

***Glass & Hopkins (1984).

attachment for OMNI narcissism for the men only (opposite the prediction). The correlation with fearful-avoidant is significantly higher than with secure attachment for OMNI narcissism for both sexes, as predicted, and significantly lower for NPI narcissism for both sexes (opposite the prediction).

It is clear that OMNI narcissism and NPI narcissism do not seem to be the same, a finding which will hold throughout.

Hypothesis 1b: Correlations of narcissism with the preoccupied attachment dimension will be positive and significantly higher than those of narcissism and the secure attachment dimension.

The correlation with preoccupied attachment is significantly higher than with secure attachment for OMNI narcissism for both men and women as predicted, but it is lower for both men and women for NPI narcissism (opposite the prediction).

Hypothesis 2: Scores on the Internalized Shame Scale will correlate significantly more positively with fearful-avoidant attachment dimensions than with dismissing-avoidant dimensions.

As shown in Table 6, correlations of Internalized Shame Scales scores correlate more positively with fearful-avoidant attachment ($r=.41$ and $.39$, $p \leq .01$) for men and women, respectively) than with dismissing-avoidant attachment ($r= -.08$ and $-.01$) for men and women, respectively) as predicted.

Hypothesis 3a: Scores on the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension will be positively correlated with scores on the use of "Turning Against Others" (TAO) and "Projection" (PRO) defenses.

Dismissing-avoidant attachment was negatively correlated with TAO and PRO defenses for men, with the PRO correlation reaching significance in the direction opposite that predicted, while correlations for dismissing-avoidant attachment for women revealed a barely positive and insignificant correlation with TAO and PRO defenses. These findings are shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Attachment Correlations with the DMI

	<u>PRN</u>	<u>PRO</u>	<u>REV</u>	<u>DMI</u> <u>TAO</u>	<u>TAS</u>	<u>MAT</u>
Males: (n=193)						
Secure	.04	-.01	.08	-.03	-.07	.05
Fearful	-.08	.13	-.09	.03	.03	-.10
Preoccupied	-.07	.15*	.00	.00	.16*	.23**
Dismissing	.06	-.14*	.12	-.02	-.05	-.10
Females: (n=345)						
Secure	.23**	-.08	.22**	-.19**	-.12*	.24**
Fearful	-.20**	.08	-.19**	.20**	.05	-.22**
Preoccupied	-.25**	.13*	-.27**	.09	.29**	-.23**
Dismissing	.07	.04	.03	.03	-.16**	.01

Note: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, two-tailed test.

Hypothesis 3b: Scores on the fearful-avoidant attachment dimension will be positively correlated with scores on the use of "Turning Against Self" (TAS).

This hypotheses was not supported as fearful-avoidant attachment showed no correlation with the TAS defense for either men or women.

Hypothesis 4: Those scoring higher on the three insecure attachment dimensions will score lower on the positive affects, and higher on negative

affects, on the Positive and Negative Affects Schedule (PANAS) than those who are securely attached.

As shown in Table 6, women scoring higher on fearful-avoidant attachment scored lower on the positive affects, and higher on negative affects, on the PANAS than those who are securely attached at all three time periods, as predicted. However, men scoring higher on fearful-avoidant attachment scored significantly lower on the positive affects at time one only (PA1 = how they feel “on the average”) , and higher on negative affects, on the PANAS, than those who are securely attached at all three time periods, as predicted.

Women scoring higher on preoccupied attachment also consistently scored lower on the positive affects, and higher on negative affects, on the PANAS than securely attached women at all three time periods, as predicted. However, men scoring higher on preoccupied attachment scored lower on the positive affects at time one, as predicted, but achieved scores similar to the securely attached at time two and time three.

Both men and women who scored higher on dismissing-avoidant attachment scored lower on the positive affects, and higher on negative affects, on the PANAS than those who are securely attached at all three time periods, as predicted with the sole exception that dismissing-avoidant women scored essentially the same on negative affects at time three (NA3 = “in the moment” at the end of testing) as did the secure women. It is noteworthy that while those endorsing the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension do usually score lower on the positive and higher on the negative affects than the securely attached,

they rarely show direct correlations with either the positive or negative affects that differ from zero thus yielding findings that should be viewed with caution.

Table 6
Attachment Correlations with Internalized Shame
and
Positive and Negative Affects

Males: (n=193)	ISS	PA1	PA2	PA3	NA1	NA2	NA3
Secure	-.45**	.40**	.18**	.22**	-.21**	-.17**	-.16*
Fearful	.41**	-.24**	-.05	-.08	.25**	.22**	.16*
Preoccupied	.34**	.00	.16*	.23**	.22**	.16*	.20**
Dismissing	-.08	.01	.04	-.02	-.17*	-.11	-.11
Females: (n=345)							
Secure	-.45**	.37**	.22**	.16**	-.34**	-.13*	-.11*
Fearful	.39**	-.25**	-.20**	-.15**	.31**	.14**	.10*
Preoccupied	.47**	-.24**	-.13*	-.09	.38**	.26**	.27**
Dismissing	-.01	.07	.08	.09	-.01	-.06	-.13*

Note: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, two-tailed test.

Note: PA1 & NA1 = "on the average"; PA2 & NA2 = "in the moment" at the start of testing"; and PA3 & NA3 = "in the moment" at the end of testing.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between dimensions of adult attachment and narcissism, shame, preferred psychological defenses, and the positive and negative affects. Generally, the study findings regarding the predicted association of attachment dimensions with shame and with the positive and negative affects consistently received the strongest support, while the correlations between the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension and shame and with the positive and negative affects were either near zero or occasionally opposite the predicted direction.

Three unpredicted and surprising findings emerged. First, one surprising and important outcome of the study was the consistently divergent findings between the two measures of narcissism, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) and the O'Brien Narcissistic Multiphasic Personality Inventory (OMNI), which strongly suggests that these two widely used instruments may each be measuring something quite different. Second, consistently across the various measures those endorsing the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension most frequently showed at least lower or, more usually, absent or reverse findings in relation to those expected. Third, various gender differences emerged that, while not specifically predicted, may be understandable in relation to theories of

gender differences.

OMNI and NPI Narcissism

Overall the findings for the hypotheses related to the four attachment dimensions and narcissism yielded inconsistent and divergent correlations between the NPI and OMNI measures of narcissism for both genders, as shown in Tables 3 and 4. Because of these divergent patterns between the two measures of narcissism and the unexpected nature of these results, several further data checks were performed. It was verified that the narcissistic answer choice received the higher score (1 versus 0) on both measures, assuring that the scoring was parallel between the NPI and OMNI. Additionally, to examine whether the divergence might be specific to correlations on the attachment dimensions only and to help identify and understand the source(s) of this divergence between the two measures, further analyses were performed, including 1) correlations between scores from the NPI and OMNI measures and each of their respective subscales as shown in Table 7, and, 2) correlations between each of these measures of narcissism and the other study measures, including the Defense Mechanism Inventory (DMI), the Internalized Shame Scale (ISS), and the Positive and Negative Affect Schedules (PANAS), each by gender, as shown in Table 8.

Examination of the correlations between the NPI and its subscales and the OMNI and its subscales, as shown in Table 7, reveal that all of the negative associations fall within either the NPI Subscale labeled "Self-Sufficient"

Table 7
Correlations Between NPI and OMNI Subscales

	<u>OMNI</u>	<u>OMINAR1</u>	<u>OMNIPOI2</u>	<u>OMNIABU3</u>
All (538):				
<u>NPI/Narcissism</u>	.16**	.11**	.36**	<u>-.18**</u>
Authority	.05	-.04	.25**	<u>-.16**</u>
Exhibitionism	.22**	.26**	.22**	-.05
Superiority	.08†	.11**	.20**	<u>-.20**</u>
Entitlement	.26**	.14**	.38**	-.06
Exploiteness	.17**	.09*	.25**	.00
Self-Sufficient	<u>-.12**</u>	<u>-.15**</u>	<u>.07†</u>	<u>-.22**</u>
Vanity	.05	.09*	.12**	<u>-.16**</u>
Men (193)				
<u>NPI/Narcissism</u>	.23**	.20**	.31**	-.07
Authority	.07	-.02	.22**	-.07
Exhibitionism	.21**	.29**	.15*	-.05
Superiority	.24**	.29**	.23**	-.07
Entitlement	.34**	.22**	.37**	<u>-.13†</u>
Exploiteness	.15*	.11	.17**	.02
Self-Sufficient	<u>-.12†</u>	<u>-.16*</u>	.04	<u>-.21**</u>
Vanity	.14*	.17**	.14*	-.04
Women (345)				
<u>NPI/Narcissism</u>	.14**	.09†	.38**	<u>-.23**</u>
Authority	.04	-.02	.26**	<u>-.19**</u>
Exhibitionism	.23**	.24**	.28**	-.07
Superiority	-.01	.01	.19**	<u>-.27**</u>
Entitlement	.23**	.13**	.38**	-.05
Exploiteness	.19**	.10*	.27**	.02
Self-Sufficient	<u>-.10*</u>	<u>-.13*</u>	<u>.09</u>	<u>-.21**</u>
Vanity	-.00	.05	.12*	<u>-.23**</u>

Note: **p ≤ .01, * p ≤ .05, † p ≤ .10, two-tailed test.

Note: OMINAR1 = Narcissistic Personality; OMNIPOI2 = Poisonous Pedagogy; and OMNIABU3 = Narcissistically Abused Personality.

Note: Negative correlations are underlined.

(which is negatively correlated with the OMNI) or the OMNI Subscale labeled the “Narcissistically Abused Personality” (OMNIABUS3, which is negatively correlated with the NPI).

Thus, to understand the discrepancies between these two measures of narcissism it would be helpful to also look at the underlying meaning of these two subscales. According to O’Brien (1987, p. 502-503) the person with the Narcissistically Abused Personality attributes (OMNIABU3) places the needs of others first and has a tendency towards self-deprecation, martyrdom, and an inordinate need for approval in order to have a sense of self-validation. On the other hand, in writing about the narcissistic personality, Raskin and Terry (1988, p. 891), citing Modell (1975), stated that, “This unconscious dependency on external sources of love represents a significant source of vulnerability that must be defended against by narcissistic defenses aimed at creating the illusion of self-sufficiency.”

By way of example from the subscales, the narcissistic response on one item on the NPI Self-Sufficient Subscale avers that “I like to take responsibility for making decisions” whereas a corresponding narcissistic statement on the OMNI Narcissistically Abused Subscale would be “When confused, do you think of your mother’s wishes to help you to resolve your conflicts?” (Yes). Another example would be the NPI Self-Sufficient Subscale items “I can live my life any way I want to” and “I am more capable than other people” versus the OMNI Narcissistically Abused Personality Subscale items, “Do you find it easy

to relax in a group?" (No), "Would you rather try to please other than to have your own way?" (Yes), and "Do you try avoid rejection at all costs?" (Yes).

Thus it appears likely that the Narcissistically Abused Personality Factor of the OMNI, taps the vulnerable or the undefended aspects of narcissism, whereas the Self-Sufficient Subscale of the NPI captures the defensive or defended side of narcissism. This results in these manifestly different and diverging findings, depending on the person's defensive style and perhaps which questions are being asked or answered.

Further, the gender differences, as shown in Table 7, between the correlations of the Narcissistically Abused Personality Subscale (OMNIABU3) of the OMNI and five of the of the eight comparisons with the NPI are likely reflective of the source of this OMNI Subscale which was derived from Miller's (1979, 1981; O'Brien, 1987, 1988) conception of the narcissistically abused female. Specifically women showed a robust negative correlation between OMNI narcissism and NPI narcissism, including the latter's subscales of Authority, Superiority, Self-sufficiency, and Vanity, in contrast to men who showed no parallel associations other than a negative one with the Self-sufficient subscale.

Additional evidence of the underlying differences in these two measures of narcissism can be seen in Table 8 where the more immature defenses, shame, and negative affects are positively associated with OMNI narcissism, whereas the positive affects, along with denial of shame, and less clarity or a

Table 8
Correlations of NPI & OMNI with Defenses, Shame, and Positive & Negative Affects

	<u>NPI</u>	<u>AUTH</u>	<u>EXHIB</u>	<u>SUPER</u>	<u>ENTII</u>	<u>EXPLOIT</u>	<u>SELF-S</u>	<u>VANITY</u>	<u>OMNI</u>	<u>OMINAR1†</u>	<u>OMNIPOI2†</u>	<u>OMNIABU3†</u>
Males:												
<u>DMI: PRINCIP</u>	.01	.00	-.09	-.13†	.00	-.10	.08	.08	-.19**	-.12†	-.09	-.24**
<u>PROJECT</u>	.05	.12†	.06	-.09	.08	.05	.06	-.17**	.22**	.16*	.15*	.18**
<u>REVERSAL</u>	.09	-.05	.13†	.13†	-.10	.07	.03	.25**	-.21**	-.17*	-.14*	-.16*
<u>TA_OTHER</u>	.00	.07	-.06	-.10	.09	.02	.07	-.13†	.16*	.09	.14*	.10
<u>TA_SELF</u>	-.16*	-.15*	-.03	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.25**	-.03	.01	.05	.09	.12
<u>MATURITY</u>	.02	-.07	.03	.14*	-.09	-.03	-.01	.20**	-.24**	-.16*	-.16*	-.20**
<u>SHAME</u>	-.24**	-.24**	-.08	-.20**	.14†	-.12†	-.37**	-.16*	.49**	.37**	.29**	.49**
<u>PA1††</u>	.28**	.18**	.31**	.23**	-.09	.10	.14*	.31**	-.12†	-.13†	.01	-.17*
<u>PA2</u>	.28**	.19**	.29**	.24**	.00	.09	.09	.28**	-.07	-.08	.03	-.12†
<u>PA3</u>	.31**	.18**	.31**	.27**	.03	.15*	.14†	.26**	.03	.00	.09	-.06
<u>NA1</u>	-.03	-.10	.13†	-.01	.12†	.00	-.27**	.01	.46**	.40**	.33**	.33**
<u>NA2</u>	.02	-.07	.04	.03	.12	.10	-.10	.01	.28**	.19**	.23**	.23**
<u>NA3</u>	.02	-.09	.14*	.07	.01	.09	-.14*	.05	.34**	.33**	.15*	.26**
Females:												
<u>DMI: PRINCIP</u>	.09	.18**	-.05	.14**	-.04	-.05	.13*	.01	-.33**	-.25**	-.21**	-.28**
<u>PROJECT</u>	.14**	.01	.14**	.07	-.04	.14*	.00	.10*	.27**	.24**	.24**	.09†
<u>REVERSAL</u>	-.01	.07	-.12	.12*	-.15**	-.05	.09	-.02	-.37**	-.40**	-.18**	-.23**
<u>TA_OTHER</u>	.15**	.04	.15**	.18*	.26**	.11*	.02	.05	.34**	.27**	.27**	.18**
<u>TA_SELF</u>	-.33*	-.28**	-.10*	-.29**	-.24**	-.14**	-.22**	-.13**	.07	.12*	.13*	.19**
<u>MATURITY</u>	-.07	.06	-.16**	.06	-.21**	-.11*	.06	-.05	-.43**	-.38**	-.30**	-.26**
<u>SHAME</u>	-.30**	-.23**	-.13*	-.37**	.04	-.04	-.28**	-.29**	.39**	.30**	.11*	.50**
<u>PA1††</u>	.26**	.30**	.16**	.20**	-.01	.07	.21**	.10†	-.17**	-.19**	.03	-.23**
<u>PA2</u>	.22**	.30**	.09†	.20**	.04	.03	.22**	.09	-.19**	-.20**	-.04	-.19**
<u>PA3</u>	.16**	.17**	.03	.15**	.01	.06	.23**	.03	-.09†	-.13*	.01	-.10†
<u>NA1</u>	-.12*	-.18**	.00	-.21**	.09	.08	-.16**	-.12**	.37*	.30**	.15**	.40**
<u>NA2</u>	-.00	-.11*	.12*	-.09	.04	.07	-.01	-.03	.22**	.16**	.13*	.22*
<u>NA3</u>	.02	-.05	.13*	-.05	.07	.06	-.03	-.05	.29**	.23**	.16**	.26**

† OMNI Subscales: OMINAR1 = Narcissistic Personality Disorder; OMNIPOI2 = Poisonous Pedagogy Dimension; OMNIABU3 = Narcissistically Abused Personality.

†† Note: PA1 & NA1 = Positive Affect & Negative Affect "on the average"; PA2 & NA2 = "in the moment" at the start of testing"; and PA3 & NA3 = "in the moment" at the end of testing.

heterogeneity of defensive patterns are associated with NPI narcissism. Another piece of evidence suggestive of underlying differences in these two measures of narcissism are the consistent and substantial negative correlation between the use of the more mature defense of Reversal, a form of denial, and only OMNI narcissism for both men and women. And, for women only, consistently negative correlations between endorsement of NPI narcissism and the “Turning Against Self” defense were found, further suggesting an effective defensive denial of the more vulnerable aspects of the self by women high on NPI narcissism. In contrast, for women, consistently positive correlations between endorsement of OMNI narcissism and the “Turning Against Self” defense were found, again suggesting a more open stance with less defensive denial of the more vulnerable aspects of self. Overall, these patterns suggest a greater degree of openness to admission of vulnerability by those scoring higher on OMNI narcissism and a more denying stance by those scoring higher on NPI narcissism as a likely explanation for the divergent findings on these two measures.

Further, this interpretation of the OMNI narcissistic vulnerability is particularly suggested by the positive association between the OMNI Narcissistically Abused Personality Subscale and Shame for both men and women, which are among the highest correlations in the study ($r = .49$ and $r = .50$, $p \leq .01$, respectively), versus the negative correlations between the NPI Self-Sufficient Subscale and Shame for both genders which are also among the

stronger associations for the NPI ($r = -.37$ and $r = -.28$, $p \leq .01$, respectively).

Taken together, these patterns of findings provide strong supporting evidence that these two measures, the OMNI and the NPI, tap two quite different facets of narcissism and that both measures may be equally valid in measuring these different aspects of narcissism. These findings and this explanation are consistent with theories purporting that narcissism has two sides, the grandiose and the vulnerable or shame-ridden aspects.

Dismissing Attachment Dimension

The second surprising result was the consistency with which those endorsing the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension frequently showed lower or, more usually, absent or reverse findings in relation to what was expected. These findings regarding the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension may be reflective of a defensive denial posture taken in order to ward off feelings of connection and loss in object relations. It may be that such detachment from emotions and from others results in a confused and inconsistent pattern of responses.

Further, this general absence of significant correlations, or findings that are opposite the prediction, on most comparisons related to the dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension for both men and women could also be understood from another perspective. It may be that the dismissing-avoidant category does not select for a discreet dimension or type but represents a heterogeneous group which adopts a variety of attachment and other

psychological strategies, yielding no relatively consistent patterns. This group's consistent absence of significant patterns may also reflect a disorganized attachment strategy, similar to Main's observations of disorganized infants who do not fit any of the usual attachment categories and seem to have no consistent strategy to deal with the vicissitudes of attachment and loss (Main, 1990; Main and Hess, 1990).

The dismissing-avoidant attachment dimension may also represent a group of individuals that are less self-aware or use denial relatively more often or more intermittently and randomly, in a manner that leads to inconsistent and conflicting thoughts about various relationship issues and affects which would then tend to fluctuate widely with the vicissitudes of internal and external stimuli (Jacobson, 1994). This is an interesting group for future study.

Gender Differences in the Findings

The marked difference between the frequent failure of the data from the men in the current sample to achieve significant correlations between preferred defense mechanisms and attachment dimensions, and the substantial and theoretically consistent correlations from the women's data on the same measures is difficult to explain fully. However, it may be that to the extent to which measures of attachment and measures of the preferred defense mechanisms capture relationship issues, and consistent with the general view of the greater importance of social relationships to women (Franz & White, 1975; Gilligan, 1982), the women's data showing a substantial correlation of secure

attachment with mature defenses and insecure of attachment with more immature defenses become more theoretically consistent and understandable. For example, defense strategies as well as attachment strategies would likely be more coordinated and consistent where relationship issues are of central importance to the person. In this case, the endorsements relative to attachment and defenses would also likely be more coordinated or integrated with each other as an effective, or at least more consistent, strategy for dealing with the vicissitudes of relationships.

As noted the apparent gender differences, shown in Table 7, reveal negative correlations of the Narcissistically Abused Personality Subscale (OMNIABU3) of the OMNI with five of the of the eight comparisons with the NPI narcissism, likely reflecting the source the items on this OMNI Subscale, which were largely taken from Miller's (1979, 1981; O'Brien, 1987, 1988) conception of the narcissistically abused female. In contrast, as shown in Table 1, men tended to score significantly higher than women on NPI narcissism where they achieved an overall higher NPI score as well as higher scores on the subscales Authority, Entitlement, Exploiteness, and Self-Sufficiency. These findings suggest different issues related to narcissism are important for men versus those for women and would provide an important topic for further investigative research.

Study Limitations

This study has the weaknesses inherent in reliance on self-report

measures which are otherwise unsubstantiated, including shortcomings related to restrictions in self-awareness or lack of insight as well as biased self-presentation. However, to the extent we are interested in psychic reality or a person's own subjective experience, as opposed to external "objective" reality, and aside from deliberate falsification or massive denial, self-report measures do provide a means to tap important dimensions an of the person's way of being. And, to the extent a person's view of himself influences his actions and behaviors, self-report is an important format for use in empirical research.

However, findings from the study should also be generalized only with care and thoughtfulness because of the restricted age range and the limited variability in socioeconomic status of this college subject pool sample. And, although we would expect to see a variety of personality styles, degrees of neuroticism, and some psychopathology, it should also be kept in mind that this is primarily a non-clinical population. With these limitations in mind, the study findings remain useful in relation to the various theories and for their implications for further research.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between attachment and narcissism, shame, psychological defenses, and the positive and negative affects. Generally, findings related to the close connections between security of attachment and shame and the positive and negative affects received the strongest support, although other predicted relationships occasionally also reached statistical significance. For example, secure attachment was positively correlated with positive affects and strongly negatively correlated with shame and the negative affects, while fear-avoidant and preoccupied attachments dimensions yielded substantial correlations in the opposite direction on these same affects.

Interestingly, predicted correlations between attachment and narcissism yielded opposite results for the O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissistic Inventory (OMNI) and Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) on the various dimensions. The findings strongly suggest that these two widely used measures of narcissism measure very different things. Generally, with OMNI narcissism (O'Brien, 1987), more secure forms of attachment showed a predicted negative correlation with narcissism while fearful-avoidant and preoccupied attachment supported the predicted positive correlations, unlike parallel predictions using the NPI

narcissism scale (Raskin, 1979) which more rarely supported predictions.

The predicted relationships between attachment and choice of psychological defense mechanisms generally did not achieve significance. However, for women only, some clear and interesting patterns emerged, which are consistent with theories related to psychopathology. For example, more securely attached women endorsed a strong preference for mature versus more primitive defenses, whereas the more insecurely attached tended to endorse the immature defenses.

Further, it is interesting that in this study those endorsing the dismissing-avoidant dimension of attachment generally showed lower or, more usually, either absent or reverse findings in relation to what was expected. Other interesting and robust, but unpredicted, findings emerged and are discussed.

Additional research is recommended to further explore and refine connections that are suggested by these findings, as well as to understand the problems and issues of measurement in the obtained differences, especially relative to the measures of narcissism and the use of preferred psychological defenses. It would be useful to compare both the OMNI and NPI measures of narcissism with other measures that would help tease out the differences and commonalities in order to better understand the meaning of convergences and divergences. This might include looking at the differences between clinical and non-clinical populations. Including other than a self-report measure of attachment status, such as Main's *Adult Attachment Interview*, would likely

provide a more solid and certain measurement of an individual's true attachment status, adding to the confidence we could place in the correlations as being true to the concepts ostensibly measured. Because of hypothesized relationship between narcissism and self-esteem, and shame and self-esteem, and affect and self-esteem, it would have been helpful and informative to include a solid measure of self-esteem. Thus, these findings suggest a number of avenues for productive further study.

A P P E N D I X A

CONSENT FORM

This research concerns your responses to a range of written situations and statements. These surveys are commonly used in psychological research. The study examines the accuracy with which people are able to label their feelings in relation to situational and relationship factors. There are no right or wrong, good or bad, acceptable or unacceptable answers. The only "right" answer is what you actually think or feel. Since the ability to accurately label feelings and emotions, especially the negative ones, has been found to be related to success in school, career, and relationships, it is important that we better understand these characteristics in people. Your responses are entirely anonymous and confidential.

Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from participating at any time without penalty. If you choose to participate, you will be asked to complete six surveys and a brief demographic profile. These surveys will take approximately one and one half hours to complete.

Since you will receive research credit in return for participation, total anonymity cannot be provided; however, all answers to these surveys are anonymous and confidential. Your name will not appear in the same place as any survey results. The information you provide is strictly confidential and you will not be identified in any report of the findings.

Directions are included with the surveys, but please feel free to ask for clarification when in doubt. If you have any further questions, concerns or comments, please contact me:

Betty Feintuch, M.A.
c/o Room 5-C, Olds Hall
Michigan State University,
or at 349-6060

You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this research by completing and returning these questionnaires.

A P P E N D I X B

Please select the one answer that best applies to you or your situation.

231. SEX:

- 1 = Female
- 2 = Male

232. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

- 1 = Freshman
- 2 = Sophomore
- 3 = Junior
- 4 = Senior
- 5 = Graduate Student

233. AGE:

- 1 = Under 20 years
- 2 = 20-24 years
- 3 = 25-29 years
- 4 = 30-34 years
- 5 = Over 30 years

234. MARITAL STATUS:

- 1 = Single
- 2 = Married
- 3 = Separated
- 4 = Divorced
- 5 = Widowed

235. RELATIONSHIP SITUATION:

- 1 = Not in an exclusive romantic relationship
- 2 = In an exclusive relationship less than 3 months
- 3 = In an exclusive relationship 3-12 months
- 4 = In an exclusive relationship more than 1 year
- 5 = One of the above AND engaged to be married

236. ETHNIC BACKGROUND:

- 1 = Caucasian
- 2 = Afro-American
- 3 = Latino
- 4 = Asian
- 5 = Other_____

* * * * * T H E E N D * * * * *

Please scan the blue 'bubble' sheet to make sure items 1 thru 271 are complete, with one and only one circle filled in for each number; please do the same for the brown 'bubble' sheet for items; 1 thru 236. If you're sure all items are complete, please help yourself to a treat.

Thank you for your participation.

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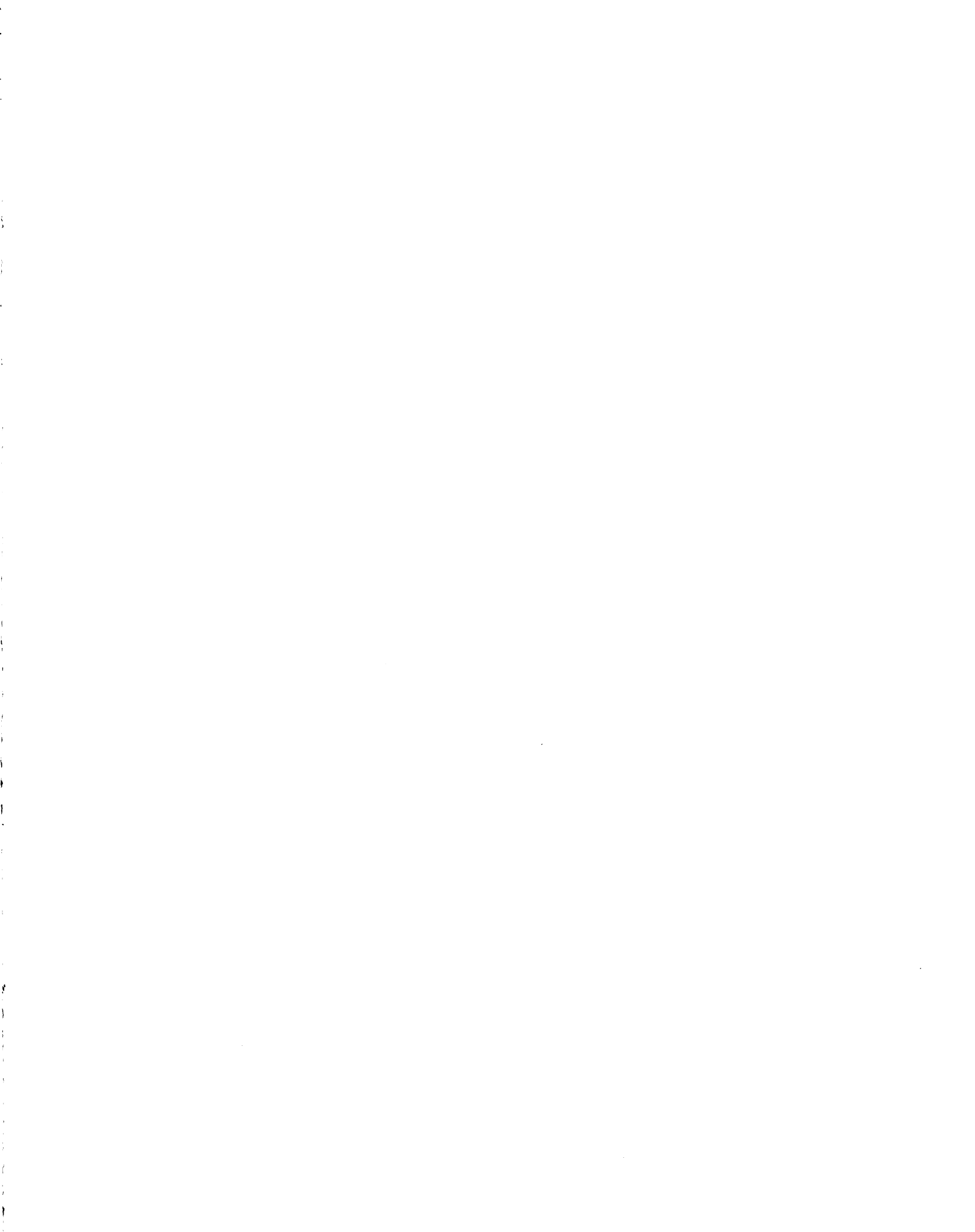
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