

**THE FUTURE OF NARCISSUS: THE RELATIONSHIP OF NARCISSISM TO
EXPECTATIONS OF THE FUTURE AS MEDIATED BY ANXIETY,
DEPRESSION, IMPULSIVITY, AND SENSE OF CONTROL**

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Table of Contents

1.	Abstract	4
2.	Acknowledgements	5
3.	Introduction	6
3.1.	Divides in the Research and Theories of Narcissism	7
3.2.	Defining Narcissism	9
3.2.1.	Grandiose Narcissism	11
3.2.2.	Vulnerable Narcissism	12
3.3.	Depression	14
3.4.	Anxiety	16
3.5.	Sense of Control	17
3.6.	Self-Enhancement	18
3.7.	Narcissism, Approach-Avoidance, and Impulsivity	19
3.8.	Expectations of the Future	21
3.9.	The Present Study	25
4.	Method	30
4.1.	Participants	30
4.2.	Materials	31
4.3.	Procedure	33
4.4.	Ethics	34
5.	Proposed Results	36
6.	Discussion	37
7.	References	40
8.	Appendices	
8.1.	Appendix A: Narcissistic Personality Inventory	50
8.2.	Appendix B: Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale	54
8.3.	Appendix C: Beck Depression Inventory	55
8.4.	Appendix D: Beck Anxiety Inventory	59
8.5.	Appendix E: Expectations of Future Scale	60
8.6.	Appendix F: Sense of Control Scale	61
8.7.	Appendix G: Ego Under-control Scale	56

Abstract

The last few decades have seen a growing body of research on narcissism, however few studies have examined the relationship between subclinical narcissism and future orientation. The proposed study will examine how grandiose and vulnerable types of narcissism influence future orientation, and whether anxiety, depression, impulsivity and sense of control play mediating roles in this relationship. It is hypothesized that anxiety will play a mediating role between future orientation and vulnerable narcissism, but not between grandiose narcissism and future orientation. Finally, it is hypothesized that grandiose and vulnerable narcissism will be correlated within individuals. Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) will be used to test the hypotheses, and the a priori model is expected to have a good fit to the data. This study will further our understanding about how narcissists view their futures, and whether this is influenced by mediating factors.

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The Future of Narcissus: The Relationship of Narcissism to Expectations of the Future as Mediated by Anxiety, Depression, Impulsivity, and Sense of Control

The Greek myth of Narcissus tells the story of a young man who is so vain that he falls in love with his own reflection. Narcissus himself would be pleased to know that interest in the topic of narcissism has grown considerably in recent years, finding its way into areas of industrial-organizational psychology, developmental psychology, educational research, political science, and decision-making (Miller & Campbell, 2008). Although it was nearly removed from the most recent edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5th ed.; DSM-5, American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013), the number of studies on narcissism and Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD) are at an all-time high. In addition, the concept of narcissism has expanded from its original definition within the domain of psychopathology to encompass normal characteristics of non-clinical individuals. Whatever the source, an increased concern with the self coupled with methodological advances in evaluating narcissism have resulted in a wealth of conceptual and empirical publications on the topic. The proposed study will examine how grandiose and vulnerable dimensions of narcissism influence future orientation, and whether anxiety, depression, impulsivity and sense of control play mediating roles in this relationship.

The concept of narcissism is deeply rooted in psychoanalytic theory. In fact, psychoanalytic studies have provided the most comprehensive descriptions of narcissism and NPD. Significant advances in theories of narcissism over the last few decades have stemmed from psychoanalytic treatment and the need for the theory behind it to explain internal human processes and experiences. Major trends in the evolving psychoanalytic

theories, from Freud's theory of drive and psychic structure to ego psychology and object relations to self-psychology have added diverse aspects to the conceptualization of narcissism (Ronningstam, 2011).

Divides in the Research and Theories of Narcissism

It is important to address that narcissism research has been hindered by several divides, such as the rift between narcissism as a personality construct and the criteria required for clinical diagnosis of NPD. Such a split has separated theoretically rich clinical approaches from empirical data gathered from social psychology and personality research (Miller & Campbell, 2011). This divide surfaces in many aspects of the study of narcissism, including how researchers define the construct. Clinical definitions traditionally explain the grandiosity of narcissism as having an underlying vulnerability, whereas social psychology researchers tend to emphasize only narcissistic grandiosity. In addition, personality researchers assume that when narcissistic behaviors are exhibited in less extreme forms, they reflect a personality characteristic found in the full range of the population. These disparities in the conceptualization of narcissism in different areas of research underscore a need for greater understanding and communication among researchers, clinical practitioners, and the many fields of study that intersect with personality constructs.

The earliest theorists on narcissism studied its connection to human sexuality (Levy et al., 2011). Havelock Ellis, the British sexologist-physician, was the first person to use the Narcissus myth to refer to an autoerotic sexual condition. In his early theories of narcissism, Freud also reflected on the story of Narcissus. He first conceived of

narcissism as a phase of sexual development where the individual begins viewing his or her own body as an object of desire (Moncayo, 2008). As an extension of this perspective, he defined primary narcissism as corresponding to the ego-representation involved in this sexual phase of development, where the ego loves the image of his or her own body. Freud later conceptualized secondary narcissism as a regressive return to the primary narcissism of early childhood. He proposed that this phase of development, if left uncontrolled, could become pathological (Moncayo, 2008). In order for normal development to occur, the narcissistic phase of development in which an object relationship does not yet exist needs to be abandoned in favor of a more advanced (object-oriented) phase of development.

The aforementioned divides in the narcissism research are evident in the conflicting theories of Otto Kernberg and Heinz Kohut, two leading theorists on narcissism. Kernberg (1984) considers certain aspects to be defensive in the establishment of the narcissist's grandiosity, while Kohut (1971) views narcissism as a normal development process gone wrong. Kernberg argues that narcissistic disorders are the result of unmanageable aggression stemming from early drive frustration creating a threat to the individual's internal self-representation. A continued need to protect good self-representations from contamination by bad self-representations leads to reliance on the mechanisms of splitting and projection. This results in the formation of a grandiose self (Kernberg, 1974). In contrast to Kernberg, who views grandiosity as defensive and pathological, Kohut (1971) suggests that the grandiose self is normal. He considers primary narcissism to be an early psychological state where the self and objects are not perceived as separate, or in which the self is not yet fully developed. For Kohut,

childhood grandiosity is healthy and can be viewed as a process by which the child attempts to identify with and become similar to his idealized parental figures (Levy et al., 2011). The aggression, conflict, and defensiveness that Kernberg sees as indicative of narcissism, Kohut believes to be the consequence of unmet needs for affirmation following failed idealizations (Heiserman & Cook, 1998). Although Kohut and Kernberg disagree on aspects of narcissism, both have added significantly to the literature on the topic.

In his paper on narcissism, Freud made note of the tendency for narcissistic individuals to keep any information or feelings related to vulnerability out of one's conscious thoughts if they would lower one's sense of self (Freud, 1957). He also discussed narcissism in a developmental sense, describing the transition from the normal focus on the self to mature relationships with others. Throughout these early papers, narcissism was described as a "dimensional psychological state in much the same way that contemporary trait theorists describe pathological manifestations of normal traits" (Levy et al., 2011, p. 4). Narcissism is now viewed much like any other personality trait on a continuum, ranging from normal to the extreme or the pathological. Freud, Kernberg, Kohut, and other early theorists provided the foundation for narcissism research, and their work is still echoed throughout the scientific literature.

Defining Narcissism

The clinical literature on narcissism and narcissistic personality pathology over the last four decades has utilized over 50 distinct labels describing variability in the expression of narcissism (Cain et al., 2008). Furthermore, narcissism is inconsistently

defined and assessed across diverse areas of psychology, leading to a so-called “criterion problem” (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010). Pincus and Lukowitsky (2010) addressed four aspects of the construct that are inconsistently defined. These involve diversity of the conceptualization of narcissism’s *Nature* (normal, pathological), *Phenotypic Description* (grandiosity, vulnerability), *Expressive Modality* (overt, covert), and *Structure*. Wink (1991), focuses on narcissism’s two phenotypic subtypes: *grandiose* and *vulnerable* narcissism. According to Mahler et al. (1975), the narcissistic character results from of a developmental disruption in the separation-individuation process of infants. This leads to the development of the alternation between omnipotence and feelings of inferiority in narcissistic personality disorders. A comprehensive hierarchical model of pathological narcissism is presented in Figure 1. Evidence for the themes of narcissistic grandiosity and narcissistic vulnerability comes from clinical theory, social and personality psychology, and psychiatric diagnosis (Pincus & Roche, 2011). In the last few years, recognition of both grandiose and vulnerable themes of narcissistic dysfunction has become standard (Pincus & Roche, 2011).

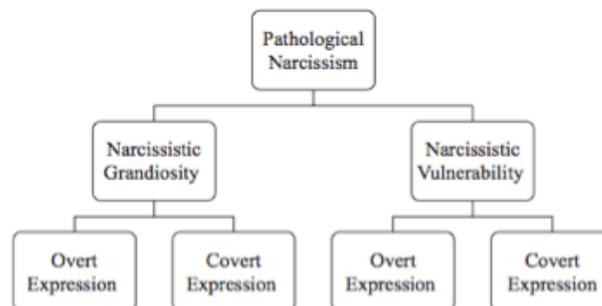


Figure 1. The Hierarchical Organization of Pathological Narcissism (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010, p. 431).

Grandiose Narcissism. The grandiose features of narcissism have received sufficient empirical attention. In fact, when most people hear the term “narcissism,” they envision the grandiose subtype characterized by arrogant and dominant attitudes and behaviors (Pincus, Cain, & Wright, 2014). Grandiose narcissism reflects boastful behavior, aggression, and dominance (Miller, Hoffman, & Gaugam, 2011). This type of narcissism is most obvious when individuals engage in self-aggrandizing behaviors or trivialize others who outperform them (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Grandiosity is also present in other behaviors, for example individuals who display grandiose narcissism report themselves and their accomplishments as superior to others, discount negative feedback and exaggerate positive feedback, and even reconstruct their past experiences as more favorable than they actually were (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). The need for admiration is a normal aspect of human nature, however it can become pathological in NPD (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010). It is also normal for individuals to want to see themselves in a generally positive light and to seek experiences of self-enhancement, and most individuals manage these needs effectively by seeking out their gratification in culturally and socially acceptable ways (Pincus, Cain, & Wright, 2014). In contrast, pathological narcissism involves impairment in the ability to regulate one’s emotions or to determine what is appropriate behavior in favor of seeking out excessive recognition and admiration. When narcissistic grandiosity dominates one’s personality, the individual is likely to be unable to successfully regulate his or her emotions or behaviors, resulting in difficulties in interpersonal relationships.

It has been well-established that individuals who display grandiose narcissism

require excessive attention from others and long to be admired. Other people may find them interesting or appealing, even if they don't have the best interests of others at heart (Zondag, 2013). People who exhibit primarily grandiose narcissistic behaviors rarely admit to feeling small or experiencing emptiness in their lives. Masterson (1981) suggests that the majority of narcissistic individuals try to impress others with grandiose behavior and exhibitionism while a smaller group of narcissists present as timid, shy, and inhibited, only showing their grandiose fantasies to those they are close to. This observation suggests another type of narcissism, in which the admission of vulnerability is more apparent.

Vulnerable Narcissism. The vulnerable subtype has been given numerous different labels including closet narcissist, hyper-vigilant narcissist, hypersensitive narcissist, and covert narcissist (Dickinson, & Pincus, 2003). For the sake of consistency throughout this paper, the term *vulnerable narcissism* will be used, however in most cases it is interchangeable with the term *covert narcissism*.

Although vulnerable narcissists may appear to be self-obsessed and boastful like their grandiose counterparts, in reality this façade conceals feelings of shame, guilt, or insecurity. The important difference between the two is that although both types of narcissists may have underlying feelings of shame or incompetence, only the vulnerable narcissists are willing to admit it. This fact makes it particularly difficult to design measures that uncover the differences, hence the field's overwhelming reliance on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Terry, 1988). It is clear throughout the literature that vulnerable narcissists feel inferior to others and are less skillful in self-

enhancement than grandiose narcissists (Dickinson & Pincus, 2003). In addition the vulnerable narcissist is characterized by extreme sensitivity, ineffective emotional regulation, and feelings of inferiority (Hendin & Cheek, 1997). In contrast to grandiose narcissism, individuals who experience vulnerable narcissism often feel inferior, insecure, inhibited, and timid (Zondag, 2013). The defining characteristic of this type of narcissism is that these individuals are willing to admit to defensive and insecure behavior that conceals underlying feelings of incompetence or inadequacy and negative affect (Miller, Hoffman, & Gaugam, 2011).

Narcissistic vulnerability can also be reflected in experiences of anger, envy, aggression, low self-esteem, shame, social avoidance, and even suicidality (Cain et al., 2008). In many accounts, vulnerable narcissists are described as, “hypersensitive, anxious, timid, and insecure, but on close contact surprise observers with their grandiose fantasies” (Wink, 1991, p. 591). This description accurately summarizes the way in which vulnerable narcissists reconcile their conflicting tendencies. According to Kohut (1971), the vulnerable narcissist has an inability to regulate his or her emotions that originates from the failure of parental figures to respond to troubled emotions expressed by the child.

Others describe these individuals as humble and introverted in social interaction, but it is clear that they covertly possess unrealistic fantasies about success and have feelings of entitlement (Hendin & Cheek, 1997). Unlike their grandiose counterparts, they report being particularly sensitive and defensive toward social evaluation and approval, which is a way to manage self-esteem (Cooper & Ronningstam, 1992). In a study by Atlas and Them (2008) on the connection between narcissism subtypes and

sensitivity to criticism, vulnerable narcissism correlated positively with high sensitivity to criticism, expected rumination, and internalized negative moods. A tendency for vulnerable narcissists to rate themselves as less competent also emerged in their low self-evaluations of their performances (Atlas & Them, 2008). This research is in support of the proposal that vulnerable narcissists are likely to internalize negative feedback, suggesting that they may be more skeptical about their performance on future tasks or in the future at large.

There is considerably less empirical research on the topic of vulnerable narcissism than there is on the topic of grandiose narcissism. For example, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, a measure of the grandiose tendency, has been widely used as the only measure of narcissism in most studies (Vazire et al., 2006). Reliance on the NPI has led to the propensity for the field to focus on grandiose narcissism. For this reason, providing research that distinguishes between the grandiose and vulnerable aspects of narcissism is essential to furthering our understanding of the construct and how it interacts with other aspects of human behavior.

Depression

Some researchers argue that there is likely to be a discrepancy between a person's actual capabilities and skills and the goals inspired by his or her narcissistic ambitions (Zondag, 2013). Kohut (1977) warns that life goals that do not suit a person will not satisfy the individual and may leave him or her feeling empty. Furthermore, some researchers suggest that Depressive Personality Disorder (DPD) is quite similar to the construct of hypersensitive (or vulnerable) narcissism (HN). Both phenomena overlap in

their tendencies towards depression, guilt and anxiety, inadequate sense of self, and poorly developed self-esteem. This study found the Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale (HSNS) and the Depressive Personality Disorder Inventory (DPDI) to be correlated in clinical and nonclinical samples. Given the association between depression and narcissistic vulnerability, along with low self-esteem and feelings of inadequacy, it is logical to draw a link between vulnerable narcissism, depression, and future expectations due to the likelihood they these individuals will see themselves as inadequate, resulting in less positive views of their futures. Consistent with this hypothesis is research by Annie Reich (1960); she proposed that narcissists have little tolerance for ambiguity or failure, and that they see themselves as perfection or complete failure; this lack of integration leads narcissists to shift dramatically between grandiosity and despair and depression (Levy et al., 2011).

According to Weikel et al. (2010), major depression is one of the most common concomitant Axis I disorders in patients with Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD). Although the present study examines subclinical of narcissism (not just NPD), this is an important connection to note. On the other hand, although grandiose narcissism may be correlated with depression in some studies, the expected outcome is that grandiose narcissism will be correlated with lower levels of depression, resulting in a more positive outlook about the future.

Several studies have documented a link between NPD and suicidal behavior; C.J. Perry describes how the extreme vulnerability to loss of self-esteem coupled with dysphoria in response to failure, criticism and humiliation could put these individuals at high risk for suicide attempts (Ronningstam, 2005). In fact, narcissism has been

suggested as a clinical marker of elevated suicide risk among older adults (Heisel et al., 2007), and grandiose narcissism has correlated positively with depression among female college students (Weikel et al., 2010). Individuals with NPD are particularly vulnerable to depression when they are faced with repeated failures, social humiliation, and defeat. Simonsen and Simonsen (2011) suggest that individuals with NPD may lose self-confidence or experience shame when they are unable to live up to their inflated self-image.

Anxiety

In her review, Ronningstam (1996) found that NPD is among the least frequent (0% to 5%) co-morbid personality disorders in relation to anxiety disorders. This conclusion is generally supported by numerous studies since 1996 in which semi-structured interviews for personality disorder symptoms (e.g., SCID-II) have been used, all of which have found prevalence rates of NPD in the 0% to 7% range. However, these studies all examined the prevalence of NPD (generally a measure of grandiose narcissism) among those with anxiety disorders, and did not look specifically at the relationship of hypersensitive narcissism to anxiety disorders.

In an investigation of the relationships between narcissism and various forms of anxiety (state, trait, implicit, and attachment-related), findings confirmed hypotheses demonstrating that vulnerable narcissists self-report higher state, trait, and attachment-related anxiety than grandiose narcissists (Feldman, 2009). Therefore, in the present study anxiety is an expected mediating variable between vulnerable narcissism and expectations of the future, but not for grandiose narcissism. There is little research on

vulnerable narcissism, anxiety, and expectations of the future, and the proposed study will help elucidate this relationship.

Sense of Control

According to Rotter (1990), Locus of Control (LOC) refers to the extent to which an individual believes that outcomes are based on his or her own actions or personal characteristics versus the degree to which individuals expect that the outcome is a function of chance, luck or fate (Wallace et al., 2012). Individuals with an external locus of control often believe that events in their lives are controlled by external forces, whereas those with an internal LOC believe that outcomes are under his or her personal control. Interestingly, an internal LOC has been correlated with positive outcomes including high academic achievement in adults (Findley & Cooper, 1983) and high self-esteem (Griffore et al., 1990; Wallace et al., 2012).

In a study on the role of narcissism in entrepreneurial personality, results indicated that narcissism was positively correlated with general self-efficacy, locus of control, and high risk propensity (Mathieu & St-Jean, 2013). Due to the fact that narcissistic individuals tend to show overconfidence in their skills and to over exaggerate knowledge, it is possible that LOC is part of the underlying personality and a resulting trait of a core personality structure that is captured by the NPI (Mathieu & St-Jean, 2013). Watson et al, (1999) describe how the more adaptive features from the NPI are related to less external behaviors, with an exaggerated internal locus of control, and with illusory social cognitive schemata that underlie a sense of personal invulnerability (PI). It is possible that an internal locus of control is common among individuals high on measures

of narcissism due to the heightened sense of control and the need for power demonstrated by these individuals. Additionally, individuals who attribute their success to internal factors are likely to have high achievement goals and to have more positive expectations about their futures. For example, research has shown that high school and college students with an internal locus of control have higher levels of career decision self-efficacy, higher career aspirations, greater career decisiveness, and less career choice anxiety (Duffy, 2010). Among other things, the proposed study will help clarify the relationship between sense of control, narcissism, and future outlook.

Self-Enhancement

Among the many paradoxes of narcissists, a central one is that narcissists have self-views that are overly-positive and insecure at the same time. For example, one characteristic of narcissism is unrealistically high self-esteem, yet this self-esteem tends to be fragile (Vazire & Funder, 2006). More specifically, narcissists are thought to report high self-esteem but to hold implicit negative self-representations. These individuals are particularly motivated to self-enhance because maintaining biased self-representations allows them to prevent their implicit low self-esteem from surfacing (Tracy & Robbins, 2004). Reviews of the scientific literature on narcissism reveal that both grandiose and vulnerable narcissists engage in behaviors such as crediting internal attributions for success and external attributions for failure, as well as overestimating future outcomes and performances even in the face of negative feedback or criticism in order to maintain a positive self-concept (Vazire & Funder, 2006).

Narcissists, like anyone else, regulate self-esteem by striving to increase pride and

avoid shame. The theoretical model proposed by Tracy et al. (2004), suggests that narcissists make reappraisals in order to facilitate this process of approaching pride and avoiding shame. For example, individuals may consider negative events as externally caused or unimportant in order to avoid shame. Similarly, they may consider positive events to be highly important to their ultimate goals and attribute those events internally. Essentially, narcissists are conveniently selective about how they attribute their successes and failures. Although this process is a normal part of emotion-regulation, this regulatory process functions in an extreme and sometimes pathological manner among narcissists.

The model proposed by Tracy et al. suggests that:

1. Narcissism may promote excessive attentional focus on the self
2. Narcissism may influence appraisals of identity-goal relevance
3. Narcissistic self-enhancement biases may promote external attributions for failure.

All of these points are consistent with the literature and help explain why narcissists may have unrealistically positive expectations for their futures. Negative expectations of their futures would not only damage their self-concept, but reporting negative expectations for their futures could reveal their underlying vulnerabilities, something grandiose narcissists try so hard to keep buried.

Narcissism, Approach-Avoidance, and Impulsivity

Numerous studies have shown a correlation between narcissism and impulsivity. For example, many studies examine the relationship between narcissism and impulsive behaviors such as alcohol abuse, pathological gambling, reckless driving, bullying, and

violence (e.g. Lustman, 2012). Furthermore, a recent meta-analysis (Vazire & Funder, 2006) came to the conclusion that narcissism is significantly associated with impulsivity. In particular, narcissism has been shown to be primarily associated with *functional* impulsivity, meaning it can be helpful in situations where people must make quick decisions (Jones & Paulhus, 2011). These findings help explain why narcissism is somewhat of a mixed blessing—while the functional impulsivity facilitates success when accuracy is less important, it does not bode well for the long-term. Other researchers propose that narcissists suffer from a dispositional lack of self-control, and that impulsive behaviors that elicit immediate gratification come at the cost of long-term success (Vazire & Funder, 2006). For example, individuals with high narcissism display poor performance on the Iowa Gambling Task (IGT) in patterns similar to those with ventromedial prefrontal cortex (vmPFC) lesions and with psychopathy (Lahey et al., 2008). In particular, individuals who are highly narcissistic choose more cards from the disadvantageous decks that provide larger immediate rewards but result in long-term net losses. Lahey and colleagues (2008) suggest that narcissists are overly focused on reward, causing biases in the appraisal of reward and punishment and resulting in impaired decision-making.

Research by Foster and Trimm (2008) demonstrates the validity of conceptualizing narcissism in terms of approach-avoidance motivation, or the strong motivation to approach desirable outcomes and the weak motivation to avoid negative outcomes. Theoretically speaking, impulsivity and narcissism can both be understood in terms of high approach and low-avoidance behavior. Based on the documented pattern of narcissism and impulsive behaviors that offer short-term rewards at long-term costs, it is

logical to expect approach-avoidance motivation to be an underlying mechanism of the impulsive behaviors that stem from narcissism. The combination of this lack of self-control coupled with the inflated self-concepts of narcissists point towards a potential for disproportionately optimistic expectations.

Expectations of the Future

Generally speaking, the study of self-knowledge has focused on the accuracy of introspection into one's own internal states such as attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and motives (Wilson, 2009). The topic can also include questions of memory and prospection (predicting one's future), since knowing who we were in the past, who we are currently, and who we will be in the future are important aspects of self-knowledge. Despite the importance of research on the topic, self-knowledge is not a central theme in psychology research today. Table 1 displays examples of how in six areas of psychology, researchers have (or have not) investigated people's knowledge about their past, present, and future selves (taken from Wilson, 2009).

Table 1.
Areas of Inquiry into Self-knowledge

Subdiscipline	Past Knowledge (accuracy of recall of one's past self)	Present knowledge (accuracy of judgements about one's present self)	Future knowledge (accuracy of predictions about one's future self)
Social Psychology	Accuracy of recall of one's past attitudes and/or abilities (Ross, 1989)	Limits of introspection (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977)	Affective forecasting (Gilbert & Wilson, 2007; Wilson & Gilbert, 2003)
	Accuracy of recall of past affective reactions (Robinson & Clore, 2002)	Automaticity of social cognition (Bargh, 1994)	Planning fallacy (Buchler, Griffen, & Ross, 1994)
		Dual process theories of attitudes and information processing	Temporal construal theory (Trope & Liberman, 2003)
Personality Psychology	Models of conscious narratives about the self (e.g., McAdams, 2001)	Models of nonconscious construals of self and situations (e.g. Michschel et al., 2002)	
		Models of conscious narratives about the self (e.g., McAdams, 2001)	
		Implicit and explicit measures of personality traits (e.g., Asendorph et al., 2002)	
		Comparisons of self-reports and peer reports of personality (e.g. Vazire and Mehl, 2008)	
Cognitive Psychology	Models of implicit and explicit memory (e.g. Schacter, 1996)	The new look (Bruner & Goodman, 1947)	Psychology of prediction (e.g., Kahneman & Tversky, 1979)
	Reconstructive memory (McNally, 2003)	Models of implicit and explicit learning (e.g., Reber, 1993)	
Developmental Psychology	Autobiographical memory in childhood (Howe, 2004)	Development of self-knowledge (Ferrari & Sternberg, 1998)	
		Children's understanding of their own and other's minds (e.g. Mitchell & Neal, 2005)	
Clinical psychology	Repression (Erdelyi, 2006)	Awareness of own personality disorders (Oltmanns & Turkheimer, 2006)	Predictions of future fear and panic (Rachman, 1994)
		Alexithymia (Helses, McNeill, Holden, & Jackson, 2008)	
Neuroscience	Neural basis of autobiographical memory (e.g., Rubin, 2005)	Effect of neurological damage on self-knowledge (Gazzaniga & LeDoux, 1978)	Neural processes involved in simulating the future (Schacter, Addis, & Buckner,

Upon viewing the table above, what becomes immediately apparent is that there are several gaps in the research. For example, we could expect self-knowledge to be a central topic in personality psychology, yet there has been very little research on how people view themselves and the accuracy of this knowledge. There has been no research in personality psychology that examines how individuals think about and describe their futures, and whether or not this is related to personality traits such as narcissism.

Self-knowledge, or the accuracy of self-perception, has been an ongoing concern for social scientists and philosophers alike. Two rather different viewpoints predominate among psychologists. According to one view, perceptions of self derive from the same processes as the perceptions of others, and are considered to be accurate representations of experience or behavior (John & Robins, 1994). On the other side, self-perceptions are fundamentally distorted, self-serving, and more positive than what is justified by the perceptions of other people. John & Robins (1994) argue that neither of these views is complete, and that the nature of the bias varies as a function of individual differences in narcissism. In their study of accuracy and bias in self-perceptions of performance in a managerial group-discussion task, participants evaluated their performance more positively than did peers or staff psychologists. This effect ranged from self-enhancement to self-diminishment bias and was overwhelmingly influenced by narcissism. The researchers found that the group of individuals high in narcissism showed substantial overestimation (.47 in standard score metric), the group of individuals low in narcissism showed substantial underestimation (-.41), and the intermediate group showed neither bias (-.05) (John & Robins, 1994). Therefore, it is theoretically plausible that those high on grandiose narcissism will show an unrealistic self-enhancement bias in their

expectations of the future, those high on vulnerable narcissism will show self-diminishment bias in their low expectations of the future, and participants with the most realistic expectations will be those individuals on the low end of both narcissism distributions.

Both types of narcissism share the characteristics that fantasies of greatness prevail, often while ignoring the needs of others. Wink describes how narcissistic fantasies of power and grandeur can equally exist behind a bombastic and exhibitionistic façade as one of shyness and vulnerability (Wink, 1996). Although many of us are inclined to evaluate ourselves favorably, narcissists may see themselves as better than average and therefore judge themselves more positively than how others do (Farwell & Wohlwend-Lloyd, 1998). In addition, people tend to overestimate their personal control over events, and these beliefs may lead to unrealistic optimism. In other words, individuals tend to think they will personally experience more positive events than others will when considering the future. Narcissism has been shown to specifically correlate with the tendency to overestimate one's control over events and to attribute success to internal factors (Farwell & Wohlwend-Lloyd, 1998). Given those tendencies, it is not surprising that scores on measures of grandiose narcissism are associated with the previously described penchant for self-enhancement. A 1994 study by Gabriel et al. is a striking example of this pattern; when subjects' self-ratings of intelligence and attractiveness were compared with their actual percentile scores on an intelligence test and observer-generated ratings of attractiveness, narcissism was related to excessively favorable self-evaluations.

In general, it appears that narcissism is associated with several forms of self-

enhancement, however some researchers argue that favorable self-beliefs are not necessarily detrimental. For example, optimism concerning the future may motivate individuals to take on difficult tasks, and that “self-protective” attributions may encourage persistence in the face of failure. The question is, how will this optimism or self-serving bias influence the way that narcissists think about their futures?

In their 2004 study, Campbell et al. examined whether narcissists are more overconfident than others and whether that overconfidence leads to poor decision-making. The researchers found that narcissism did predict overconfidence, and that narcissists’ predictions of future performance were based on performance expectations rather than actual performance. There have been several studies showing a correlation between narcissism and overconfidence or competitive behavior. For example, Raskin and Terry (1988) found that grandiose narcissism correlated strongly with the need for achievement and self-reported competitiveness. The extreme need for achievement and strong desire to attain one’s’ goals is supported by evidence that individuals with high NPI scores show elevated levels of perfectionism and are especially goal-driven (Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Watson et al., 1999/2000). This desire to be better than others and to achieve success is consistent with the competitive nature of grandiose narcissism. Not only do individuals high on narcissism overestimate their performance in the past; it is expected that they will overestimate their success in the future.

The Present Study

Much of the controversy surrounding the use of the term narcissism in empirical research involves varying opinions about the definition and subtypes of narcissism. This

alone warrants further exploration into the construct of narcissism, however there is also a need for more empirical research to gain a better understanding of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism --both in what they share but also what makes them distinct. To date, there appears no research (in any journal in the PsycINFO database) that compares the influence of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism with self-reported expectations of the future.

According to some research, grandiose narcissism is positively related to certain aspects of psychological well-being. For example, in some cases it has been shown to positively correlate with optimism (Hickman, Watson, & Morris, 1996), absence of depression (Rathvon & Holstrom, 1996), self-esteem and satisfaction with life (Rose, 2002). In contrast, vulnerable narcissism is often negatively related to psychological well-being (Wink, 1991) and is correlated with depression (Wink, 1992), anxiety (Rathvon & Holstrom, 1996), low self-esteem and low satisfaction with life (Rose, 2002). Individuals who display vulnerable narcissism are expected to be sensitive to critique and to be more likely to have the negative emotional reactions of shame and anxiety (Atlas & Them, 2008). In contrast, grandiose narcissists are likely to display violent or otherwise aggressive behavior or to belittle those who challenge them.

Grandiose and vulnerable narcissists may differ in their emotional reactions to criticism, however it is unfair to make a generalization linking grandiose narcissism to positive psychological outcomes and vulnerable narcissism to negative outcomes. A flaw in the research on narcissism and psychological well-being is that all measures are self-report, and are completely dependent on the honesty with which individuals answer the questions. As we know, narcissistic individuals are not the most reliable given their

tendency to exaggerate the positive and to minimize the negative. An important caveat is that the positive outcomes reported by such studies could be due to a defining feature of grandiose narcissism: the refusal to admit vulnerability. In this case grandiose narcissists may simply be denying psychological turmoil while vulnerable narcissists are willing to report it. A particular challenge of this study is that participants could potentially misreport depression and anxiety. Research on narcissism that does not use self-report measures (for example the use of informants or physiological measures) tends to show that grandiose narcissists also struggle with internal psychological disturbances. Although certain aspects of grandiose narcissism may appear to be adaptive, Emmons (1987) suggests that both subtypes of narcissism are still associated with emotional volatility and intense, unhealthy reactions (Besser & Priel, 2010).

The purpose of the present study is to examine the relationship between both types of narcissism and expectations of the future as well as the presence of anxiety or depression among individuals in the midst of a big life transition period; this population can be easily found in college students who will soon graduate and enter the workforce. The proposed research will add to the literature and knowledge of the subtypes of maladaptive narcissism and their relationship to depression, and could prove useful in applied clinical settings. Furthermore, few studies have focused on how narcissism subtypes influence the college to work transition (e.g. Wink, 1992). The majority of research on transitions focuses on high school students entering college, rather than students about to graduate. The goal of the present study is to investigate the connection between narcissism subtypes and expectations of the future by examining the role that mediating factors (depression, anxiety, sense of control, and impulsivity) play in their

association.

Given the extent to which vulnerable narcissism is associated with insecurity, unhappiness, and low self-esteem, it is hypothesized that vulnerable narcissism will be directly correlated with negative predictions for the future and mediated by all four variables (see Figure 2). Specifically, vulnerable narcissism will be positively correlated with anxiety, negatively correlated with sense of control, negatively correlated with impulsivity, and positively correlated with depression. All four variables will be positively correlated with expectations of the future.

It is also predicted that grandiose narcissism will be directly correlated with positive expectations of the future, and will be mediated by depression, sense of control, and impulsivity. Specifically, grandiose narcissism will be positively correlated with sense of control, positively correlated with impulsivity, and negatively correlated with depression. In addition, sense of control, impulsivity, and depression will all be directly correlated with Expectations of the Future.

In addition, it is predicted that grandiose and vulnerable aspects of narcissism will be correlated within individuals. Although there is agreement among researchers regarding a likely coexistence of grandiosity and vulnerability within narcissism, how the two aspects coexist within the selves of narcissists has so far eluded clear or conclusive empirical evidence (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). This may be attributed in part by the fact that vulnerabilities are likely to be hidden from the self and others, and are therefore more difficult to measure than grandiose aspects.

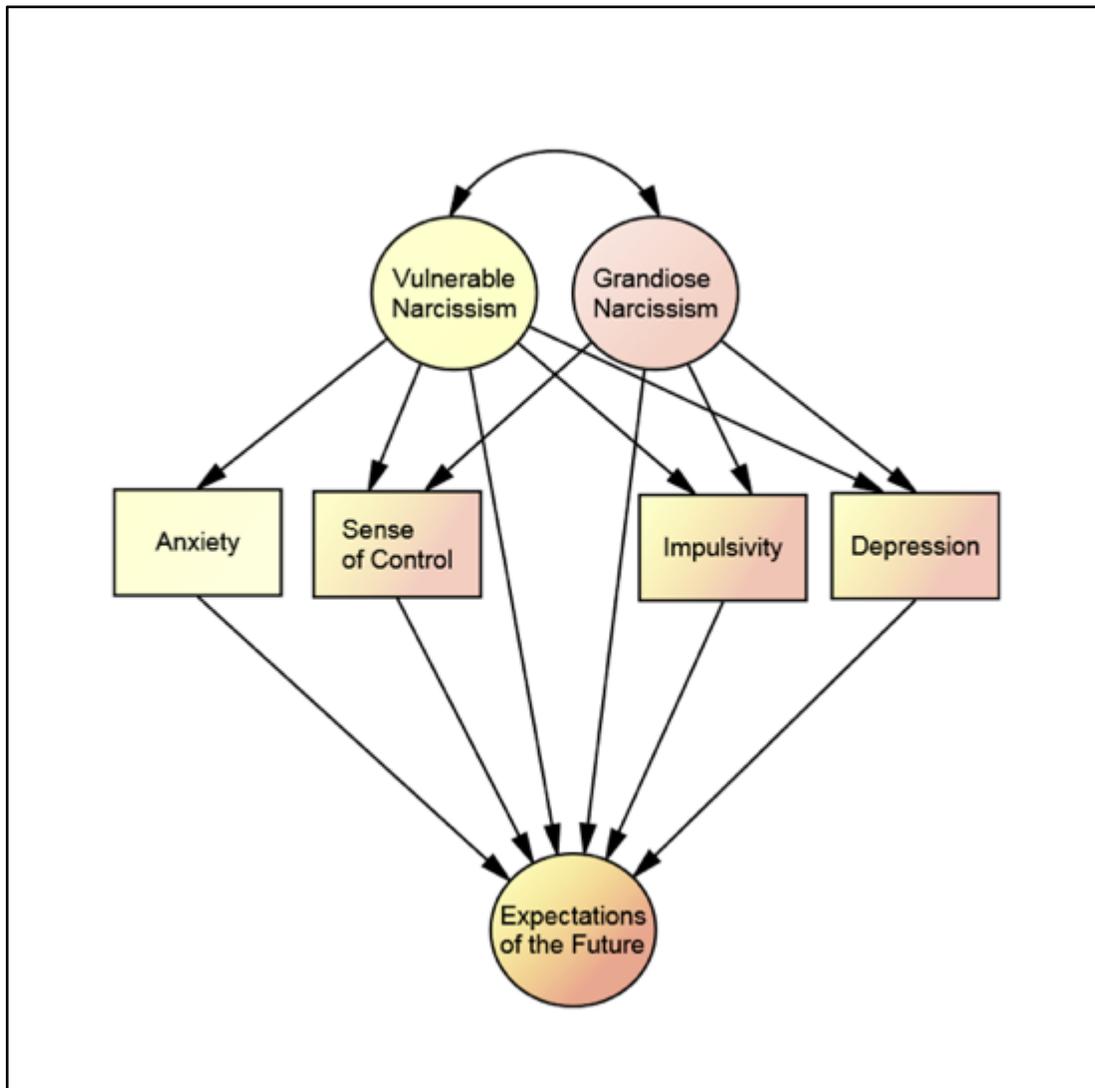


Figure 2. Hypothesized (a priori) model of the relationship between grandiose and vulnerable narcissism, anxiety, depression, sense of control, impulsivity, and expectations for the future.

Method

Participants

The target participant population for the research is U.S. citizens over the age of 18. Participants will be recruited in two groups to complete the survey. The first group will be recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a crowdsourcing Internet marketplace that allows individuals and businesses to request workers to complete tasks for pay. The second group will be recruited at a consortium of liberal arts colleges in Southern California. This group will be recruited via flyers, announcements in psychology classes, and campus emails. Recruiting two samples from different groups will be advantageous in several ways: the first group is likely to be diverse (age, region of the U.S., occupation, etc) while the second group will provide information from college students who are in a unique position to think about their impending futures. The MTurk sample will most likely include individuals at different points in their lives and career trajectories, which will allow for cross-sectional comparisons. Furthermore, this will allow the researcher to examine whether narcissists' views of their futures become less positive over time. In addition, it is possible that the sample of college students will differ from the MTurk sample in interesting ways, such as being more or less positive or confident about their futures. Having these two sample groups will allow the researcher to draw statistical comparisons between the groups. The desired ratio of participants will be 50:50 male: female, and will include anyone over the age of 18. The study will include at least 200 participants total.

100 participants will be recruited from MTurk (ages 18 and older) to participate in the study in exchange for a payment of \$0.50 and 100 participants from a consortium of

liberal arts colleges in Southern California (ages 18 and older) will be recruited. These participants will be entered into a raffle for a gift certificate in exchange for completing the survey.

Materials

Narcissism. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-16) (Ames et al., 2006) will be used in this study (see Appendix A). It is a shortened self-report measure based on the NPI-40 that contains 16 forced-choice items (participants must choose one of two statements). The 40-item NPI captures a range of facets of the construct of narcissism, however its length may prohibit its use in settings where time and respondent fatigue are concerns. In five studies, Ames, Rose, and Anderson (2006) show that this short NPI closely parallels the NPI-40 in its relation to the other Big Five personality measures. They concluded that the NPI-16 has high face, internal, discriminant, and predictive validity and that it can serve as an alternative measure of narcissism when situations do not permit the use of longer inventories. In a study by Miller et al., (2014), the NPI-16 manifested good internal consistency with an alpha of .82. The Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale (HSNS) (Hendin & Cheek, 1997) is a 10-item likert-type self-report measure that has high validity and reliability (Appendix B). The HSNS was drawn from Murray's (1938) Narcissism Scale using a 5-point response scale ranging from 1 (*very uncharacteristic or untrue; strongly disagree*) to 5 (*very characteristic or true; strongly agree*). Sample items include: "I often interpret the remarks of others in a personal way" and "My feelings are easily hurt by ridicule or by the slighting remarks of others." In a study by Gentile et al., (2013) alphas ranged from .66 to .81. As Hendin and Cheek

explain in their original article, the new HSNS correlated highly with the composite MMPI-based measure of covert narcissism (Sample 1, $r = .63, p < .01$; Sample 2, $r = .61, p < .01$). In addition, the HSNS did not correlate with the NPI (Sample 1, $r = .02, ns$; Sample 2, $r = .16, p < .05$) (Hendin & Cheek, 1997).

Depression. The Beck Depression Inventory (BDI-II) is a self-report analysis of depressive symptoms (see Appendix C). The test contains 21 items, all of which assess depressive symptoms on a Likert scale of 0-3. In a study by Subica et al., (2014), data from 1,904 adult inpatients were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), Cronbach's alpha, and Pearson's correlations. Receiver operating characteristic (ROC) analyses evaluating MDD diagnostic performance were conducted with a subsample ($n = 467$) using a structured diagnostic interview for reference. Analyses revealed high internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$).

Anxiety. The Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (Beck et al., 1988) is a 21-item self-report scale that has demonstrated high internal consistency ($\alpha = .92$) and test-retest reliability over 1 week, $r(81) = .75$. The BAI can differentiate between anxious diagnostic groups (panic disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, etc.) and nonanxious diagnostic groups (major depression, dysthymic disorder, etc.) (Beck et al., 1988).

Expectations of Future. The experimenter-designed measure of Expectations of the Future (Appendix E) is a 20-item Likert-type self-report scale (1- *strongly disagree* to 5-*strongly agree*). Some of the questions on the scale were inspired by the Life Orientation Test Revised (LOT-R) (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 1994). This scale was designed to assess individuals' expectations of their futures in several realms: social, financial, career, and general achievement. Examples of items from this scale include: "I

will find ways to achieve my life goals,” “I will have a successful career,” and “I will be loved by many people.” Reliability of the measure will be calculated once data is collected.

Sense of Control. This study will utilize the Sense of Control Scale by Lachman and Weaver (1998): a scale composed of two subscales, Mastery (4 items) and Perceived Constraints (8 items) (Appendix F). Examples from each subscale are, “I can do just about anything I set my mind to” (Mastery) and “I have little control over the things that happen to me” (Perceived constraints). Each item is answered on a 7 point likert-type scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. The perceived constraints items will be reverse coded so that high scores on the total scale correspond to a higher sense of control (Duffy, 2010). Lachman and Weaver found the subscales to correlate with depressive symptoms ($r = -.27, .48$), and to have adequately consistent internal reliability (.70, .86), respectively (Duffy, 2010).

Impulsivity. Ego undercontrol is a concept that covers various aspects of impulsivity and relates to the lack of control of one's impulses. Impulsivity, or ego-undercontrol, will be measured with the Ego-Undercontrol Scale (Block & Keyes, 1988). This is a 37-item Likert-type scale ranging from 1-*strongly disagree* to 4-*strongly agree*. Example items include, “I like to buy things on impulse” and “I like to stop and think things over before I do them” (reverse scored). The Ego Undercontrol scale was validated via observer-reports of personality (Letzring, Block, & Funder, 2005).

Procedure

This study will be conducted online via SurveyMonkey, a resource that allows

users to create and publish customized surveys. Upon providing informed consent, participants will complete eight measures: the Narcissistic Personality Inventory-16 the Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale, the Beck Depression Inventory-II, the Beck Anxiety Inventory, the Sense of Control Scale, a measure of Expectations of Future, and the Ego-Undercontrol Scale. The order in which participants fill out these scales will be randomly assigned. Next, participants will answer demographic questions. Finally, participants will be thanked and debriefed.

Ethics

Anxiety disorders are one of the most common mental health issues on college campuses; forty million adults in the United States suffer from an anxiety disorder, and 75% of them experience their first episode by age 22 (Anxiety and Depression Association of America). Furthermore, anxiety disorders often co-occur with other disorders, including depression, which is also prevalent on college campuses. The pervasiveness of these disorders warrants research to help us better understand how they interact and affect other aspects of human behavior. Within the context of economic recession in the United States, investigating the interaction between these factors could prove useful in applied settings such as college career counseling offices, or other areas where advice during major life transitions is given. Another implication of this research is that clinicians may want to consider particular strategies for reducing anxiety and depression among individuals with grandiose or vulnerable narcissistic tendencies.

Past studies have shown that narcissists do not base their career expectations on their actual performances, but rather their expectations for the future stem from their

inflated egos (Westerman et al., 2012). The amalgamation of inflated career expectations and an increasingly competitive labor market could potentially create substantial cognitive dissonance in today's young adults. While narcissists leave school not expecting to encounter difficulty finding a job or a fair salary, the reality of today's economy is that this is difficult even for the brightest college graduates (Westerman et al., 2012). For this reason, it is important to study the relationship between narcissism, anxiety, and depression in order to better understand how these characteristics interact. The benefits of this study outweigh any potential risks to participants, given the fact that it is below minimal risk (or the level of risk one would encounter in daily life), and that it will add to the existing literature on the topic.

The proposed study is below minimal risk because it does not involve deception, will not cause psychological or physical harm, and is completely voluntary. In addition, the study will be entirely anonymous with no way to trace any information provided by participants. Complete anonymity will be accomplished by not requiring any personal information such as name or email address on the survey, and by ensuring that SurveyMonkey does not collect IP addresses. The informed consent will not directly state that we are interested in narcissism because this could affect how people answer the questions on the NPI. Instead, it will say that we are looking at how personality characteristics affect expectations of the future. Leaving out some information in this manner will not be detrimental to participants because they still know what to expect from the survey and are allowed to exit it at any time. In addition, participants may be bored filling out the questionnaires, but the questionnaires can be completed fairly quickly and participants will be compensated for their time. Given that participants will

be compensated between \$0.25-\$0.50 for their time, it is unlikely that any potential participants will feel like they do not have a choice to participate due to unnecessarily high compensation. The compensation is seen as an incentive to participate in the study, but participation is voluntary and can be terminated at any point. Participants will still receive compensation even if they do not finish the entire study.

It is possible that the survey questions about symptoms of depression and anxiety could cause discomfort to participants due to the fact that they must provide sensitive information. However, these questionnaires should not provoke more discomfort than they would encounter in their daily lives. The questionnaires will not induce anxiety or depression, they are simply asking participants if they ever experience symptoms and how often. The debriefing procedures at the end will fully explain what the study intended to examine, and will also provide resources for participants who experience symptoms of anxiety or depression. The debriefing page will also have a statement that if the respondent is troubled by anxiety, depression, or other concerns, they might consider seeking professional help, and will have a link to the APA resource locator (<http://locator.apa.org/>).

Proposed Results

It is hypothesized that vulnerable narcissism will be directly correlated with negative predictions for the future and mediated by anxiety, sense of control, impulsivity, and depression (see figure 2). It is also predicted that grandiose narcissism will be directly correlated with positive expectations of the future, and will be mediated by sense of control, impulsivity, and depression. Specifically, vulnerable narcissism will be

correlated with higher rates of depression, leading to lower expectations of the future while grandiose narcissism will be correlated with lower levels of depression, leading to higher expectations of the future. Impulsivity and sense of control are predicted to mediate the relationships between both grandiose and vulnerable narcissism and future orientation. Individuals who are grandiosly narcissistic are predicted to be highly impulsive and to have internal loci of control, with a resulting positive or optimistic expectations of the future. On the other hand, vulnerable narcissists are predicted to have a low sense of control (or external loci of control) and to be less impulsive than grandiose narcissists, resulting lower expectations for their futures.

Furthermore, it is predicted that grandiose and vulnerable aspects of narcissism will be correlated within individuals. These hypotheses will be tested by simultaneously fitting the a priori model using SEM. If the fit is poor, adjustments to the model will be made and explained in the discussion.

Discussion

The proposed results suggest an underlying connection between subtypes of narcissism and outcomes of future orientation as mediated by other factors (anxiety, depression, sense of control and impulsivity). Trends in the current literature, such as the demonstrated connection between narcissism and impulsivity and a tendency to attribute success internally, provide evidence to support a connection between grandiose narcissism and positive expectations of the future. On the other hand, the traits associated with vulnerable narcissism align more closely with external attributions of success or

failure, resulting in the hypothesis that individuals high on vulnerable narcissism will have external loci of control and subsequently negative expectations of their futures.

There are possible alternative explanations for the results and areas for improvement in this study. For example, all of the data used in this study were based on self-report measures; a design that is limited in some ways. Self-report measures are in general restricted by the honesty of participants, and can be biased if participants answer based on social desirability or for other personal reasons. Furthermore, each scale used comes with its own set of advantages and limitations.

In particular, although the NPI has been shown to be reliably associated with personality traits and behaviors consistent with non-pathological narcissism, it has also been critiqued for its item content and lack of convergent validity (Tamborski & Brown, 2011). The other measure of narcissism used in this study, the Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale, is also imperfect. Although the HSNS has demonstrated convergence with MMPI assessments of narcissism, the strong bivariate correlations between the HSNS and neuroticism, anxiety, and shyness suggest that the HSNS might be confounding the measurement of narcissism with the measurement of insecurity (Tamborski & Brown, 2011).

Several authors have noted how changes in the DSM criteria have increasingly highlighted the grandiose aspects of narcissism while reducing references to the vulnerable aspects of narcissism (Levy et al., 2011). Factor analytic studies of measures identified as the gold standard in the field, such as the NPI, support their multidimensional structure; but the research does not converge on any single factor structure, and questions regarding whether the NPI assesses two, three, four, or seven

dimensions of narcissism are still left unanswered (Kimonis, Harrison, & Barry, 2011). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that the use of total scores from multidimensional measures may partially explain the inconsistencies of the current research on narcissism.

Finally, because a new measure of future orientation was used in this study, there is no research on the reliability and validity of this measure. Despite these limitations, the act of creating a novel measure was certainly beneficial to the researcher. Although an array of criterion variables were used in this study, other constructs certainly could have been examined. An interesting follow-up study could involve measurement of narcissism and future orientation following an ego threat situation created in a laboratory setting. Another area for future research that was not possible given time constraints would be to examine narcissism and expectations of the future in a longitudinal study, tracking individuals over the course of their lifetimes.

As mentioned previously, there has been very little research on how people view themselves and the accuracy of this knowledge. There has been no research in the field of personality psychology that examines how individuals think about and describe their futures, and whether or not this is related to personality traits. The proposed study will fill a gap in personality research by investigating whether personality characteristics (e.g. grandiose and vulnerable narcissism) have an effect on how individuals view their futures, and whether or not mediating factors influence these predictions.

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Appendix A: Shortened Version of the Narcissism Personality Inventory (NPI-40)

Read each pair of statements below and place an “X” by the one that comes closest to describing your feelings and beliefs about yourself. You may feel that neither statement describes you well, but pick the one that comes closest. **Please complete all pairs.**

1. ___ I really like to be the center of attention

 ___ It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention

2. ___ I am no better or no worse than most people

 ___ I think I am a special person

3. ___ Everybody likes to hear my stories

 ___ Sometimes I tell good stories

4. ___ I usually get the respect that I deserve

 ___ I insist upon getting the respect that is due me

5. ___ I don't mind following orders

- ___ I like having authority over people
6. ___ I am going to be a great person
- ___ I hope I am going to be successful
7. ___ People sometimes believe what I tell them
- ___ I can make anybody believe anything I want them to
8. ___ I expect a great deal from other people
- ___ I like to do things for other people
9. ___ I like to be the center of attention
- ___ I prefer to blend in with the crowd
10. ___ I am much like everybody else
- ___ I am an extraordinary person

11. ___ I always know what I am doing
 ___ Sometimes I am not sure of what I am doing
12. ___ I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people
 ___ I find it easy to manipulate people
13. ___ Being an authority doesn't mean that much to me
 ___ People always seem to recognize my authority
14. ___ I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling
 me so
 ___ When people compliment me I sometimes get
 embarrassed
15. ___ I try not to be a show off
 ___ I am apt to show off if I get the chance

16. I am more capable than other people

There is a lot that I can learn from other people

NPI-16 Key: Responses consistent with narcissism are shown in bold.

Scoring: compute proportion of responses consistent with narcissism.

Background: The NPI-16 items are drawn from across the dimensions of Raskin and Terry's (1988) 40-item measure. Relevant references are noted below.

Appendix B: Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale

Please answer the following questions by deciding to what extent each item is characteristic of your feelings and behavior. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale printed below.

1 = very uncharacteristic or untrue, strongly disagree

2 = uncharacteristic

3 = neutral

4 = characteristic

5 = very characteristic or true, strongly agree

- _____ 1. I can become entirely absorbed in thinking about my personal affairs, my health, my cares or my relations to others.
- _____ 2. My feelings are easily hurt by ridicule or the slighting remarks of others.
- _____ 3. When I enter a room I often become self-conscious and feel that the eyes of others are upon me.
- _____ 4. I dislike sharing the credit of an achievement with others.
- _____ 5. I feel that I have enough on my hands without worrying about other people's troubles.
- _____ 6. I feel that I am temperamentally different from most people.
- _____ 7. I often interpret the remarks of others in a personal way.
- _____ 8. I easily become wrapped up in my own interests and forget the existence of others.
- _____ 9. I dislike being with a group unless I know that I am appreciated by at least one of those present.
- _____ 10. I am secretly "put out" or annoyed when other people come to me with their troubles, asking me for my time and sympathy.

Appendix C: Beck Depression Inventory (BDI)

This depression inventory can be self-scored. The scoring scale is at the end of the questionnaire.

1.
 - 0 I do not feel sad.
 - 1 I feel sad
 - 2 I am sad all the time and I can't snap out of it.
 - 3 I am so sad and unhappy that I can't stand it.
2.
 - 0 I am not particularly discouraged about the future.
 - 1 I feel discouraged about the future.
 - 2 I feel I have nothing to look forward to.
 - 3 I feel the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve.
3.
 - 0 I do not feel like a failure.
 - 1 I feel I have failed more than the average person.
 - 2 As I look back on my life, all I can see is a lot of failures.
 - 3 I feel I am a complete failure as a person.
4.
 - 0 I get as much satisfaction out of things as I used to.
 - 1 I don't enjoy things the way I used to.
 - 2 I don't get real satisfaction out of anything anymore.
 - 3 I am dissatisfied or bored with everything.
5.
 - 0 I don't feel particularly guilty
 - 1 I feel guilty a good part of the time.
 - 2 I feel quite guilty most of the time.
 - 3 I feel guilty all of the time.
6.
 - 0 I don't feel I am being punished.
 - 1 I feel I may be punished.
 - 2 I expect to be punished.
 - 3 I feel I am being punished.
7.
 - 0 I don't feel disappointed in myself.
 - 1 I am disappointed in myself.
 - 2 I am disgusted with myself.

- 3 I hate myself.
- 8.
- 0 I don't feel I am any worse than anybody else.
1 I am critical of myself for my weaknesses or mistakes.
2 I blame myself all the time for my faults.
3 I blame myself for everything bad that happens.
- 9.
- 0 I don't have any thoughts of killing myself.
1 I have thoughts of killing myself, but I would not carry them out.
2 I would like to kill myself.
3 I would kill myself if I had the chance.
- 10.
- 0 I don't cry any more than usual.
1 I cry more now than I used to.
2 I cry all the time now.
3 I used to be able to cry, but now I can't cry even though I want to.
- 11.
- 0 I am no more irritated by things than I ever was.
1 I am slightly more irritated now than usual.
2 I am quite annoyed or irritated a good deal of the time.
3 I feel irritated all the time.
- 12.
- 0 I have not lost interest in other people.
1 I am less interested in other people than I used to be.
2 I have lost most of my interest in other people.
3 I have lost all of my interest in other people.
- 13.
- 0 I make decisions about as well as I ever could.
1 I put off making decisions more than I used to.
2 I have greater difficulty in making decisions more than I used to.
3 I can't make decisions at all anymore.
- 14.
- 0 I don't feel that I look any worse than I used to.
1 I am worried that I am looking old or unattractive.
2 I feel there are permanent changes in my appearance that make me look unattractive
3 I believe that I look ugly.
- 15.
- 0 I can work about as well as before.
1 It takes an extra effort to get started at doing something.

- 2 I have to push myself very hard to do anything.
3 I can't do any work at all.
16.
0 I can sleep as well as usual.
1 I don't sleep as well as I used to.
2 I wake up 1-2 hours earlier than usual and find it hard to get back to sleep.
3 I wake up several hours earlier than I used to and cannot get back to sleep.
17.
0 I don't get more tired than usual.
1 I get tired more easily than I used to.
2 I get tired from doing almost anything.
3 I am too tired to do anything.
18.
0 My appetite is no worse than usual.
1 My appetite is not as good as it used to be.
2 My appetite is much worse now.
3 I have no appetite at all anymore.
19.
0 I haven't lost much weight, if any, lately.
1 I have lost more than five pounds.
2 I have lost more than ten pounds.
3 I have lost more than fifteen pounds.
20.
0 I am no more worried about my health than usual.
1 I am worried about physical problems like aches, pains, upset stomach, or constipation.
2 I am very worried about physical problems and it's hard to think of much else.
3 I am so worried about my physical problems that I cannot think of anything else.
21.
0 I have not noticed any recent change in my interest in sex.
1 I am less interested in sex than I used to be.
2 I have almost no interest in sex.
3 I have lost interest in sex completely.

INTERPRETING THE BECK DEPRESSION INVENTORY

Now that you have completed the questionnaire, add up the score for each of the twenty-one questions by counting the number to the right of each question you marked. The highest possible total for the whole test would be sixty-three. This would mean you circled number three on all

twenty-one questions. Since the lowest possible score for each question is zero, the lowest possible score for the test would be zero. This would mean you circle zero on each question. You can evaluate your depression according to the Table below.

Total Score	Levels of Depression
1-10	These ups and downs are considered normal
11-16	Mild mood disturbance
17-20	Borderline clinical depression
21-30	Moderate depression
31-40	Severe depression
over 40	Extreme depression

Appendix D: Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI)***Beck Anxiety Inventory***

Below is a list of common symptoms of anxiety. Please carefully read each item in the list. Indicate how much you have been bothered by that symptom during the past month, including today, by circling the number in the corresponding space in the column next to each symptom.

	Not At All	Mildly but it didn't bother me much.	Moderately - it wasn't pleasant at times	Severely – it bothered me a lot times
Numbness or tingling	0	1	2	3
Feeling hot	0	1	2	3
Wobbliness in legs	0	1	2	3
Unable to relax	0	1	2	3
Fear of worst happening	0	1	2	3
Dizzy or lightheaded	0	1	2	3
Heart pounding/racing	0	1	2	3
Unsteady	0	1	2	3
Terrified or afraid	0	1	2	3
Nervous	0	1	2	3
Feeling of choking	0	1	2	3
Hands trembling	0	1	2	3
Shaky / unsteady	0	1	2	3
Fear of losing control	0	1	2	3
Difficulty in breathing	0	1	2	3
Fear of dying	0	1	2	3
Scared	0	1	2	3
Indigestion	0	1	2	3
Faint / lightheaded	0	1	2	3
Face flushed	0	1	2	3
Hot/cold sweats	0	1	2	3
Column Sum				

Scoring (researcher) - Sum each column. Then sum the column totals to achieve a grand score. Write that score here _____ .

Appendix E: Expectations of Future Scale

1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor Agree, 4= Agree, 5= Strongly Agree

1. I will find ways to achieve my life goals
2. I am satisfied with where I am now in life.
3. I will have a fulfilling life
4. I will have a positive impact on the world.
5. I will be remembered when I die.
6. I am insignificant in the grand scheme of things.
7. I will make a lot of money
8. I'd rather save money for later than spend it right now (item analysis)
9. I am intelligent.
10. My intellectual abilities are better than most.
11. I do well in school because I'm smart.
12. I do well in school because I work hard.
13. I will easily find a job that I want.
14. I will have a successful career
15. I have what it takes to succeed in life
16. I will love my job.
17. I am motivated to work hard.
18. Many people will admire me.
19. I will be loved by many people.
20. Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad.

Appendix F: Sense of Control Scale

	AGREE				DISAGREE		
	STRONGLY	SOME WHAT	A LITTLE	DON'T KNOW	A LITTLE	SOME WHAT	STRONGLY
s. There is little I can do to change the important things in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
t. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
u. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
v. Other people determine most of what I can and cannot do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
w. What happens in my life is often beyond my control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
x. When I really want to do something, I usually find a way to succeed at it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
y. There are many things that interfere with what I want to do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
z. Whether or not I am able to get what I want is in my own hands. ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
aa. I have little control over the things that happen to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
bb. There is really no way I can solve the problems I have.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
cc. I sometimes feel I am being pushed around in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dd. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix G: Ego Undercontrol Scale

(Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Agree; 4 = Strongly Agree)

1. I tend to buy things on impulse.
2. I become impatient when I have to wait for something.
3. I often say and do things on the spur of the moment, without stopping to think.
4. I can remember “playing sick” to get out of something.
5. I have often had to take orders from someone who did not know as much as I did.
6. When I get bored, I like to stir up some excitement.
7. Some of my family have quick tempers.
8. People consider me a spontaneous, devil-may-care person.
9. I often get involved in things I later wish I could get out of.
10. I have been known to do unusual things on a dare.
11. I have sometimes stayed away from another person because I thought I might do or say something that I might regret afterwards.
12. I do not always tell the truth.
13. My way of doing things can be misunderstood or bother others.
14. Sometimes I rather enjoy going against the rules and doing things I am not supposed to.
15. At times, I am tempted to do or say something that others would think inappropriate.
16. At times I have very much wanted to leave home.
17. I would like to be a journalist.
18. I like to flirt.
19. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.
20. At times I have worn myself out by undertaking too much.
21. In a group of people I would not be embarrassed to be called on to start a discussion or give an opinion about something I know well.
22. I would like to wear expensive clothes.
23. I am against giving money to beggars (reverse scored).
24. It is unusual for me to express strong approval or disapproval of the actions of others (reverse scored).
25. I like to stop and think things over before I do them (reverse scored).
26. I don't like to start a project until I know exactly how to proceed (reverse scored).
27. I finish one activity or project before starting another (reverse scored).
28. I am steady and planful rather than unpredictable and impulsive (reverse scored).
29. On the whole, I am a cautious person (reverse scored).
30. I do not let too many things get in the way of my work (reverse scored).
31. I keep out of trouble at all costs (reverse scored).
32. I consider a matter from every viewpoint before I make a decision (reverse scored).
33. I am easily downed in an argument (reverse scored).
34. I have never done anything dangerous for the fun of it (reverse scored).
35. My conduct is largely controlled by the customs of those about me (reverse scored).
36. It makes me uncomfortable to put on a stunt at a party even when others are doing the same sort of thing (reverse scored).
37. I find it hard to make small talk when I meet new people (reverse scored).