Richard Chessick

Narcissism in Our Culture

Psychology of the Self and the Treatment of Narcissism

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from *Psychology of the Self and the Treatment of Narcissism* Richard D. Chessick, M.D.

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Narcissism in Our Culture

Cooper (Lichtenberg and Kaplan 1983) points out that psychoanalysts, beginning perhaps with Glover, who discussed narcissism as early as the 1930s, have claimed that there has been a change in the human condition:

> They say that the classical neurotic patient seen by Freud has gradually disappeared, to be replaced by types of severe character pathology, especially the narcissistic character, with a consequent diminution of analytic effectiveness and a lengthening of the analyses. . . . In recent years everyone from Spiro Agnew to Christopher Lasch has argued that we are living in an age of narcissism, surrounded by the characterologic fallout of postindustrial society and the cultural decline of the West. (pp. 28-29)

Cooper reports that "much of our literature since that time has concerned our need to understand that change, to reconcile it with our analytic theories, and to devise effective psychoanalytic treatment techniques in response to it" (p. 29). There is by no means general agreement on any of these statements. Since there have been no controlled or careful empirical studies of the matter, we do not have good evidence either for or against the idea that there has been a

predominant change in the actual type of patient appearing in the consulting room of psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapists and psychoanalysts. But we do have considerable indication that the diagnosis being placed on these patients has shifted substantially from terms denoting the classical neurotic disorders to terms describing DSM-III character or personality disorders.

"The Culture Of Narcissism"

A persuasive proponent of the notion that a new narcissistic personality is becoming predominant in our culture is Christopher Lasch, author of *The Culture of Narcissism* (1978). This book contains misunderstandings and misappropriations of some of the concepts of Kohut and Kernberg. However, Lasch's work aids in understanding the kind of problems that the psychology of the self is able to address and for which it especially claims to be a better explanatory paradigm than classical Freudian conflict or drive psychology.

Lasch emphasizes the current international malaise, which he connects with loss of the capacity and the will to confront the difficulties currently threatening to overwhelm current bourgeois

society. He considers the sciences to be of no help with this problem and states that academic psychology in the face of it "retreats from the challenge of Freud into the measurement of trivia." He describes the new narcissist, similar to what Kohut has described as Tragic Man. In Lasch's terms, the narcissist is haunted not by guilt but by anxiety and seeks not to inflict his own certainties on others but to find a meaning in life: "He lives in a state of restless, perpetually unsatisfied desire" (p. xvi).

Lasch defines a narcissistic society as one that gives increasing prominence and encouragement to narcissistic traits with a corresponding cultural devaluation of the past. It is Lasch's general thesis that a narcissistic society produces narcissistic personalities which, in turn, produce more of a narcissistic society, with an implication that the past was "better" although it is hopeless to believe it can be regained. Lasch's Marxist-style interpretation of history leads him to see the development of our narcissistic society as the inevitable end stage of capitalism.

Lasch describes the narcissistic individual in current American "narcissistic" society as a person who lives for the moment, has a loss

of historical continuity, needs others to validate self-esteem, and experiences the world as a mirror. He describes twentieth century peoples as "consumed with rage" (p. 11). There are, however, no empirical data offered to support these generalizations.

In a narcissistic society "therapy" establishes itself as the successor both to rugged individualism and to religion. Lasch describes the post-Freudian therapies, their converts and popularizers particularly, as aiming "to liberate humanity from such outmoded ideas of love and duty" (p. 13). Lasch states that the new therapies "intensify the disease they pretend to cure" (p. 30), and deplores the social invasion of the self and its accelerating disintegration in our culture, but no careful definition of "self" is put forward.

Further, Lasch attacks Erich Fromm's Marxism, offered as a solution to the problems set forth by Freud (1930) in *Civilization and its Discontents.* In describing the narcissistic personality of our time, Kernberg's works are quoted without recognition that they are based on premises incompatible with the writing of Kohut, who is also quoted. Lasch also misunderstands Kohut. For example, he confuses Kohut's theory of the "psychology of the self in the broader sense,"

which is meant to be applicable to everybody, with Kohut's discussions of pathological narcissism. Lasch's description is not convincing for presenting an individual different, for example, from the *fin de siècle* patient in Breuer and Freud's (1893-1895) *Studies on Hysteria.* He describes the new-style executive, who takes no pleasure in his achievements once he begins to lose the adolescent charm on which they rest: "Middle age hits him with the force of a disaster" (p. 45).

Lasch relies on the studies of Maccoby (1976) and others to argue that it is the increasing over-organization of our society with the predomination of large bureaucracies that encourage a survival mentality, destruction of the family, and narcissism which, to Lasch, "appears realistically to represent the best way of coping with the tensions and anxieties of modern life" (p. 50). This does not imply that narcissism is caused by our culture but that the prevailing social conditions tend to bring out narcissistic traits that are present in varying degrees in everyone.

Lasch also attacks advertising and its effect on the modern Western individual, with consumption presented as the treatment for

the disease that it creates. It manufactures the perpetually unsatisfied, restless, anxious, and bored consumer and institutionalizes envy. Truth becomes irrelevant as long as things sound true and, as Kohut repeatedly pointed out, the theater in our society, especially the so-called theater of the absurd involving dramatists like Albee, Beckett, Ionesco, and Genet, centers on emptiness, isolation, loneliness, and despair. Lasch describes this drama as portraying the world of the borderline; however, Kohut states that the theater of the absurd expresses the forces in our society that produce a vulnerable or fragmented self, not only borderline patients.

Lasch concludes by describing the new managerial class and their children as identified with an "ethics of hedonism," and producing a society in which narcissists achieve prominence and set the tone while the culture itself reinforces everybody's narcissistic traits. Although there is further confusion manifested about Kohut's point of view when it is applied to borderline conditions and even schizophrenia, capitalism and industrial production are seen as the basic culprits, transforming the family and producing as well as encouraging the narcissistic personality.

The great difficulty that presents itself in the study of culture from the point of view of narcissism and the narcissistic personality, as well as in understanding the various descriptions of narcissism is in the confusion about the meaning of narcissism itself.

Kohut's discussion of the psychology of the self begins with an attempt to understand the developmental transformations of narcissism in the individual. On the basis of what is discovered, Kohut then offers more insightful suggestions on how our culture might be improved and how we can find a more worthwhile existence. The psychology of the self supersedes Lasch's vague socialist solutions and points more precisely to the area of human existence—the empathic matrix in which we must all live—that must be cultivated if our culture is to survive and improve.

Other Views of Narcissism in Our Culture

Kohut's emphasis on the importance of early parenting is supported by Williamson's (1984) study of "the poetry of narcissism" in contemporary American poetry. He documents how a whole generation of sensitive poets who came of age between the rise of

Hitler and the fall of Joe McCarthy—a time of greatly increased influence "of irrational hatreds, fears, and identifications" in political life—show a preoccupation in their poetry with their subjective experience of a sterile empty self from which there is no escape, except perhaps by suicide. He stresses their gravitation towards "low-key anomie and depression" in terms similar to Finlay-Jones (1983) and Solberg (1984) (quoted in Chapter 1) and their introspective poetic reports about a self that is "unknowable, fragmentary, perhaps ultimately not there" (pp. 2-4).

Modell (Goldberg 1983) offers original comments on the rise of narcissism in our culture. He calls our attention to two books preliminary to a study of our culture, Trilling's (1971) *Sincerity and Authenticity* and *The Lonely Crowd* (Riesman, Glazer, and Denney 1950). The latter describes a change in the American character as a shift from an "inner directed" to an "other directed" individual, which is another way of describing a shift in self-esteem regulation from dependence on inner values to dependence on external mirroring.

Modell briefly describes the two phases of, as he calls it, the shaping of character. The earlier phase, when it leads to narcissism, is

"a miscarriage in the process of mirroring" (p. 114). He delineates mirroring as authentic affective communication between the mother and the child and continues, "the child's cohesive sense of self is forged through the affective bond that is formed when the mother gazes at the child's face, reflecting the child's affects" (p. 114). This is connected to Trilling's definition of sincerity as a congruence between feelings and the truthful avowal of these feelings; to say there is breakdown of sincerity in our time would be another way of describing states of non-relatedness and non-communication that will reflect themselves in failures in the early mother-infant (and slightly later in the father-infant) relationship.

Modell delineates a second phase of character shaping that occurs during adolescence when the individual begins to interact with and perceive directly the culture of which the infant will become a full member. He concludes, "Our contemporary world confronts the adolescent with failures in the protective environment analogous to those experienced earlier in relationship to the parental environment, and this second disillusionment involves similar coping strategies" (p. 117).

We will return to this crucial problem of narcissism in our contemporary culture many times, because Kohut places emphasis on the quality of the mothering received by the infant as it influences the infant's formation of self. Kohut's views stand in sharp contrast especially to Kleinian concepts in which the intrapsychic processes in the infant are thought to proceed more independently of the external input.

Even though a number of critics such as Crews (1980) mount a vigorous attack on the application of clinical notions of psychoanalysis (whether taken from Freud or Kohut) to historical or cultural issues, the subject cannot be avoided as long as the reader keeps in mind the fierce opposition to this kind of approach. Clements (1982) criticizes both Lasch and Kohut for confusing "the macro-level of social system structures and the micro-level of individual structures, as if they were one homogeneous level" which leads to substantial methodological problems such as "a significant reductionist error" (p. 284). She also warns against other serious methodological dangers in the application of concepts from psychoanalysis on a social system level. Her caveat is important if we are to avoid the superficial and bland oversimplifications of "popular psychology" which pervade the media

in our culture. Indeed, as Lasch points out, the media abounds with so-called "self-appointed, unlicensed experts" who, for narcissistic purposes and financial gain, prey on the insecure and offer fast and simple solutions to every personal and social problem.

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