

Self- and Object-Directedness in Adult Women

Paul Wink

Institute of Personality Assessment
and Research

University of California at Berkeley

ABSTRACT Separate factor analyses of items anchoring the opposite ends of a narcissism prototype derived from the California Q-set resulted in three narcissism or self-directed factors: Hypersensitivity, Willfulness, and Autonomy; and two factors hypothesized to represent the object-directed line of development: Straightforwardness and Givingness. These five factors were scored in Q-sort descriptions of 103 adult women. Correlates of the factors with the California Psychological Inventory, Adjective Check List, Sentence Completion Test, and life measures supported the usefulness of the distinction between self- and object-directedness. Whereas the narcissistic trajectory related to creativity, norm questioning, undercontrol of impulses, independence, and work orientation, the object-directed line of development was associated with prosocial inclinations, suppressive ego control, readiness to accept life demands, and stress on interpersonal relations.

The distinction between self- and object-directedness addresses two fundamental human concerns: how we define ourselves and regulate our self-esteem, and how we interact with others. Personality configurations where issues of self-concern and self-esteem predominate have been variously labeled as narcissistic (Freud, 1914/1953; Kohut, 1971, 1977), introjective (Blatt & Shichman, 1983), and creative and con-

This research was supported in part by National Institute of Health Grant R01 MH4398 to Ravenna Helson, whom I would like to thank for her generous, incisive, and caring contribution to the writing of this article. I would also like to acknowledge the help and support of Harrison Gough, Nancy Chodorow, Oliver John, and Jonathan Check. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Paul Wink, who is now at the Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1346.

Journal of Personality 59:4, December 1991. Copyright © 1991 by Duke University Press. CCC 0022-3506/91/\$1.50

flicted (Rank, 1945). Those personalities where issues of relations with others are paramount have been labeled as anaclitic (Freud, 1914/1953; Blatt & Shichman, 1983), object-directed (Kohut, 1971), or adapted (Rank, 1945).

Using data from a longitudinal sample of women (Helson, 1967; Helson, Mitchell, & Moane, 1984), this study measures narcissism and object-directedness with five subsets of scores derived from a narcissism Q-sort prototype and Q-sort descriptions of the women at age 43. These measures are used to relate narcissism and object-directedness to personality characteristics, psychological health, work patterns, relationships, and creativity.

Narcissism and Object-Directedness

According to Freud (1914/1953) the paradigmatic and limiting case of ego-libido (narcissism) is the megalomania, self-absorption, and self-reference of the psychotic. A paradigmatic instance of object-libido (object-directedness) is the state of being in love where individuals give up their personality totally in favor of that of the other.

The primary concerns of the introjective (narcissistic) line of development, according to Blatt and Shichman (1983), deal with issues of self-definition, self-worth, identity, and autonomy. The emphasis is on thinking and action, work, and power and control, rather than on feeling and people. Thinking is critical and marked by field independence. Main defenses such as projection and intellectualization are counteractive and aimed at deflecting negative impulses. Pathologies associated with the introjective line of development, such as phallic narcissism, are marked by aggression, ruthlessness in interpersonal relations, exaggerated sense of self, and need for power.

In contrast, the anaclitic (object-directed) line of development, Blatt and Shichman argue, deals with issues of meaningful and satisfying interpersonal relations, intimacy, giving and receiving, and caring and love. Chief concerns are those of closeness, affection, cooperation, and dependability. Defenses associated with this line of development are based on avoidance and include repression and denial. Anaclitic pathologies, such as hysteria, are characterized by difficulties with independence and a distorted struggle to establish satisfying interpersonal relationships.

Blatt and Shichman emphasize the interrelatedness of the anaclitic and introjective personality configurations. However, they also assume

that in each individual either a self- or other-directed orientation to life predominates. Hence, these two approaches to life are not independent of each other, and it is anticipated that their measures will be negatively correlated. As indicated by Freud (1914/1953) in his discussion of ego- and object-libido, "the more of the one is employed, the more the other becomes depleted" (p. 76).

Differentiation within Narcissism

Narcissism, when construed broadly as cathexis of the self, subsumes both healthy and pathological personality processes, ranging from creativity, wisdom, and empathy (Kohut, 1977) to the aforementioned megalomania and self-referent ideas.

The most widely researched form of narcissism is that described in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III; American Psychiatric Association, 1980). It is characterized by openly displayed dominance, rebelliousness, aggression, energy, exhibitionism, and grandeur. In the self-report domain, this form of narcissism finds reflection in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979, 1981; Raskin & Novacek, 1989) and the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) narcissism scales of Wink and Gough (1990).

Although the self-esteem of the pathological narcissist is typified by grandiosity, it also includes feelings of inferiority (American Psychiatric Association, 1980; Kernberg, 1975, 1986; Kohut, 1971). Through a mechanism called "splitting," the narcissist is generally unaware of one or the other of these opposite attitudes toward the self. This contradictory nature of narcissistic self-esteem has led dynamic researchers such as Kernberg (1986) and Kohut (1971) to postulate the presence of a second, covert as opposed to overt, form of the disorder.

Covert narcissists present themselves as hypersensitive and lacking in confidence. They frequently show signs of social inadequacy and depression (narcissistic depletion). However, on closer contact they exhibit an underlying sense of grandeur, entitlement, exploitativeness, and impaired insight into the impact of their behaviors on others, similar to that found in the overt narcissist. The best-researched measure of covert narcissism is the MMPI-based Narcissistic Personality Disorder Scale (NPDS; Ashby, Lee, & Duke, 1979).

As indicated, exaggerated levels of investment in oneself result in excessive self-absorption and the use of others for purpose of self-

enhancement and self-definition (Kohut, 1977). Appropriate levels of self-investment (healthy narcissism), however, lead to a robust self-concept, healthy ambitions, ideals, and the optimal use of one's talents, as well as contributing to feelings of vitality, vigor, and enthusiasm (Kohut, 1971, 1977).

An indication of the role played by narcissism in healthy adaptation to life is provided by research on creativity. Many studies of creative artists have found their personalities to be characterized by narcissistic traits such as self-absorption, sensitivity, autonomy, rebelliousness, and a degree of disinhibition (Barron, 1965; Csikszentmihalyi & Getzels, 1973; MacKinnon, 1965). Helson (1985, 1987) in her studies interpreted the fulfillment of creative potential as a way for women with both a precocious ego development and narcissistic vulnerabilities to transcend their problems.

Differentiation within Object-Directedness

Much more attention has been devoted to narcissism than to object-directedness and its differentiation. According to Rank (1945), the adapted (object-directed) individuals maintain throughout their lives an identification with the will of the parents. In this respect they differ from both creative individuals, who are able to transcend the basic conflict between the individual's will and that of parental/societal authority, and also conflicted persons, torn between their own and their parent's will (MacKinnon, 1965). The strengths of the adapted approach to life, Rank argues, are avoidance of conflict and a feeling of pleasantness and unity in relations with others. The disadvantages are a lack of creativity and sense of individuality.

When combined, Rank's characterization of the adapted person and Blatt and Shichman's depiction of the anaclitic line of development suggest that object-directedness at its best should be characterized by warm and unconflicted relations with others, personal adjustment, affiliation, and the upholding of rules of social conduct. On the other hand, problems associated with this personality configuration will include undue repressive tendencies, overdependence and excessive subordination to the needs of others, bland conventionality, and a lack of creativity.

Issues of Method and Hypotheses

The present study differs from previous research in two ways. First, it compares narcissism with object-directedness. In doing so, it provides

a broad exploratory perspective on relationships between and within the two orientations. Second, it is grounded in the observational domain rather than being based on self-report. The use of observer data is of particular significance in view of the diminished insight characteristic of narcissism and the repressive tendencies associated with the less healthy forms of object-directedness.

Overview. Measures of narcissism and object-directedness were developed in three stages. First, expert judges provided a California Q-set (CAQ; Block, 1978) description of a prototypic narcissist. Second, a different panel of raters used the CAQ to describe each of the women in this study based on her questionnaire data at age 43. Third, the CAQ ratings and the CAQ narcissism prototype were combined in separate factor analyses of items anchoring the extreme ends of the narcissism prototype. The individual scores for each of the women on the three factors that summarize the items indicative of the prototype were retained as measures of narcissism. The scores for the two factors summarizing the items contraindicative of the prototype were retained as measures of object-directedness.

Deriving the measures of object-directedness from the contraindicative end of a CAQ narcissism prototype is justified theoretically by the hypothesized negative (reciprocal) relationship between the two personality configurations. It is also justified by the exploratory nature of this study. Nevertheless, the limitations of this procedure need to be clearly acknowledged. Because the prototype was originally sorted with narcissism in mind, the ability to fully differentiate the various forms of object-directedness may be adversely affected. In particular, this may skew the measures of object-directedness by restricting the type of items placed by the expert judges in the lower end of the prototype to those that relate negatively to narcissism. Whereas measures of narcissism and object-directedness are expected to be negatively correlated, the magnitude of these negative correlations is heightened by the scaling methodology used in this study.

Hypotheses. Scores on the narcissism and object-directedness factors will be correlated with inventory and real-life measures selected to test hypotheses about the differences between these two personality configurations. In particular, it is hypothesized that narcissism will be characterized by concern with the self, the less healthy manifestations of which will take either the form of hypersensitivity, defensiveness, and vulnerability (covert narcissism), or alternatively, of arrogant self-seeking.

exhibitionism, and willfulness (overt narcissism). It is assumed that in spite of the above differences, both of these forms of narcissism will be manifested in lack of suppression of impulses, independence from norms of social conduct, self-indulgence, and conflicted relations with others. Healthy narcissism should be characterized by a strong pattern of autonomy, achievement at work, personal individuation, fulfillment, and creativity.

In contrast to narcissism, object-directedness is hypothesized to be characterized by an orientation toward others, acceptance of rules of social conduct, firm control of impulses, and adjustment. In particular, healthy levels of object-directedness should be manifested in warm, unconflicted relations with others, dependability, and high levels of personal adjustment. Unhealthy levels of object-directedness should result in relations with others marked by overdependence and subordination, overcontrol of impulses, avoidance of conflict, and the absence of creativity.

METHOD

Sample

In 1958 and 1960 a representative two thirds of the senior class ($N = 141$) at Mills College participated in a study of personality characteristics and plans for the future among college women. In 1981 all women who had participated in previous phases of the study were contacted again. They were then between 42 and 45 years of age. Questionnaire material sufficient for rating on the CAQ was obtained from 103 of the original sample (Helson et al., 1984).

CAQ Measures of Narcissism and Object-Directedness

As indicated in the introduction, measures of narcissism and object-directedness were developed by a separate factor analysis of the indicative and contraindicative items of a CAQ narcissism prototype within Q-sort data for the sample of 103 Mills College women.

The CAQ narcissism prototype. Nine judges (three personality psychologists, two clinical psychologists, and four advanced graduate students) sorted the 100-item CAQ for a prototypic narcissist.¹ The judges were instructed to use

1. The prototypic CAQ narcissism sorts were done by Laura Buss, Lillian Cartwright, Harrison Gough, Ravenna Helson, Enrico Jones, Angie Kaner, Gerald Mendelsohn,

their own understanding of the construct in generating the prototype. DSM-III criteria for the narcissistic personality disorder were also provided. The mean intercorrelation among the prototypic sorts of the nine judges was .53. The CAQ narcissism prototype was derived by aggregating the nine individual Q-sorts. The mean scores of the nine judges for each of the 100 CAQ items were rearranged into nine prescribed frequencies, ranging from extremely characteristic (score of 9) to extremely uncharacteristic (score of 1). The α reliability of the newly constructed prototype measure was .91.

Factor scores within narcissism and object-directedness. In order to identify internal themes, 13 items with mean placements in the "extremely" and "quite characteristic" categories of the CAQ narcissism prototype and 13 items placed in the "extremely" and "quite uncharacteristic" categories of the prototype were factored by the principal component method using the 103 CAQ's as data (see following section for description of the CAQ ratings). For the top 13 indicative items, three orthogonal factors (accounting for 59% of the total variance) were extracted on the basis of Kaiser's eigenvalue criterion plus inspection of the scree plot of eigenvalues. The 13 contraindicative items gave rise to two factors accounting for 62% of the total variance. The factorial data are given in Tables 1 and 2.

Based on the content of items with highest loadings, the first two indicative factors were named (*a*) hypersensitivity and (*b*) willfulness. Since the third factor had only two items with positive loadings, additional analyses were conducted to help with its naming. Factor scores of each subject on this factor were correlated with the 100 CAQ items as sorted by raters from the questionnaire data. The seven items with largest correlations for the third factor were: values own independence and autonomy; has high aspiration level for self; is an interesting person; has a high degree of intellectual capacity; is power-oriented; behaves in an assertive fashion; and genuinely values intellectual and cognitive matters. From this information the third factor was named: autonomy-intellectual ambitiousness. Since it is defined positively by only two CAQ items, autonomy-intellectual ambitiousness is the weakest of the three narcissism measures.

Inspection of items correlating most strongly with the two contraindicative factors in Table 2 led to the names (*a*) straightforwardness-dependability and (*b*) givingness. The first incorporates a candid and internally consistent approach to life, whereas the second emphasizes emotional and personal feelings.

Scores on these five factors were computed for each member of the sample and retained for further analyses.

and Robert Raskin, all of whom I would like to thank for their generous participation, and myself.

Table 1
Analysis of the Top 13 Items of the CAQ Narcissism Prototype

Items	Mean	Factors		
		I	II	III
<i>Hypersensitivity</i>				
13. Is thin-skinned, sensitive to anything that can be construed as criticism or interpersonal slight.	7.89	.83	.12	-.24
12. Tends to be self-defensive.	7.22	.72	.15	-.08
38. Has hostility to others.	6.89	.72	.33	-.05
72. Concerned with own adequacy as a person, either at conscious or unconscious levels.	8.22	.71	-.09	.01
69. Is sensitive to anything that can be construed as a demand.	7.11	.66	.21	-.02
89. Compares self to others. Is alert to real or fancied differences between self and other people.	7.11	.49	-.12	.05
<i>Willfulness</i>				
65. Characteristically pushes and tries to stretch limits.	6.89	-.14	.77	.12
27. Shows condescending behavior in relations with others.	7.56	.29	.72	-.10
91. Is power-oriented; values power in self or other.	8.00	.03	.65	.54
67. Is self-indulgent.	7.33	.17	.64	.04
<i>Autonomy-intellectual ambition</i>				
96. Values own independence	7.00	.01	.11	.88
71. Has high aspiration level for self.	7.44	-.16	.24	.80
61. Creates and exploits dependency in people.	7.11	.05	.45	-.66

Note. $N = 103$. CAQ = California Q-set. Factor I = hypersensitivity; Factor II = willfulness; Factor III = autonomy.

CAQ, narcissism, and pathology file ratings. Files of life data provided by the 103 women at age 43 were studied by file raters,² who then used the CAQ to describe each woman. The questionnaire material consisted of both semi-

2. The raters were Sally Adams, Pamela Bradley, Jane Berry, Barbara Hart, Angie Kaner, Juliana Nunez, Kathryn York, and myself. I would like to thank the raters for their dedication and skill.

Table 2
Analysis of the Bottom 13 Items of the CAQ Narcissism Prototype

Items	Mean	Factors	
		I	II
<i>Straightforwardness-dependability</i>			
77. Appears straightforward, forthright, candid in dealing with others.	2.33	.89	-.03
70. Behaves in an ethically consistent manner, is consistent with own personal standards.	2.67	.81	.15
2. Is a genuinely dependable and responsible person.	2.44	.75	.34
75. Has a clear-cut internally consistent personality.	2.67	.74	.25
33. Is calm, relaxed in manner.	2.89	.74	.20
29. Is turned to for advice and reassurance.	2.78	.61	.50
60. Has insight into own motives and behavior.	2.67	.52	.13
<i>Givingness</i>			
5. Behaves in a giving way toward others.	1.56	.27	.82
21. Arouses nurturant feelings in others.	2.33	.05	.81
17. Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.	1.78	.43	.76
11. Is protective of those close to her.	2.44	.46	.72
35. Has warmth, has the capacity for close relationships; compassionate.	1.56	.36	.67
14. Genuinely submissive; accepts domination comfortably.	1.44	-.04	.55

Note. $N = 103$. CAQ = California Q-set. Factor I = straightforwardness; Factor II = givingness.

structured questions and rating scales covering the areas of life events since college, marital and family relations, friendships, past and present views of parents, work history and worklike commitments, physical and mental health, and social roles and perspectives. Each case was Q-sorted by a minimum of three file raters. Additional raters were employed if the reliability of the initial composite failed to reach a criterion of .70. The mean interjudge correlations for the 103 CAQ composites ranged from a low of .65 to a high of .90, with a mean at .75.

In addition to Q-sorting the participants of the 1981 follow-up, the file raters rated each woman on a 7-point scale for narcissism and pathology. The ratings of narcissism were based on Kohut's (1971, 1977) formulation of the construct. The raters were guided by an illustrative set of polar dimensions that

contrasted the narcissism and object-directed lines of development on issues of ambitions, ideals, interpersonal relations, and responses to failure and success.

The top end of the pathology scale was anchored by the statement "Serious problems of adjustment; diagnosable as psychiatrically ill." At the bottom end, the scale was associated with the statement "Superior personal adjustment; above average self-understanding; resilient in facing stress or trauma."

The mean interjudge correlation for the narcissism ratings, for 32 cases sorted by the same three file raters, was .84; for the psychopathology ratings, .92.

Inventory Measures

The three narcissism and the two object-directed factors were compared on selected scales from the CPI (Gough, 1957, 1987) and Adjective Check List (ACL; Gough & Heilbrun, 1983), obtained at age 43, and grouped into five domains.

Self-assurance, exhibition, and autonomy. The CPI Dominance and Self-Acceptance scales load on the first CPI factor, which measures stable dispositions toward social poise and self-assurance. High scorers on the Dominance scale are confident, assertive, and willing to take on the leadership role. High scorers on the Self-Acceptance scale are self-focused and have a good opinion of the self (Gough, 1987; McAllister, 1986). The ACL Autonomy, Aggression, and Exhibition scales were included as measures of narcissistic independence and willfulness, arrogance, and the need to elicit immediate attention from others (Gough & Heilbrun, 1983).

Orientation toward others. The four ACL need scales (Nurturance, Affiliation, Abasement, and Deference) measure object-directed characteristics of supportiveness of others, friendliness, submissiveness, self-criticism and guilt, and subordination (Gough & Heilbrun, 1983).

Normative control of impulse. The CPI Responsibility, Socialization, and Self-Control scales belong to the second CPI factor labeled "control." Individuals with low scores on these scales exhibit the narcissistic characteristics of rebelliousness, impulsivity, risk seeking, and self-indulgence. High scorers on the CPI "control" scales present themselves as rule-favoring, rule-following, conscientious, and self-disciplined or object-directed.

Psychological health and adjustment. The CPI Well-Being and the ACL Personal Adjustment scales measure the subjective sense of physical and emotional health, optimism about the future, and unconflictful relationships that would be characteristic of healthy object-directedness. The CPI Realization

Vector (V.3) scale assesses self-fulfillment and competence in intellectual and social functioning. It should be associated with both healthy narcissism and object-directedness (Gough, 1987; Gough & Heilbrun, 1983).

Creativity. Three measures of creative personality were available from the CPI and ACL. The CPI Creative Temperament scale (Gough, 1987) was developed from ratings by faculty of graduate students in psychology. The ACL Creative Personality scale (Gough, 1979) was developed from criterion ratings of various groups participating in the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research (IPAR) studies of creativity. The High Origenice, High Intellectance scale (Welsh, 1975) used scores on the Revised Art Scale (Welsh, 1959) and Terman Concept Mastery (Terman, 1956) as original criteria, and is scored on the ACL.

The Sentence Completion Test. The Sentence Completion Test (SCT; Loevinger & Wessler, 1970) is a projective test that requires subjects to complete 36 sentence stems. Test responses are rated for level of ego development according to a scoring manual (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970). In contrast to the CPI Realization Vector, which reflects socialized maturity, the SCT is more a measure of personal maturity based on individuated inner life (Helson & Wink, 1987). This makes the SCT relevant to the present study as a possible index of healthy narcissism. The Mills women took the SCT at age 43, and their responses were coded with adequate reliability (Picano, 1984).

Life Variables

All the life data, just as the inventory measures, were derived from the questionnaire material filled out by the subjects during the 1981 (age 43) follow-up. For the purpose of this study these variables are grouped into three substantive categories: psychological health, relationships, and work.

The five CAQ measures of narcissism and object-directedness correlated with many relevant life-data variables. The selection of those reported here took into account the magnitude of the correlation coefficient and the ability of the variables to discriminate between the facets of self- and object-directedness.

Although the life variables at age 43 are based on the same questionnaires that were used for the Q-sort ratings, there is no overlap between the content of the life variables and the 100 Q-sort items. Codings of life events were derived independently of the present study and achieved adequate reliability.

Psychological health. The area of psychological health is measured by self-reports of current energy level and use of tranquilizers. The rating of drug dependence includes prolonged use of mood-altering drugs and reliance on alcohol. Psychological distress was coded to reflect salient emotional trauma in adult life (Picano, 1989).

Relationships. The area of relationships includes self-ratings of home/family cohesion, home/family conflict, conflict in friendship, and satisfaction with self in the role of mother. The observer rating of "presence of problems with children" indicates evidence of behavioral or academic difficulties or problems in the parent/child interaction. The rating of marital satisfaction was the sum of ratings by two psychologists of whether the marriage was unambiguously unhappy, average, or unambiguously happy, based on their reading of the marriage section of the age 43 questionnaire and other relevant material in each woman's folder (Helson et al., 1984).

Work. The work section included two measures. The rating "enjoys work" was based on the narrative of the subjects' work experiences. Status level in work was based on a 7-point rating scale, anchored at the low end by jobs requiring a minimum of skill, independence, opportunity for self-expression, responsibility for other adults, or prestige, and at the high end, by work requiring talent and training, considerable autonomy and opportunity for expression, and either responsibility for other adults and/or recognition by informed others over a wide area (Helson, Elliott, & Leigh, 1989).

RESULTS

Interrelations among Measures of Narcissism, Object-Directedness, and Pathology

As shown in Table 3, although positive correlations between the CAQ narcissism prototype and the three narcissism factors were in part determined by the procedure, the correlation for autonomy was weaker than correlations for hypersensitivity and willfulness. Both straightforwardness and givingness correlated negatively with the prototype ($r = -.64$, $r = -.73$), and the narcissism factors of hypersensitivity and willfulness.

The ratings of narcissism based on the women's questionnaire material correlated positively with the three narcissism factors from the CAQ. The largest correlation was with the willfulness factor ($r = .61$). The two object-directed factors of straightforwardness and givingness correlated negatively with the narcissism ratings. For the file ratings of pathology, hypersensitivity and willfulness had positive correlations

3. The intercorrelations among the three narcissism factors and between the two factors of object-directedness could not be estimated since the analyses presented in this table and throughout the article are based on orthogonal factor scores.

Table 3
Relationship between the CAQ Narcissism Prototype, Ratings of Narcissism and Pathology, and Five CAQ-Based Factors for Narcissism and Object-directedness

Variables	Intercorrelations among variables						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. CAQ narcissism prototype	.72**	.67**	.60**	.67**	.23*	-.64**	-.73**
2. Narcissism rating		.46**	.28**	.61**	.22**	-.42**	-.54**
3. Pathology ratings			.59**	.28**	-.14	-.70**	-.27**
4. Hypersensitivity				—	—	-.54**	-.37**
5. Willfulness					—	-.32**	-.51**
6. Autonomy						.28**	-.45**
7. Straightforwardness							—
8. Givingness							—

Note. $N = 103$. CAQ = California Q-set. Dashes indicate values not calculated (see Footnote 3).

* $p < .05$, two-tailed

** $p < .01$, two-tailed.

($r = .67$, $r = .59$). The largest coefficient was that of $-.70$ between ratings of pathology and the straightforwardness factor.

In view of its negative correlation with ratings of pathology ($r = -.14$) and its positive association with straightforwardness ($r = .28$), the autonomy factor appears to differ from the other two narcissism factors. This factor seems to represent a "healthy" facet of the narcissism syndrome.

Inventory Findings

Hypersensitivity. As shown in Table 4, the negative correlations of the narcissism factor of hypersensitivity with an array of CPI and ACL scales suggested a lack of social confidence and assertiveness (CPI Dominance and Self-Acceptance scales); wariness of others, defensive-

Table 4
Correlations between the CAQ Narcissism and Object-Directedness Measures and
Conceptually Relevant Inventory Scales at Age 43

Inventory scales	Hypersensitivity	Willfulness	Autonomy	Straightforwardness	Givingness
Self-assurance, exhibition, and autonomy					
CPI Dominance	-.26**	.20*	.42**	.16	-.11
CPI Self-acceptance	-.27*	.09	.41**	.14	-.04
ACL Autonomy	.12	.25*	.31**	-.01	-.44**
ACL Exhibition	-.14	.22*	.32**	.07	-.17
ACL Aggression	.07	.23*	.27*	-.04	-.30**
Orientation toward others					
ACL Nurture	-.23**	-.15	-.12	.17	.35**
ACL Affiliation	-.28**	-.01	-.02	.29**	.18
ACL Abasement	.15	-.29**	-.29**	-.21*	.28**
ACL Deference	-.03	-.28**	-.37**	-.01	.40**
Normative control of impulse					
CPI Responsibility	-.35**	-.18	.17	.38**	.12
CPI Socialization	-.44**	-.27**	-.04	.39**	.44**
CPI Self-Control	-.21*	-.26**	-.13	.33**	.30**
Psychological health and adjustment					
CPI Well-Being	-.35**	-.05	.04	.34**	.14
CPI Realization	-.39**	-.14	.23*	.34**	.12
ACL Personal Adjustment	-.26**	.04	.13	.31**	.09
Creativity					
CPI Creative Temperament	-.16	.00	.31**	-.06	-.03
ACL Creative Personality	-.10	.29**	.48**	.13	-.35**
ACL High Origence, High Intellectance	.11	.04	.31**	-.11	-.21*
Sentence Completion Test	-.15	-.11	.37**	.05	.06

Note. *N*'s for the CPI, ACL, and Sentence Completion Test are 101, 89, and 85, respectively. CAQ = California Q-set; CPI = California Personality Inventory; ACL = Adjective Check List.

**p* < .05, two-tailed

***p* < .01, two-tailed.

ness, and fear of involvement (ACL Nurturance and Affiliation scales); and rebelliousness, self-indulgence, and undercontrol of aggressive and erotic impulses (CPI Responsibility, Socialization, and Self-Control scales). Hypersensitivity also correlated negatively with all three measures of psychological health and adjustment, indicative of concern about personal problems, pessimism, lack of effective functioning, and vulnerability to life's stresses (Gough, 1987; Gough & Heilbrun, 1983).

Willfulness. The narcissism factor of willfulness correlated positively with CPI and ACL measures of self-assurance, exhibitionism, and autonomy. The negative correlations between willfulness and the ACL Abasement and Deference scales reflected argumentativeness and lack of subordination. Willfulness shared with hypersensitivity negative correlations with two of the three CPI measures of normative control of impulse. It correlated positively with the ACL Creative Personality scale.

Autonomy. Autonomy, like willfulness, correlated positively with CPI and ACL measures of self-assurance, exhibition, and autonomy, and negatively with the ACL Abasement and Deference scales. It correlated positively with the CPI Realization scale, a measure of fulfillment and effective intellectual and social functioning. As expected, only the autonomy factor (healthy narcissism) correlated with all three CPI and ACL measures of creativity and with Loewinger's measure of ego level on the SCT.

Straightforwardness. The correlates of the object-directed straightforwardness factor suggested friendliness and liking of people (ACL Affiliation scale); constraint, firm control of impulse, desire for the approval of others, and conventionality (CPI Responsibility, Socialization, and Self-Control scales); and psychological health and adjustment (Gough, 1987; Gough & Heilbrun, 1983).

Givingness. The givingness factor correlated negatively with the ACL Autonomy and Aggression scales, suggesting a conciliatory attitude and the tendency to seek security and support from others. Positive correlations with the ACL Nurturance, Abasement, and Deference scales indicated supportiveness of others, submissiveness, conflict avoidance, and unassumingness. Givingness, like straightforwardness, was associated with normative impulse control. It correlated negatively with both of the ACL measures of creativity.

Life Data

The life data available for the subjects are classified into categories of health, relationships, and work. The correlations in Table 5 highlight the different patterns of adjustment associated with each of the five factors within the narcissism and object-directedness syndromes.

The hypersensitivity factor correlated positively with ratings of psychological distress and with the use of tranquilizers. It was associated positively with problems with children and home conflict and negatively with measures of family cohesion, satisfaction with self as a mother, ratings of marital satisfaction, and enjoyment of work.

Willfulness was correlated with drug dependence and energy level, as well as conflict in friendship and enjoyment of work.

Like willfulness, the autonomy factor was associated with energy level and enjoyment of work. It also correlated strongly with status level of work. Among the women with the highest scores on autonomy were five psychotherapists, three well-established artists, two successful businesswomen, one reporter for an international journal, and one high-ranking civil servant.

The object-directed factor of straightforwardness was negatively correlated with psychological distress and drug dependence. It was associated positively with ratings of good marriage and being satisfied with self as a mother.

Givingness correlated negatively with psychological distress, home conflict, problems with children, and status level at work.

DISCUSSION

The inventory and real-life correlates of factors summarizing the extreme ends of the CAQ narcissism prototype support the interpretation of these two poles as measures of narcissism and object-directedness. Despite the possibility that the magnitude of the negative correlations between the measures of narcissism and object-directedness was influenced by the method of scaling, the patterns of results associated with both sets of factors were not mirror opposites of one another and, hence, warrant separate consideration. Factors associated with the top end of the narcissism prototype were variously related to autonomy, self-indulgence, rebelliousness, lack of suppression, and skepticism toward norms of social conduct. On the other hand, the two factors derived from the low or uncharacteristic end of the prototype were associated

Table 5
Correlations between CAQ Measures of Narcissism and Object-Directedness
with an Array of Psychological Health, Relationship, and Work Variables at Age 43

Measures	N ^a	Hypersensitivity	Willfulness	Autonomy	Straightforwardness	Givingness
Psychological health						
Psychological distress	75	.28*	.13	.14	-.28*	-.33**
Tranquilizers	93	.26*	-.04	-.10	-.21	-.04
Drug dependence	75	.11	.27*	-.04	-.28*	.05
Energy level	94	-.10	.20*	.22*	.08	-.07
Relationships						
Home conflict	58	.39**	-.04	.13	-.16	-.29*
Home cohesion	58	-.43**	-.07	.07	.22	.23
Satisfied as mother	60	-.37**	-.11	-.09	.34**	.20
Problems with children	75	.32*	.03	-.03	-.16	-.27*
Marital satisfaction	66	-.30*	-.02	.12	.29*	-.02
Conflict in friendship	70	.07	.32**	-.04	-.17	-.22
Work						
Enjoyment	75	-.31**	.27*	.39**	.09	-.02
Status level	93	-.12	.08	.58**	.13	-.25*

Note. CAQ = California Q-set.

a. Number of subjects for each variable.

* $p < .05$, two-tailed

** $p < .01$, two-tailed.

with nurturance and affection, conventionality, and repressive tendencies. Whereas narcissism was related to creativity, object-directedness had correlates indicative of social adjustment and a lack of personal distress.

The three narcissism factors were all correlated positively with the CAQ narcissism prototype from which they were derived and with independent file ratings of narcissism. Apart from these core similarities, the pattern of relationships among the three narcissism factors was complex.

The hypersensitivity and willfulness factors correlated positively with file ratings of pathology and negatively with CPI measures of normative control of impulses. High scorers on both these narcissism factors tended to be rebellious, self-indulgent, questioning of rules of social conduct, and undercontrolled in their expression of aggressive and erotic impulses. Implicit in these correlates is the separation from parental authority and values that leads to conflict, according to Rank (1945), unless the possibility for creativity and personality growth is carried forward to a new personal integration. However, high scorers on hypersensitivity and willfulness exhibited signs of conflicted adjustment rather than personal integration.

In the case of hypersensitivity, the aforementioned core narcissistic characteristics of rebelliousness, undercontrol, and self-indulgence were accompanied by a lack of social confidence, defensiveness, wariness and fear of involvement with others, poor adjustment, unfulfillment, and lack of personal integration. The correlations between the hypersensitivity factor and life data indicated psychological distress and conflict in the home and marriage and a lack of enjoyment of work. In the present sample, women with high scores on hypersensitivity do not seem to have a firm enough sense of self to take advantage of their resistance to conventional authority. The hypersensitivity dimension is akin to Kohut's (1971) and Kernberg's (1975) atypical narcissism, characterized by overt introversion and lowered levels of effective functioning (depletion) and an underlying sense of entitlement and self-indulgence.

Among the three narcissism factors, willfulness had the highest correlation with the file ratings of narcissism. In the case of willfulness, the narcissistic characteristics associated with low scores on the CPI control scales were accompanied by forceful dominance, exhibitionism, and aggression. Life-data correlates indicated high energy level and enjoyment of work but also drug use and conflict in friendship. In spite of their energy and forcefulness, high scorers on willfulness did not show signs of sustained achievement in work or love.

The inventory and real-life correlates of the willfulness factor correspond closely to Blatt and Shichman's (1983) characterization of introjective (narcissistic) pathology and Reich's (1949) description of the phallic (overt) narcissist. Both the introjective line of development and phallic narcissism have been described as more typical of men than women (Blatt & Shichman, 1983; Haaken, 1983; Philipson, 1985). It is noteworthy, therefore, that the willfulness factor, in this sample of women, produced a strong and coherent pattern of inventory and real-life correlates.

The third narcissism factor of autonomy, which showed no relation to ratings of pathology, was interpreted as a "healthy" variant of the narcissistic line of development. Among the five factors of narcissism and object-directedness employed in this article, only autonomy correlated with Loevinger's index of individuated personal maturity and cognitive complexity (Helson & Wink, 1987). It was also the only factor not correlated significantly with any of the measures of normative impulse control, a finding that suggests neither undue separateness from, nor undue identification with, parental values and authority. Nevertheless, the autonomy factor, with its preoccupation with self-worth, exaggerated self-assurance, and emphasis on individuality, autonomy, and personal strivings, is clearly aligned with the overall narcissism syndrome.

The autonomy factor correlated strongly with measures of achievement, satisfaction, and recognition at work. The majority of women with successful careers had high scores on this dimension.

Autonomy was also strongly correlated with all three test measures of creativity. The personality characteristics of self-assurance, independence, and forcefulness found for high scorers on autonomy are compatible with both MacKinnon's (1965) findings for creative male architects and Barron's (1965) findings for creative male writers. The cluster also corresponded to Helson's (1985) description of those Mills College women who were nominated for their creative potential at 21 and who were fulfilling this potential by age 43.

If the hypersensitivity and willfulness factors can be viewed as similar to Rank's conflicted type of adaptation, the autonomy factor can be viewed as similar to his creative type. The creative type or stage, according to Rank (1945) and Kohut (1971, 1977) is characterized by being at one with oneself, and by harmony between talents and ideals.

In contrast to the measures of narcissism, the two object-directed factors (straightforwardness and givingness) correlated negatively with ratings of pathology (maladjustment) and positively with inventory

measures of a prosocial disposition, a tendency toward suppression, and an overcontrol of impulse. These characteristics support Blatt and Shichman's characterization of the anaclitic line of development and Rank's notion of adapted adjustment.

The object-directed factor of straightforwardness, like autonomy, was correlated with test measures of intellectual and social competence. Persons high on this factor tended to display social integrity and rectitude, dependability, and self-control. To these characteristics may also be added good personal adjustment, relative freedom from psychological distress, and satisfaction in marriage. However, not all favorable outcomes were associated with high scores on this factor. In particular, neither creativity nor ego development was correlated with the straightforward factor. In sum, whereas healthy narcissism (autonomy) appears to be associated with strivings for personal integration, creativity, and high status at work, healthy object-directedness relates to adjustment, lack of personal conflict, and satisfying interpersonal relations.

That the givingness factor embodies several of the more dysfunctional aspects of the object-directed line of development is suggested by a pattern of inventory and real-life correlates indicating subservience, conflict avoidance, and lack of commitment to an occupational career. Givingness was correlated negatively with measures of conflict in the home and psychological distress, but unlike straightforwardness, it did not correlate positively with either ratings of marital satisfaction or feelings of satisfaction as mother.

In conclusion, the findings of this inquiry, although exploratory and in need of validation, support the usefulness of the distinction between narcissism and object-directedness for the study of adult personality and its development. Future research should include the construction of an independent measure of object-directedness (such as a CAQ prototype), the availability of which will extend our understanding of the differentiations (factor structure) of object-directedness and its relation to narcissism. Issues of sex differences in self- and other-orientation need to be pursued in samples of both men and women.

REFERENCES

- American Psychiatric Association. (1980). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Ashby, H. U., Lee, R. R., & Duke, E. H. (1979, August). *A narcissistic personality disorder MMPI scale*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, New York.

- Barron, F. (1965). The psychology of creativity. In T. Newcombe (Ed.), *New directions in psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 2-134). New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Blatt, S. J., & Shichman, S. (1983). Two primary configurations of psychopathology. *Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Thought*, 6, 187-254.
- Block, J. (1978). *The Q-sort method in personality assessment and psychiatric research*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Getzels, J. W. (1973). The personality of young artists: An empirical and theoretical exploration. *British Journal of Psychology*, 64, 91-104.
- Freud, S. (1953). On narcissism: An introduction. In J. Strachey (Ed.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works* (Vol. 14, pp. 69-102). London: Hogarth Press. (Original work published 1914)
- Gough, H. G. (1957). *Manual for the California Psychological Inventory*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Gough, H. G. (1979). A creative personality scale for the Adjective Check List. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 1398-1405.
- Gough, H. G. (1987). *Administrator's guide for the California Psychological Inventory*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Gough, H. G., & Heilbrun, A. B. (1983). *The Adjective Check List manual: 1980 edition*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Haaken, J. (1983). Sex differences and narcissistic disorders. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 43, 315-324.
- Helson, R. (1967). Personality characteristics and developmental history of creative college women. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 76, 205-256.
- Helson, R. (1985). Which of those young women with creative potential became productive? In R. Hogan & W. H. Jones (Eds.), *Perspectives in personality theory, measurement and the interpersonal dynamics* (Vol. 1, pp. 49-80). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Helson, R. (1987). Which of those young women with creative potential became productive? II. From college to midlife. In R. Hogan & W. H. Jones (Eds.), *Perspectives in personality* (Vol. 2, pp. 51-92). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Helson, R., Elliott, T., & Leigh, J. (1989). Adolescent personality and women's work patterns. In D. Eichorn & D. Stern (Eds.), *Adolescence and work: Influences of social structure, labor markets, and culture* (pp. 259-289). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Helson, R., Mitchell, V., & Moane, G. (1984). Personality patterns of adherence and nonadherence to the social clock. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 1079-1090.
- Helson, R., & Wink, P. (1987). Two conceptions of maturity examined in the findings of a longitudinal study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 531-541.
- Kernberg, O. F. (1975). *Borderline conditions and pathological narcissism*. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Kernberg, O. F. (1986). Narcissistic personality disorder. In A. A. Cooper, A. J. Frances, & M. H. Sachs (Eds.), *The personality disorders and neuroses* (Vol. 1, pp. 219-231). New York: Basic Books.
- Kohut, H. (1971). *The analysis of the self*. New York: International Universities Press.
- Kohut, H. (1977). *The restoration of the self*. New York: International Universities Press.

- Loevinger, J., & Wessler, R. (1970). *Measuring ego development* (Vol. 1). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- MacKinnon, D. W. (1965). Personality and the realization of creative potential. *American Psychologist*, 20, 273-281.
- McAllister, L. (1986). *A practical handbook for CPI interpretation*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Philipsen, I. (1985). Gender and narcissism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 9, 213-228.
- Picano, J. (1984). *Ego development and adaptation in middle-aged women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Picano, J. (1989). Development and validation of a life history index of adult adjustment for women. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 53, 308-318.
- Rank, O. (1945). *Will therapy and truth and reality*. New York: Knopf.
- Raskin, R. N., & Hall, C. S. (1979). A narcissistic personality inventory. *Psychological Reports*, 45, 590.
- Raskin, R. N., & Hall, C. S. (1981). The Narcissistic Personality Inventory: Alternate form reliability and further evidence of construct validity. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 45, 159-162.
- Raskin, R. N., & Novacek, J. (1989). An MMPI description of the narcissistic personality. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 53, 66-80.
- Reich, W. (1949). *Character analysis* (3rd ed.). New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.
- Terman, L. M. (1956). *Manual for the Concept Mastery Test*. New York: Psychological Corporation.
- Welsh, G. S. (1959). *Preliminary manual, the Welsh Figure Preference Test* (research ed.). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Welsh, G. S. (1975). *Creativity and intelligence: A personality approach*. Chapel Hill, NC: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.
- Wink, P., & Gough, H. G. (1990). New narcissism scales for the California Psychological Inventory and MMPI. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 54, 446-462.

Manuscript received March 20, 1990; revised January 13, 1991.