CONCLUSION: NARCISSISM TODAY

Classically oriented American analysts were able to maintain control of their discipline, in part by continuing to overlook and marginalize dissenting voices within it, until Kohut and Kernberg mounted challenges to their hegemony. The 1970s analytic revolution recouped these dissenting voices for mainstream psychoanalysis and shifted the center of the analytic conversation to narcissism. Social critics realized that within psychoanalysis talk of narcissism was suddenly everywhere and, appropriating the "new narcissism" for their own purposes, associated it with catastrophic cultural decline, loss of moral bearings, and a surfeit of hedonistic self-indulgence. They stressed narcissism's Kernbergian malignancies while largely ignoring its healthy, life-sustaining dimensions, which were the centerpiece of the Kohutian challenge to the field. Compared to the object relations theorists or even the more phenomenologically inclined Viennese analyst Paul Federn, the generation of midcentury ego psychologists who were Erikson's contemporaries and Kohut's teachers entertained a notion of the self and its needs that was relatively impoverished. Still, the intellectual environment and analytic tradition in which the ego psychologists worked—in which Freud was a live presence—were far richer than the critics' traditions, and few analysts signed on to their vision of a straitened, reproving narcissism. By the 1980s, a good portion of the

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结论:

纳西瑟斯主义　　今天

传统取向的美国分析师

能够维持对其学科的掌控，部分是通过继续忽视和边缘化其中的异见声音，直到科胡特和科恩伯格对其霸权提出挑战。20 世纪 70 年代的分析革命重新获得了这些异见声音，并将分析对话的中心转向了自恋。社会批评家意识到，在精神分析中，关于自恋的讨论突然无处不在，他们为了自己的目的采纳了“新自恋”，将其与灾难性的文化衰落、道德方向的丧失以及享乐主义的过度自我放纵联系起来。他们强调了科恩伯格对自恋的恶性描述，而很大程度上忽视了其健康、维持生命的维度，这是科胡特对这一领域的挑战的核心。

与对象关系理论家甚至更倾向于现象学的维也纳分析家保罗 · 费登相比，20 世纪中叶的埃里克森同时代人和科胡特的老师这一代自我心理学家对自我及其需求的看法相对贫乏。然而，自我心理学家工作的智识环境和分析传统——其中弗洛伊德是一个活生生的存在——比批评者的传统要丰富得多，很少有分析师接受他们关于狭隘、责备的 narcissism 的观点。到 20 世纪 80 年代，相当一部分

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analytic community had woven the concept of a normalized narcissism, necessary to sustain life, into their practice. Only recently have cultural commentators caught up with them.

Narcissism has lately found its champions. The figures of the vacuous consumer, the "ego-addled" brat, and the preening celebrity are alive and well in best-selling books with titles like *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement* and *The Mirror Effect: How Celebrity Narcissism Is Seducing America* and in articles like "Generation Whine" and "The Online Looking Glass" that excoriate Americans for their inflated self-esteem and shallow materialism. Yet we can see how much has changed since narcissism's 1970s public debut in *New York Times* columnist David Brooks's recently voiced lament that "grandiosity is out of style." Collectively chastened by a financial crisis that was "fueled by people who got too big for their britches," Brooks argues that we have traded boldness for caution, and calls for "a grandiosity rebound" to encourage the unpleasant, "ridiculously ambitious" people who can revive the nation's once-formidable prosperity. "Most of all," he writes in a challenge to the Laschians still among us, "there has to be a culture that gives two cheers to grandiosity," even as he highlights the character flaws and limitations of the grandiose. Bold and creative, ruthless and soulless: Brooks's cultural ideal, the entrepreneurial wizard as twenty-first-century narcissist, "has the vices of his virtues."[1]

Many other cultural commentators have been wrestling with the virtues of narcissists' vices, trying to comprehend why it is that the people we consider narcissists are those, as one put it, "who attract as well as repel us." Why is it that we are susceptible to narcissists' charm even as we suffer their contempt? How can someone appear infectiously, intoxicatingly self-confident and self-sufficient one day and angrily aggressive, manipulative, and needy the next? "Welcome to the contradictory universe of narcissism," reads the subtitle of an article in *Psychology Today*. Variations on the notion that "if narcissists were just jerks, they would be easy to avoid" point to a sophisticated understanding of the narcissist's paradoxical nature, a Kernbergian figure commanding our fascinated attention. "Do we really find selfish, narcissistic jerks more attractive?" asks an article reporting on the

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分析界已经将维持生命所必需的标准化自恋概念融入其实践。只有最近，文化评论家们才赶上了他们。

自恋最近找到了它的支持者。真空的化身

ous 消费者，"自我陶醉"的小霸王，以及炫耀的明星在诸如《自恋狂》等畅销书中依然活跃

流行病：生活在特权时代 and 镜像效应：

名人自恋如何迷倒美国，以及像“抱怨的一代”和“网络魔镜”这样的文章，指责美国人的膨胀自尊和肤浅的物质主义。然而，我们可以看到自恋在 20 世纪 70 年代首次在《纽约时报》专栏作家大卫·布鲁克斯的笔下亮相以来，发生了多大的变化。布鲁克斯最近表达了对“自负已过时”的哀叹。在一场由“过于自负的人”引发的金融危机中，布鲁克斯认为我们已将勇敢换成了谨慎，并呼吁“自负反弹”，以鼓励那些不愉快但“荒谬地有雄心”的人，他们能够恢复国家曾经强大的繁荣。“最重要的是，”他在向仍在我们中间的拉斯奇派挑战时写道，“必须有一种对自负表示两声欢呼的文化，”尽管他也突出了自负者的性格缺陷和局限性。勇敢而富有创造力，无情而无情：布鲁克斯的文化理想，21 世纪的创业巫师，自恋者，“他的缺点就是他的优点。”

许多其他文化评论家一直在努力应对

虚荣者的恶习之优点，试图理解为什么我们认为的虚荣者，正如有人所说，“既吸引我们又排斥我们。”为什么我们在遭受他们的轻蔑的同时，还会对虚荣者的魅力感到易受影响？一个人怎么能有一天看起来传染性、令人陶醉地自信和自给自足，而第二天又愤怒、侵略、操纵和需要呢？“欢迎来到虚荣的矛盾宇宙，”《今日心理学》一篇文章的副标题写道。“如果虚荣者只是混蛋，他们就会容易避免”这一观点的变体，指向了对虚荣者矛盾本质的复杂理解，一个 Kernbergian 形象吸引了我们的着迷关注。“我们真的觉得自私、虚荣的混蛋更有吸引力吗？”一篇报道的文章问道

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research of several psychologists; the answer is, predictably, "yes" and the finding is replicated in study after study. *Scientific American* tells us that research shows that people perceive "narcissists as more likeable" than non-narcissists. "People usually find them extroverted, confident and charismatic," a psychologist tells the *Wall Street Journal*, adding, "Those are sexy traits." The narcissist may initially "be hard to resist," but we can find consolation in the certainty that over time their appeal will fade.[2] No matter: by then they will have found other victims to seduce into intoxicating submission.

Kohutian healthy narcissism is enjoying a popular resurgence alongside its Kernbergian counterpart. "Healthy narcissism can help you succeed," a popularizing psychologist claims; "feeling good about you usually radiates an inviting glow that improves personal and professional relationships." Or, as an equally upbeat psychoanalyst explains, "the healthy part of narcissism says, 'I am a whole and wonderful person with something great inside of me.' " Healthy narcissism, the revived Kohutian argument goes, "fuels drive and ambition" as well as the "desire to be recognized for one's accomplishments." Among its "documented" benefits are that it "makes you attractive, successful, lovable and good in bed." A psychologist suggests that narcissism and "an inflated sense of self" could be beneficial, even necessary, for the young adults "just beginning to form their own, unique identities." Reading the popular literature on healthy narcissism, it is hard not to feel that Kohut has achieved his goal—if, beyond psychoanalysis, only posthumously—of wresting the concept of narcissism from the realm of pathology. The claims, recently advanced, that narcissism is necessary to feeling "that one's life has meaning and importance" as well as to sustaining "all forms of public life" could easily have come from his pen.[3]

The Narcissistic Leader

Brooks is not alone in his enchantment with the extraordinary and "ridiculously grand" individual who can "build new industries and amass large fortunes." Since the 1970s, in a little noticed psychoana-

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心理学家们的研究；答案无疑是，“是”

并且这一发现被一项又一项的研究所证实。《科学美国人》告诉我们，研究表明人们认为“自恋者比非自恋者更受欢迎”。一位心理学家说：“人们通常认为他们外向、自信和有魅力，”《华尔街日报》

nal，增加，“这些都是性感特质。”自恋者起初可能“难以抗拒”，但我们可以从这样一个确定性中找到安慰：随着时间的推移，他们的吸引力将会减弱。无论如何：到那时，他们将会找到其他受害者，诱使他们陷入迷人的顺从。

科胡特健康自恋正迎来流行复兴

与 Kernberg 的对应理论并驾齐驱。“健康的自恋有助于你成功，”一位普及心理学的专家声称；“对自己感到满意通常会散发出一种吸引人的光芒，改善个人和职业关系。”或者，正如一位同样乐观的心理分析师解释的那样，“健康的自恋部分说，‘我是一个完整而美好的人，内心有着伟大的东西。’”根据恢复的 Kohut 论点，健康的自恋“激发动力和抱负”以及“希望因成就而得到认可”的愿望。其“记录在案”的好处包括“使你更具吸引力、成功、可爱，并在床上表现良好。”一位心理学家建议，自恋和“膨胀的自我感”可能对年轻成年人“刚开始形成自己独特身份”的人来说是有益的，甚至可能是必要的。阅读关于健康自恋的流行文献，很难不觉得 Kohut 实现了他的目标——如果只限于心理分析领域，那也是在他去世后——将自恋的概念从病理学领域夺回。 最近提出的关于自恋是感受“自己的生活有意义和重要性”以及维持“所有形式的公共生活”所必需的论断，很可能是出自他的笔下。

自恋型领导者

布鲁克斯对这位非凡且“荒谬地伟大”的个人所着迷，他能够“创立新产业并积累巨额财富”，并非孤军奋战。自 20 世纪 70 年代以来，在鲜为人知的心理分析领域，

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lytic byway, experts on the workplace have been analyzing leaders and assessing their narcissism, seeing in the most successful among them an appealing Kohutian "absolute self-confidence and certainty" and an intensely experienced Kernbergian need "for power and prestige." Endowed with healthy narcissism and undermined by their malignant narcissism, these powerful leaders embody many of the contradictions long thought characteristic of narcissists. Narcissism explains their effectiveness: their charisma, creativity, tenacity, and appealing self-confidence. And it provides an explanation for their failings: their callousness, bullying, self-absorption, paranoia, and destructiveness. At their best they are bold, thoughtful, and constructive, and generate a "positive vitality." At their worst, they are ruthlessly Machiavellian in pursuit of their goals, willing to trample anyone and anything. The psychoanalyst and leadership guru Michael Maccoby, in articles and in his popular 2003 book *The Productive Narcissist,* repeatedly invokes Steve Jobs as exemplary of this narcissist, a visionary leader in whom the irresistibly charismatic and brutally exploitative are fused. Mobilizing the couch in the service of the corporation, Maccoby warns that if such a leader is to succeed, he would be well advised to enter analysis "to overcome vital character flaws."[4]

How much has been sacrificed in slighting the positive dimensions of narcissism may be seen in looking at the charismatic leader as narcissist that has recently captured public attention. Maccoby early on grasped what was at stake in focusing so exclusively on pathology. Commenting in 1978 on Christopher Lasch's *Culture of Narcissism*, Maccoby charged him with failing to distinguish "pathological character from normal types of social character" and with condemning a range of activities (like jogging and a preference for health foods) "that express a realistic concern for self-preservation." Maccoby faulted Lasch for arguing that narcissism was more prevalent in the present than in the past and asserted, contra Lasch's pathologizing claims, that "everyone has narcissistic tendencies."[5] Over the last forty years, Maccoby and like-minded colleagues have soldered together, in the figure of the powerful man as narcissist, the healthy

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溶解旁路，职场专家一直在分析领导者并评估他们的自恋倾向，在他们中最成功的那些人中看到一种吸引人的库胡特式的“绝对自信和确定性”，以及一种强烈的克恩伯格式的需求“对权力和声望”。拥有健康的自恋倾向，却受到他们恶性的自恋倾向的侵蚀，这些强大的领导者体现了许多长期以来被认为是自恋者特征的对立。自恋解释了他们的有效性：他们的魅力、创造力、坚韧和吸引人的自信。它也为他们的失败提供了解释：他们的冷漠、欺凌、自我中心和破坏性。在他们最好的时候，他们勇敢、深思熟虑、建设性，并产生一种“积极的活力”。在他们最糟糕的时候，他们在追求目标时冷酷无情地马基雅维利主义，愿意践踏任何人和任何事。精神分析学家和领导力大师迈克尔·麦克科比，在文章中，在他的 2003 年流行书籍《生产型自恋者》中，反复引用史蒂夫·乔布斯作为这种自恋者的典范，一个魅力无法抗拒且残酷剥削的愿景型领导者。 调动卧具服务于公司，Maccoby 警告说，如果这样的领导者想要成功，他最好进入分析“以克服性格上的重大缺陷。”

多少已经牺牲在轻视积极维度上

自恋的表现可能体现在将具有魅力的领导者视为近期引起公众关注的自恋者。Maccoby 早期就抓住了专注于病理学所涉及的风险。1978 年评论 Christopher Lasch 的《文化》

自恋，Maccoby 指责他未能区分“病态性格与正常的社会性格类型”，以及谴责一系列活动（如慢跑和对健康食品的偏好）“表达了对自我保护的现实关切。”

Maccoby 指责 Lasch 认为自恋在现在比过去更普遍，并声称，与 Lasch 的病理化主张相反，“每个人都有自恋倾向。”在过去的四十年里，Maccoby 和志同道合的同事们将强大男人的形象作为自恋者，焊接在一起，

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dimensions of narcissism, largely ignored by social critics, and the malignant narcissism that has dominated popular discussion since the 1970s. There is no comprehending this powerful figure without taking account of both dimensions of narcissism.

Ernest Jones offered the first analytic account of the narcissist as leader in his 1913 paper "The God Complex." Characterized by their "colossal *narcissism,*" Jones's God-men were known for the "excessive admiration" they had for their own "powers, knowledge, and qualities." Jones highlighted the paradoxes of these men's characters, in particular their "exaggerated *desire to be loved*" coupled with a glorious independence of anyone else's opinion. He described their aloofness, inaccessibility, and self-importance as well as their tendency to devalue and to reject as worthless any idea not of their own, minimizing "what was new in it and then claiming that they had always been familiar with it." Hungry for praise and admiration, they harbored megalomaniacal fantasies of omnipotence. Jones's attempts to distinguish his God-men from God himself calls to mind the observation of one Oracle Corporation employee regarding CEO Larry Ellison that "the difference between God and Larry is that God does not believe he is Larry."[6]

Freud, too, wrote of a male narcissist who has a remarkably contemporary feel. His tantalizingly brief 1931 sketch of the character type he called narcissistic serves as a reference point for any number of recent treatments of the leader as powerful but dangerously flawed narcissist. Maccoby invokes Freud's characterology in support of his own portrait of the high profile, "larger-than-life leaders" he argues are ascendant in the business world. "These are the doers," Maccoby asserts; they are "independent and not easily overawed." Freud wrote that "people belonging to this type impress others as being 'personalities,'" and Maccoby quoted him approvingly: "They are especially suited to act as a support for others, to take on the role of leaders, and to give a fresh stimulus to cultural development." Freud also took note of this type's independence, aggressiveness, and "readiness for activity" as well as the fact that, having but a weak super-ego, he was "not open to intimidation." Leaders, Freud suggested, created the illusion they loved their followers but were them-

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自恋的维度，在很大程度上被社会批评家忽视，以及自 1970 年代以来主导流行讨论的恶性自恋。如果不考虑自恋的这两个维度，就无法理解这个强大的人物。

欧内斯特·琼斯首次对自恋者进行了分析性描述

领导者在 1913 年的论文《上帝综合症》中。以他们的“巨大自恋”为特征，琼斯的上帝男人因对自身“力量、知识和品质”的“过度崇拜”而闻名。琼斯突出了这些男人性格中的悖论，特别是他们“夸张的渴望被爱”与

以任何人的观点为荣的独立。他描述了他们的疏远、难以接近和自以为是，以及他们贬低和拒绝任何非自己想法的倾向，最小化“其中的新意，然后声称他们一直都很熟悉。”渴望赞美和钦佩，他们怀有全能的妄想狂幻想。琼斯试图区分他的上帝之人与上帝本身，让人想起甲骨文公司一位员工关于首席执行官拉里·埃里森的观察：“上帝与拉里的区别在于上帝不相信自己是拉里。”

弗洛伊德也描述了一个具有非凡自恋倾向的男性

暂时感觉。他 1931 年对被称为自恋型人物的类型所作的诱人简短素描，成为任何近期将领导者描绘为强大但危险有缺陷的自恋者的参考点。Maccoby 引用弗洛伊德的人物学来支持他对自己描绘的高调“超凡脱俗的领导者”的画像，他认为这些领导者在商业界崛起。MacCoby 断言：“这些人都是行动派”；他们是“独立且不易被吓倒的。”弗洛伊德写道，“属于这种类型的人给他人留下‘个性’的印象”，Maccoby 赞同地引用了他：“他们特别适合作为他人的支持者，扮演领导者的角色，并为文化发展注入新的活力。”弗洛伊德还注意到了这种类型的独立性、侵略性和“行动准备”，以及他们由于只有微弱的超我，所以“不易受到恐吓”。弗洛伊德建议，领导者创造了一个他们爱他们的追随者的错觉，但他们实际上

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selves "absolutely narcissistic" in needing no one's love in return: masterful, self-sufficient, "self-confident and independent."[7]

Both Jones's and Freud's powerful male narcissists all but disappeared from the analytic literature until, in the 1940s, some analysts referenced their work as they began exploring the appeal of narcissistic leaders. What were the sources of their charisma and their capacity to fascinate? Why were people submissive to narcissistic personalities and so willing to accept the illusory satisfactions they offered over reality's more substantial rewards? Why did some individuals barter away their independence, allowing themselves to be dominated by charlatans proffering magic? The émigré analyst Christine Olden, trained in Berlin and writing in 1941 from Los Angeles, saw the transaction between leader and led as complementary. She argued that dependent types were like infants in choosing the "security and protection" that dominating types offered, and suggested that submission was eroticized—a mix of hunger, excitement, and longing for inclusion in the ambit of "an almighty personality" whose seeming independence of normal human needs rendered him God-like in his followers' estimation. Olden's colleague Annie Reich wrote a contemporaneous paper on "extreme submissiveness in women," asking why some women willingly renounced their active, masculine strivings and self-esteem, projecting these onto their lovers' penises—which they then worshipped and to which they would then abjectly submit. Reich saw in these women the same hunger for attention and inability to distinguish erotic from other needs that Olden highlighted. Both saw their subjects seeking fusion with an omnipotent other.[8]

These and other midcentury analysts plumbed the all-too-human longing to "participate in omnipotence" that current theoreticians of the narcissistic dynamics of leadership see as central to narcissism's allure. As analysts saw it, social hierarchy was maintained less only in part by force than by the willing submission of one individual to another. Passive surrender to the feared and admired great figure offered a pleasurable, though illusory, means of sharing in his power. Freud wrote in *Civilization and Its Discontents* of the lost omnipotence of childhood, referring to the pleasure he imagined infants

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自我“绝对自恋”，不需要任何人的爱作为回报：技艺高超，自给自足，“自信且独立。”

琼斯和弗洛伊德强有力的男性自恋者几乎都从分析文献中消失，直到 20 世纪 40 年代，一些分析家在开始探索自恋型领导者的吸引力时引用了他们的工作。他们的魅力和吸引人的能力来自何方？为什么人们会顺从自恋型人格，并如此愿意接受他们提供的虚幻的满足感，而不是现实中的更实质性的回报？为什么有些人会放弃他们的独立性，让自己被那些提供魔术的江湖骗子所支配？移民分析师克里斯蒂娜·奥尔德，在柏林接受培训，1941 年从洛杉矶撰写，认为领导者和被领导者之间的交易是互补的。她认为依赖型的人在选择“安全和保护”时就像婴儿一样，并建议顺从被浪漫化了——一种饥饿、兴奋和渴望融入“全能人格”范畴的混合体，这种人格似乎独立于正常的人类需求，使他在追随者眼中具有神性。奥尔德的同事安妮·赖希撰写了一篇关于“女性极端顺从”的同期论文。

询问为什么有些女性自愿放弃她们积极、阳刚的追求和自尊，将这些投射到爱人的阴茎上——然后崇拜并卑躬屈膝地服从。赖希在这些女性中看到了与奥登所强调的相同的对关注的渴望和无法区分性欲与其他需求的能力。两者都看到他们的主题寻求与全能的他人的融合。

这些以及其他中世纪分析人士深入探讨了过于人性化的渴望“参与全能”，这是当前领导力自恋动态的理论家们认为自恋吸引力核心的东西。正如分析师们所看到的，社会等级制度更多的是通过一个人的自愿服从于另一个人，而不是仅仅通过武力来维持。被动地屈服于那个既令人敬畏又令人钦佩的大人物，提供了一种虽然虚幻但令人愉悦的分享他权力的方式。

弗洛伊德写道：文明及其不满的失落全能儿童时期，指他想象中的婴儿的愉悦

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derived from their self-sufficiency and "limitless narcissism." It was evident, he wrote in "On Narcissism," that "another person's narcissism has a great attraction for those who have renounced part of their own narcissism," and he argued that adults were thus willing to debase themselves in submission to narcissists promising a return to abandoned infantile omnipotence.[9] The narcissist's omnipotence, self-sufficiency, and charisma were the sources of his attraction.

Charisma has long been central to discussions of leadership. Weber used the term to characterize the authority exercised by leaders endowed by their followers with superhuman or "exceptional powers or qualities." He argued that charismatic authority derived from the person not the office, and emphasized that it was followers' "attributions of specialness" to leaders that ensured their domination. Charisma as conceived by Weber and deployed by those working in his wake was relational, a quality that inhered not in the individual but in the transaction between leader and led. Since its popularization in the 1950s, charisma has proven an extraordinarily productive concept in political thought, in popular discourse, and in thinking about narcissistic leaders.[10]

Sociologists and political theorists alighted on charisma as Weber's work appeared in translation in the 1940s. Daniel Bell brought it into popular discourse, slipping the then-esoteric term into a 1947 *Fortune* magazine article. Charisma quickly took hold. It was used to characterize Malcolm X ("a handsome, coffee-colored man . . . who displays a charismatic demagoguery") and the Labour Party prime minister Harold Wilson ("utterly relaxed, never falsely convivial" on the campaign trail); one-time presidential contender Scoop Jackson ("a rather short, dumpy man in a baggy suit" who "just got tired of reading he was dull and decided to do something about it") and Texas governor turned presidential contender John Connolly ("he does possess a certain feral shrewdness"); and, not surprisingly, the redoubtable Jesse Jackson, whom the periodical *Black Enterprise* featured with less than complete assurance as "The Last Charismatic Leader?" James Bond, Martin Luther King, and the Kennedys had it; Hubert Humphrey, Ralph Abernathy, and the Nixons did not. *Seventeen* noted the mysterious air of the charismatic, "the

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源自他们的自给自足和“无限的自我陶醉”。他在《论自恋》一书中写道，对那些放弃了自己部分自恋的人来说，“他人的自恋具有极大的吸引力”，并认为成年人因此愿意在服从自恋者的承诺中贬低自己，以换取回归被放弃的婴儿般的全能。自恋者的全能、自给自足和魅力是他吸引力的来源。

魅力一直是领导力讨论的核心。韦伯使用这个术语来描述领导者因其追随者赋予的超人或“特殊力量或品质”而行使的权威。他认为，魅力权威源于个人而非职位，并强调正是追随者对领导者的“特殊属性”的赋予确保了他们的统治。韦伯所构想的魅力以及后来追随者所应用的魅力是关系性的，这种品质不是存在于个人身上，而是在领导者与被领导者之间的交易中。自从 20 世纪 50 年代普及以来，魅力在政治思想、流行话语以及关于自恋型领导者的思考中证明是一个极其富有成效的概念。

社会学家和政治理论家将魅力视为韦伯的

工作在 20 世纪 40 年代被翻译发表。丹尼尔·贝尔将其引入流行话语，将当时晦涩的术语巧妙地融入 1947 年《财富》杂志的一篇文章中。魅力迅速流行起来。它被用来描述马尔科姆·X（“一个英俊的咖啡色男人……”）

谁展现出魅力型的煽动主义（”在竞选活动中表现得极其放松，从不假装亲切”的工党首相哈罗德·威尔逊）；曾经的总统候选人斯科普·杰克逊（“一个身材矮小、穿着宽松西装的人”他“厌倦了阅读自己无聊的描述，决定采取行动”）和转而竞选总统的德克萨斯州州长约翰·康诺利（“他确实拥有某种野性的狡猾”）；不出所料，令人敬畏的杰西·杰克逊，该期刊《黑企业》

prise 以不完全的信心将其特色描述为“最后的魅力领袖？”詹姆斯·邦德、马丁·路德·金和肯尼迪拥有它；休伯特·汉弗莱、拉尔夫·艾伯纳西和尼克松则没有。十七位评论者注意到了魅力领袖的神秘气息，“the

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impression that they're leading the way, have some knowledge you don't have." *Mademoiselle,* telling its readers "how to get it," highlighted the "animal magnetism" and "capacity for self-transcendence" displayed by charismatic individuals, the ease with which they made others feel valued. And *Good Housekeeping,* defining charisma as "that special something that attracts us to certain people even if we can't understand why we are attracted," counseled optimistically that even dullards could one day hope to possess it given the right mix of enhanced self-confidence and released "inner joy."[11]

In the 1970s, theorists of leadership began exploring the charismatic narcissism of the successful leader. Arguing that narcissism was "a key trait in some of the world's most creative and generative leaders," they maintained that only those with ambition, high self-esteem, and deep reservoirs of narcissism were at all likely to reach the top. The leader's task was to draw on the stores of healthy narcissism—ambition and creativity—that had fueled his rise while not giving full rein to the grandiosity and aggression that in equal measure enabled his ascendance. These scholars adopted a stance of brutal realism in the face of what they suggested were sentimental and fantasy-driven desires for caring, empathic, and sensitive consensus leaders. The model of leadership advocated in Daniel Goleman's *Emotional Intelligence,* Jim Collins's *Good to Great,* and Stephen Covey's *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* was fine for conservative times and for conservative industries but ineffective in times of change and flux. "Bland, opaque, and gray in demeanor and personality," leaders in this tradition had neither the vision nor the internal resources to lead organizations in a time of dizzying technological change and globalization.[12]

Charismatic leaders, by contrast, were exciting, compelling, and fascinating. Emerging at times of opportunity and crisis, they were figures of obsessive interest and intrigue, able to conscript others to join in their grandiose visions and to lull them into submission—to extract from them "awe, devotion, and reverence"—by offering to gratify their needs. Such leaders were skilled in the use of empathy to figure out what others wanted, endowed with, in Kohut's words, "the uncanny ability to exploit, not necessarily in full awareness, the

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他们感觉自己在引领潮流，有一些知识

没有。“小姐”，告诉读者“如何得到它”，突出了“动物磁力”和“自我超越的能力”。

由魅力型人物展示的，他们使他人感到被重视的轻松程度。并且，《好管家》杂志将魅力定义为“那种吸引我们的特别之处，即使我们不明白为什么会被吸引”，乐观地建议即使是笨蛋也有朝一日可能希望拥有它，只要拥有增强的自信心和释放的“内在喜悦”。

在 20 世纪 70 年代，领导力理论家开始探索 charis-

成功领导者的自恋。他们认为自恋是“世界上一些最具创造力和生成力的领导者的关键特质”，并坚持认为只有那些有抱负、高自尊和深厚自恋的人才有可能达到顶峰。领导者的任务是利用健康的自恋——抱负和创造力——这些是他崛起的燃料，同时不纵容自大和侵略性，这些同样程度地使他能够上升。这些学者在面对他们所认为的基于感性和幻想的渴望——关怀、同理心和敏感的共识领导者——时，采取了一种残酷的现实主义立场。丹尼尔·戈尔曼的《情商》、吉姆·柯林斯的《从优秀到卓越》和史蒂芬·柯维的《高效能人士的七个习惯》在保守时代和保守行业中适用，但在变革和动荡时期却无效。“性格平淡、模糊、灰色，”这一传统的领导者既没有远见，也没有内部资源来领导在令人眼花缭乱的科技变革和全球化时代中的组织。

有魅力的领导者则相反，令人兴奋、引人入胜、

迷人。在机遇与危机并存的时代涌现，他们是令人着迷的人物，充满神秘，能够招募他人加入他们的宏伟愿景，并将他们催眠以服从——通过满足他们的需求来从他们那里获得“敬畏、虔诚和崇敬”——这样的领导者擅长运用同理心来了解他人的需求，正如 Kohut 所说，他们拥有“一种不可思议的能力，不一定完全意识到这一点，来利用...”

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unconscious feelings" of subordinates.[13] They were narcissistic in their grandiosity; their followers were deficient in self-esteem, perpetually seeking care, protection, and love from them. It was this dynamic that rendered the narcissistic leader effective but also at the same time dangerous.

Narcissistic leaders continue to be championed in the management literature as assertive, self-confident, tenacious, and creative. An appealing grandiosity eases their organizational ascent, as they dazzle investors, enchant fellow employees, and charm the media with their charisma and "seemingly unlimited strategic acumen." Then, all too often, "stunning bouts of folly" and recklessness ensue: misusing corporate funds, "risky decision making," or flagrant rule- and lawbreaking. The drive and daring that ensure their success are implicated in their fall; their capacities are also their weaknesses, two sides of the same coin much like Freud had originally proposed. A variety of experts sees a similar dynamic in these leaders, summoning up scenarios in which leaders inevitably "crash and burn," following a trajectory from "genius-to-folly." The leader's narcissistic investment in self is, they explain, both "resource and hazard," manifest in an independence of others' opinions as well as in, more darkly, a tendency to surround himself with obsequious yes-men.[14] In the management literature, charisma and the fascination associated with it are indispensable to successful leadership but paradoxically undermining of it at the same time.

Analytically inflected discussions of leadership start from the premise that domination and submission, as well as conflict and aggression, are inevitably part of organizational life. "Organizations operate by distributing authority and setting a stage for the exercise of power," the psychoanalyst and Harvard Business School professor Abraham Zaleznik wrote, and it was pointless to deny that rivalry, dislike, and competition were rife in them.[15] In the leadership literature, it is assumed that everyone has dependency needs: dependency is a fact of life, not a badge of shame. If not for dependency needs, why would anyone follow and whom would leaders lead?

The current cultural ambivalence surrounding narcissism comes into sharp relief when leadership is at issue. A regular stream of

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无意识感受下属。　　他们自恋

他们的自大；他们的追随者缺乏自尊，永远从他们那里寻求关怀、保护和爱。正是这种动态使得自恋型领导者有效，但同时也危险。

自恋型领导者继续在管理领域受到推崇

医学文献作为坚定、自信、坚韧和富有创造性的。

引人注目的宏伟减轻了他们的组织晋升，他们用魅力和“看似无限的策略敏锐度”眩惑投资者，迷住了同事，并迷住了媒体。

然后，过于频繁地出现“令人震惊的愚蠢行为”和鲁莽：滥用公司资金、“冒险决策”或公然违反规则和法律。确保他们成功的动力和勇气也导致了他们的失败；他们的能力也是他们的弱点，就像弗洛伊德最初提出的，是同一枚硬币的两面。

各种专家在这些领导者身上看到了类似的动态，描绘出领导者不可避免地“失败并燃烧”的场景

遵循从“天才到愚蠢”的轨迹。他们解释说，领导者的自恋式自我投资既是“资源也是危险”。

在独立于他人意见的同时，也在更阴暗的层面上，倾向于围绕自己聚集一群谄媚的唯唯诺诺之辈。

在管理文献中，魅力及其相关的吸引力对于成功的领导不可或缺，但同时又具有讽刺意味地削弱了领导力。

领导力的分析性讨论始于

前提是，统治与服从，以及冲突和侵略，不可避免地是组织生活的一部分。“组织通过分配权力和为权力行使设定舞台来运作，”精神分析学家和哈佛商学院教授亚伯拉罕·扎莱兹尼克写道，否认其中充斥着竞争、厌恶和竞争是毫无意义的。在领导力文献中，人们认为每个人都有依赖需求：依赖是生活的事实，而不是耻辱的标志。如果不是因为依赖需求，谁会愿意追随，领导者又会领导谁呢?

当前关于自恋的文化矛盾情绪

当领导问题凸显时，情况变得尖锐清晰。一股持续的

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books and articles by Maccoby and his acolytes reminds us that while we may neither like nor trust the visionary executives—the big innovators like Bill Gates, Steve Jobs, and Jack Welch—who "change the world," we cannot do without them. "We are in a time of great upheaval that needs visionary leaders and charismatic personalities," writes Maccoby.[16] These leaders are dangerously charismatic creatures who entice us into exciting submission before viciously turning on us, every bit as paradoxical in their makeup and as impossible to resist as were Jones's God-men and Freud's "personalities."

A Twenty-first Century Epidemic?

The question of whether we once again find ourselves in an age of narcissism has recently captured public attention, with a variety of pundits, psychologists, and self-styled Internet-based experts weighing in on both sides. Those answering in the affirmative argue that narcissism is dangerously on the increase and visible everywhere: in rampant consumerism and failed marriages, on Facebook and Twitter, in the executive suite and the halls of government. To them, narcissism again explains everything that is wrong with American culture. The situation is far more dire now than it was in the 1970s. The critics see the civic bonds that Lasch believed were fraying threatened anew by an epidemic of individualistic, self-seeking, and self-promoting behaviors especially evident among the young, the most narcissistic generation in history. In this view, the so-called "Generation Me" suffers from an excess of vanity, entitlement, and ill-gotten self-esteem. The evidence is there—the claim is that 10 percent of twenty-somethings and 25 percent of college students exhibit narcissistic pathology—and the prognosis is not good.[17]

The case for the precipitous rise in narcissism among Americans today rests largely on surveys—especially the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI)—administered to college students from 1980 to the present, and is made most vociferously by the psychologists Jean M. Twenge and W. Keith Campbell, who compiled and interpreted results from thousands of tested students in their widely cited 2009 book, *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement*.

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书籍和文章由 Maccoby 及其门徒提醒我们，尽管我们可能既不喜欢也不信任那些“改变世界”的远见卓识的执行官——如比尔·盖茨、史蒂夫·乔布斯和杰克·韦尔奇——但我们无法没有他们。“我们正处于一个需要远见卓识的领导者和魅力型人格的巨大动荡时期。”

writes 马科比写道。 这些领导者危险地有魅力

那些引诱我们陷入兴奋的顺从，然后又恶毒地背叛我们的人，他们在构成上同样矛盾，同样难以抗拒，就像琼斯的“上帝之子”和弗洛伊德的“人格”一样。

21 世纪的一场流行病？

我们是否再次陷入自恋时代的疑问最近引起了公众关注，各种专家、心理学家和自称基于互联网的专家对此各抒己见。那些回答肯定的人认为自恋正在危险地增加，无处不在：在肆虐的消费主义和失败的婚姻中，在 Facebook 和 Twitter 上，在高管办公室和政府大厅。对他们来说，自恋再次解释了美国文化中所有不正常的地方。现在的情况比 20 世纪 70 年代严重得多。批评者认为，拉斯赫认为正在磨损的公民纽带再次受到个人主义、自私和自我吹嘘行为的流行威胁，特别是在年轻人中，他们是历史上最自恋的一代。在这种观点下，所谓的“自我一代”患有过度虚荣、特权感和非法获得的自尊。证据就在那里——声称 10%的二十多岁的人和 25%的大学生表现出自恋病态——前景不容乐观。

美国 narcissism 疾病急剧上升的案例

今天的研究主要基于调查——特别是针对大学生的自恋人格量表（NPI）——从 1980 年到现在的调查，并且最激烈地由心理学家 Jean M. Twenge 和 W. Keith Campbell 提出，他们在广泛引用的 2009 年书籍《自恋流行病：生活在特权时代》中汇编和解释了数千名测试学生的结果。

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Lunbeck, Elizabeth. 纳西瑟斯的美国化，哈佛大学出版社，2014。ProQuest Ebook Central，
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Research psychologists have used the NPI since its development in 1979 to measure and predict narcissistic behavior. The test, which can be found on the Internet, asks subjects to choose between two responses to forty questions. Among them are questions measuring grandiosity, entitlement, and exploitativeness, for example, "I insist upon getting the respect that is due me" versus "I usually get the respect that I deserve"; "I find it easy to manipulate people" versus "I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people"; and "I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve" versus "I take my satisfactions as they come." These questions measure dimensions of narcissism that both researchers and clinicians consider pathological, and there is agreement that they do this well.[18]

Psychologists critical of the NPI argue, however, that a number of the test's questions measure not pathological narcissism, as its proponents claim, but the positive traits of high self-esteem, psychological health, assertiveness, and confidence. Among these questions are "I think I am a special person" versus "I am no better or worse than most people"; "I see myself as a good leader" versus "I am not sure if I would make a good leader"; and "I am assertive" versus "I wish I were more assertive." The first of each of these paired responses increases a subject's score on the NPI, and in the aggregate provide evidence for the ubiquity of narcissism. From the 1950s to the late 1980s, the percentage of teenagers agreeing with the statement that appeared on another test, "I am an important person," jumped from 12 to 80—an increase larger than any seen on the NPI. Twenge and Campbell consider this finding an especially significant sign of the increase in narcissism. "We think feeling good about yourself is very, very important," Twenge told a journalist in 2008. "That never used to be the case back in the '50s and '60s."[19]

Some psychologists—Campbell among them—have argued, however, that high scores on the NPI may in fact be indicative of *healthy* narcissism. The test as it is used now cannot distinguish (nor was it meant to) between pathological narcissism that has negative implications for others and healthy narcissism that is, many clinicians would argue, benign or even a sign of mental health and the foundation for robustly engaging with others and the social environment.

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研究心理学家自 1979 年 NPI 开发以来，一直使用它来衡量和预测自恋行为。这个可以在互联网上找到的测试要求受试者在 40 个问题中选择两种回答。其中一些问题测量了虚荣、权利感和剥削性，例如，“我坚持得到应得的尊重”与“我通常得到应得的尊重”；“我发现操纵人很容易”与“我不喜欢发现自己正在操纵人”；以及“除非我得到应得的一切，否则我永远不会满足”与“我随遇而安。”这些问题衡量了研究人员和临床医生都认为病态的自恋维度，并且大家一致认为它们做得很好。

心理学家对 NPI 持批评态度，然而，他们认为许多测试的问题衡量的是非病态自恋，而不是其倡导者所声称的，而是高自尊、心理健康、自信和积极特质。这些问题包括“我认为我是一个特殊的人”与“我和大多数人一样，没有更好或更差”；“我认为自己是一个好领导者”与“我不确定自己是否是一个好领导者”；以及“我很有自信”与“我希望自己更有自信”。在这些成对回答中，第一个回答提高了受试者在 NPI 上的得分，总体上提供了自恋普遍存在的证据。从 20 世纪 50 年代到 80 年代末，同意另一个测试中出现的陈述“我是一个重要的人”的青少年比例从 12%跃升至 80%，这一增长幅度超过了 NPI 上的任何增长。Twenge 和 Campbell 认为这一发现是自恋增加的一个特别重要的迹象。“我们认为对自己感觉良好非常重要，”Twenge 在 2008 年对一位记者说。“这在 20 世纪 50 年代和 60 年代从未有过。”

一些心理学家——Campbell 也包括在内——认为，然而，NPI 的高分实际上可能表明健康的自恋。现在的测试无法区分（也从未旨在区分）对他人有负面影响的病态自恋和健康自恋，许多临床医生会认为后者是无害的，甚至是心理健康和与他人及社会环境积极互动的基础。

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Campbell acknowledges that narcissists, with their high self-esteem, may in fact be happier, more satisfied, and more successful than their nonnarcissistic peers. He admits that research shows that the social psychologists' narcissists are happier than the clinicians', who conform more to Lasch's fragile, empty, and depressed modal type. It is possible, Campbell writes, that the narcissists who end up in psychiatrists' offices and on analysts' couches are *failed* narcissists, those "not doing their 'job' correctly"—the job consisting in "achieving and winning." He concludes that "narcissism may be a functional and healthy strategy for dealing with the modern world," invoking Freud's 1931 sketch of the narcissist as a larger-than-life personality striding confidently across the world's stage.[20]

It may be, as one psychologist told a reporter, that "eighty percent of people think they're better than average," but, he added, it was also the case that "psychologically healthy people generally twist the world to their advantage just a little bit"—echoing Freud's observation that "confidence in success . . . not seldom brings actual success along with it." And, to be sure, self-esteem can sometimes appear frustratingly reflexive, as in the statement of one young woman that "I am always confident in myself because it will lower my self-esteem if I'm not." Easily held up to mockery, self-esteem and "unflappable self-confidence" could yet have real effects. Consider the case of a Harvard student recently profiled in the *Boston Globe,* raised in poverty by an overworked single mother, who credited her high school teacher's lesson that students should "realize the genius in their inner self" with empowering her to follow her dream of becoming a skilled debater. In the same article, a twenty-four-year-old from an equally deprived Boston background, who started his own company, said he was grateful that his confidence kept him "a little ignorant, maybe even a little arrogant," because otherwise he would never have done anything. It is possible that rising scores on the NPI reflect this kind of self-esteem. As two psychologists argue, higher overall scores may indicate not an increase "in egotism and self-centeredness" or "narcissism at all" among the young but may instead reflect "positive, rather than negative societal change."[21] They may also reflect the fact that the popular language of self-esteem is

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Campbell 承认，自恋者由于高自尊，实际上可能比非自恋者更快乐、更满意、更成功。他承认，研究表明，社会心理学家研究中的自恋者比临床医生更快乐，后者更符合 Lasch 的脆弱、空虚和抑郁的典型类型。

Campbell 写道，最终出现在精神科医生办公室和分析师沙发上的人可能是失败的 narcissists 自恋者
那些“没有正确完成他们的‘工作’”——这项工作包括“实现和获胜”。他得出结论，"自恋可能是应对现代世界的一种功能和健康策略"，引用了弗洛伊德 1931 年对自恋者的描绘，将其描述为一个超越生活的个性，自信地跨越世界的舞台。

可能正如一位心理学家对记者所说，“百分之八十”
人们认为他们比平均水平更好，”但他补充说，这也是“心理健康的普通人通常稍微扭曲世界以获得优势”——呼应弗洛伊德的观点，“对成功的信心……往往伴随着实际的成功。”当然，自尊有时可能显得令人沮丧地反射性，就像一位年轻女性的说法：“我总是对自己有信心，因为如果我对自己没有信心，我的自尊就会降低。”自尊和“不可动摇的自信”很容易受到嘲笑，但它们仍然可能产生实际效果。考虑一下最近在《波士顿环球报》上被报道的一位哈佛学生的情况，她在一个劳累过度的单身母亲抚养下在贫困中长大，她将她的高中老师关于学生应该“认识到他们内在的才能”的课视为赋予她追随成为优秀辩论家梦想的力量。在同一篇文章中，一位来自同样贫困的波士顿背景的 24 岁年轻人，他创办了自己的公司，表示他感激他的自信让他“有点无知，甚至有点傲慢”，否则他永远不会做任何事情。 可能是 NPI 评分的上升反映了这种自尊。正如两位心理学家所争论的，更高的总分可能并不表明年轻人“自我中心和自恋”的增加，而可能反而反映了“积极的，而不是消极的社会变革”。他们也可能反映出自尊感的流行语言是

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relatively new; the first generation of children raised on it were born in the 1980s and 1990s.

Some argue that there is nothing new in the current condemnations of the fecklessness of the young—that, in the words of one psychologist, "every generation is the 'Me' generation." The notion that overconfident youth will have its deserved comeuppance is hardly novel. In the 1960s, the older generation poked fun at the identity crises of the young, asking whether they were uniquely miserable in their angst—was their collective crisis not just the personal crisis of the past in an updated form? In the 1970s, as we have seen, bemoaning the narcissism of the young—their "fatuous self-absorption"—was a minor industry; from the perspective of 2008, one self-described Boomer wrote that he found "the notion that today's students are even in the running for narcissistic self-absorption with my own cohort absolutely hilarious." The essayist Logan Pearsall Smith has quipped that "the denunciation of the young is a necessary part of the hygiene of elderly people, and greatly assists in the circulation of their blood," and any number of assessments of youth today as lazy, irresponsible, overconfident, and entitled supports his contention. As *Time* magazine has pointed out, the young were denounced by their teachers as pleasure-seeking and "so selfish" in 1911 and there was no shortage of condemnations of jazz-crazed flappers in the 1920s. Is posting photos on Facebook any more obnoxious "than 1960s couples' trapping friends in their houses to watch their terrible vacation slide shows?"[22]

Psychologists' disagreements are not confined to the professional journals but, rather, featured in the popular media. "New Study Finds 'Most Narcissistic Generation' on Campuses, Watching YouTube" raises alarms; "Students Not So Self-Obsessed After All" reassures. The *New York Times* regularly assesses the state of the narcissism question, with articles featuring some psychologists warning of cultural disaster and others maintaining "that the dire warnings of a rise in selfishness were baseless." Separate from this is a lively, complex, and ongoing conversation about narcissism focused less on the issue of its prevalence than on dealing with its alluring dangers. Books and websites offer nuanced, sophisticated portrayals of narcissistic

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相对较新；第一代在它抚养下的孩子出生于 20 世纪 80 年代和 90 年代。

有些人认为当前谴责中没有什么新内容
;年轻人无能的问题——用一位心理学家的话说，“每一代都是‘我’的一代。”自信过度的年轻人将得到应有的惩罚这一观点并非新颖。在 20 世纪 60 年代，老一辈人嘲笑年轻人的身份危机，质疑他们是否在痛苦中独一无二——他们的集体危机难道不是过去个人危机的更新版吗？在 20 世纪 70 年代，正如我们所见，哀叹年轻人的自恋——他们的“愚蠢的自我陶醉”——成了一种小产业；从 2008 年的角度来看，一位自称婴儿潮一代的人写道，他认为“今天的学生甚至与我的同龄人竞争自恋的自我陶醉这一观点绝对可笑。”散文家洛根·皮尔索尔·史密斯曾戏谑地说，“谴责年轻人是老年人卫生的一部分，极大地促进了他们的血液循环，”任何对当今年轻人懒惰、不负责任、自信过度和有特权的评估都支持他的论点。《时代》杂志指出，1911 年，年轻人被老师谴责为寻求快乐和“如此自私”，20 世纪 20 年代对爵士乐狂热的少女们的谴责也并不少见。在 Facebook 上发布照片难道比 20 世纪 60 年代情侣们把朋友留在家里看糟糕的度假幻灯片更令人反感吗？”

心理学家之间的分歧并不局限于专业领域
期刊，而是在流行媒体上，发现“最自恋的一代”在校园里观看 YouTube”
引发警报；“学生并非如此自我沉迷”给予安慰。
纽约时报经常评估自恋问题的状况，文章中一些心理学家警告文化灾难，而另一些则坚持“关于自恋上升的严重警告是没有根据的。”与此不同，有一个关于自恋的生动、复杂且持续的对话，它关注的不是其普遍性问题，而是如何应对其迷人的危险。书籍和网站提供了对自恋的细腻、复杂的描绘。

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pathology as well as advice on identifying, dealing with, recovering from, and, most useful of all, altogether avoiding narcissists, whether at work or in intimate relations. *Freeing Yourself from the Narcissist in Your Life; Narcissistic Lovers: How to Cope, Recover and Move On; Children of the Self-Absorbed: A Grown-Up's Guide to Getting over Narcissistic Parents:* the list is long, the operative concepts variants of how to manage, recover from, and otherwise deal with, or distance yourself from, what one title terms "infuriating, mean, critical people." Much of this advice channels a Kernbergian vision, characterizing the narcissist as an interpersonally enticing but dangerous figure who snares unwitting victims in his charismatic net while callously draining them dry. Unlike the narcissism of the research psychologist's NPI, this popular narcissism can be every bit as paradoxical as the analyst's. *The Everything Guide to Narcissistic Personality Disorder*, for example, offers a complex version of narcissism in nontechnical language.[23] And, ordinary people wounded by narcissists offer wrenching testimony on the web to the confusing allure of the narcissist, as well as to the devastation that often follows in its wake, drawing on the writings of professionals but also on readings in the press and popular books.

In the leadership literature focused on the charismatic narcissist, which employs an analytic understanding of narcissism, malignant and healthy narcissism are given equal weight; the leader's strengths are also her vulnerabilities. In the popular discussion, by contrast, the negative findings and alarming numbers offered by research psychologists tend to dominate. Consider self-esteem, which research psychologists and psychoanalysts conceptualize differently. To many research psychologists, high self-esteem is symptomatic of narcissism, and healthy narcissism seems a "vague and somewhat meaningless way of describing 'all human efforts.'"[24] For analysts, by contrast, it is more often low self-esteem that is problematic (as in, overly inflated self-esteem is not what it appears to be, often interpreted as a narcissistic defense against actual low-esteem), and healthy narcissism is seen as a clinically useful concept. Self-esteem to analysts is fungible, and since the 1970s they have envisioned people regulating their self-esteem in the interest of maintaining positive

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病理学以及关于识别、处理、恢复和，最重要的是，完全避免自恋者的建议，无论是在工作中还是在亲密关系中。从你生活中的自恋者中解放自己；自恋型恋人：如何应对、恢复和继续前进；自我陶醉的孩子：成年人的克服自恋父母的指南：这个列表很长，操作概念是管理、恢复以及如何处理或与所谓的“令人愤怒、卑鄙、批评性的人”保持距离的方法的变体。大部分建议都传达了 Kernberg 的视角，将自恋者描述为一个在人际交往中吸引人但危险的个体，他在自己迷人的网中捕捉了无意识的受害者，同时无情地榨取他们。与研究心理学家 NPI 中的自恋不同，这种流行自恋可以与分析师的自恋一样具有矛盾性。例如，《自恋型人格障碍的全方位指南》以非技术性语言提供了一个复杂的自恋版本。并且，被自恋者伤害的普通人，在网络上提供了令人心碎的证词，揭示了自恋者的迷人之处，以及其后果通常带来的破坏，他们借鉴了专业人士的著作，也参考了新闻和流行书籍的阅读。

在关注具有魅力型自恋的领导力文献中，该文献采用对自恋的分析性理解，将病态自恋和健康自恋给予同等重视；领导者的优势也是她的弱点。相比之下，在流行讨论中，研究心理学家提供的负面发现和令人担忧的数字往往占据主导地位。以自尊心为例，研究心理学家和精神分析学家对其有不同的概念化。对许多研究心理学家来说，高自尊心是自恋的标志，而健康自恋似乎是一种“模糊且有些无意义的描述‘所有人类努力’的方式。”相比之下，分析师更常认为低自尊心是有问题的（例如，过度膨胀的自尊心并非表面上看起来的那样，常被解释为一种针对实际低自尊的自恋防御），而健康自恋被视为一个临床上有用的概念。对分析师来说，自尊心是可互换的，自 20 世纪 70 年代以来，他们设想人们为了维持积极的

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feelings about themselves. There is nothing new about this process, often called narcissistic. Talk of self-esteem is not cause for alarm.

Gendered Vanity

Just how limited the popular conversation about narcissism is can be glimpsed in the current conversation about female vanity, which barely registers analytically but figures centrally in popular condemnations of modern women as narcissistic: overly obsessed with outward appearances, entitled and self-absorbed, holding—as one woman admitting to guilt of the same put it—"an inflated sense of our own fabulousness." Condemnations of fashion and the female vanity on which it purportedly depends are everywhere, and it is easy to cast women as hapless victims of media-fueled bodily narcissism—"beautifully painted and clothed with an empty mind" is how one woman recently surveyed characterized "how people are becoming."[25]

Vanity, aesthetic appreciation, envy, self-possession, beauty, exhibitionism: this is where talk of female narcissism started and where, in much of popular discourse, we are today. The dictum that narcissism—and the self-admiration symptomatic of it—is more pronounced in women than in men went largely uncontested in the theorizing of Freud and his colleagues. And the purportedly greater female disposition to exhibitionistic display—especially evident in the project of self-making around clothing—is a staple of both the historical and contemporary discussions. But the continuities these similarities suggest are illusory. The earlier discussion was as much concerned with the pleasures as with the pathologies of narcissism. It envisioned a self reveling in sensuous experience of the world, and examined the ways individuals brought the objects among which they lived into the "Me." In place of the richness of the early analysts' explorations of vanity and expressiveness, we now have censoriousness and disdain for women's desires.

The psychoanalyst J. C. Flügel argued in 1930 that clothing engendered envy, jealousy, petty triumph, spitefulness, struggle, and painful contests for superiority among women. Men were almost completely indifferent to female attire, Flügel argued. "Women dress

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关于自己的感受。这个过程并不新鲜，通常被称为自恋。关于自尊的谈论并非令人恐慌的原因。

性别虚荣

正是由于对自恋的普遍讨论非常有限，我们可以在当前关于女性虚荣的讨论中窥见这一点，这种讨论在分析上几乎不被注意，但在对现代女性的普遍谴责中却占据中心地位：过度沉迷于外表，自以为是且自私自利，正如一位承认自己有同样罪过的女性所说——“我们自己的非凡感膨胀了。”对时尚和它所依赖的女性虚荣的谴责无处不在，很容易将女性描绘成媒体煽动的身体自恋的无辜受害者——“美丽地涂脂抹粉，却思想空虚”是最近一位调查女性对“人们是如何变成这样”的描述。

虚荣，审美欣赏，嫉妒，自我控制，美丽，展览

自恋主义：这就是关于女性自恋的讨论开始的地方，也是我们现在在许多流行话语中所处的位置。关于自恋——以及与之相伴的自我欣赏——在女性中比在男性中更为明显的说法，在弗洛伊德及其同事的理论中几乎没有受到质疑。而据说女性更倾向于表现欲强的展示——特别是在围绕服装的自我塑造项目中尤为明显——这是历史和当代讨论的基石。但这些相似性所暗示的连续性是虚幻的。早期的讨论既关注自恋的愉悦，也关注其病理。

它设想了一种沉浸在世界的感官体验中的自我，并考察了个人如何将他们生活的物体带入“自我”之中。取代了早期分析家对虚荣和表现力的丰富探索，我们现在有了对女性欲望的审查和轻蔑。

弗洛伊德分析家J. C. 弗吕格尔于1930年提出，服装

性别嫉妒、嫉妒、微小的胜利、怨恨、斗争以及女性之间痛苦的优越性竞争。弗吕格尔认为，男性几乎完全对女性服饰漠不关心。“女性服饰

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much more to please their own vanity and to compete with other women" than to elicit male admiration, he observed, wistfully imagining women tempering their self-satisfied narcissism and turning their attention to men—other than their dressmakers. Flügel worried that women's capacity for heterosexual object relations was diminished by the narcissistic satisfactions offered by wearing, displaying, and competing with one another through the medium of their attire. Some recent psychoanalytic commentators in effect assent to Flugel's observation while adding a positive dimension to it, exploring the many ways in which the circulation of clothing among women—shopping, dressing, admiring, evaluating—constitutes a concretely apprehensible and "highly ambivalent" form of object relations expressive of the emotions rooted in the earliest relationship to the mother—"love, hate and envy." Clothing shoulders a heavy expressive load in women's lives from this perspective, serving as "a way of displaying the body, as an indicator of economic power, as an incitement to envy, and as a sexual enticement."[26]

"For all of Generation Me's lifetime, clothes have been a medium of self-expression," writes Twenge in *Generation Me,* highlighting the individuality that now is expressed through dress in contrast to the rules and conformity of the past. Raised on a "free to be you and me" ethos that advocates wearing what one wants to, "not just what other folks say," today's young are interested in things "that satisfy their personal wants and help them express themselves as individuals." People increasingly dress for themselves, Twenge argues, for comfort rather than to elicit the approval of others. Narcissists today are inordinately interested in "new fads and fashion," and like to both display and look at their bodies. Vain and self-centered, they spend a lot of time focused on looking good.[27]

All of this here presented as new and alarming would have been familiar to Louis Flaccus, our early-twentieth-century psychologist of clothing, who more than a century ago surveyed students about clothing's relation to the self. Flaccus and his subjects celebrated the material pleasures of clothing. He expounded on the ways certain sorts of clothing were allied with a "slackening of self-restraint" and recognized "the sensual delight in one's body as body" as an exemplary

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远不止是为了满足自己的虚荣心并与其他女性竞争，而是为了引起男性的钦佩，他带着一丝惋惜地想象着女性们调整她们自满的自恋，将注意力转向男性——除了他们的裁缝。弗吕格尔担心，女性通过穿着、展示和通过服装相互竞争来获得的自恋满足感会降低她们对异性对象关系的感受能力。一些最近的心理学分析评论家实际上同意弗吕格尔的观察，并为它添加了一个积极的维度，探讨了女性之间服装的流通——购物、穿衣、欣赏、评价——构成了一个具体可感知的且“高度矛盾”的对象关系形式，表达了根植于最早与母亲的关系的情感——“爱、恨和嫉妒”。从这个角度来看，服装在女性的生活中承担着沉重的表达负担，作为一种展示身体的方式、经济权力的指标、激发嫉妒的诱因和性诱惑。

对于“我世代”的一生来说，衣服一直是一种媒介
自我表达的，”Twenge 写道　　我这一代　　突出
现在通过着装表达个性，与过去的规则和一致性形成对比。在“自由做自己”的伦理观念中长大，倡导穿自己想穿的衣服，“而不仅仅是别人说的”，今天的年轻人对“满足他们个人需求并帮助他们作为个体表达自己”的事物感兴趣。Twenge 认为，人们越来越为自己而穿衣，而不是为了获得他人的认可。今天的自恋者对“新潮流和时尚”过度感兴趣，喜欢展示和观察自己的身体。自负且以自我为中心，他们花很多时间专注于外表好看。

所有这里呈现为新颖且令人担忧的，原本
熟悉于路易·弗拉卡斯，我们 20 世纪初的服装心理学家，他一个多世纪前调查了学生对服装与自我关系的看法。弗拉卡斯和他的受试者庆祝了服装的物质愉悦。他阐述了某些类型的服装与“自我约束的放松”相联系的方式，并认为“将身体作为身体的感觉愉悦”是一个典范

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expression of the "joy of living," none of which he associated with narcissism. Given the NPI's dichotomous choice between "my body is nothing special" and "I like to look at my body," the subject wishing to keep her score low will chose "nothing special." Not for her the exuberance and exhilaration of Flaccus's subjects, "glad to be alive" in donning the loose clothes appropriate for an outing, glorying in the "'I don't care' feeling" such garments encouraged and delighting in the "delicious feeling about tripping up one's usual sober self." Among Flaccus's subjects were avid shoppers, but there is none of the reproving disdain of today's commentators on narcissism in his work, which is awash in self-feeling, pleasure, sensation, illusion, and the delights of appropriation, of clothes "gradually becoming part of ourselves."[28]

The contemporary Laschian perspective that casts all consumption as pathological is of little use in distinguishing between shopping that is experienced as pleasurable and shopping that is experienced as a compulsion, even an addiction, that must be engaged in at the price of unbearable psychic distress. As exemplary of the latter, consider, for example, the woman cited in a 2000 article who likened "extended clothes-shopping" to an injection and another who described "how she got the shakes if she was deprived of the opportunity of shopping because she was on holiday in a remote location." Surely, a robustly conceptualized theory of consumption would allow that the meanings shopping has for these women, who speak of it in the idiom of substance abuse, differ from those it had for Flaccus's enchanted subjects or Twenge's, female and male alike, instead of characterizing them all as narcissistic in their materialism. Since the mid-1980s, a body of literature by psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts, as well as sociologists, on compulsive shopping has explored these meanings, offering testimony to their complexity, as well as, in some cases, to how rudimentary understanding of the phenomenon can appear. This literature casts compulsive shopping as a largely female disorder that, variously, offers "escape from psychic pain," represents a "flight from feminine identification," is a form of self-harm akin to delicate self-cutting, and—here we are back in the company of Freud and his colleagues—is

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表达“生活的喜悦”，他都没有将其与自恋联系起来。鉴于 NPI 在“我的身体并不特殊”和“我喜欢看我的身体”之间的二分选择，想要保持分数低的受试者会选择“并不特殊”。对她来说，没有 Flaccus 的受试者那种热情和兴奋，“很高兴活着”地穿上适合外出的宽松衣服，陶醉于这种“我不在乎”的感觉，以及这种衣服鼓励并令人愉悦的“绊倒自己平时清醒的自我”的“美味感觉”。在 Flaccus 的受试者中，有热衷于购物的，但他的作品中没有今天评论家对自恋的指责和轻蔑，他的作品充满了自我感觉、快乐、感觉、幻觉以及占有衣服的乐趣，“衣服逐渐成为我们自身的一部分”。

当代拉斯奇观点，将所有消费病理学在区分令人愉悦的购物体验和因强迫甚至成瘾而必须以难以忍受的心理痛苦为代价的购物之间作用不大。例如，考虑一下 2000 年一篇文章中提到的女性，她将“长时间的服装购物”比作注射，还有另一个描述“如果她在偏远地区度假时没有购物机会，她会感到颤抖”的女性。当然，一个概念化的消费理论应该允许这些女性对购物的意义，她们用物质滥用的语言来谈论它，与 Flaccus 的迷人主题或 Twenge 的，无论男女，的意义不同，而不是将它们都描述为物质主义中的自恋。

自 20 世纪 80 年代中期以来，心理学家、精神科医生、心理分析师以及社会学家关于强迫性购物的文献探讨了这些含义，证明了其复杂性，在某些情况下，也揭示了对此现象的初步理解可能显得多么基础。这些文献将强迫性购物描绘为一种主要影响女性的疾病，它提供了“逃离精神痛苦”的途径，代表了“逃离女性认同”的行为，是一种类似于细腻自残的自我伤害形式，而且——我们又回到了弗洛伊德及其同事的身边——

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at root "a deferred reaction to anxiety over castration, the first cognizance of the lack of a penis." Market researchers and the social scientists who study them are a step ahead of disapproving social critics, having devised elaborate and largely value-free taxonomies to classify shoppers and their habits: apathetic or recreational, indifferent or gratified, browsers or buyers. They have shown that women tend to cast shopping for clothing—including window-shopping without purchasing—as a legitimate indulgence and a harmless means to pursue pleasure, much as did the early theoreticians of dress. Recall that in that early discussion, men as well as women indulged in the sensuous delights of clothing. Since then, however, men have managed to define shopping as work not play, enabling them to satisfy their impulses to consume—cars, appurtenances of household and yard, electronic gadgets—even as they disavow them by associating them with women and feminine desire.[29]

Flügel took comfort in observing that women did not on the whole laugh at men for their prickliness about clothing, though he had to admit this was likely due more to indifference than to any kindly regard they might have had for men. Now, however, as men emulate the clothes and body consciousness that were once solely women's province, the laughter prompted by the narcissistic baby boomer male's "ungraceful descent into middle age" is audible. Expensive antiaging potions disguised as shaving cream; plastic surgery promoted not as cosmetic but as an "investment that pays a pretty good dividend"; diet advice parading as tips for eating out—"it's almost impossible to tell whether you're reading a copy of *Men's Health* or *Mademoiselle,*" writes a female journalist, gleefully observing of the men subjected to the tyranny of impossible beauty ideals that has long been women's lot that "at least the burden of vanity and self-loathing will be shared by all." Writing of the vogue for uncomfortably tight, low-rise jeans among his peers, a male journalist contends that "American men have come to vanity late and practice it with the zeal of the newly converted." He sees men co-opting a peculiarly female vanity—even, more concretely, their jeans, with men scouring women's departments for suitably low cut varieties—and decrees, "we need to suffer to look good," testifying to their narcissism

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在根源上，“对阉割焦虑的一种延迟反应，对阴茎缺失的第一认知。”市场研究人员和那些研究他们的人比不赞成的社会批评家们先行一步，他们已经设计出详尽且很大程度上价值中立的分类法来对购物者和他们的习惯进行分类：冷漠或娱乐性，无动于衷或满足，浏览者或购买者。他们已经表明，女性往往将购物（包括无购买行为的橱窗购物）视为一种合法的放纵和追求快乐的无害方式，就像早期的服装理论家们所做的那样。记住，在那个早期的讨论中，男性和女性都沉溺于服装的感官愉悦。然而，从那时起，男性设法将购物定义为工作而非娱乐，使他们能够在否认它们的同时满足他们的消费冲动——汽车、家庭和庭院的附属品、电子产品。

Flügel 在观察到女性总体上并未..

嘲笑男人对服装的挑剔，尽管他不得不承认这更多是因为冷漠而非他们可能对男人的善意。然而，现在，随着男性模仿曾经仅限于女性的服装和身体意识，那种由自恋的婴儿潮一代男性“不优雅地步入中年”引发的笑声清晰可闻。昂贵的抗衰老精华液伪装成剃须膏；整形手术不是作为美容而是作为一项“能带来相当可观回报的投资”来推广；饮食建议伪装成外出就餐的技巧——“几乎无法分辨你是在阅读《男性健康》还是《玛德莫塞尔》”，一位女记者欢快地观察到，那些受到长期困扰女性的不可能美丽理想的暴政的男性，“至少虚荣和自我厌恶的负担将由所有人共同承担。”一位男性记者在描述他的同龄人中流行的紧身、低腰牛仔裤时尚时，声称“美国男性对虚荣的追求来得较晚，但他们的热情如同新信徒一般。”他看到男性在利用一种特别女性的虚荣心——甚至更具体地说，是他们的牛仔裤，男性在女装部门寻找合适低腰款式——并断言：“我们需要为了好看而受苦”，这证明了他们的自恋

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in spending stupidly on "hair cuts and shirts rather than car stereos and television sets." Flügel would not have been surprised at these men's seeking out the "erotic, masochistic" feelings imparted by the too-tight pants that drew this journalist's ire, and he might not have fully comprehended but surely would have approved of the "super-fucking macho" orientation—or, at the least, of the heterosexual side of the phenomenon—they signified, his concern always that men were insufficiently invested in their own attractiveness to women. Maybe men, a contemporary journalist muses, are finally copying women, now that women wield real power in the world.[30]

We are told that today's young narcissists—much like the Me-Decade narcissists of the social critics—have been coddled from birth and have grown into entitled, materialistic, shallow adults, obsessed with their appearances and addicted to shopping. What is to be done? The critics' remedy, in the 1970s, was in part to reinstate a culture of remissive "shalt nots" and "shoulds" whose passing was lamented by Philip Rieff and Lasch. The "fixed wants" of times past—associated in Rieff's history with obedience, limitations, renunciation, abstinence, and deprivation—were to be restored through a program of asceticism in those who had tasted the delights of impulse release. Writing in 1960, the adman Ernest Dichter suggested—in effect addressing social critics' recuperative fantasy—that those who decried their own materialism on Sundays while living in a world of material plenty the rest of the week were guilty of a mild hypocrisy. "Agreed, we should drop our interest in worldly possessions," he wrote. But how were we to actually renounce this "only too human desire?" Dichter's charge that we "steadfastly refuse to accept ourselves the way we actually are" is as apt today as it was more than fifty years ago.[31]

In *The Triumph of the Therapeutic,* Rieff ruefully expressed his doubt that "Western men can be persuaded again to the Greek opinion that the secret of happiness is to have as few needs as possible," voicing the narcissistic fantasy of the self without needs that animates the literature of lament.[32] The position of self-sovereignty

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在愚蠢地花费在“理发和衬衫而不是车载音响和电视上。”弗吕格尔不会对这些男人寻求由过于紧身的裤子带来的“色情、受虐狂”感觉而感到惊讶，这些裤子引起了这位记者的愤怒，他可能没有完全理解，但肯定会对他们所象征的“超级他妈的男子气概”取向——至少是对现象的异性恋方面——表示赞同，他始终担心男性在吸引女性方面投入不足。

也许男性，一位当代记者沉思道，现在女性在世界中拥有真正的权力，男性终于开始模仿女性了。

我们被告知，今天的年轻自恋者——就像社会批评家所批评的“自我”时代的自恋者——从出生起就被宠爱，长大成为自以为是的、物质主义的、肤浅的成年人，沉迷于自己的外表和购物成瘾。我们该怎么办？20 世纪 70 年代，批评家的补救措施部分是恢复一种宽容的“不应”和“应该”的文化，这种文化的消失被菲利普·里夫和拉斯赫哀悼。过去时代的“固定欲望”——在里夫的历史中与服从、限制、放弃、禁欲和剥夺相关联——将通过一个禁欲主义计划在那些尝过冲动释放的乐趣的人中恢复。广告人欧内斯特·迪希特在 1960 年写道——实际上是在回应社会批评家的恢复幻想——那些在周日谴责自己的物质主义，而在一周的其他时间生活在物质丰富的世界中的人，是有轻微虚伪之嫌的。“同意，我们应该放弃对世俗财富的兴趣，”他写道。但我们应该如何实际上放弃这种“过于人性的欲望”呢？迪希特的指控，我们“坚定地拒绝接受我们实际上是什么样子”，在今天和五十年前一样贴切。

In 治疗之胜利　　Rieff 悲观地表示他的怀疑“西方男人可以再次被说服接受希腊人的观点，即幸福的秘诀是尽可能少的需求”，表达出无需需求的自我虚荣幻想，这种幻想激发了哀悼文学的活力。自我主权立场

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that Rieff and other critics ascribe to the nineteenth-century bourgeois is descriptive of an unrealizable fantasy of independence and autonomy that serves as foil to the modern's purported neediness and enmeshment. This popular strain of commentary is nothing but the narcissism of the theorist, revealing his desire to inhabit a persona without needs and attachments. Such was Freud's fantasy as well. In short, the culture of narcissism might in the end be more the province of the orthodox analyst and the ironic, detached, and contemptuous critic of modernity than of the self-absorbed adolescent, the shopaholic woman, and the aging Boomer still in search of his self.

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Rieff 和其他批评家将 19 世纪资产阶级归因于的描述，是对一个无法实现的独立和自主幻想的描绘，这种幻想作为现代人所声称的依赖性和纠缠的对照。这种流行的评论流派不过是理论家的自恋，揭示了他想要占据一个无需需求和依附的角色。弗洛伊德的幻想也是如此。简而言之，自恋文化最终可能更多地属于正统分析师和讽刺的、超然的、轻蔑的现代性批评家，而不是自我中心的青少年、购物狂女性和仍在寻找自我的老龄化婴儿潮一代。

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narcissism": Joseph D. Lichtenberg, "The Dilemma of Human Identity," in "Book Notices," *JAPA* 28 (1980): 703–732, at 706. Roy Schafer, "Concepts of Self and Identity and the Experience of Separation-Individuation in Adolescence," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 42 (1973): 42–59, discusses, at 55–56ff, the "ambiguity" of the terms *self* and *identity,* seeing both as responses to analysts' dissatisfaction with ego psychology's "remoteness, impersonality, and austerity," and arguing that the discipline could only benefit from the shift underway to concern "with specifically human phenomenology and concepts." "Obliterating": Lasch, *Culture of Narcissism,* 86, "mass culture" at 91. "Problems of identity": Philip Rieff, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979 [1959]), 13.

Conclusion: Narcissism Today

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2009 年 4 月 27 日；以及 Madeline Bunting，

《消费社会的自恋让女性比以往任何时候都更不快乐》

监护人，2009 年 7 月 26 日。关于患病率，参见 Leonard C. Groopman 和 Arnold Cooper，“自恋型人格障碍”，在 www.health.am/psy/narcissistic-personality-disorder/（访问日期：2013 年 6 月 28 日），报告一般人群终身患病率为 1%，临床人群为 2%-16%，男性占 50%-75%；以及 F. S. Stinson 等人，“DSM IV 自恋型人格障碍的患病率、相关因素、残疾和共病：来自第 2 次全国酒精及相关条件流行病学调查的结果”，《临床精神病学杂志》第 69 卷（2008 年）：1033-1045，报告终身患病率为 6.2%，在 34,653 名成年人的样本中：男性为 7.7%，女性为 4.8%。

18. 自恋型人格量表可在互联网上找到

在 http://psychcentral.com/quizzes/narcissistic.htm 和 Pinsky Mirror Effect 中，261 – 267。得分 21 分或以上表明有自恋倾向；根据 Twenge 和 Campbell 在《自恋流行病》中的说法，31 页，平均得分从 1980-1984 年的约 15.5 分上升到 2005-2006 年的约 17.5 分。关于测试测量内容的文献相当丰富，争议也颇多。批评者的文章包括 Seth A. Rosenthal 和 Jill M. Hooley 的“社会-人格研究中的自恋评估：自恋与心理健康之间的关联是否源于自尊的混杂？”《人格研究杂志》44 卷（2010 年）：453 – 465；Rosenthal 等人，“关于自恋人格量表的效度问题的进一步证据：元分析调查——回应 Miller、Maples 和 Campbell”，“人格研究杂志”45 卷（2100 年）：408 – 416；以及 Kali H. Trzesniewski 等人，“Do Today’s”

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Young People Really Think They Are So Extraordinary?" *Psychological Science* 19 (2008): 181–188.

19. For a persuasive analysis of what the questions in fact measure, see Rosenthal and Hooley, "Narcissism Assessment," 456. "An important person": Twenge and Campbell, *Narcissism Epidemic,* 34. "Very, very important": Twenge in Stephanie Rosenbloom, "Generation Me vs. You Revisited," *New York Times,* 17 January 2008.

20. W. Keith Campbell, "Is Narcissism Really So Bad?" *Psychological Inquiry* 12 (2001): 214–216.

21. "Eighty percent": Mark Leary in Carl Vogel, "A Field Guide to Narcissism," *Psychology Today,* January-February 2006. "Confidence in success": Freud, "A Childhood Recollection from *Dichtung und Wahrheit*" (1917), *Standard Edition* 17:156. "Always confident": Jake Halpern, "The New Me Generation," *Boston Globe,* 30 September 2007. "Not an increase": Rosenthal and Hooley, "Narcissism Assessment," 462. Elizabeth Gudrais, "Self-Esteem, Real and Phony," *Harvard Magazine,* September/October 2005, quotes Seth Rosenthal saying that "narcissism is not a kind of self-esteem. . . . Equating confident people with narcissistic people is like equating happy with manic and then saying, 'Well, maybe happiness isn't such a good thing after all.' "

22. "Every generation": David Elkind in Susan Krauss Whitbourne, "Fulfillment at Any Age," *Psychology Today*, 13 September 2011. The phrase also appears in Brent W. Roberts, Grant Edmonds, and Emily Grijalva, "It is Developmental Me, Not Generation Me: Developmental Changes are More Important than Generational Changes in Narcissism—Commentary on Trzesniewski and Donnellan," *Perspectives in Psychological Science* 5 (2010): 97–102. "Uniquely miserable": Spencer Brown, "We Can't Appease the Younger Generation," *New York Times,* 27 November 1966. "Fatuous self-absorption": Frank A. Johnson, "The Existential Psychotherapy of Alienated Persons," in *The Narcissistic Condition: A Fact of Our Lives and Times,* ed. Marie Coleman Nelson (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1977), 128. "Absolutely hilarious": Comment to "Students Not So Self-Obsessed, After All, Study Finds," *Chronicle of Higher Education News Blog,* 17 January 2008. Pearsall Smith quoted in Brown, "Can't Appease." For assessments, see, for example, Christine Rosen, "The Overpraised American," *Policy Review* 133 (October/November, 2005); and Lori Gottlieb, "How to Land Your Kid in Therapy," *Atlantic,* July/August 2011. "So selfish": Joel Stein, "The New Greatest Generation: Why Millennials Will Save Us All," *Time,* 20 May 2013.

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年轻人真的认为自己如此非凡？”心理科学 19 (2008): 181－188. 19. 关于对所提问题实际测量的有说服力的分析，参见 Rosenthal 和 Hooley，“自恋评估”，456。“重要人物”：Twenge 和 Campbell，《自恋流行病》，34。“非常、非常重要”：Twenge 在 Stephanie Rosenbloom 的《自我一代与你的再访》中。

纽约时报，2008 年 1 月 17 日。

20. W. Keith Campbell，“自恋真的那么糟糕吗？”　心理内询查 12 (2001): 214－216.

21.“百分之八十”：马克·莱利在卡尔·福格尔，《narcissus-指南》中提到：sism，“《今日心理学》　2006 年 1-2 月。“对成功的信心”：弗洛伊德，《《诗与真》中的童年回忆》（1917），标准版 17:156。“始终自信”：杰克·哈尔彭，《新我世代》，波士顿环球报，2007 年 9 月 30 日。“并非增加”：罗森塔尔和胡利，《自恋评估》，462。伊丽莎白·古德莱，《真实与虚假的自尊》，哈佛杂志，2005 年 9/10 月，引用塞思·罗森塔尔说：“自恋不是一种自尊。将自信的人与自恋的人等同起来，就像将快乐与躁狂等同起来，然后说：‘嗯，也许快乐并不是那么好的一件事。’”

22.“每一代人”：大卫·艾尔金德在苏珊·克劳斯·惠特布恩的《实现——》; 任何年龄的心理，”《今日心理学》，2011 年 9 月 13 日。这个短语也出现在 Brent W. Roberts、Grant Edmonds 和 Emily Grijalva 的“发展的我，而非一代人的我：在自恋中，发展变化比代际变化更重要——对 Trzesniewski 和 Donnellan 的评论”，《心理学科学视角》第 5 卷（2010 年）：97－102。“独特地痛苦”：Spencer Brown，“我们无法安抚年轻一代”，《纽约时报》，1966 年 11 月 27 日。“愚蠢的自我陶醉”：Frank A. Johnson，“异化者的存在主义心理治疗”，载《自恋状态：我们生活和时代的现实》，Marie Coleman Nelson 编（纽约：人类科学出版社，1977 年），128。“绝对好笑”：对“研究发现，学生并非如此自我中心”的评论，《高等教育新闻博客》，2008 年 1 月 17 日。Pearsall Smith 引用自 Brown，“无法安抚”。关于评估，例如，参见 Christine Rosen 的“过度赞誉的美国”，《政策评论》第 133 期（2005 年 10/11 月）；以及 Lori Gottlieb 的“如何让你的孩子接受治疗”，《大西洋》杂志，2011 年 7/8 月。“如此自私”：乔尔·斯坦，《新最伟大的一代：为什么千禧一代将拯救我们所有人》，时代周刊，2013 年 5 月 20 日。

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23. "New study": Eric Hoover, "New Study Finds 'Most Narcissistic Generation' on Campuses, Watching You Tube," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 28 February 2007. "Students Not So Self-Obsessed." "Dire warnings": Douglas Quenqua, "Seeing Narcissists Everywhere," *New York Times,* 5 August 1913. Books: Linda Martinez-Lewis, *Freeing Yourself from the Narcissist in Your Life* (New York: Penguin, 2008); Cynthia Zayn and M.S. Kevin Dribble, *Narcissistic Lovers: How to Cope, Recover and Move On* (Far Hills, NJ: New Horizon Press, 2007); Nina W. Brown, *Children of the Self-Absorbed: A Grown-Up's Guide to Getting over Narcissistic Parents* (Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Press, 2008). "Infuriating": Nina W. Brown, *Coping with Infuriating, Mean, Critical People: The Destructive Narcissistic Pattern* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006). Cynthia Lechan Goodman and Barbara Leff, *The Everything Guide to Narcissistic Personality Disorder* (Avon, MA: Adams Media, 2012).

24. Rosenthal and Hooley, "Narcissism Assessment," 461, discussing the psychologist's take on healthy narcissism. I refer to research psychologists here to distinguish them from clinical psychologists.

25. For condemnation of advertiser's exploitation of women, see Susan J. Douglas, *Where The Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1994), chap. 11 (a critique of the notion of "Narcissism as Liberation"). "Inflated sense": Lucy Taylor, "The Ego Epidemic: How More and More of Us Women Have an Inflated Sense of Our Own Fabulousness," *Mail Online,*14 September 2009. Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits* (New York: Knopf, 1994), writes, at 23, that "feelings of dismay about the whole of fashion have been expressed since its very beginning" and is especially pointed on the dour moralism of the antifashion position.

26. "Jealousy, petty triumph": Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), 114, "women dress," at 214. "Highly ambivalent": Adrienne Harris in Irene Cairo-Chiarandini, "To Have and Have Not: Clinical Uses of Envy," *JAPA* 49 (2001): 1391–1404, at 1399. "Way of displaying": Arlene Kramer Richards, "Ladies of Fashion: Pleasure, Perversion or Paraphilia," *IJP* 77 (1996): 337–351, at 337.

27. "Generation Me's lifetime": Twenge, *Generation Me: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled—and More Miserable Than Ever Before* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 17, "free to be" at 24–25, "satisfy their personal wants" at 221. "Fads" and "bodies" are items on the NPI, in Pinsky and Young, *Mirror Effect*, 264. "Vain and self-centered": Twenge and Campbell, *Narcissism Epidemic,* 39. Stanley A. Leavy, "Against Narcissism," *Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Thought* 19 (1996): 403–424, notes,

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校园手术，观看 YouTube，《高等教育纪事》2007 年 2 月 28 日。“学生并非如此自我沉迷。”“严重警告”：道格拉斯·昆夸，《到处可见自恋者》，纽约时报，

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24. 罗森塔尔和胡利，《自恋评估》，第 461 页，讨论了
心理学家对健康自恋的看法。在此我指的是研究心理学家，以区别于临床心理学家。

25. 关于谴责广告商对女性的剥削，参见 Susan J. Douglas，《女孩在哪里：在大众媒体中成长起来的女性》（纽约：Three Rivers Press，1994 年），第 11 章（对“自恋即解放”这一观念的批判）。“膨胀的感觉”：Lucy Taylor，《自我膨胀的流行病：越来越多的我们女性对自己的非凡之美有着膨胀的感觉》，Mail Online，2009 年 9 月 14 日。Anne Hollander，《性与西装》（纽约：Knopf，1994 年），在第 23 页写道，“对整个时尚的沮丧感自其开始以来就有所表达”，并对反时尚立场的忧郁道德主义进行了特别尖锐的批评。

26.“嫉妒，微小的胜利”：弗吕格尔，《服装心理学》 伦敦：
霍加斯出版社，1930），114，“女性服饰”，第 214 页。“高度矛盾”：Adrienne Harris 在 Irene Cairo-Chiarandini 的《拥有与不拥有：嫉妒的临床应用》，JAPA 49（2001）：1391 – 1404，第 1399 页。“展示方式”：Arlene Kramer Richards，《时尚女士：愉悦、堕落或恋物癖》，IJP 77（1996）：337 – 351，第 337 页。27。“‘自我一代’的一生”：Twenge，《自我一代：为什么今天的美国年轻人比以往任何时候都更自信、更有主见、更有权利感——也更悲惨》

（纽约：自由出版社，2006 年），17，“自由成为”第 24-25 页
满足个人欲望 221.“时尚”和“身体”是 NPI 上的项目，在 Pinsky 和 Young 的《镜像效应》中，264。“自负且以自我为中心”：Twenge 和 Campbell，《自恋流行病》，39。Stanley A. Leavy，《反对自恋》，精神分析与当代思想

19 (1996): 403 – 424, 注释

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at 406, that "narcissism as the erotic pleasure of gazing at the reflection of one's own body" plays little role in analytic thinking and practice (though, as noted in the text, it figures importantly in the NPI).

28. Louis W. Flaccus, "Remarks on the Psychology of Clothes," *Pedagogical Seminary* 13–14 (1906–1907): 61–83, esp. 70–75.

29. "Psychic distress": Colin Campbell, "Shopaholics, Spendaholics, and the Question of Gender," in *I Shop, Therefore I Am: Compulsive Buying and the Search for Self,* ed. April Lane Benson (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 2000), 58, "extended clothes-shopping" at 69. "Escape from psychic pain": Ann-Marie N. Paley, "Growing Up in Chaos: The Dissociative Response," *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 48 (1988): 72–83, at 75. "Flight from feminine identification": Diana Diamond, "Gender-Specific Transference Reactions of Male and Female Patients to the Therapist's Pregnancy," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 9 (1992): 319–345, at 331. "Form of self-harm": Lynda Chassler, "Traumatic Attachments and Self-Harm Behaviors," *Psychoanalytic Social Work* 15 (2008): 69–74, at 70. "Deferred reaction": Lauren Lawrence, "The Psychodynamics of the Compulsive Female Shopper," *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 50 (1990): 67–70, at 70. "Cast shopping": Campbell, "Shopaholics."

30. "Ungraceful descent": Michelle Cottle, "How Men's Magazines Are Making Guys as Neurotic, Insecure and Obsessive about Their Appearance as Women," *Washington Monthly,* May 1998. "Tight, low-rise jeans": Mark Lotto, "We're Nude York, Nude York," *New York Observer*, 26 June 2005.

31. "Shalt nots": Philip Rieff, *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith after Freud* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 14–18. Ernest Dichter, *The Strategy of Desire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2011 [1960]), 85.

32. Rieff, *Triumph of the Therapeutic,* 17.

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在 406 处，指出“自恋作为一种凝视自身身体反射的性快感”在分析思维和实践中的作用很小（尽管，如文中所述，它在 NPI 中占有重要地位）。

28. 路易斯 · W · 弗拉卡斯，《关于服装心理学的评论》，教育学会第 13-14 卷（1906-1907 年）：61-83，特别是第 70-75 页。

29. “心灵痛苦”：Colin Campbell，《购物狂，挥霍狂，以及性别问题，”在《我购物，所以我存在：强迫性购物与自我寻找》，编者 April Lane Benson（新泽西州 Northvale：Jason Aronson，2000 年），第 58 页，“扩展的购物”在第 69 页。“逃离心理痛苦”：Ann-Marie N. Paley，《在混乱中成长：解离反应》，美国心理分析杂志第 48 卷（1988 年）：第 72-83 页，在第 75 页。“逃离女性认同”：Diana Diamond，《男性和女性患者对治疗师怀孕的性别特异性移情反应》，心理分析心理学第 9 卷（1992 年）：第 319-345 页，在第 331 页。“自我伤害的形式”：Lynda Chassler，《创伤性依恋与自我伤害行为》，心理分析社会工作第 15 卷（2008 年）：第 69-74 页，在第 70 页。“延迟反应”：Lauren Lawrence，《强迫性购物女性的心理动力学》，美国心理分析杂志第 50 卷（1990 年）：第 67-70 页，在第 70 页。“购物成瘾”：Campbell，《购物狂》。

30. “不优雅的下降”：Michelle Cottle，《男性杂志是如何》制造出神经质、不安全和痴迷于女性外表的男性，”华盛顿月刊”，1998 年 5 月。“紧身低腰牛仔裤”：马克 · 洛托，《裸体纽约，裸体纽约》，纽约观察家，2005 年 6 月 26 日。

31. “Shalt nots”：菲利普 · 里夫　治疗之胜利：治疗的应用弗洛伊德之后的信仰（芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，1966 年），14 – 18。欧内斯特 · 迪希特，《欲望策略》（新泽西州新不伦瑞克：交易出版社，2011 年[1960 年]），85。32. Rieff，《治疗胜利》，17。

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