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*BRIEF REPORT*

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## Narcissism and Parenting Styles

P. J. Watson, PhD, Tracy Little, BS, and Michael D.  
Biderman, PhD

*University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*

Baumrind's authoritative, permissive, and authoritarian parenting styles were analyzed within the context of Kohut's psychology of the self. College student perceptions of their parents were correlated with measures of self-functioning in order to test the hypotheses that perceived parental authoritativeness would be associated with less narcissistic maladjustment, that permissiveness would be associated with immature grandiosity, and that authoritarianism would correlate with inadequate idealization. All three suggestions received empirical support. In addition, authoritarianism seemed to be associated with less immature grandiosity, and parenting characteristics of the mother were more strongly correlated with self-development than were those of the father.

That the family crucially affects the self is a commonplace social scientific assumption not limited to psychoanalysis. Baumrind's (e.g., 1966, 1975, 1983) research into authoritative, permissive, and authoritarian parenting styles illustrates how developmental psychologists have sought to clarify the tie between parenting and the traits of children. Most simplistically, authoritativeness combines control and limit setting with warmth and nurturance and generally fosters children who are "mature . . . socially responsible and assertive" (Baumrind, 1973, p. 8). Overemphasis on nurturance at the expense of appropriate control defines a permissiveness that is associated with "immature" children more likely to have problems with self-control and self-reliance. Authoritarian parents are opposite to the permissive pattern in exerting strong control with little warmth. Their "disaffiliated" youth (1973, p. 8) appear to be unhappy, socially withdrawn, and lacking in trust (1983, p. 121).

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Requests for reprints should be sent to P. J. Watson, PhD, Psychology Department, 350 Holt Hall, 615 McCallie, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Chattanooga, TN 37403.

In this project, Baumrind's conceptualizations were offered a psychoanalytic interpretation by exploring three hypotheses relating her parenting styles to Kohut's (1977) bipolar self. The Kohutian self emerges as a bidimensional structure. Along one trajectory, a grandiose exhibitionism intrinsic to the development of personal competencies is nourished by the mirroring approval of parents. This approval so much exists as a part of the child's own subjectivity that it initially remains undifferentiated from the self. Neither wholly within the self nor within the object, this approval operates as a selfobject function. Maturation then proceeds as the selfobject function supported by the parental object becomes a self function more sustainable within the individual's own psychological life.

Ideals theoretically develop along the other trajectory of the self. A child in times of need looks toward the more knowledgeable and powerful parents for help. Parents who allow themselves to be idealized during such circumstances thereby perform the selfobject function of offering a source of calm and soothing strength. Maturation then proceeds as selfobject idealizations dependent on admirable parents become ideals established more independently within the self.

Optimal frustration and transmuting internalization underlie these developmental trends. Structuralization of the self occurs most successfully when parents neither under- nor over-perform selfobject functions. Excessive parental failure to offer approval or to allow idealization prevents experience with the necessary social precursors of ambitions and ideals. On the other hand, unwavering parental maintenance of these functions offers no occasion for their internalization. It is the nontraumatic absence of parental support—"optimal frustration"—that affords both the motivation and opportunity for learning how to maintain selfobject functions independently. In this way, a gradual construction of inner resources helps mitigate the developmentally appropriate loss of external selfobject support, a process Kohut called "transmuting internalization."

The first hypothesis tested was that perceptions of parents as authoritative would be associated with less narcissistic immaturity. This prediction was based on the assumption that optimal frustration characterizes this parenting style. "Both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity are valued by the authoritative parent"; an internalization of both ambitions and ideals should result as "authoritative control is used to resolve the antithesis between pleasure and duty, and between freedom and responsibility" (Baumrind, 1966, p. 891). As Baumrind (1966) reminded us, "Demands which cannot be met or no demands, suppression of conflict or no conflict, refusal to help or too much help, unrealistically high or low standards, all may curb or understimulate the child so that he fails to achieve the knowledge and experience which could realistically reduce his dependence upon the outside world" (p. 904).

Second, it was hypothesized that parental permissiveness might be a corre-

late of immature grandiosity. This kind of parenting "caters to the child and overlooks petulance and obnoxious behavior" (Baumrind, 1975, p. 277). Permissive parents would not curb a child's presumptions of entitlement; by failing to offer enough frustration, such parents might not encourage the transformation of narcissistic grandiosity into mature forms of ambitiousness. Their children would become "greedy, demanding, inconsiderate" (Baumrind, 1975, p. 276). Millon (1981, p. 177) similarly suggested that the grandiosity of the narcissistic personality disorder is promoted by "failures in parental guidance and control."

Third, authoritarian parenting might retard the internalization of ideals. This hypothesis may seem surprising, as Kohut (e.g., 1977, p. 12) so often stressed the absence of idealizable selfobjects as a problem in the formation of values. On the other hand, a severe authoritarianism might offer the opposite disadvantage. The phenomenon of identification with the aggressor (Freud, 1936/1966, pp. 109–121) demonstrates that authoritarian objects can be included in an individual's identifications, and children of authoritarian parents presumably would find no ultimate inhibition of their attempts to idealize their parents (e.g., Sagan, 1988, p. 193). The authoritarian style, however, might so strongly ground the idealizing function in the external social environment that sufficient opportunities for internalization could be precluded.

## METHOD

### Subjects

Participants were 324 undergraduates (125 men; 199 women) enrolled in introductory psychology classes. Average age of the subjects was 19.6 years old. They received extra course credit for their voluntary participation in the study.

### Procedure

All subjects were presented with a mimeographed booklet containing in sequence the Goal Instability and Superiority Scales (Robbins & Patton, 1985), the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1981), the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ; Buri, 1989; Buri, Louiselle, Misukanis, & Mueller, 1988) for mothers and then for fathers, and finally the Costello and Comrey (1967) Depression and Anxiety Scales.

The Goal Instability and Superiority Scales were developed on the basis of Kohut's theory and record mild immaturity in the development of idealization and grandiosity, respectively (e.g., Robbins, 1989). Respondents rate their agreement or disagreement with 10 statements that operationalize each con-

struct. "I wonder where my life is heading," "I lose my sense of direction," and "it's hard to find a reason for working" exemplify Goal Instability. Superiority is illustrated by agreement with the claims that "I deserve favors from others," "being admired by others helps me feel fantastic," and "I know that I have more natural talents than most." Estimates of internal consistency and test-retest reliability across a 2-week interval are equal to or greater than .76 (Robbins & Patton, 1985). Goal Instability has proven to be a consistent index of maladjustment (Robbins & Patton, 1985; Robbins & Schwitzer, 1988; Robbins & Tucker, 1986; Scott & Robbins, 1985), but Superiority sometimes predicts psychological health (e.g., Robbins & Schwitzer, 1988).

Originally designed to diagnose elements of the narcissistic personality disorder, the NPI consists of 54 forced-choice items and now appears too complex to be interpreted in unidimensional terms. Emmons (1984, 1987) discovered four factors, with Exploitativeness/Entitlement emerging as more clearly maladjusted and with Leadership/Authority, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption/Self-Admiration similar to the Superiority Scale in often predicting adjustment (e.g., Emmons, 1987; Watson, Grisham, Trotter, & Biderman, 1984).

The self-perception that "I find it easy to manipulate people" is congruent with Exploitativeness and contrasts with the more adjusted alternative that "I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people." "I see myself as a good leader" rather than the belief that "I am not sure that I would make a good leader" exemplifies the Leadership factor. The Superiority/Arrogance dimension is suggested by the self-report that "I can read people like a book" rather than the more modest claim that "people are sometimes hard to understand." The statement that "I am an extraordinary person" (vs. the less narcissistic response that "I am like everybody else") illustrates the Self-Absorption factor. Emmons (1987) reported internal reliabilities of .70, .87, .81, and .61 for Exploitativeness, Leadership, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption, respectively.

The tendency of the NPI factors and of Superiority to monitor adaptive functioning necessitates care in the analysis of data. In one study, for example, Exploitativeness was directly related to a seemingly adaptive form of assertiveness. Removing variance associated with the other three NPI factors, however, yielded a significant partial correlation in the opposite direction. The zero-order finding for Exploitativeness therefore was mediated by the more adjusted NPI dimensions (Watson, McKinney, Hawkins, & Morris, 1988); the other three factors have also seemed even more adaptive after controlling for Exploitativeness (e.g., Watson & Morris, 1990). In addition, the Superiority Scale loads on a common grandiosity dimension with the four NPI factors. Removing variance associated with Exploitativeness makes Superiority appear healthier whereas controlling for Leadership, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption makes it appear more unhealthy. In short, an adequate analy-

sis of grandiosity requires partial correlations (e.g., Watson & Biderman, in press; Watson, Biderman, & Boyd, 1989).

The PAQ consists of thirty 5-point Likert scale items recording perceptions of parents as authoritative (e.g., "As I was growing up my mother took the children's opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but she would not decide for something simply because the children wanted it"), permissive (e.g., "As I was growing up, my mother seldom gave me expectations and guidelines for my behavior"), and authoritarian (e.g., "As I was growing up my mother did not allow me to question any decision that she made"). Each parenting style is assessed by 10 statements, and all items are worded to evaluate one and then the other parent. Test-retest reliabilities of at least .77 and alpha coefficients of .74 or greater have been reported for all three scales for each parent (Buri, 1989). Particularly for authoritarianism and authoritativeness, associations with self-esteem support the validity of the instrument (Buri, 1989; Buri et al., 1988).

The perceived parenting styles of mothers and fathers are highly intercorrelated both within and between parents (Buri et al., 1988). In terms of data analysis, such complexities mean that correlation coefficients might not offer the most sensitive depiction of linkages between parenting styles and self-functioning. In earlier work, factor analyses usefully described connections between narcissism and other personality traits (Watson et al., 1989); therefore, such procedures were utilized in this study in an attempt to cope with difficulties that might result from the complicated interconnections among parenting styles.

Costello and Comrey Scales were included as additional measures of deficit self-functioning. The statements that "I wish I were never born" and "I feel there is more disappointment in life than satisfaction" illustrate the Depression Scale. High levels of anxiety are revealed by agreement with the self-reports that "I get rattled easily" and "I am a tense, 'high strung' person." A susceptibility to depression and anxiety has been identified by Kohut (1977) among others (e.g., Wolf, 1988) as a symptom of narcissistic inadequacy. Correlations of these two scales with narcissistic grandiosity also have proven helpful in clarifying the effects of the partial correlations (e.g., Watson et al., 1989).

In the data analyses testing the three empirical hypotheses, Goal Instability served as the index of immature idealization. Deficiencies in the grandiose sector of the self were measured by looking at Exploitativeness and Superiority after controlling for Leadership, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption. A principal components analysis then examined maladjusted self-functioning within the context of the three parenting styles. The PAQ scores for both parents along with Exploitativeness, Goal Instability, Depression, and Anxiety were included in this procedure. An oblique rotation was employed because these scales were assumed to be intercorrelated.

## RESULTS

As expected, parenting styles were highly interconnected. Subjects evaluated both parents in similar terms. Authoritarian mothering, for example, was strongly associated with authoritarian fathering, and the same pattern appeared for the other two styles as well ( $r_s \geq .43, p_s < .001$ ). A particular parent's perceived permissiveness was inversely related to his or her authoritarianism ( $r_s \leq -.19, p_s < .01$ ) and directly related to his or her authoritativeness ( $r_s \geq .14, p_s < .05$ ). In addition, the authoritarianism of one parent was balanced by the authoritativeness of the other ( $r_s \geq .16, p_s < .01$ ). These data supported the idea that simple correlations might not offer the best description of the hypothesized relationships. As only one illustration of the potential difficulties, simple correlations would not indicate that the unfortunate consequences of authoritarianism in one parent might be softened by authoritativeness in the other.

In line with the results of previous research, partial correlations yielded the most unambiguous description of narcissistic grandiosity. Leadership, Superiority/Arrogance, Self-Absorption, and the Superiority Scale again appeared more adaptive when the variance they shared with Exploitativeness was removed. Most obviously perhaps, Leadership was not significantly tied to lowered levels of Depression before partialling ( $r = -.10, p > .05$ ), but was afterwards ( $r = -.26, p < .001$ ).

More noteworthy was the fact that Exploitativeness became more maladjusted when controlling for Leadership, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption. In the zero-order data, Anxiety ( $r = .07$ ) and Goal Instability ( $r = .10, p_s > .05$ ) were not linked to Exploitativeness, but such associations did emerge after partialling ( $r_s \geq .18, p_s < .01$ ). In addition, Exploitativeness was associated with Depression in both the zero-order and partial data ( $r_s \geq .22, p_s < .001$ ). Superiority also appeared more maladaptive when controlling for the three NPI factors. A negative zero-order relationship with Depression ( $r = -.14, p < .05$ ) became nonsignificant ( $r = -.06, p > .05$ ) whereas a significant tie with Goal Instability appeared for the first time ( $r = .14, p < .05$ ). Unlike Exploitativeness, however, Superiority never correlated with Anxiety, nor did it remain correlated with Exploitativeness after the partialling procedures were conducted. These data therefore revealed that partial correlations for Exploitativeness supplied the clearest index of a maladjusted grandiosity; so, subsequent analyses focused exclusively on this NPI factor.

Simple and partial correlations between parenting styles and the relevant self-functioning measures are presented in Table 1. In addition to the full sample data, men and women were examined separately because Buri et al. (1988) reported sex differences in relationships between self-esteem and parenting styles. Several general trends were evident in these data. First, maternal styles seemed more strongly associated than those of the father with the

TABLE 1  
Relationships of Maternal and Paternal Parenting Styles With Self-Functioning for the Total Sample, for Women, and for Men

Self-Functioning Measure	Maternal Style			Paternal Style		
	Authoritarian	Permissive	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Authoritative
Full sample <sup>a</sup>						
Depression	.01	-.02	-.40***	.00	-.04	-.35***
Anxiety	.18***	-.04	-.05	.13*	.05	.00
Goal instability	.16**	.04	-.16**	.05	.08	-.09
E/E <sup>b</sup>	.00	.12*	-.24***	-.03	.12*	-.13*
Women <sup>c</sup>						
Depression	.06	-.08	-.51***	-.01	-.01	-.44***
Anxiety	.20**	.05	-.06	.21**	.10	.01
Goal instability	.15*	.05	-.23***	.04	.07	-.09
E/E <sup>b</sup>	.03	.14*	-.22***	.06	.11	-.15*
Men <sup>d</sup>						
Depression	-.05	.03	-.18*	-.08	-.02	-.21*
Anxiety	.16*	-.13	-.08	.02	.01	-.04
Goal instability	.16*	-.03	.02	.08	.10	-.06
E/E <sup>b</sup>	-.08	.08	-.25**	-.15*	.09	-.09

<sup>a</sup>N = 324. <sup>b</sup>Exploitativeness/entitlement (E/E) correlations controlling for Leadership/Authority, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption/Self-Admiration. <sup>c</sup>n = 199. <sup>d</sup>n = 125.

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

subjects' self-functioning. Second, the association of self-functioning with parental styles may have been slightly stronger for women than for men. Third, authoritarianism and particularly authoritative style seemed more closely tied to self-traits than did permissiveness. Finally, the potential benefits of the authoritative style seemed evident in its negative correlations with Depression.

Of central importance, of course, were those outcomes bearing on the research hypotheses. First, parental authoritative style did seem somewhat incompatible with self-immaturities, as was evident in negative correlations with Goal Instability and Exploitativeness. These effects were more obvious with the maternal style than with the paternal style, and for women than for men. Second, Exploitativeness partial correlations for the full sample and for the maternal style in females demonstrated that permissiveness could be related to immature grandiosity. Finally, direct associations with Goal Instability confirmed a linkage between maternal authoritarianism and idealizing deficiencies, although no comparable effect for paternal authoritarianism was found.

Table 2 presents the principal components analyses, which also were conducted for the full sample and for each sex separately. Eigenvalues greater than 1.0 and a scree test were used as justification for extracting three factors in each analysis. Loadings as low as .25 were presented in order to include all data with implications for the research hypotheses.

For the full sample, the first factor emerged as a Narcissistic Immaturity/Inadequate Authoritativeness dimension. These data confirmed that deficiencies in self-development were associated with the absence of optimal parenting, since the loadings of parental authoritative style were opposite to those observed for Depression and for both measures of narcissistic immaturity. In addition, paternal authoritarianism seemed connected with a beneficial though relatively weak effect.

The second component roughly corresponded to a Permissiveness/Immature Grandiosity dimension. That is, Exploitativeness and the two permissiveness scales displayed loadings in the same direction on a common factor. Within these parameters, paternal authoritative style also was associated with immature grandiosity, and the influences of parental permissiveness seemed somewhat opposed by parental authoritarianism.

The final factor suggested the negative consequences of authoritarianism. This Authoritarianism/Immature Idealization component was defined by the positive loadings of Goal Instability, Anxiety, Depression, and parental authoritarianism. As expected, therefore, authoritarianism seemed to be connected with developmental deficiencies in the idealization process. Eigenvalues for these three components were 2.22, 1.83, and 1.65, respectively. For women, the obtained components roughly paralleled those observed with the full sample. Eigenvalues for the three dimensions for females were 2.37, 1.96, and 1.53, respectively.



TABLE 2  
 Loadings of Measures of Maladjusted Self-Functioning and Mother and Father Parenting Styles on Factors Obtained for the Total Sample, for Women, and for Men

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Factors</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
Full sample <sup>a</sup>			
Goal instability	.35		.55
Exploitativeness/entitlement	.35	-.32	
Depression	.70		.34
Anxiety			.62
Mother-authoritarianism		.25	.72
Mother-permissiveness		-.82	
Mother-authoritativeness	-.83		
Father-authoritarianism	-.30	.25	.61
Father-permissiveness		-.83	
Father-authoritativeness	-.76	-.32	
Women <sup>b</sup>			
Goal instability	.33		.58
Exploitativeness/entitlement	.29	.29	
Depression	.76		
Anxiety			.74
Mother-authoritarianism		-.47	.62
Mother-permissiveness		.83	
Mother-authoritativeness	-.86		
Father-authoritarianism		-.45	.56
Father-permissiveness		.79	
Father-authoritativeness	-.80		
Men <sup>c</sup>			
Goal instability		.67	
Exploitativeness/entitlement	-.35		.38
Depression		.82	
Anxiety		.82	
Mother-authoritarianism	.75	.26	
Mother-permissiveness			.80
Mother-authoritativeness	.75		
Father-authoritarianism	.76		
Father-permissiveness			.87
Father-authoritativeness	.57		

<sup>a</sup>*N* = 324. <sup>b</sup>*n* = 199. <sup>c</sup>*n* = 125.

Somewhat more complicated data were obtained for the men. The possibility that parental authoritativeness and authoritarianism might both inhibit immature grandiosity in men was suggested by the first dimension. The second factor suggested a weak relationship of maternal authoritarianism with broadly inadequate self-functioning defined in part by Goal Instability. A relationship between parental permissiveness and immature grandiosity was

suggested by the final component. In short, the first component for men suggested that parenting styles other than permissiveness might work against immature grandiosity while the third factor suggested that permissiveness might work toward immature grandiosity. Eigenvalues of 2.40, 1.95, and 1.53 were associated with these three factors, respectively.

## DISCUSSION

In general terms, the primary hypotheses of this investigation were validated. Perceived parental authoritativeness was associated with a maturation of the bipolar self while expected linkages of permissiveness with immature grandiosity and of authoritarianism with immature idealization also appeared. Zero-order and partial correlations yielded some support for each of these contentions but even more striking confirmations were obtained in the principal components analyses, in which measures of self-functioning and perceptions of parents lined up in largely predictable ways. These factor analyses further revealed that it may be a mistake to look at parenting styles in isolation. Perceived parental characteristics may exist within a subjective ecology in which other traits in the same parent and the same traits in the other parent have noteworthy influences.

Some evidence also suggested that parental authoritarianism might be incompatible with immature grandiosity. Loadings of this parenting style on components obtained for the full sample and for each sex separately were consistent with this conclusion. Baumrind (1966, p. 890) pointed out that the authoritarian parent "values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will." The present data may reveal that a curbing of "self-will" interferes with child-like grandiosity; indeed, authoritarian parents might justify their child-rearing practices by emphasizing these kinds of effects. Still, from a Kohutian perspective, any tendency of authoritarian parents to "curb self-will" suggests very negative consequences. The grandiosity of "self-will" theoretically serves as the precursor of adult ambitiousness. Immature grandiosity presumably should be transformed into a healthy narcissism rather than being eliminated punitively as an unhealthy narcissism.

Furthermore, it is important to reemphasize that parental authoritarianism had the more obvious disadvantage of being associated with deficiencies in the idealization process. This finding also may reveal that active parental suppression of "self-will" prevents development of "compensatory structures." Kohut (1977, p. 4) argued that structuralization in one sector of the self could make up for deficits in the other: "Most frequently a weakness in the area of exhibitionism and ambitions is compensated for by the self-esteem provided by the pursuit of ideals; but the opposite may also occur." By completely suppressing grandiose self-will, parental authoritarianism might promote idealizing im-

maturities by eliminating processes that promote the development of compensatory structures. This influence could occur instead of or in addition to the processes hypothesized in the present project to link authoritarianism to idealizing deficiencies.

Along with other attempts to explain narcissism, Kohut's theory remains controversial (Shulman, McCarthy, & Ferguson, 1988, p. 286). Advocates of other positions might stress how the present data lend support to alternative formulations. Most importantly, perhaps, the principal components analyses strongly uphold the object relations perspective. Parenting styles could have lined up on factors separate from the self-functioning measures. That this pattern did not emerge was congruent with the broader claim of object relations theorists that representations of the self are intricately tied to representations of the object. In addition, for both sexes, maternal more than paternal styles predicted self-functioning, an outcome consistent with the arguments of Kernberg (1985, p. 235) as well as with observations from the research literature in developmental psychology (e.g., Hauser et al., 1984; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985).

A further challenge to the present project may be implied in recent concerns about "reification" of Kohut's bipolar self (Stolorow, Brandchaft, & Atwood, 1987). In response to such concerns, it may be important to emphasize that operationalizations of narcissistic immaturity merely represent formal procedures for helping research participants articulate their subjective reality (Stolorow et al., 1987, p. 7) and that attempts to study the bipolar self in no way argue for its reification. The more crucial point is that Kohut's concepts suggest predictions that can be confirmed outside the boundaries of therapy. Kohutian theory also may help explain the correlations of narcissism with both healthy and unhealthy self-functioning (Watson & Biderman, in press) and the manner in which sex role measures predict psychological adjustment (Watson et al., 1989). Such interpretative successes may be essential in responding to the criticism that observations obtained during therapy are uniquely incapable of supporting psychoanalytic speculation (e.g., Eagle, 1984).

That Kohutian interpretations are arguable within psychoanalysis means, of course, that they will be even more controversial within other systems of psychology. A social learning theorist, for example, might claim that authoritative parents who are strong, loving, and effective serve as models for their children who then become strong, loving, and effective. Still, the basic questions can be usefully oversimplified: How do parents who are not assertive enough serve as models for children who are too assertive? How do parents who are not submissive enough serve as models for children who are too submissive? Social learning theorists undoubtedly can explain how "models" promote similar behaviors in some circumstances and opposite behaviors in others. However, it may be important to consider relative parsimony in evaluating contrasting interpretations of such phenomena. Explanations in terms of

optimal frustration and transmuting internalization seem to apply in both circumstances.

To defend a Kohutian approach to these data in no way means that the present analysis is unassailable nor that a definitive empirical description of these relationships has been achieved. Numerous problems must be confronted. For example, the validity of retrospective accounts of parental behavior might be questioned. Longitudinal data looking at actual parenting practices obviously would promote a better understanding of these issues. Such evidence presumably would supplement rather than completely replace retrospective accounts, however, because remembrances of parents are part of the subjective reality that so concerns psychoanalytic theory. It would be useful to know if and how subsequent subjective impressions can be explained by the earlier objective conditions of childhood.

Further investigations also should address the possible problem of defensive bias in self-reports. Narcissistic posturing could contaminate questionnaire data if respondents try to maintain a grandiose self-image by refusing to admit personality flaws. Such difficulties will become especially severe as the analysis necessarily extends to an examination of the apparently more "adaptive" dimensions of narcissism. How are inverse partial correlations between Leadership and Depression to be interpreted, for example? Do they reveal that Leadership reflects a healthy form of narcissism or do they indicate that more narcissistic individuals are defensive about appearing depressed? Answers to these questions will not come easily, but it is already clear that partial correlations will be useful in exploring this problem (see e.g., Watson & Biderman, *in press*; Watson & Morris, 1990, 1991). Subsequent research may also benefit from a broader analysis of self-functioning, one that includes constructs which appear to be even more maladaptive than Exploitativeness and more adaptive than Leadership, Superiority/Arrogance, and Self-Absorption.

Obviously, more work is needed. Statistically significant effects were observed in this study, but they explained only a small proportion of the variance. A better understanding of self-reported narcissism should improve future efforts to analyze the correlates of healthy and unhealthy self-functioning. Parenting styles may require additional scrutiny; validity evidence for the permissiveness scales, in particular, has not been especially encouraging (also see Buri, 1989; Buri et al., 1988). Measures of permissiveness that do not correlate directly with authoritativeness also would enable a more precise examination of these issues.

In conclusion, the principal merit of the present project rests more in its introduction than in its resolution of a research problem. More generally, however, this study further demonstrates that psychoanalytic theorizing can be confirmed empirically by using fairly standard measurement and statistical methodologies. As Shulman et al. (1988) recently argued, "It is clear that the time has come for the rigors of scientific method to be applied to the major

psychoanalytic controversies" (p. 286). Obstacles, no doubt, will have to be overcome. Psychoanalytic theories of narcissism come out of therapy, and the richness and ambiguity of clinical work with transferences will find no easy translation into the precise operationalizations of psychological scales. Still, the effort may prove worthwhile. In applying scientific methods to contemporary controversies, it may be possible to show that recent developments in psychoanalysis have important implications for other areas of psychology (also see, e.g., Watson et al., 1989).

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