

PART 1

INSIDE THE ECONOMIC AGENT

INSIDE ECONOMIC MAN

Behavioral Economics and Consumer Behavior

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The enigmatic title of this essay stems from the psychoanalytic approach to personality and consumer behavior—psychoanalytic object relations theory of the personality, to be precise. Object relations theory is what psychoanalytic theory became after more than a century of refinement of Freud’s most fundamental insights. Object relations theory is an interpersonal theory of personality development that concentrates on the internalization of interpersonal relationships and the formation of the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization. The “inside” of the title refers to the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization. All that is left inside Economic Man of neoclassical ordinal utility theory is the scale of preferences of the individual consumer. The theoretical linkage between psychoanalytic object relations theory of the personality and neoclassical ordinal utility theory of the consumer is that the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization is reflected in the structure of the consumer’s preferences.

While the scale of preferences is the last vestige of the consumer left in ordinal utility theory, the conception of rational Economic Man is the *sine qua non* for research on consumer behavior because it is the *only* theoretical conception of the individual consumer. To be rational, a consumer must have a transitive preference ordering. The mathematical property of transitivity can be translated in this context into a consumer who makes consistent choices. A consistent pattern of observable behavior is a surprisingly powerful postulate upon which to base a theory of consumer behavior. Thus the place to begin is the behavior of the individual consumer, whether we observe that behavior ourselves or draw upon the observations of others.

In this essay I intend to synthesize the essence of *The Personality Continuum and Consumer Behavior* (2002) for broadening the behavioral foundations of economic analysis and expanding the limits of applicability of economic theory. Broadening the behavioral foundations of economic analysis means including observable patterns of consumer behavior that do not fit into the neoclassical conception of the rational consumer. Expanding the limits of applicability of economic theory means that neoclassical ordinal utility theory can be modified to apply to these qualitatively different patterns of consumer behavior. In a positive way, the realistic limits of applicability of ordinal utility theory are being circumscribed and those limits are being expanded to include other qualitatively different patterns of observable consumer behavior.

The Personality Continuum is an integrative framework for the interdisciplinary study of consumer behavior. The Personality Continuum is divided into four discrete ranges representing qualitatively different levels of personality development that are hierarchically arranged in de-

scending order from higher to lower level: normal, neurotic, primitive, and psychotic. In object relations theory, personality development is a series of interpersonal achievements, and the level of personality development is defined by the level of intrapsychic structural formation achieved in the personality organization and the predominant defense used by the person against severe anxiety in interpersonal relationships. The importance of the Personality Continuum for the study of consumer behavior is that each level of personality development is reflected in a qualitatively different pattern of consumer behavior, and the Personality Continuum facilitates the comparison of these variations. Everything varies qualitatively with the level of personality development along the Personality Continuum.

The Personality Continuum was conceived as a one-page document befitting an integrative framework; because of page-size limitations, here it is reproduced as a table spread over four pages (Table 1.1), just as it was presented in *The Personality Continuum and Consumer Behavior* (though I have made some refinements since the 2002 publication of that book).¹

I relate consumer behavior to personality because the personality provides a larger organizational framework that includes a person's pattern of behavior as a consumer and relates it to his or her pattern of behavior as a human being. The goal is a human understanding of consumer behavior. The focus here will be on consumer behavior; although I do intend to go into the substance of object relations theory on the internalization of interpersonal relationships and the formation of the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization, I cannot plumb the true depth in this essay and will leave it to the interested reader to see Albanese 2002. I will proceed by elaborating on the pattern of consumer behavior for each of the four qualitatively different levels of personality development, beginning with the normal range of the Personality Continuum and then descending downward to the neurotic, primitive, and psychotic ranges.

THE NORMAL RANGE OF THE PERSONALITY CONTINUUM AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The crowning achievement of psychoanalytic object relations theory of the personality is the clear conception it provides of what it means to be a normal person—not as a rigid ideal of perfection, but as a realistic person who would simply be described as a mature human being (Albanese 2002). Psychoanalytic object relations theory of the personality grew out of the intense observation of the individual's behavior in the clinical situation by a trained psychoanalyst, and out of this situation has grown an interpersonal theory of personality development based upon the quality of interpersonal relationships (Fairbairn 1952, 34, 40). The portrait of the normal personality organization will be presented as a set of *human capacities*, from the basic to the highest, and *patterns of behavior*, from the general pattern of human behavior to an overall pattern of consumer behavior and then to a more specific pattern of consumption behavior.

A person with a personality organization at the normal level of personality development would have the capacity for concern for another person and oneself, the capacity to experience guilt for violating an internalized moral system, the capacity to fall and remain in love and to form intimate interpersonal relationships, the capacity for foresight and to plan realistically for the future, the capacity for genuine insight and the urge to change in meaningful ways, and a range of mature defenses against severe anxiety in interpersonal relationships (humor, sublimation, altruism, anticipation, and suppression) (Albanese 2002).

A person with a personality organization at the normal level of personality development would have a stable and consistent general pattern of human behavior. *Consistency* applies to a person's pattern of behavior at one point in time and *stability* refers to a consistent pattern of behavior over

time. In object relations theory, the determinant of a consistent pattern of behavior is the interpersonal achievement of accepting both oneself and another person as both good and bad, and therefore as whole and more realistic person (Kernberg 1984). This interpersonal achievement in personality development results in the integration of whole object relations, the most momentous development in the formation of the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization. In the course of personality development, interpersonal relationships are internalized continuously and the formation of the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization develops in levels that are hierarchically organized. The intrapsychic structure is the enduring part of the personality organization. In the beginning of personality development, good and bad interpersonal relations are internalized completely separately—in early infancy through introjection and in late infancy through identification—reflecting the inborn physiological capacity for positive and negative affective experience. In childhood, the good and bad introjections and identifications must be integrated to form whole object relations.

The integration of whole object relations signals the coming into existence of the ego. The outcome of the synthetic function of the ego is the formation of an ego identity as an integrated intrapsychic structure (Albanese 2002, 101–2, 104–5; Kernberg 1984, 31). The integration of whole object relations is the foundation for the human capacity for concern for another person and oneself, an ego capacity, and the human capacity for guilt, a superego capacity. The *prohibitive superego* is the intrapsychic structure that gives a person the human capacity for guilt. The contents of the *prohibitive superego* represent an internalized moral system that begins with the internalization of the more realistic parental prohibitions and demands. The formation of the prohibitive superego begins with the integration of whole object relations because good and bad must be juxtaposed for the person to be able to tell right from wrong. The integration of whole object relations is the foundation for a sense of *continuity of the self*, and it is the first precondition for an intimate interpersonal relationship: it gives the person the human capacity to fall in love.

In object relations theory, the determinant of a stable pattern of behavior is the interpersonal achievement of fully integrating satisfying genital sexual activity into an interpersonal relationship by successfully resolving the oedipal situation. In simpler terms, a person discovers the preferred pattern of genital sexual activity in a relationship with another person (Sullivan 1953, 297). This interpersonal achievement in personality development represents the second precondition for the human capacity for intimacy in an interpersonal relationship: it gives the person the capacity to remain in love. It is built upon the foundation of the integration of whole object relations (the first precondition for intimacy) and represents a higher interpersonal achievement in personality development. A person at the normal level of personality development would form stable and deep interpersonal relationships.

At the highest reaches of the normal level of personality development, a person would have a *protective superego*, an intrapsychic structure built upon the foundation of the prohibitive superego and the human capacity for guilt (Kernberg 1977). The formation of the protective superego at the normal level of personality development is the outcome of the interpersonal achievement in personality development: Sexual intercourse culminating in orgasm and the subjective experience of transcendence in an intimate interpersonal relationship form a new common social boundary around the couple, connecting the past, present, and future (Kernberg 1977). The subjective experience of transcendence involves crossing the boundaries of the self and momentarily becoming one with another person. The new common social boundary that forms around the couple is the protective superego, an intrapsychic structure that protects the couple from guilt for violating the more realistic parental prohibitions and demands internalized in the prohibitive superego—

many directed explicitly toward sexual behavior—and from the parents as well, who may still be around, making them feel guilty (Albanese 2002, 127; Kernberg 1977, 102–4).

The protective superego is the foundation for the human capacity for commitment and for a future orientation. A commitment by definition is made for the future. The contents of the protective superego represent an internalized value system shared with another person. Freud clearly recognized the lofty position of the protective superego and equated the value system with the culture: “Thus a child’s super-ego is in fact constructed on the model not of its parents but its parents’ super-ego; the contents which fill it are the same and it becomes the vehicle of tradition and of all time-resisting judgments of value which have propagated themselves in this manner from generation to generation” (Freud 1933, 67).

This is how the past, present, and future become connected. A value system is built on the foundation of a moral system, the contents of the prohibitive superego. A value system reflects the culture and represents a higher level of superego functioning involving more abstract concepts that inform the person’s life and provide guidance for the future but remain realistic, flexible, and widely shared by other members of society (Albanese 2002, 134). The dominant value system of American culture would include the core values of individualism, freedom, democracy, capitalism, and success, at a minimum.

The protective superego represents the pinnacle of personality development. Thus far I have presented the portrait of the normal personality organization as the theoretically perfect person whose development was optimal (Fairbairn 1952). A more realistic portrait of the normal personality organization will emerge in the comparisons with personality organizations at the neurotic, primitive, and psychotic levels of personality development.

A Revision of Rational Economic Man

The economic conception of the consumer as rational Economic Man would occupy the normal range of the Personality Continuum. The general pattern of human behavior at the normal level of personality development must be stable and consistent. To be rational, a consumer need only make consistent choices at one point in time (reflecting a transitive preference ordering); stability requires that a consumer make consistent choices over time, and that goes beyond the requirement of a transitive preference ordering. A stable pattern of consumer behavior over time can be modeled dynamically. That is why a consistent pattern of observable behavior is such a powerful behavioral postulate upon which to base a theory of consumer behavior. The normal consumer would have a stable and consistent preference ordering, and the preferences revealed in the market would reflect all the human capacities of a person at the normal level of personality development, including the human capacity for concern, guilt, and intimacy.

Amartya Sen asked a prescient question in his classic “Rational Fools”: “A person is given *one* preference ordering, and as and when the need arises this is supposed to reflect his interests, represent his welfare, summarize his idea of what should be done and describe his actual choices and behavior. Can one preference ordering do all these things? A person thus described may be ‘rational’ in the limited sense of revealing no inconsistencies in his choice behavior, but if he has no use for these distinctions between quite different concepts, he must be a bit of a fool. Economic theory has been much preoccupied with this *rational fool* decked in the glory of his one all-purpose preference ordering” (Sen 1977, 335–36).

One all-purpose preference ordering should reflect the distinctions between these quite different concepts. When given a choice between two bundles of commodities, a consumer must be able to say whether he or she prefers one bundle to the other or is indifferent, and from that datum

the consumer's preference ordering can be constructed—that is all the consumer's scale of preferences represents. The personality organization of object relations provides the larger organizing framework that encompasses all of these distinctions and more, and by relating the economic conception of the consumer to the personality organization, we know precisely what human capacities should be reflected in the consumer's scale of preferences at each of the qualitatively different levels of personality development.

Equating the stable and consistent general pattern of human behavior at the normal level of personality development with the theoretical conception of the consumer of neoclassical ordinal utility theory strengthens the conception of rational Economic Man by adding the requirement of stability and a dynamic dimension. Reflecting the elevation of rational Economic Man to the normal range of the Personality Continuum, in this section I will refrain from using the archaic terminology of "Economic Man" and instead simply use the term "rational consumer" in all his or her glory.

The pattern of consumption behavior for the normal consumer would include self-control, delay of gratification, everything in moderation, and the prudent planning of consumption activities. A normal person would be self-reliant in the American transcendentalist sense, where self-reliance means economic independence, not social isolation and the absence of interpersonal relationships. The normal consumer would be predictable—not rigid, inflexible, routinized, mundane, bland, or boring, but simply displaying a stable and consistent pattern of human behavior.

Fundament of the Utility Function at the Normal Level of Personality Development

For someone with a personality organization in the normal range of the Personality Continuum, the preference structure is stable and consistent. The intrapsychic structure of the personality organization is reflected in the structure of preferences, and the form of the utility function must reflect the structure of preferences. The only modification necessary to ordinal utility theory at the normal level of personality development is in the fundamental conception of *utility* itself. Rather than being only satisfaction or pleasure, utility is the net outcome of good and bad consumption experiences. The interpretation of utility as both negative and positive is indicative of the separate inborn physiological capacities for positive and negative affective experience.

The utility function is $U = F(P, N)$

where N = negative introjections and identifications

P = positive introjections and identifications

At the normal level of personality development, after the integration of whole object relations, P is integrated with N . $P > N$, with a preponderance of P over N , $U > 0$.

Vindication of Adam Smith

It is a common misconception often thoughtlessly taught in introductory courses on economic theory that the rational consumer should pursue his or her self-interest selfishly. This selfish view of human nature is often attributed to Adam Smith and the "invisible hand" described in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776). But it is abundantly apparent to anyone who has ever read the opening sentence of his earlier *Theory of Moral Sentiments* that Adam Smith intended that a person pursue his or her own self-interest with sympathy for others and within the moral system of society: "How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature,

which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it" (Smith 1759, 47).

Adam Smith based his view of human nature on the human capacity for sympathy for another person. Sympathy, as a human capacity, is synonymous with the human capacity for concern for another person and oneself in object relations theory: "Sympathy, though its meaning was, perhaps, originally the same, may now, however, without much impropriety, be made use of to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatsoever" (Smith 1759, 49). The interpersonal achievement in personality development that gives a person the capacity for concern is to accept both another person and oneself as both good and bad, and therefore as whole and more realistic person. A person with a personality organization at the normal level of personality development would have the human capacity for concern. The following passage leaves no doubt about Adam Smith's exquisite view of human nature built on the capacity for sympathy: "And hence it is, that to feel much for others, and little for ourselves, that to restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent, affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature; and can alone produce among mankind that harmony of sentiments and passions in which consists their whole grace and propriety" (Smith 1759, 71).

Along with the capacity for sympathy for another person and oneself, a person at the normal level of personality development would pursue his or her self-interest within the moral system of society. A person with a personality organization at the normal level of personality development has an integrated prohibitive superego, an internalized moral system, and the human capacity to experience guilt for violating the moral system of society. This is what Adam Smith intended, a theory of "moral" sentiments.

Smith believed that the individual should compete vigorously but fairly:

In the race for wealth, and honours, and preferments, he may run as hard as he can, and strain every nerve and every muscle, in order to outstrip all his competitors. But if he should juggle, or throw down any of them, the indulgence of the spectators is entirely at an end. It is a violation of fair play, which they cannot admit of. This man is to them, in every respect, as good as he: they do not enter into that self-love, by which he prefers himself so much to this other, and cannot go along with the motive from which he hurt him. (Smith 1759, 162–63)

Smith used the selfish individual—the individual in love with him- or herself, a phenomenon he aptly refers to as "self-love"—to make an invidious comparison to a person with the capacity for sympathy. This reflects Smith's clear understanding that these are qualitatively different patterns of behavior. The individual who pursues his or her self-interest selfishly hardly represents his perfection of human nature. It will be shown subsequently in the elaboration of the primitive level of personality development that the selfish individual violates the transitivity property and therefore does not fit the conception of the rational consumer.

Adam Smith intended that it be the *individual* who vigorously and fairly pursues his or her self-interest with sympathy for others and within the moral system of society. Smith's concept of the "invisible hand" has led to the overwhelmingly individual orientation of the neoclassical economic theory of consumer behavior. In America we do value individualism; the notion of rugged individualism is legendary. But what is relevant is not the individualism per se but the *nature* of the individual's pursuit of self-interest. At the normal level of personality development, the individual would pursue his or her self-interest with the human capacity for concern for another person and oneself and the capacity for guilt for violating an internalized moral system; at the highest level, the individual's pursuit of self-interest would be informed by an internalized

value system. The individual must transcend his or her own selfish pursuit of self-interest to become a mature human being at the normal level of personality development.

Object relations theory grew out of the intense observation of individual behavior in the clinical setting, and this individual orientation represents a fundamental compatibility between object relations theory of the personality and neoclassical ordinal utility theory of the consumer. Further, because object relations theory is an interpersonal theory of personality development, linking it with the neoclassical economic theory of consumer behavior automatically overcomes the latter's overwhelmingly individual orientation.

THE NEUROTIC RANGE OF THE PERSONALITY CONTINUUM AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The portrait of a person with a personality organization arrested at the neurotic level of personality development is complicated. There are a number of personality organizations in the neurotic range of the Personality Continuum—depressive, avoidant, dependent, obsessive, hysterical, and paranoid, in descending order. A person arrested at this level of personality development as a chronological adult has accepted both him- or herself and another person as both good and bad and therefore as whole and realistic people, but has failed at the interpersonal achievement in personality development that demarcates the normal range of the Personality Continuum: full integration of satisfying genital sexual activity in an interpersonal relationship by successfully resolving the oedipal situation. The failure to achieve the preferred pattern of genital sexual activity is an all-absorbing and all-frustrating preoccupation for the neurotic person (Sullivan 1953, 297). Thus while the integration of whole object relations has been accomplished and the neurotic person has an integrated ego identity and the human capacity for concern for another person and oneself, a prohibitive superego and the capacity for guilt, and the capacity to fall in love, he or she does not have the capacity to remain in love.

The general pattern of human behavior at the neurotic level of personality development is consistent under ordinary functioning but lacks stability under extraordinary functioning. There are three levels of functioning: ordinary, extraordinary, and high. *Ordinary functioning* involves the person functioning in everyday life at the level that had been achieved in personality development—in this case, a neurotic person functioning at a neurotic level of personality development. *Extraordinary functioning* involves interpersonal situations fraught with severe anxiety, resulting in a regression to a lower level of personality development and a return to earlier patterns of behavior—in this case, a neurotic person functioning at the primitive or lower psychotic level of personality development. *High functioning* involves fortunate interpersonal relations that elevate the person's functioning to a higher level of personality development—in this case, a neurotic person functioning at the normal level of personality development. Fortunate interpersonal relations that are relatively enduring can lead to favorable change in the level of personality development, because interpersonal relationships are continuously internalized in the formation of the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization throughout a person's life.

What is lacking in the pattern of behavior of a person at the neurotic level of personality development when compared to the normal person is *stability*. At one point in time, the neurotic person can be consistent under ordinary functioning, inconsistent under extraordinary functioning, or stable under high functioning. The *nature* of the unstable behavior of the person with a personality organization arrested at the neurotic level of personality development is merely inconsistent. Inconsistent behavior is the hallmark of all the personality organizations in the neurotic range of the Personality Continuum

The neurotic consumer is inconsistent, indecisive, ambivalent, inhibited by feelings of guilt, and racked by cognitive dissonance. The indecisiveness, ambivalence, inhibitions, and cognitive dissonance of the neurotic consumer are a result of the relative balance of P and N . The pattern of consumption behavior of the neurotic person represents a continuous striving for consistent self-control, backsliding, and the use of precommitment devices to control behavior (Ainslie 1987). Although the neurotic person is inconsistent, there is a continuous striving for consistent self-control. As noted, the neurotic person has achieved the integration of whole object relations, and this contributes to the continuity of the self and to an integrated prohibitive superego. The prohibitive superego comes with an ego ideal, formed with the integration of whole object relations when the images of the ideal self and ideal object are brought together. Freud described this function of the prohibitive superego as “the vehicle of the ego ideal by which the ego measures itself, which it emulates, and whose demand for even greater perfection it strives to fulfill” (Freud 1933, 64–65). While backsliding does occur under extraordinary functioning, the continuous striving for consistent self-control means that the neurotic person will never give up trying to live up to the ego ideal—to get back on the wagon, so to speak. The use of precommitment devices—a bargain made with oneself—to shore up self-control represents the continuous striving for consistent self-control by the neurotic person (Ainslie 1987).

The implication for the limits of applicability of ordinal utility theory is that the theory would fit the behavior of the neurotic person under ordinary and high functioning but not under extraordinary functioning, where the transitivity property of the preference ordering would be violated by the inconsistent behavior. To the extent that the pattern of behavior of the neurotic person is consistent under ordinary functioning and there is a continuous striving for consistent self-control, the neurotic consumer does fit the conception of rational consumer of ordinal utility theory. Whether the neurotic person behaves consistently or inconsistently at one point in time or with stability over time depends on the quality of the person’s interpersonal relationships. In Sullivan’s interpersonal definition, personality is the relatively enduring pattern of recurrent interpersonal situations that characterizes a human life (Sullivan 1953, 110–11). The quality of this pattern of interpersonal relationships will determine the extent to which the neurotic person’s pattern of behavior is consistent, inconsistent, or stable. What is missing in the person with a personality organization arrested at the neurotic level of personality development are the higher-level intrapsychic structures that would have brought stability if the person had not faltered at the interpersonal achievement in personality development that demarcates the normal range of the personality continuum.

Fundament of the Utility Function at the Neurotic Level of Personality Development

The modification that must be made to the fundament of the utility function at the neurotic level of personality of development is to capture the inconsistency of the neurotic consumer: the behavior is patterned and therefore can be modeled, but because the behavior lacks stability, it cannot be modeled dynamically. For personality organizations in the neurotic range of the of the Personality Continuum, preferences are *consistent* under ordinary functioning (and ordinal utility theory, mutatis mutandis, would apply) but *inconsistent* under extraordinary functioning (and the theory therefore would not apply). For the personality organization arrested at the neurotic level of personality development, whole object relations have been integrated; therefore, under ordinary functioning P is integrated with N , and $U > 0$. Although P is integrated with N , and $P > N$, P and N are relatively balanced in magnitude for the personality organizations arrested at a neurotic

level of personality development when compared to the normal level. Life has been *just* good enough for the neurotic person; there has not been a preponderance of $P > N$, as in the normal range. At the point of demarcation between the neurotic and primitive ranges of the Personality Continuum, $P = N$. The integration of whole object relations is more tenuous and breaks down easily during extraordinary functioning, and hence the neurotic consumer's behavior becomes inconsistent. For movements up the neurotic range of the Personality Continuum, $P > N$ and varies continuously and increasingly within the range; thus for personality organizations higher up in the neurotic range of the Personality Continuum, the pattern of human behavior would be less inconsistent and more stable.

THE PRIMITIVE RANGE OF THE PERSONALITY CONTINUUM AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The portrait of a person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is complex. There are a number of personality organizations in the primitive range of the Personality Continuum—borderline, infantile, narcissistic, antisocial, and schizoid, in descending order.

The person arrested at the primitive level of personality development has failed to accept both the self and another person as both good and bad and therefore as whole and more realistic person—the interpersonal achievement in personality development that demarcates the neurotic range of the Personality Continuum. The basic fault—the failure to integrate whole object relations—is the result of the intense frustrations that characterized the relatively enduring pattern of recurrent interpersonal situations in the early life of such a person. The integration of the good and bad aspects of another person—first and foremost the mother—threatens to contaminate or destroy what little good interpersonal experience the person actually had, because of the preponderance of negative over positive introjections and identifications.

To protect what little good interpersonal experience the person actually had early in life, the person arrested at the primitive level of personality development actively holds apart the good and bad aspects of another person and him- or herself in the primitive defense of *splitting*—an active and powerful defense against severe anxiety in interpersonal relationships and the predominant defense characteristic of all personality organizations in the primitive range of the Personality Continuum. The result of splitting is *primitive idealization*: to see oneself and others as unrealistically all-good, and to rigidly divide the world into all-good and all-bad with no middle ground, “you are either for us or against us.” When the defense of splitting is working effectively, the person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is free from severe anxiety.

Sullivan has an interpersonal definition of anxiety: “Anxiety, as a phenomenon of relatively adult life, can often be explained plausibly as anticipated unfavorable appraisal of one's current activity by someone whose opinion is significant” (Sullivan 1953, 113). He argued that “the exclusively interpersonal origin of every instance of its manifestations . . . is the unique characteristic of anxiety” (Sullivan 1964, 238). For the person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development, severe anxiety is sudden because the breakdown of the defense of splitting leaves the person defenseless, and it is intense and overwhelming because the breakdown of splitting represents a regression to a lower level of personality development and a return to earlier patterns of behavior. Sullivan likened the interpersonal experience of severe anxiety to a blow on the head: “When anxiety is severe, it has almost the effect of a blow on the head; one isn't really clear on the exact situation in which the anxiety occurred” (Sullivan

1953, 300). Severe anxiety is experienced as intolerable by the person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development.

In contrast to the splitting that occurs at this level, at the neurotic and normal levels of personality development repression becomes the predominant defense against severe anxiety in interpersonal relationships. Repression is an unconscious defense that involves casting intolerable thoughts or feelings out of consciousness. When the defense of repression is effective, the unwanted thoughts or feelings do not occur, but the person is left feeling anxious as a warning signal (Freud 1915). In comparison, the primitive defense of splitting occurs within the consciousness of the person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development.

The general pattern of human behavior for a person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is a chaotic pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior. The behavior is unstable—not merely inconsistent, as in the neurotic range, but contradictory, alternating in a chaotic way, and rigidly patterned. The chaotic pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior is a manifestation of the breakdown of splitting. The person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is already dealing with a high level of anxiety. The critical aspect of the lack of anxiety tolerance in such a person is the inability to tolerate any additional anxiety (to use the cherished terminology of neoclassical economic analysis, marginal anxiety). Any additional anxiety overloads the primitive defense of splitting, which then breaks down, leaving the person subject to severe anxiety.

The chaotic pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior is manifested under ordinary functioning by a person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development. Under high functioning, with fortunate interpersonal relations, this person can function at the higher neurotic level; fortunate interpersonal relations that are relatively enduring can lead to favorable change in the level of personality development. Under extraordinary functioning, a person at the primitive level can regress to the lower psychotic level of personality development, in which a person fails to recognize him- or herself as separate from other—the interpersonal achievement in personality development that demarcates the primitive range of the Personality Continuum. When a person ordinarily at the primitive level of personality development regresses to the lower psychotic level under extraordinary functioning, the boundary between oneself and other is lost—the ultimate psychopathological disaster for someone at this level (Fairbairn 1952).

The pattern of consumer behavior at the primitive level of personality development is compulsive (in the more extreme case, addictive) behavior—the dark side of consumer behavior. Such a person is driven by severe anxiety to engage in a compulsive or addictive pattern of consumer behavior in a desperate effort to restore the defense of splitting and once again be free from severe anxiety—at least temporarily, until the next episode of the breakdown of splitting. Someone with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level begins at a deficit because of the failure to integrate whole object relations and the preponderance of negative introjections and identifications. The compulsive or addictive pattern of consumer behavior represents compensatory or substitutive satisfactions that compensate the person for this deficit by restoring the defense of splitting.

The person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is driven by the return of bad objects—past all-bad internalized part-object relations—reactivated with the breakdown of splitting (Fairbairn 1952). These past internalized all-bad part-object relations that return to persecute the person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development with severe anxiety constitute the *punitive superego*, an intrapsychic structure that represents the lowest level of superego functioning. Persecu-

tion by punitive superego produces the severe anxiety that drives the person to engage in compulsive or addictive consumer behavior in a *desperate* effort to restore the defense of splitting. This gives such behavior a frantic character. Fairbairn captured the persecution by the punitive superego in a chilling description: the person is “haunted by bad objects against the return of which all defenses have broken down, and from which there is no escape (except in death)” (1952, 166).

The person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development does not have a prohibitive superego, the internalized moral system that provides the human capacity for guilt, and certainly does not have the higher-level protective superego and an internalized value system. Without a value or moral system, the person may rigidly adhere to a system of ideals that are not shared with another person and certainly are not widely shared with other members of society, and which will be pursued without concern for anyone else, or oneself, and without regard for the moral system of society (Albanese 2002, 116–17).

Personality organizations that occupy a higher relative position within the primitive range of the Personality Continuum (the borderline and infantile personality organizations in particular) are subject to a panoply of compulsive behaviors, and personality organizations that occupy a relatively lower position within the primitive range (particularly the narcissistic and antisocial personality organizations) are prone to addiction. The compulsive or addictive pattern of consumer behavior characteristic of the primitive range of the Personality Continuum is qualitatively different from the stable and consistent pattern of behavior of the rational consumer at the normal level of personality development and the inconsistent, indecisive, ambivalent, inhibited, and dissonant behavior of the neurotic consumer.

It is the primitive level of personality development, not the substance or the activity, that determines the person’s predisposition toward compulsive or addictive behavior. This is crucial to a deeper understanding of compulsive and addictive behavior. A person at the primitive level can engage in a panoply of compulsive and addictive behaviors: certainly the ingestion of drugs and alcohol, and the ingestion of food as well, but also other behaviors such as frantic social interactions, sex, aggression, work, buying, exercise, and polymorphously perverse sexual behavior including masturbation and predatory sexual behavior (Kernberg 1985). While the list does include the ingestion of substances like drugs and alcohol, and food for that matter, it also includes many *activities* that do not involve ingesting any chemical substance, or any substance for that matter. Further, since the defense of splitting has broken down, it is the underlying level of intrapsychic structural formation of the personality organization that primarily determines the nature of the compulsive and more extreme addictive pattern of consumer behavior. The critical implication for the economic analysis of consumer behavior is that the nature of preferences is determined primarily by the level of intrapsychic structural formation that has been achieved.

The pattern of consumption behavior at the primitive level of personality development is characterized by the constant struggle with self-control and a selective lack of impulse control, the crude gratification of impulses, greed, ultimately self destructive, myopic consumption behavior, present orientation and hyperbolic discounting. The immediate gratification of impulses without thought for future consequences represents myopic and ultimately self-destructive consumption behavior. The behavior of the addict, in particular, has a desperate and frantic character that is based in a strong present orientation (which in the extreme would be manifested in hyperbolic discounting) (Ainslie 1991).

Time preference varies qualitatively with the level of personality development. A person with a personality organization at the normal level of personality development has the human capacity for foresight and realistic planning for the future and the human capacity for commitment—a future orientation. Personality organizations at the neurotic level of personality development would

continuously strive for a consistent plan for the future under ordinary functioning but under extraordinary functioning would backslide, behave inconsistently, and become more present-oriented. Personality organizations at the primitive level of personality development would be characterized by a rigid present orientation that is manifested in myopic consumption behavior or hyperbolic discounting. Personality organizations at the psychotic level of personality development are characterized by a strong past orientation.

The predictability of the person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is complex: depending on the interpersonal situation, it may manifest as oscillating, either/or behavior, as if the person had two selves. The two-selves hypothesis advanced by Schelling (1980) and Winston (1980)—that a person prone to addiction behaves as if he or she had two contradictory selves—is a behavioral manifestation of the primitive defense of splitting. For personality organizations in the primitive range of the Personality Continuum, the structure of preferences would be alternating and contradictory, reflecting the failure to achieve the integration of whole object relations. The unstable but rigid pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior of a person with a personality organization at the primitive level of personality development has been modeled mathematically by Winston (1980).

Fundament of the Utility Function at the Primitive Level of Personality Development

The person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development begins at a deficit because of the failure to integrate whole object relations. The fundament of the utility function must reflect the deficit in personality development, $P < N$, representing the preponderance of negative over positive introjections and identifications, and it must account for the unstable but rigidly patterned chaotic, alternating, and contradictory behavior. For the consumer with a personality organization in the primitive range of the Personality Continuum, $P < N$, with a preponderance of $N > P$, and $U < 0$, represents the baseline level of ordinary functioning. For movements downward within the primitive range of the Personality Continuum, the difference between P and N varies increasingly and continuously.

The Selfish Pursuit of Individual Self-Interest

A person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development would be characterized by the selfish pursuit of individual self-interest. If Economic Man of neoclassical ordinal utility theory were meant to be selfish, he would be arrested at the primitive level of personality development. But Economic Man cannot be meant to be selfish, because the alternating and contradictory preference structure of a person arrested at the primitive level of personality development—lacking in consistency and stability—violates the transitivity property under ordinary functioning.

When we do encounter a person in real life who behaves like the selfish misconception of Economic Man (and I do mean mainly *men* here), typically we find a person with a narcissistic personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development. The investigation of a particular personality organization goes beyond the Personality Continuum to delve more deeply into the richly detailed clinical case literature. The portrait of a person with a narcissistic personality organization would begin with being socially smooth and superficially charming, without concern or conscience, coldly calculating, ruthlessly exploiting others, and relentless in the selfish pursuit of individual self-interest. The narcissistic personality organization is char-

acterized by the excessive self-reference that, as previously noted, Adam Smith called “self-love.” The *grandiose self* is the central feature of the intrapsychic structure of the narcissistic personality organization. The fictional character James Bond has a classic narcissistic personality organization, going from conquest to conquest in a pattern of predatory sexual behavior but losing interest in the woman after the conquest is over.

The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* of the American Psychiatric Association lists as diagnostic criteria for the narcissistic personality organization a grandiose sense of self-importance; a preoccupation with fantasies of unlimited success, power, brilliance, beauty, or ideal love; arrogant, haughty behaviors or attitudes; lack of empathy; interpersonally exploitative behavior; a sense of entitlement; a need for excessive admiration; envy of others or the belief that others are envious of him or her; and the belief that he or she is “special” and unique and can only be understood by, or should associate with, other special or high-status people (or institutions) (American Psychiatric Association 1994, 661). Envy is a motivation for materialism at the primitive level of personality development (Albanese 2002, 320–23). The basic character constellation of the person with a narcissistic personality organization comprises boredom, restlessness, and emptiness; devaluation, omnipotence, and withdrawal as primitive defenses against chronic intense envy; and an attitude of indifference in interpersonal relationships. The lack of continuity in the self contributes to the sense of boredom and restlessness because the self is fragmented into multiple selves—part-object relations lacking the integration of whole object relations—and the withdrawal into social isolation contributes to the subjective experience of emptiness.

The subjective experience of emptiness is pervasive in the narcissistic personality organization. The person with a narcissistic personality organization is prone to addiction as an escape from the pervasive experience of emptiness. The addictive behavior of the narcissistic personality organization restores the defense of splitting and refuels the grandiose self (Kernberg 1985, 222).

Adam Smith on the Dark Side of Consumer Behavior

The selfish (or, in the more extreme case, ruthless) pursuit of individual self-interest displayed by the person with a narcissistic personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development is hardly the epitome the perfection of human nature so eloquently defined by Adam Smith (1759). It is American to pursue individual self-interest relentlessly, but that can be done vigorously and fairly within the moral system of society, with concern for others and oneself, and informed by a value system. Smith’s appreciation of the higher side of life gave him a clear understanding of the darker side of life. He saw that what the ambitious man who pursues his individual self interest ruthlessly is really pursuing is *honor*; albeit an honor ill understood:

But, though they should be so lucky as to attain that wished-for greatness, they are always most miserably disappointed in the happiness which they expect to enjoy in it. It is not ease or pleasure, but always honour, of one kind or another, though frequently an honour very ill understood, that the ambitious man really pursues. But the honour of his exalted station appears, both in his eyes and in those of other people, polluted and defiled by the baseness of the means through which he rose to it. (Smith 1759, 131)

And there is no escape from dishonor because of the persistence of memory in oneself and others, according to Smith:

He invokes in vain the dark and dismal powers of forgetfulness and oblivion. He remembers himself what he has done, and the remembrance tells him that other people likewise remember it. Amidst all the gaudy pomp of the most ostentatious greatness; amidst the venal and vile adulation of the great and of the learned; amidst the more innocent, though more foolish, acclamations of the common people; amidst all the pride of conquest and the triumph of successful war, he is still secretly pursued by the avenging furies of shame and remorse; and, while glory seems to surround him on all sides, he himself, in his own imagination, sees black and foul infamy fast pursuing him, and every moment ready to overtake him from behind. (Smith 1759, 131–32)

The “avenging furies of shame and remorse” represent the severe anxiety produced by the punitive superego. Smith captures the sense of dread associated with it:

Such is the nature of the sentiment, which is properly called remorse; of all the sentiments which can enter the human breast the most dreadful. It is made up of shame from the sense of the impropriety of past conduct; of grief for the effects of it; of pity for those who suffer by it; and of the dread and terror of punishment from the consciousness of the justly-provoked resentment of all rational creatures. (Smith 1759, 164)

Remorse is not mere guilt over bad behavior, for which the person can make reparations for the harm done to another person. A person with a primitive personality organization—the narcissistic personality organization in particular—does not have the capacity to experience guilt. But such a person experiences persecution by the punitive superego, and this subjective experience of remorse—an admixture of shame, grief, pity, and terror—is far worse than guilt.

And there is no escape into solitude for the person who has done irreparable evil to another human being, because, according to Smith, solitude is still more dreadful than society:

Everything seems hostile, and he would be glad to fly to some inhospitable desert, where he might never more behold the face of a human creature, nor read in the countenance of mankind the condemnation of his crimes. But solitude is still more dreadful than society. His own thoughts can present him with nothing but what is black, unfortunate, and disastrous, the melancholy forebodings of incomprehensible misery and ruin. The horror of solitude drives him back into society, and he comes again into the presence of mankind, astonished to appear before them loaded with shame and distracted with fear, in order to supplicate some little protection from the countenance of those very judges, who know he knows have already all unanimously condemned him. (Smith 1759, 164)

This passage from the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* should leave no doubt that Adam Smith never intended that the individual pursue his or her self-interest selfishly. We can leave behind forevermore the misconception of Economic Man as selfish.

THE PSYCHOTIC RANGE OF THE PERSONALITY CONTINUUM AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The arrest of personality development at the psychotic level is primarily the result of physiological problems and does not result from the quality of interpersonal relationships. The person with a personality organization arrested at the psychotic level of personality development has failed to

recognize him- or herself as separate from other—the interpersonal achievement in personality development that demarcates the primitive range of the Personality Continuum—and, as a consequence, there is no boundary between self and other.

The person with a personality organization arrested at the psychotic level of personality development would display the absence of the capacity for reality testing, a changing and capricious (and hence unpredictable) general pattern of human behavior, an irrational pattern of consumer behavior, and the irrational pursuit of individual self-interest. The buying sprees in a manic episode of a person with a manic-depressive personality organization or bipolar disorder would represent an irrational pattern of consumer behavior. Unstable behavior at the psychotic level of personality development would be characterized as a changing and capricious general pattern of human behavior, which is qualitatively different from the chaotic pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior at the primitive level, the inconsistent pattern of behavior at the neurotic level, and the stable and consistent pattern of behavior at the normal level of personality development.

Fundament of the Utility Function at the Psychotic Level of Personality Development

For personality organizations in the psychotic range of the Personality Continuum, preferences are changing and capricious, representing the collapse of the intrapsychic structure of the personality organization. The pattern of consumer behavior is truly irrational. Thus the fundament of the utility function at the psychotic level of personality development cannot be defined. Ordinal utility theory does not apply to personality organizations in the psychotic range of the Personality Continuum. In contrast, at the primitive level of personality development, ordinal utility theory would not apply under ordinary or extraordinary functioning; at best, it would apply only under high functioning. At the neurotic level of personality development, ordinal utility theory would apply under ordinary and high functioning, but not under extraordinary functioning. At the normal level of personality development, ordinal utility theory would apply under ordinary and high functioning; with a stable and consistent general pattern of human behavior, that would be most of the time. Under extraordinary functioning, a person at the normal level of personality development will regress to a lower level of personality development and return to earlier patterns of behavior, including regression in the service of the ego. In a positive sense, this defines the realistic limits of applicability of ordinal utility theory over the ranges of the Personality Continuum.

THE RATIONAL-IRRATIONAL DICHOTOMY IN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

In economics, only the extremes of “rational” and “irrational” have been considered, and any inconsistency in the consumer’s behavior has been mislabeled as “irrational,” but this dichotomy ignores the qualitatively different patterns of consumer behavior at the neurotic and primitive levels of personality development. Becker argued that irrational behavior at the individual level will not change the negative slope of the market demand curve: “Undue concentration at the individual level can easily lead to an overestimate of the degree of irrationality at the market level” (1962, 168). Becker’s most important point is that the irrational individual will have to adapt realistically in the market: “Even irrational decision units must accept reality and could not, for example, maintain a choice that was no longer within their opportunity set”—that is, “irrational units would often be ‘forced’ by a change in opportunities to respond rationally” (1962, 167).

Leibenstein (1975) espoused a similar view with his conception of selective rationality: “it is

sufficient that behavior at critical junctures be of a 'rational' type" (Leibenstein 1975, 3). Leibenstein's selective rationality describes the selective lack of impulse control characteristic of personality organizations in the primitive range of the Personality Continuum. The person with a personality organization arrested at the primitive level of personality development would adapt realistically to the market. The compulsive (or in the more extreme case addictive) pattern of consumer behavior characteristic of the complex personality organizations arrested at the primitive level of personality development would be manifested in highly price-inelastic behavior toward the commodities or activities for which the person has a selective lack of impulse control. When consumers in the market reveal a tendency toward compulsive and more extreme addictive consumer behavior, it will be reflected in a highly price-inelastic range of the market demand curve, but the demand curve will still be well behaved, with a negative slope, and the law of demand will operate.

Leibenstein's (1975) conception of selective rationality is significant because it fits the behavior of the personality organizations in the primitive range of the Personality Continuum. I believe that Becker (1962) is also largely describing behavior at the primitive level of personality, as opposed to irrational behavior. Truly irrational behavior is rare, manifested in a few million Americans at best, and fairly well documented, and it would not be enough to change the negative slope of the demand curve in any market.

PROBABILITY DISTRIBUTION OVER THE PERSONALITY CONTINUUM

Although the conception of the normal personality organization supports and strengthens the neoclassical conception of the consumer, it cannot simply be assumed that everyone will automatically reach the normal level of personality development, any more than an economist can automatically assume that the consumer's preference ordering will be stable and consistent. Behavioral economics should be based on the observation of economic behavior. In object relations theory, personality development is a matter of achievement, a series of interpersonal achievements in personality development. What proportion of the population has achieved the normal level of personality development? That is an open empirical question.

The behavioral foundations of economic analysis have been broadened to include the inconsistent pattern of behavior of the neurotic consumer, the chaotic pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior characteristic of the compulsive and addictive consumer arrested at the primitive level of personality development, and the changing and capricious pattern of consumer behavior of the truly irrational person at the psychotic level of personality development. What proportion of the population would occupy the neurotic, primitive, and psychotic ranges of the Personality Continuum? That is also an open empirical question.

A probability distribution is thereby formed over the Personality Continuum, demarcated by the four qualitatively different levels of personality development: normal, neurotic, primitive, and psychotic. Everything varies qualitatively with the level of personality development along the Personality Continuum. A third open empirical question is: What is the probability distribution over the Personality Continuum? Once the probability distribution has been defined, sampling should be stratified by the qualitatively different levels of personality development reflected in the ranges of the Personality Continuum. An individual difference or trait measure averaged over the qualitatively different levels of personality development would not reveal the qualitatively different patterns of consumer behavior representing the ranges of the Personality Continuum. Since everything is systematically related to everything else on the Personality Continuum,

all of the relationships represent empirically testable hypotheses.

This is the challenge of the Personality Continuum: the open road for research on personality and consumer behavior and the opportunity to make progress on the journey toward a human understanding of consumer behavior.

NOTE

1. The Personality Continuum in its one-page format can be obtained by writing to the author or downloaded at www.personalitycontinuum.com.

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TABLE 1.1

Personality Continuum**PERSONALITY**

RANGES	INTERPERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT	INTERNAL OBJECT RELATIONS	INTRAPSYCHIC STRUCTURAL FORMATION
NORMAL	<p>Sexual intercourse culminating in orgasm and the subjective experience of transcendence in an intimate interpersonal relationship forms a new common social boundary around the couple connecting past, present, and future</p> <p>Full integration of satisfying genital sexual activity into an interpersonal relationship by successfully resolving the oedipal situation</p>	<p>Internalization of a value system shared with another person</p> <p>Depersonification, individuation, reshaping to resemble real person</p>	<p>Protective superego</p> <p>Continuous internalization of more realistic interpersonal relationships through selective, partial, sublimatory identifications, including a complementary sexual identification in harmony with individual identity formation</p>
NEUROTIC	Accept another person, and oneself, as both good and bad and, therefore, a whole and more realistic person	Integration of whole object relations	Ego identity and prohibitive superego
PRIMITIVE	Recognize oneself as separate from other	Self differentiated from object, internalization of the role aspects of interpersonal relationships, modified and more diversified affect	<p>Multiple good and bad selves and objects, part-object relations internalized through identification</p> <p>Punitive superego</p>
PSYCHOTIC	Oneself same as other	Self undifferentiated from object, intense and overwhelming positive or negative affect	Separate all-good and all-bad objects internalized through introjection

CONTINUUM

PREDOMINANT DEFENSES	INTIMACY	PREFERRED PATTERNING OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR	HUMAN CAPACITY
A range of mature defenses: humor, sublimation, altruism, anticipation, and suppression	Second precondition for intimacy	Passion in an intimate interpersonal relationship, intimacy makes sexual relations satisfying	Capacity for commitment and a future orientation Self-reliance, the capacity for foresight and to plan realistically for the future, trustworthiness, the capacity for genuine insight and the urge to change in meaningful ways, the capacity to remain in love and form intimate interpersonal relationships
Repression, intellectualization (isolation, obsessive behavior, undoing, rationalization), reaction formation, displacement (conversion, phobias, wit), dissociation (neurotic denial)	First precondition for intimacy	Failure to achieve preferred pattern of genital sexual activity is an all-absorbing and all-frustrating preoccupation	The capacity for concern for another person and oneself, the capacity to experience guilt for violating the more realistic parental prohibitions and demands internalized in the prohibitive superego, and the capacity to fall in love
Splitting, denial, projection (projective identification), fantasy (schizoid withdrawal, denial through fantasy), hypochondriasis, passive-aggressive behavior, acting out		Polymorphous perverse sexual behavior, predatory sexual behavior, intense infatuations mainly with body parts and not the whole person	The capacity for rage, jealousy and possessiveness, envy and materialism, mistrustfulness, the ruthless exploitation of others, varying degrees of immature dependence, and the incapacity to depend on another person
Denial of external reality, distortion, delusional projection		Sexual behavior unusual for the person	Absence of capacity for reality testing

(Continued)

Table 1.1 (continued)

PERSONALITY

RANGES	GENERAL PATTERN OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR	PATTERN OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOR	PATTERN OF CONSUMPTION BEHAVIOR
NORMAL	Stable and consistent	Rational consumer	<p>Dynamic pattern of consumption behavior that can be modeled over time</p> <p>Self-control, delay of gratification, everything in moderation, prudent planning of consumption activities</p>
NEUROTIC	Consistent under ordinary functioning, but lacking stability under extraordinary functioning	Neurotic consumer is indecisive, ambivalent, inhibited by feelings of guilt, and racked by cognitive dissonance	Continuous striving for consistent self-control, backsliding, use of precommitment devices to control behavior
PRIMITIVE	Chaotic pattern of alternating and contradictory behavior	Compulsive and more extreme addictive consumer behavior, the dark side of consumer behavior	Constant struggle with self-control, selective lack of impulse control, crude gratification of impulses, greed, ultimately self-destructive, myopic consumption behavior, present orientation, hyperbolic discounting
PSYCHOTIC	Changing and capricious	Irrational consumer	Buying sprees in manic episode

CONTINUUM

INDIVIDUAL PURSUIT OF SELF-INTEREST	PREDICTABILITY	PERSONALITY ORGANIZATIONS
The individual pursuit of self-interest informed by a value system	Predictable	Normal
The individual pursuit of self-interest with the capacity for sympathy and within the moral system of society	Predictable under ordinary functioning, regression to earlier patterns of behavior under extraordinary functioning	Depressive
		Avoidant
		Obsessive
		Hysterical
The selfish pursuit of individual self-interest	Depending on the interpersonal situation, oscillating, either/or behavior, as if the person had two selves	Paranoid
		Borderline
		Infantile
		Narcissistic
		Antisocial
The irrational pursuit of individual self-interest	Unpredictable	Schizoid
		Manic-depressive
		Schizophrenic