How a Need for Distinctiveness Characterizes Similarities and Differences among the Narcissistic Subtypes

DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Lack of theoretical convergence still plagues the field in defining the narcissistic subtypes. Grandiose and vulnerable narcissism share traits of self-absorption, entitlement, and lack of empathy but differ in self-esteem and self-confidence. Historical emphasis on self-enhancement in narcissism theory, or maintaining high self-esteem, places vulnerable narcissism at a crossroads due to its associated characteristics, including low self-esteem and unsuccessful self-enhancement. The goal of this work is to move away from traditional self-esteem models and expand on current trait-based models to examine in what manner grandiose and vulnerable narcissists are motivationally similar enough to both be considered narcissistic but also distinct enough to be labeled as separate subtypes. This research proposes the Distinctiveness Model of the Narcissistic Subtypes (DMNS) whereby a need for distinctiveness is what connects grandiose and vulnerable narcissism under the same construct and their differences in regulatory focus is what sets them apart. Three studies test this model. Study 1 examines the narcissistic subtypes' shared need for distinctiveness and provides evidence of self-esteem as a consequence to changes in distinctiveness. Study 2a and 2b establishes a new regulatory focus measure to demonstrate the unique associations between grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused need for distinctiveness and vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused need for distinctiveness. Study 3 investigates the attitudinal, emotional, and behavioral

consequences of the narcissistic subtype's different orientations toward a need for distinctiveness. Finally, this work discusses theoretical and practical implications of the new narcissistic motivational model.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Narcissistic individuals are entitled, low in empathy, and often exhibit self-serving behaviors that hurt others around them, including aggressive and exploitative behaviors (e.g., Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Brunell et al., 2013). These characteristics and actions become particularly problematic when narcissistic individuals assume positions of power and are responsible for the welfare of others, such as in business or government positions. Understanding narcissism is especially important now as the trait is rising among youth (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008).

Although narcissism has received great attention in psychological research and popular culture alike, conceptual confusion exists over the trait construction and expression (e.g., Miller, Lynam, Hyatt, & Campbell, 2017; Raskin, Novacek, & Hogan, 1991). In attempt to address inconsistent findings, recent research supports the division of narcissism into two subtypes: grandiose and vulnerable narcissism (Dickinson & Pincus, 2003; Miller et al., 2011; Wink, 1991). However, a lack of theoretical convergence over these defined subtypes still plagues the field (e.g., Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010). A major research goal of this work is to apply motivational theory to the study of trait narcissism in order to resolve these remaining discrepancies. This research proposes the Distinctiveness Model of the

Narcissistic Subtypes (DMNS) to understand in what manner grandiose and vulnerable narcissists[1] are similar enough to both be considered narcissistic but also distinct enough to be labeled as separate subtypes.

Self-Esteem Theories of Narcissism

Suggesting the core of narcissism can be understood through motivation is not new. Traditional theory has highlighted narcissists' need to self-enhance and protect their egos (e.g., Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Campbell, 1999; Morf & Rhodewalt, 1993; Raskin & Novacek, 1989; Zeigler-Hill, 2006). This emphasis on self-esteem has roots in the mythological story of Narcissus, who's defining feature was his love for himself.

The scientific study of narcissism began as a rare clinical disorder which also emphasized preoccupation with the self (Freud, 1914;1957). But clinicians disagreed about how to define narcissism. While some clinicians saw narcissists' self-interest expressed as conceit and demanding behavior (e.g., Kernberg, 1986), others described narcissists as sensitive individuals who were dependent on, but untrustworthy of, others when it came to managing their large egos (e.g., Kohut, 1971). These different views of narcissism have persisted in the diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) (American Psychiatric Association, 2000; 2013).

Narcissistic personality disorder is still a rare diagnosis. For years, less than 1% of individuals in the population had lives that were impaired by grandiose fantasies, need for excessive admiration, and who felt special but were also envious of others (American

[1] Although narcissism is a continuous construct, for brevity, this paper refers to people high in trait narcissism as "narcissists."

Psychiatric Association, 2000). More recently, around 6% of the population meets the criteria for narcissistic personality disorder (Stinson et al., 2008) as these individuals display impairments in self-appraisals that are either inflated or deflated. They also have an inability, or an excessive need, to empathize with others if there is opportunity for self-gain and set goals either too high or too low in order to view themselves as exceptional or entitled (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

To bridge these polarized views of narcissism, such as being self-aggrandizing yet self-defeating, psychologists often concluded these individuals' secret vulnerabilities were the underlying drive in their grandiose veneer. For example, Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) proposed a dynamic self-regulatory processing model of narcissism. This model posits narcissism as a unitary construct with "hot" and "cold" systems that underlie a chronic goal to seek external self-affirmation and view situations in terms of how they may impact self-esteem. Similarly, several researchers have reported on narcissists' defensive self-esteem maintenance strategies and threatened ego (e.g., Pulver, 1970; Raskin, Novacek, & Hogan, 1991; Reich, 1960). For example, when narcissists' highly favorable self-views are challenged by someone who insulted them, they turn aggressive to maintain their self-esteem (e.g., Baumeister et al., 1996; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Lobbestael, Baumeister, Fiebig, & Eckel, 2014).

According to these self-esteem models, one would expect all narcissists to express negative emotion after receiving negative feedback from others and positive emotion after positive feedback. Unfortunately, the main effects that these self-esteem models propose do not reliably predict more recent outcomes reported in the field. For example,

some narcissists feel the greatest shame and anger after positive feedback (e.g., Atlas & Them, 2008; Freis, Brown, Carroll, 2015; Malkin, Barry, & Zeigler-Hill, 2011).

Trait Theories of Narcissism

To address differences seen in historical narcissism theory, researchers in recent decades have divided the construct of narcissism into two subtypes which are observable in non-clinical populations. The narcissistic subtypes are viewed as individual difference variables where every person can be identified along a continuum through self-report questionnaires (e.g., Miller & Campbell, 2010, Raskin & Hall, 1979; Wink, 1991). These subtypes have advanced through several different names, including overt and covert, healthy and unhealthy, and grandiose and vulnerable.

To date, most work has emphasized the *grandiose* narcissism subtype and traditional emphasis on self-esteem does well to describe this subtype. Grandiose narcissists are often thought of as having genuine "self-love" (Bosson, Lakey, Campbell, Zeigler-Hill, Jordan, & Kernis, 2008). They report high self-esteem (Rose, 2002) that is contingent upon their competitive performances (Zeigler-Hill, Clark, & Pickard, 2008). They use downward comparisons to bolster their positive affect and self-esteem (Bogart, Benotsch, & Pavlovic, 2004) and affiliate themselves with partners who can boost their self-image (Campbell, 1999).

Grandiose narcissists are chronic self-enhancers who define themselves as "better-than-average" (e.g., Gabriel, Critelli, & Ee, 1994), especially on positive or agentic traits (Campbell, Rudich, & Sedikides, 2002). They view self-promotion positively (Hart, Adams, & Burton, 2016), exude self-confidence (Emmons, 1984), hold

a sense of superiority and arrogance (Freis, 2016; Krizan & Bushman, 2011), but at the same time remain socially charming (Back, Schmukle, & Egloff, 2010).

Although grandiose narcissists do not care about others or their opinions, they desire an audience (Arkin & Lakin, 2001). They tend to make decisions based on the potential for attention (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007) and are more motivated to make good decisions when there is opportunity to self-enhance (Byrne & Worthy, 2013). Grandiose narcissists boast about their talents, looks, and accomplishments (Buss & Chiodo, 1991). They seek admiration and recognition (Collins & Stukas, 2008; Dickinson & Pincus, 2003; Wink, 1991) and do their best work when others are watching, giving them an opportunity to show-off (Wallace & Baumeister, 2002).

By comparison, individuals high in vulnerable narcissism have chronically low self-esteem (Rose, 2002), low self-confidence (Freis & Brown, 2017; Wink, 1991), and lack agency or a feeling of self-efficacy (Brown, Freis, Carroll, 2016). Their daily life is fraught with anxiety (Rathvon & Holmstrom, 1996), depression (Miller, Dir, Gentile, Wilson, Pryor, & Campbell, 2010), shame and anger (Freis et al., 2015; Krizan & Johar, 2015). When in situations that threaten self-esteem, vulnerable narcissists lack many of the self-enhancement strategies that grandiose narcissists use to protect their self-worth. For example, vulnerable narcissists' attempts to use motivated reasoning to protect against feelings of shame are often unsuccessful and backfire, resulting in higher shame (Freis et al., 2015).

Vulnerable narcissists' initial negative emotion may arise from their unmet entitled expectations, where others fail to recognize their importance (Given-Wilson et

al., 2011) or live up to their grandiose fantasies (Cooper & Ronningstam, 1992). These feelings of disappointment and inferiority (Freis, 2016) are compounded by their wide-spread contingencies of self-worth (Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008). Since vulnerable narcissists are not successfully able to regulate their own self-esteem, they rely upon the external feedback from others (Besser & Priel, 2009). However, this contingency on social approval makes them highly sensitive to public situations and acutely attuned to cues of social inclusion or rejection (Besser & Priel, 2010). In general, they report high interpersonal distress and social avoidant tendencies (Dickinson & Pincus, 2003).

Despite these substantive differences across the subtypes, defining narcissism by a self-enhancement - or self-esteem maintenance - motivation has persisted (e.g., Farwell & Wohlwend-Lloyd, 1998; Miller & Campbell, 2010; Sedikides, 1993; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008). Emphasis on this motivation places vulnerable narcissism at a crossroads due to its associated characteristics, including low self-esteem and unsuccessful self-enhancement. Although some researchers view self-esteem as the primary feature defining the subtypes (e.g., Rose, 2002), others use self-esteem to question if vulnerable narcissism should be categorized as a narcissism subtype (e.g., Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Is vulnerable narcissism an entirely new trait, or is it a subtype of narcissism? Many theorists have grappled with this same issue in trying to understand narcissism through a self-esteem lens. The majority of research has failed to link narcissism to self-esteem instability or low implicit self-esteem (Bosson et al., 2008), and instead have proposed more extensive trait-based theories to ground the conceptualization of narcissism.

In an effort to minimize disagreements over the construct of narcissism, Miller and colleagues (2017) have proposed a five-factor trait-based approach. This five-factor model outlines low agreeableness, including facets of entitlement and grandiosity, as the core components of narcissism. If extraversion is added to this core, then grandiose narcissism emerges. If neuroticism is added to the core, vulnerable narcissism occurs.

Similarly, Krizan and colleagues have proposed a trait-based model to explain how grandiose and vulnerable narcissists are two subtypes of the same core concept. The Narcissism Spectrum Model (Krizan & Herlache, 2017) outlines a sense of entitled self-importance as the center and driving force of the narcissism spectrum. Specifically, narcissists believe they are deserving or have value above and beyond others they may socially compare with. If an individual's sense of entitlement reflects boldness, including hubris and exhibitionism, they fall in the grandiose dimension of narcissism. If, instead, an individual is reactive in their entitled beliefs, being defensive and resenting, they will fall closer to the vulnerable dimension of narcissism.

These personality perspectives on narcissism do well to describe and distinguish the traits and behaviors of the narcissistic subtypes using common narcissism measures. Furthermore, both theories emphasize the validity of having narcissism subtypes rather than the idea of grandiosity masking vulnerability as early models posited.

While trait-based models provide a foundation through which to understand the characteristic differences between the narcissistic subtypes, the field should not lose the motivational roots of narcissism theory. As McCabe and Fleeson (2015) review, using motivational principles in conjunction with personality traits has value in better

predicting downstream consequences including social behavior and perceptions. Trait approaches, by definition, make general predictions across situations to understand the commonalities of an individual's characteristics and behavior. Redefining a motivational approach to narcissism, in comparison, can help explain situational dynamics and what happens when a person has satisfied versus not satisfied their motive. Consequentially, the field will be able to make more specific predictions and gain a deeper understanding of narcissism by reconsidering its motivational framework. For example, because motivations can be addressed by situational conditions, it may be possible to create contexts in which some aspects of narcissism may be reduced by addressing the underlying motivations in more benign ways. In other words, understanding what motivates an individual, beyond their stable personality traits, provides greater opportunity and direction in developing interventions to reduce narcissistic tendencies in individuals or help others who interact with a person high in narcissism. Thus, the goal of this research is to move away from traditional self-esteem or self-enhancement models and expand on current trait-based models to examine in what other manner grandiose and vulnerable narcissists are motivationally similar enough to both be considered narcissistic but also distinct enough to be labeled as separate subtypes.

Distinctiveness Theory of Narcissism

This research proposes the Distinctiveness Model of the Narcissistic Subtypes (DMNS) which reconceptualizes grandiose and vulnerable narcissism on the basis of a need for distinctiveness or a desire to differentiate oneself from others (Brewer, 1991; Leonardelli et al., 2010). Because of grandiose and vulnerable narcissists' high self-

absorption or self-centeredness to the neglect of others (Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Vonk et al., 2013) – seeing the word revolve around themselves – the DMNS posits that both narcissistic subtypes have a high desire or value for distinctiveness. They are constantly searching for ways to build and assert their personal identity that differentiates them from others in a social context and helps them stand out. In other words, the DMNS proposes that narcissists want to see themselves as unique compared to others; distinctiveness is seen as priority and guides behavior.

The DMNS is consistent, but distinct, from the high entitlement beliefs as outlined in the Narcissism Spectrum Model, where narcissists see themselves as deserving of special treatment, and do not recognize deservingness in others (Allen & Freis, 2017; Krizan & Johar, 2012; Vonk et al., 2013; Zeigler-Hill, Green, Arnau, Sisemore, & Myers, 2011). Specifically, while both entitlement and distinctiveness necessitate social comparison to some degree, it is possible to feel distinct but not entitled and vice-versa. Western culture often conflates these two variables as people and traits which are different or unique tend to be valued or seen as more special and deserving. Thus, just as individuals with independent self-construals are motivated by a desire for distinctiveness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), narcissists may have an especially strong motivation to perceive themselves as distinct and, as a result, gain greater justification for their feelings of entitlement.

Pursuing distinctiveness may also impact narcissists' self-esteem. Specifically, narcissists' desire for attention or social approval (e.g., Brunell et al., 2008) may be a product of their distinctiveness motivation, or ways they try to validate their uniqueness.

For example, a narcissist might wear a custom gown to an award show because they want to be seen as unique. If they garner attention for the gown, the attention signals to them that they have met their need to be distinct. The desire for attention or social approval thus becomes a means through which narcissists can assess how well they are meeting their primary need to be distinct. If narcissists do meet their goal and perceive themselves as distinct, their self-esteem should get a boost. However, if they are made to feel average or just like everyone else, their self-esteem should decrease. Thus, in the DMNS, self-esteem remains a relevant construct in the narrative of narcissism but it is viewed as a consequence to perceived distinctiveness.

Regulatory Focus in Narcissists' Distinctiveness

A high need for distinctiveness may connect grandiose and vulnerable narcissists together as one construct, but it does not alone explain the differences between them (e.g., levels of self-doubt, agency, extraversion). To address this, the DMNS incorporates insights from Higgins' (1997) regulatory focus theory to propose that grandiose narcissists adopt a promotion-focused orientation toward their need for distinctiveness whereas vulnerable narcissists adopt a prevention-focused orientation.

Higgins' (1997) regulatory focus theory is staged on the premise that humans have security and nurturance needs to survive and thrive. However, security needs, such as physical safety, and nurturance needs, such as nourishment, breed different psychological experiences: a promotion- or prevention-focused orientation. When individuals orient toward a situation with a promotion focus, they are primarily concerned with nurturing their desires. They wish to garner greater "gains" and eagerly

seek new opportunities to secure potential gains, even if the opportunities are risky (Higgins, 1997). A gain in the DMNS can be thought of in terms of increasing distinctiveness or finding ways to stand out. A non-gain or non-loss in the DMNS is maintaining status quo or seeing no change in how much a person is perceived as distinct versus commonplace. Finally, a loss in the DMNS is losing a piece of distinctiveness; which may put individuals in risk of being perceived as average or just like everyone else. Individuals with a promotion focus toward distinctiveness would therefore be concentrated on finding new opportunity for gains, or ways they can nurture greater uniqueness. When a gain in distinctiveness is achieved, a person in a promotion-focused orientation feels happiness and joy. In contrast, any other outcome such as a loss, non-loss, or even a non-gain is perceived negatively and results in emotions such as sadness, disappointment, and even depression.

Whereas a promotion focus orients an individual to be most concerned with nurturing gains, a prevention focus orients a person to care more about losses and finding security. When individuals orient toward a situation with a prevention focus, they feel anxious that they might incur losses and become vigilant to defend against potential losses (Higgins, 1997). To a prevention-focused individual, maintaining the status quo is primary as it insures greatest security and certainty in their lives. They only take risks when they have incurred a loss and experience no greater satisfaction from securing a gain than they do from keeping their situation consistent and predictable. If a prevention-focused individual experiences a gain, they must increase their vigilance to protect their new status quo – the threat of loss becomes heightened. Therefore, a person in a

prevention-focused orientation is consumed with anxiety and worry if they incur a loss but feel equally relieved or calm when a loss is absent; in other words, if they experience a non-loss, non-gain, or gain. What matters most when in a prevention-focused orientation is preventing the possibility of losses.

The DMNS predicts grandiose narcissists are promotion-focused toward their need to be distinct – concerned with rewards and eagerly seeking gains that increase their distinctiveness. Thus, their self-enhancing behavior, especially on agentic traits (Campbell et al., 2002), may be a way in which they seek to gain new distinctiveness. Past research supports this hypothesis as grandiose narcissism has been linked to risky and sensation seeking decisions (Emmons, 1981; Foster, Shenesey, & Goff, 2009) due to their reward-focus (Lakey, Rose, Campbell, & Goodie, 2008) and high approach motivation (Foster & Trimm, 2008; Krizan & Herlache, 2017). In comparison, past research documents vulnerable narcissists' hypersensitivity to threats, losses, or injustices to the self as they report a high avoidance motivation (Foster & Trim, 2008; Krizan & Herlache, 2017). As such, the DMNS predicts vulnerable narcissists are prevention-focused in their need to be distinct – concerned with losses and vigilantly protecting their distinct status.

The specification of grandiose and vulnerable narcissists' regulatory foci has important theoretical implications compared to previous research. Specifically, the DMNS model extends the approach/avoidance theory that Foster and Trimm (2008) as well as Krizan and Herlache (2017) have used to help distinguish the narcissistic subtypes. Original approach/avoidance theory focuses on valence and direction when

predicting individuals' reactions; a person should either approach what is good or avoid what is bad. The fundamental distinction between approach/avoidance theory and regulatory focus theory lies in whether a person's primary concern is about nurturance and growth or security and protection. These different orientations toward nurturance or security help define what is good to approach or bad to avoid in any given situation as well as the emotional responses to each situation. For example, in considering conditions of maintaining the status quo (i.e., experiencing a non-gain or non-loss), it is unclear from an approach/avoidance perspective whether the status quo is good or bad. However, the DMNS can predict individuals' orientation and sensitivity to the status quo. A grandiose narcissist, who is proposed to hold a promotion-focused orientation, will see the status quo as something bad to avoid as they are more concerned with nurturing increased distinctiveness. Therefore, they would feel disappointed, or perhaps a bit angry, if they were to experience a non-gain and maintain the status quo. In comparison, a vulnerable narcissist, who is proposed to hold a prevention-focused orientation, will see the status quo as something good to approach as they are most concerned with preventing losses. Therefore, they would feel relieved or calm if they were to experience a non-loss and maintain the status quo. In sum, previous work on approach/avoidance theory (Foster & Trimm, 2008; Krizan & Herlache, 2017) helps support the distinction the DMNS proposes to make; however, the DMNS hopes to provide a richer theoretical basis for testing predictions on the differences between the narcissistic subtypes.

One additional hypothesis the DMNS generates through identifying narcissists' regulatory foci is the possibility of regulatory fit. When a person's orientation matches

their current activity or task, they experience a "fit" which garners greater value, persistence, and interest in the activity (Avnet & Higgins, 2006; Cesario, Grant, & Higgins, 2004; Higgins, 2000). Consequently, if a person has a promotion-focused orientation, they will likely respond stronger to a task that is framed or best facilitated by a promotion-focus – and vice-versa for a prevention-focus. For example, if toothpaste is advertised to make your teeth extraordinarily whiter, it is framed in promotion-focused language; the buyer would purchase the product to achieve a gain (i.e., whiter teeth). This sort of framing would work best on a person in a promotion-focused orientation such as a grandiose narcissist who might want to stand out from the crowd with an especially white smile. In contrast, if the toothpaste is advertised as a way to keep your smile from dulling, it is framed in more prevention-focused language; the buyer would purchase the product to protect themselves from a potential loss (i.e., keep their white smile). This sort of framing would work best on a person in a prevention-focused orientation such as a vulnerable narcissist who might be especially motivated to protect their current white smile. No matter what the product, assessing regulatory fit allows the DMNS to make specific predictions about the narcissistic subtypes, especially when the product relates to their desire to be unique.

The Current Research

Three studies will explore the DMNS's predictions on the narcissistic subtypes' motivation to help better understand in what manner grandiose and vulnerable narcissists are similar enough to both be considered narcissistic but different enough to be labeled as separate subtypes.

The purpose of Study 1 is to establish the narcissistic subtypes' shared need for distinctiveness and show evidence that self-esteem can be thought of as a consequence, not a primary motivation. Study 1 will test whether the subtypes' self-esteem is contingent upon perceived distinctiveness. This study will also begin to explore whether the strength of this contingency varies by regulatory focus.

The purpose of Study 2 (a & b) is to assess regulatory orientation toward distinctiveness among the narcissistic subtypes. Study 2 will demonstrate the relative differences in strength when assessing grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused need for distinctiveness, concerned with nurturing more specialness, versus vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused need for distinctiveness, vigilant to protect their distinct status.

The purpose of Study 3 is to better explore how the narcissistic subtypes orient toward their need for distinctiveness through different regulatory foci and how that may predict outcomes such as attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions toward purchasing a unique product. Study 3 will advertise a unique product because previous research has shown how the distinctiveness of a product can reflect a person's desire to be seen as distinct or increase one's individuality (e.g., Tian, Bearden, & Hunter, 2001). This study will manipulate regulatory fit to test differences in narcissists' attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions toward the unique product. Study 3 will also explore whether narcissists' reasons for owning a unique product differ and whether these different reasons mediate narcissists' attitudes toward the unique product, their emotional investment in obtaining the unique product, and their willingness to pay for the unique product.

Chapter 2: Study 1

Study 1 explores whether individuals high in narcissism share a need for distinctiveness. This study measured grandiose narcissism, vulnerable narcissism, and general narcissism. Because the DMNS proposes a need for distinctiveness is primary compared to self-enhancement or self-esteem maintenance motives, Study 1 also measured contingencies of self-worth, including a new domain that is contingent on perceived distinctiveness. In this way, self-esteem is conceptualized as an outcome of perceived distinctiveness. I predicted a positive association between the narcissistic subtypes and self-worth contingent on perceived distinctiveness. This study also explored whether the narcissistic subtypes were able to differentiate between promotion-focused or prevention-focused language to describe self-worth contingent on perceived distinctiveness.

Method

Participants. Consistent with field norms at the time of data collection, I aimed to recruit about 120 participants for this correlational design. As such, 148 participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk began this online study that took approximately 17 minutes to complete. All participants were from the United States, had a HIT (Human Intelligence Task) approval rate $\geq$ 95%, completed $\geq$ 1000 HITs, and received $0.50 in

exchange for their participation. Following standard data cleaning protocols[2], 26 participants were dropped. This left 122 people (54 female, 65 males, M_{age} = 37.66, SD_{age} = 11.77) who participated in the study. With 122 participants at 80% power this study should be able to find an effect size of r = .13 or larger.

Materials & Procedure. After providing informed consent, participants completed a series of self-report questionnaires, including measures of narcissism and contingencies of self-worth, before reporting their demographics and being debriefed.

Grandiose Narcissism. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Terry, 1988) assesses trait grandiose narcissism in non-clinical populations (Krizan & Johar, 2012; 2015; Miller & Campbell, 2008). This is a 40-item forced-choice measure where participants read a pair of statements and must choose the statement that best represents them. One statement in each pair is considered more narcissistic. For example, "I am more capable than other people" is more narcissistic compared to "There is a lot that I can learn from other people." Because no consistent factor analysis exists for the NPI (e.g., Raskin & Terry, 1988; Emmons 1984), I summed all 40 items to create a total grandiose narcissism score (α = .91).

Vulnerable Narcissism. The Hypersensitive Narcissistic Scale (HSNS; Hendin & Cheek, 1997) measures trait vulnerable narcissism in non-clinical populations. This is a 10-item measure rated on a 7-point Likert scale from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree." Example items include "I often interpret the remarks of others in a personal way"

[2] Exclusionary criteria in this and all subsequent studies included failing attention check measures (e.g., "If you are carefully reading these questions, please select strongly agree."), not being fluent in speaking and understanding the English language, and failing to complete primary measures after the informed consent.

and “I dislike sharing the credit of an achievement with others.” I summed all 10 items to create a total vulnerable narcissism score (α = .82).

General Narcissism. The Single Item Narcissism Scale (SINS; Konrath, Meier, & Bushman, 2014) measures an individual’s general level of narcissism. This measure has positively correlated to previous measures of narcissism in the past and is therefore proposed to subsume both grandiose and vulnerable narcissism subtypes. In this measure, participants respond to what extent they agree with the statement, “I am a narcissist. (Note: The word “narcissist” means egotistical, self-focused, and vain.).” Participants rated this item on a 7-point Likert scale from “not very true of me” to “very true of me.”

Self-Worth Contingencies. The contingencies of self-worth scale (CSW; Crocker, Luhtanen, Cooper, & Bouvrette, 2003) measures the domains in which individuals stake their self-esteem or self-worth. Items are rated on a 6-point Likert scale from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree.” This scale traditionally measures the domains of family support, competition, appearance, God’s love, school, virtue, and approval from others, with five items assessing each domain. Previous research has assessed the relationship between these various contingencies of self-worth and the narcissistic subtypes and has found grandiose narcissism is associated with only the domain of competition whereas vulnerable narcissism is associated with nearly all domains, including family support, competition, appearance, school, virtue, and others’ approval (Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008). Note, however, that the current study introduces a new domain, namely perceived distinctiveness, and specifically predicts that both narcissistic subtypes will report self-worth contingent on this domain. In addition, the strength of this association may vary

based on regulatory focus. Specifically, grandiose narcissism (versus vulnerable narcissism) may exhibit a particularly strong association with self-worth contingent on perceived distinctiveness when the domain is described with promotion-focused (versus prevention-focused) language. To test these hypotheses, I created a new domain with 10 items that assess contingent self-worth on perceived distinctiveness (CSW-D). I worded these items to reflect more promotion- or prevention-focused orientations. Example items with a promotion focus included "I will go out of my way to obtain greater individuality," and "Advancing my uniqueness is important to me." Example items with a prevention focus included, "It makes me feel good when I know my level of distinctiveness is secure." and "If I were to lose my uniqueness, I would lose my feelings of self-esteem." To be mindful of participants' time, I only included four other domains from the traditional CSW scale and randomized the order of all items.

Results & Discussion

Factor Analysis. An exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood extraction method and oblimin rotation largely replicated the original CSW subscales and produced a single separate factor for the distinctiveness domain.[3] Therefore, contrary to predictions, regulatory focus did not impact how much participants' self-worth was contingent on perceived distinctiveness. Participants did not distinguish between promotion- or prevention-focused language to describe the new contingency domain. Thus, this study is limited as it cannot explore the proposed differences in how the

[3] I conducted a two-factor solution to test whether the new distinctiveness domain can be separated into a promotion-focused subscale and prevention-focused subscale. A maximum likelihood extraction method and oblimin rotation reveals that all items load on one factor. These results suggest it is most appropriate to treat the distinctiveness domain as a single factor.

narcissistic subtypes orient toward a need to be distinct. The nuanced language in the distinctiveness items may have been lost on participants who were answering items from several contingent domains. Participants were likely not able to discriminate between the promotion-focused need for distinctiveness, prevention-focused need for distinctiveness, and the other more global domains which lacked parallel regulatory focus language. Therefore, this study next investigated the primary hypothesis that both narcissistic subtypes share a high need for distinctiveness as evidenced by self-worth contingent on a general perceived distinctiveness.

An initial factor analysis revealed six factors with one CSW-AO item loading on a sixth factor (see Appendix A, Table 6). I conducted a five-factor solution with maximum likelihood extraction method and oblimin rotation to simplify interpretation. A full list of CSW items and factor loadings can be found in Table 1 – items with an asterisk are reverse scored. I summed all of the 10 newly created items to create a total CSW-D score to reflect a high need for distinctiveness regardless of regulatory focus (α = .91). I also summed the items for each original domain included to create a total score for family support (CSW-FS; α = .45), competition (CSW-C; α = .88), virtue (CSW-V; α = .90), and approval from others (CSW-AO; α = .58). The factor analysis shows the new contingency domain of perceived distinctiveness is distinct from previous contingency domains.

Table 1

Study 1 Factor Analysis of Self-Worth Contingency Domains

	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
Distinctiveness					
My self-esteem is influenced by my level of uniqueness in any given situation.	.80	-.07	-.01	.11	.50
My self-esteem is influenced by how highly distinct I am compared to those around me.	.76	.04	.17	.10	.38
Advancing my uniqueness is important to me.	.75	-.23	-.07	.19	.42
I make sure that people recognize how special I am in order to protect my self-esteem.	.75	.02	.10	.06	.54
I will go out of my way to obtain greater individuality.	.73	-.14	.01	.22	.39
If I were to lose my uniqueness, I would lose my feelings of self-esteem.	.68	-.24	.18	.09	.45
My self-worth would plummet if my specialness decreased.	.65	.13	.36	.11	.52
Whenever I see evidence that others are aware of my individuality, my self-esteem gets a boost.	.64	-.31	-.03	.43	.50
Knowing others are aware of my specialness makes me feel good about myself.	.58	-.16	.07	.23	.54
It makes me feel good when I know my level of distinctiveness is secure.	.57	-.28	-.11	.33	.48
Virtue					
Doing something I know is wrong makes me lose my self-respect.	.08	-.89	.13	.31	.06
My self-esteem would suffer if I did something unethical.	.14	-.87	.18	.37	.08
Whenever I follow my moral principles, my sense of self-respect gets a boost.	.05	-.76	-.18	.37	.08
My self-esteem depends on whether or not I follow my moral/ethical principles.	.20	-.75	.01	.47	.15
I couldn't respect myself if I didn't live up to a moral code.	.04	-.73	.04	.28	.06
Approval from Others					
I don't care what other people think of me. *	.10	-.11	.85	.19	.16
I don't care if other people have a negative opinion about me. *	.07	-.11	.84	.18	.10

Continued

Table 1 continued

Study 1 Factor Analysis of Self-Worth Contingency Domains

	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
What others think about me has no effect on what I think about myself. *	-.06	-.01	.68	.18	.12
My self-esteem depends on the opinions others hold of me.	.50	-.08	.59	.32	.38
I can't respect myself if others don't respect me.	.24	-.15	.25	.27	.19
Family Support					
It is important to my self-respect that I have a family that cares about me.	.28	-.43	.08	.81	.10
When my family members are proud of me, my sense of self-worth increases.	.17	-.59	.10	.72	.40
Knowing that my family members love me makes me feel good about myself.	.05	-.41	.11	.71	.17
When I don't feel loved by my family, my self-esteem goes down.	.29	-.41	.43	.63	.18
My self-worth is not influenced by the quality of my relationships with my family members. *	.11	-.12	.41	.56	.05
Competition					
Knowing that I am better than others on a task raises my self-esteem.	.49	-.08	.12	.05	.85
Doing better than others gives me a sense of self-respect.	.46	.02	.17	.12	.80
My self-worth is influenced by how well I do on competitive tasks.	.55	.02	.16	.04	.75
My self-worth is affected by how well I do when I am competing with others.	.48	-.16	.28	.05	.70
I feel worthwhile when I perform better than others on a task or skill.	.35	-.11	.07	.23	.69

Bivariate Correlations. Table 2 outlines the bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations for all scales in this study. Both the NPI and HSNS showed significant positive correlations with the SINS which is in line with past work that shows

both grandiose and vulnerable narcissism positively correlate to the general narcissism measure (Konrath et al., 2014).

Table 2

Study 1 Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	SD
1. NPI								13.52	8.83
2. HSNS	.16†							37.99	10.37
3. SINS	.39**	.31**						2.36	1.70
4. CSW-D	.38**	.35**	.27**					33.98	10.15
5. CSW-FS	-.17†	.14	-.10	.30**				20.35	5.46
6. CSW-C	.23**	.29**	.22*	.64**	.20*			18.40	5.66
7. CSW-V	-.34 **	.15	-.20*	.16†	.51**	.07		21.76	5.81
8. CSW-AO	-.12	.25**	.04	.23**	.41**	.31**	.16†	15.72	5.28

Note. † $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$

In comparison to previous work on the narcissistic subtypes' contingent self-esteem (Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008), the NPI showed significant or marginal correlations with the CSW-C, CSW-FS, and CSW-V, suggesting individuals high in grandiose narcissism do not have self-worth that is contingent on family support or virtue but do have contingent self-worth on competition. These results replicate previous findings (e.g., Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008). In comparison, the HSNS positively correlated with the domains of CSW-C and CSW-AO, suggesting individuals high in vulnerable narcissism have self-worth that is contingent on competition and others' approval. These significant correlations replicate previous findings (e.g., Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008), although vulnerable narcissism has also been associated with family support and virtue in previous research.

Finally, of primary interest to the DMNS, all three measures of narcissism positively correlated with the CSW-D subscale, such that individuals high in general narcissism, grandiose narcissism, or vulnerable narcissism were more likely to report self-worth contingent on perceived distinctiveness.[4] These results support the hypothesis that the narcissistic subtypes have a shared motivation to be seen as distinct. Thus, self-esteem can be thought of as a consequence of achieving or failing to achieve distinctiveness.

Furthermore, the CSW-D subscale showed a strong positive correlation to the CSW-C subscale, suggesting self-esteem contingent on competition may be measuring a construct that is similar to distinctiveness. Looking at the items from the domain of competition (CSW-C), performing better than others may be another way in which narcissists obtain distinctiveness. The strong positive correlations with the CSW-C subscale across all three measures of narcissism are consistent with this interpretation.

[4] Due to the marginal correlation observed between the NPI and HSNS, I ran partial correlations to investigate the strength of the relationship between the narcissistic subtypes and self-worth contingent upon perceived distinctiveness. I controlled for the other narcissism subtype measure and all other contingencies of self-worth domains measured in this study. The relationship between the NPI and CSW-D, controlling for the HSNS, CSW-FS, CSW-C, CSW-V, and CSW-AO, remained strong, $r(112) = .41$, $p \leq .0001$, such that individuals high in grandiose narcissism report self-worth contingent on perceived distinctiveness. The relationship between the HSNS and CSW-D, controlling for the NPI, CSW-FS, CSW-C, CSW-V, and CSW-AO, was marginal, $r(112) = .15$, $p = .11$, such that individuals high in vulnerable narcissism report self-worth contingent on perceived distinctiveness.

Chapter 3: Study 2a & 2b

Study 1 supports the idea that narcissists have a shared need for distinctiveness. Study 2a and 2b more closely examine how individuals high in grandiose or vulnerable narcissism differentially orient to this shared need to be distinct. For the primary measures, I developed a new self-report questionnaire to assess individuals' regulatory focus towards distinctiveness. With this new measure, Study 2a and 2b assess the relative associations between grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused need for distinctiveness versus vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused need for distinctiveness. Due to the similarity of the studies I report combined methods and results of Study 2a and 2b for greater statistical power in analyses and to focus on the similarities of effects. After discussing similarities, I discuss any differences observed between the studies.

Method

Participants. Consistent with field norms at the time of data collection, I aimed to recruit about 120 participants for Study 2a. As such, 146 participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk began this online study that took approximately 15 minutes to complete. All participants were from the United States, had a HIT (Human Intelligence Task) approval rate $\geq$ 95%, completed $\geq$ 1000 HITs, and received $0.40 in exchange for their participation. Following standard data cleaning protocols 26 participants were dropped. This left 120 people (67 female, 52 males, 1 gender not listed, M_{age} = 39.66,

SD_{age} = 12.79) who participated in the study. Study 2b used identical procedures but aimed to recruit 200 people for greater power. As such, 240 participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk began this online study and 50 participants were dropped. This left 190 people (102 female, 87 male, 1 gender not listed, M_{age} = 38.35, SD_{age} = 13.22) who participated in Study 2b and a total of 310 participants in the combined data set from Study 2a and 2b. With 310 participants at 80% power this study should be able to find an effect size of r = .05 or larger.

Materials & Procedure. After providing informed consent, participants completed a series of questionnaires. These included a new questionnaire on participants' regulatory focus toward their need to be distinct as well as identical measures of grandiose narcissism (NPI), vulnerable narcissism (HSNS), and general narcissism (SINS) used in Study 1.

Need for Distinctiveness. I created the Scale of Distinctiveness Motivation (SDM) to measure participants' promotion focus versus prevention focus toward a need for distinctiveness. Since the average person is not familiar with regulatory focus theory, and given the difficulty participants had in distinguishing regulatory foci in Study 1, I designed instructions for the SDM to highlight language differences between the two orientations. Specifically, participants read the following:

> "Personality characteristics that sound similar can actually have distinct meanings. For example, a person who is described as "not rude" is not the same as a person who is described as "polite". Keep this in mind as you read the statements below and rate how much you agree or disagree with each item. It is important that you respond to all items so we may get the

most accurate data possible. [*page break*] How strongly do you agree with the following statements? Do they describe you accurately? Use the scale provided to rate each statement."

I generated six promotion-focused statements (e.g., "I am driven by the idea of being distinct compared to others.") and six prevention-focused statements (e.g., "I'm concerned that I'm just like everyone else.") based off extensive pilot testing. Participants rated each item on a 6-point Likert scale from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree."

Results & Discussion

Factor Analysis. I placed all 12 items into an exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood extraction method and oblimin rotation. The factor analysis produced two distinct factors which represent the promotion-focused subscale (SDM-Promo) and prevention-focused subscale (SDM-Prev) of the SDM. A full list of items and factor loadings for Study 2a, 2b, and combined analyses can be found in Table 3. I summed items for each subscale to create a total SDM-Promo score (combined analyses, $\alpha = .91$) and total SDM-Prev score (combined analyses, $\alpha = .82$).

Table 3

Study 2a & 2b Factor Analysis of the Scale of Distinctiveness Motivation (SDM)

	Study 2a Factors		Study 2b Factors		Combined Analysis Factors	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
SDM-Promotion						
I am motivated to stand out.	.81	.30	.88	.26	.85	.26
I'm often searching for ways to stand out from the crowd.	.83	.24	.83	.24	.83	.23

Continued

Table 3 continued

Study 2a & 2b Factor Analysis of the Scale of Distinctiveness Motivation (SDM)

	Study 2a Factors		Study 2b Factors		Combined Analysis Factors	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
My aspiration to be distinct is what drives me.	.87	.18	.79	.19	.82	.18
I am driven by the idea of being distinct compared to others.	.83	.25	.80	.22	.81	.22
I seek to be different.	.79	.10	.82	.14	.81	.12
I'm enthusiastic when others see my uniqueness.	.67	.10	.62	.16	.65	.13
SDM-Prevention						
I sometimes doubt whether I'm unique.	.32	.71	.25	.81	.28	.77
I'm worried that I'm ordinary.	.43	.76	.43	.74	.43	.74
I'm concerned that I'm just like everyone else.	.37	.71	.44	.73	.42	.71
I often have thoughts that I might be average compared to others.	.24	.72	.25	.62	.25	.65
It makes me nervous when others see me as exceptional.	.00	.50	.05	.56	.03	.55
It scares me to think about standing out in a crowd.	-.25	.44	-.05	.58	-.12	.54

Bivariate Correlations. Table 4 outlines the bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations for the scales from the combined analyses. As in Study 1, both the NPI and HSNS showed significant positive correlations with the SINS such that grandiose and vulnerable narcissism is associated with the general measure of narcissism. In line with hypotheses, the SINS showed significant positive correlations to both the SDM-Promo and SDM-Prev, indicating general narcissism is related to a broader need for distinctiveness, regardless of regulatory focus. In addition, the NPI showed a significant positive correlation to the SDM-Promo and a lack of correlation to the SDM-

Prev, indicating that individuals higher in grandiose narcissism are more likely to hold a promotion focus. The HSNS, in comparison, showed a significant positive correlation to the SDM-Prev, indicating that individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism are more likely to hold a prevention focus. However, the HSNS also showed an unanticipated significant positive correlation to the SDM-Promo, suggesting individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism may also be likely to hold a promotion focus; although the strength of this association is weaker compared to the correlation between the HSNS and SDM-Prev. Finally, the SDM-Promo and SDM-Prev showed a significant positive correlation, reflecting the shared variance between the regulatory focus subscales which measure a more general need to be distinct. Analyzing Study 2a and 2b separately results in similar significant correlations, varying in strength.

Table 4

Study 2a & 2b Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

Variable	1	2	3	4	Mean	SD
1. NPI					12.65	8.26
2. HSNS	.10†				37.64	10.27
3. SINS	.45**	.40**			2.32	1.63
4. SDM-Promo	.52**	.26**	.31**		18.96	6.80
5. SDM-Prev	-.02	.44**	.18**	.29**	16.81	6.00

Note. † $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$

General Linear Modeling. To investigate whether the narcissistic subtypes demonstrated unique associations with the different regulatory foci toward a need for distinctiveness, I conducted a multi-level analysis using the GLM function in SPSS (version 24). I entered the NPI and HSNS, mean-centered, as continuous predictor

variables with the SDM subscales as repeated measures. The NPI showed a significant interaction with SDM subscale type, F (1, 307) = 97.24, $p \leq .001$, such that individuals higher in grandiose narcissism were more likely to have a promotion-focused orientation toward the need to be distinct, b = .41, SE = .04, t(307) = 10.42, $p \leq .0001$, rather than a prevention-focused orientation, b = -.05, SE = .04, t(307) = -1.22, p = .22. The HSNS also showed a significant interaction with SDM subscale type, F (1, 307) = 10.94, $p \leq .001$, such that individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism were also higher in holding a promotion-focused orientation toward the need to be distinct, b = .14, SE = .03, t(307) = 4.45, $p \leq .001$, but had a relatively stronger association with holding a prevention-focused orientation, b = .26, SE = .03, t(307) = 8.78, $p \leq .001$. Analyzing Study 2a and 2b separately results in the same pattern of results.

As predicted, grandiose narcissism was uniquely associated with a promotion-focused need for distinctiveness, not prevention-focused, and vulnerable narcissism was associated with a prevention-focused need for distinctiveness. However, somewhat inconsistent with the original DMNS's predictions, vulnerable narcissism also showed associations with a promotion-focused need for distinctiveness. This suggests individuals high in vulnerable narcissism may be both promotion-focused and prevention-focused. In other words, vulnerable narcissists may be individuals who are hypermotivated where they are over-engaged, perhaps agitated, and in a constant state of arousal. They may have a desire to stand out and be distinct at the same time they feel worried that they may lose distinctiveness or become average and just like everyone else. These findings are not surprising considering the sample of Study 2a and 2b: participants were those residing in

the United States, a highly individualistic culture that encourages a promotion-focused orientation (e.g., Lee, Aaker, & Gardner, 2000). As their social environment may have trained them to think in promotion terms, it may feel natural for participants to see promotion-focused statements as true. Thus, it is noteworthy that vulnerable narcissists also report a prevention-focused orientation toward their need to be distinct as this additional orientation distinguishes them from the unambiguous, promotion-focused orientation of grandiose narcissists.

Vulnerable narcissists exhibiting both promotion- and prevention-focused orientations may help explain previous findings in the literature. For example, having dual motivational drives likely creates a great deal of conflict and stress within vulnerable narcissists, which may help explain why vulnerable narcissism is associated with such high levels of self-doubt (Freis & Brown, 2017; Wink, 1991). It may also give insight into previously reported associations between vulnerable narcissism and mental health issues such as depression and anxiety (Miller et al., 2010; Rathvon & Holmstrom, 1996). When a person is promotion-focused, they can feel disappointed or sad to the point of depression when they experience a non-gain, non-loss, or loss. When a person is prevention-focused, they can feel worried to the point of anxiety when they experience a loss (Higgins,1997). If vulnerable narcissists were hypermotivated, as these data suggest, and receive feedback they are not distinct or that they are average or commonplace (which could be construed as either a non-gain or a loss), they could react with feelings of both depression and anxiety.

Chapter 4: Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 provided support for the narcissistic subtypes' shared need for distinctiveness, and Study 2 provided preliminary evidence that the narcissistic subtypes may orient to that need differently. Study 3 further explores how this need for distinctiveness may differ among the narcissistic subtypes based on regulatory focus and investigates how the narcissists' different orientations may predict attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions. To test this, I designed fictional advertisements for a unique product that participants could have a chance to own. This unique product was framed as a symbol that could address participants' need for distinctiveness, or a reflection of one's desire to be seen as an individual (e.g., Tian, Bearden, & Hunter, 2001). These advertisements contained two different foci. Participants in condition 1 read promotion-focused descriptions about the unique product, whereas participants in condition 2 read prevention-focused descriptions. Participants then reported their attitudes toward the product, emotional reactions if they not able to own the product, willingness to pay for the product, and to what extent they were motivated by various reasons to own the unique product.

I predicted that individuals high in narcissism will report more positive attitudes toward the product, be more upset if they cannot own the product, and be willing to pay more for the product regardless of condition. However, if exposure to different product

descriptions leads participants to experience a matching effect (Petty & Wegener, 1998) or regulatory fit between the recipient's and advertisement's regulatory foci, then grandiose narcissists should have more positive attitudes, stronger emotional investment, and greater willingness to pay when reading about the product in promotion-focused terms. In comparison, vulnerable narcissists should have more positive attitudes, stronger emotional investment, and greater willingness to pay for the unique product when it is described in prevention-focused terms.

Additional hypotheses explore narcissists' reasons for wanting the unique product. I expect grandiose narcissists to endorse promotion-focused reasons and vulnerable narcissists to endorse prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product. I also test whether the narcissistic subtypes' different endorsement of these reasons predict their reported attitudes, emotions, or behavioral intentions toward the unique product.

Method

Participants. Consistent with field norms at the time of data collection, I aimed to recruit about 240 participants for this experimental design. As such, 247 participants from Ohio State University's participant pool completed this 30-minute study in a laboratory for partial course credit. Following standard data cleaning protocols, 6 participants were dropped. This left 241 people (159 female, 80 males, 1 gender not listed, M_{age} = 18.82, SD_{age} = 1.64) who participated in the study. With 241 participants at 80% power this study should be able to find an effect size of d = .36 or larger.

Materials & Procedure. After providing informed consent, participants read about the product of interest (see Appendix B). The product was a unique art form by

Sam Van Aken, who creates distinctive trees through grafting several varieties of trees together. This tree art exists outside the laboratory and this study provided accurate facts about the art as gathered from available articles online. However, I made the product more relevant to the sample to increase participants' interest. Specifically, participants read that Van Aken would be offering a limited number of individuals the chance to co-design and fully own his next tree art project in Ohio.

I randomly assigned participants to read one of two advertisements about the tree art that explained why they should be interested in the product (see Appendix C). These advertisements were written using promotion- versus prevention-focused language, which did not differ in perceived argument quality, $t(239) = -.16$, $p = .88$, $M_{promo} = 2.94$, $SD_{promo} = .86$, $M_{prev} = 2.93$, $SD_{prev} = .84$. For example, participants in the promotion-focused condition read about a "tree [that] promotes your definitive specialness" and will help the owner of the tree art feel happy and proud that they are seen as special and unique. In contrast, participants in the prevention-focused condition read about a "tree [that] prevents any doubts about your averageness" and would help the owner of the tree art feel relieved and satisfied knowing others do not see them as commonplace or ordinary. After reading the advertisement, participants reported their attitudes, emotions, willingness to pay, and reasons for desiring the tree art.

Attitudes. Participants rated how bad versus good, negative versus positive, and unfavorable versus favorable owning the tree art would be. These semantic-differential items were rated in slider-scale format from 0 (negative attitudes) to 100 (positive attitudes). I summed all three items to create a general attitudes measure ($\alpha = .76$).

Emotional Investment. Participants answered the following questions as a measure of their emotional investment: "How upset would you be if Van Aken decided not to offer this tree art in Ohio anymore," "How upset would you be if you were not eligible to own this tree art," and "How upset would you be if you were not selected to own this tree art?" These items were also rated in slider-scale format from 0 (not at all upset) to 100 (extremely upset) and summed to create a general emotional investment measure ($\alpha = .89$).

Willingness to Pay. Participants reported how much money they would be willing to pay for the tree art in US dollars. Due to the skewed nature of a willingness to pay measure (e.g., Hole, 2007), I excluded one outlier who reported disinterest in the product but was willing to pay $100,000, and then log transformed the variable.

Reasons to Own the Product. Participants reported how much they agreed with statements that described reasons why they might desire the tree art. These reasons were rated on a slider-scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 100 (strongly agree) and included, "I want to own the unique tree artwork because I want to standout," and "I want to own the unique tree artwork because I don't want to be seen as commonplace."

Finally, participants completed a series of self-report questionnaires to measure individual differences of interest, including identical measures of grandiose narcissism (NPI) and vulnerable narcissism (HSNS) used in Study 1 and 2. Participants then reported their demographics, completed the measure of general narcissism (SINS), and were debriefed.

Results & Discussion

Bivariate Correlations. Table 5 outlines the bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations for all scales and items in this study. As anticipated, both the NPI and HSNS showed significant positive correlations with the SINS such that both narcissistic subtypes are associated with the general measure of narcissism. Not taking condition into account, the HSNS showed a significant positive correlation to emotional investment, whereas the NPI was uncorrelated with emotional investment, and neither the NPI nor HSNS were correlated with attitudes toward the unique product or report greater willingness to pay for the unique product.

Table 5

Study 3 Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	SD
1. NPI								15.94	7.21
2. HSNS	.07							38.47	8.56
3. SINS	.46**	.28**						2.98	1.62
4. Attitudes	-.07	-.01	-.08					214.44	66.56
5. Emotional Investment	.08	.12*	-.02	.05				61.59	62.52
6. Willing to Pay (Log)	-.03	-.01	-.11†	.20**	.22**			1.87	1.83
7. Own to Standout	.11†	.06	.06	.07	.27**	.27**		41.55	27.25
8. Own to not be Common	.03	.26**	.10	.07	.31**	.23**	.52**	35.77	25.65

Note. † $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$

The NPI had a marginal positive correlation to wanting to own the unique product in order to standout whereas the HSNS had a significant positive correlation to wanting to

own the unique product in order to be seen as not commonplace. This provides initial evidence that grandiose narcissists may be more likely to hold promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product and vulnerable narcissists may hold more prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product.

Finally, reasons to own the distinct product showed similar associations. Individuals who endorsed the desire to own the unique product to standout or to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace were positively correlated with emotional investment to obtain the product and willingness to pay for the product. Neither reason to own the unique product was associated with attitudes toward the product.

Regressions. To test the prediction that grandiose and vulnerable narcissists would demonstrate a matching effect when reading advertisements framed to fit their regulatory focus (i.e., promotion-focused or prevention-focused condition, respectfully), I regressed participants' reported attitudes, emotional investment, and willingness to pay for the unique product onto the mean-centered NPI, condition, and their interaction, as well as the mean-centered HSNS, condition, and their interaction, controlling for the opposite narcissism scale. Inconsistent with predictions, neither narcissistic subtype interacted with condition to predict the relevant outcomes, $b \leq .687$, $SE \leq 1.23$, $t(222) \leq .60$, $p \geq .32$. This might suggest that the experimental manipulation did not successfully frame the arguments in the intended promotion-focused or prevention-focused orientation, or that participants were not sensitive to the subtle frames provided. Future research should use more powerful manipulations or alternative measures to test the effects of regulatory fit within narcissists' need for distinctiveness.

General Linear Modeling. Given the lack of responsiveness to the experimental manipulations, I collapsed the data across conditions and analyzed the data as a correlational study. To investigate whether the narcissistic subtypes demonstrate unique associations with more promotion- or prevention-focused reasons for desiring the unique product, I conducted a multi-level analysis using the GLM function in SPSS (version 24). I entered the NPI and HSNS, mean-centered, as continuous predictor variables with the two reasons to own the unique product (i.e., to standout versus not be seen as commonplace) as repeated measures. The NPI showed a trending interaction with reasons for desiring the unique product, F (1, 237) = 2.73, $p \leq .10$, such that individuals higher in grandiose narcissism were more likely to endorse wanting to own the unique product to standout, $b = .41$, $SE = .24$, $t(237) = 1.70$, $p \leq .10$, and were not associated with wanting to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace, $b = .04$, $SE = .22$, $t(237) = .17$, $p = .87$. In comparison, the HSNS showed a significant interaction with reasons for desiring the unique product, F (1, 237) = 10.63, $p \leq .001$, such that individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism were not associated with wanting to own the unique product to standout, $b = .16$, $SE = .21$, $t(237) = .75$, $p = .45$, but were more likely to endorse wanting to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace, $b = .78$, $SE = .19$, $t(237) = 4.15$, $p \leq .001$.

These GLM results support hypotheses of the DMNS such that both narcissists demonstrated a high need for distinctiveness in wanting to own the unique product but oriented to that need differently. Specifically, grandiose narcissists provided promotion-focused reasons, not prevention-focused reasons, whereas vulnerable narcissists provided

prevention-focused reasons, not promotion-focused reasons for wanting to own the unique product. These unique associations offer conceptual replication of the findings for grandiose narcissists from Study 2a and 2b. However, Study 3 finds stronger support for vulnerable narcissists' prevention focus in this study as compared to Study 2a and 2b. Thus, while it is still a possibility that vulnerable narcissists are hypermotivated and hold both promotion- and prevention-focused orientations, their prevention focus in this particular study was the more dominant orientation.

Indirect Effects. To explore some of the downstream consequences of the DMNS model for narcissists' evaluative, emotional, and behavioral reactions to events, I looked at the relationship between the narcissistic subscales, participants' reasons for being interested in the unique product, and participants' attitudes, emotional investment, and willingness to pay for the unique product. Grandiose narcissists should endorse wanting to own the unique product in order to stand out which in turn should lead to more positive attitudes, greater emotional investment in obtaining the unique product, and greater willingness to pay to own the unique product. Vulnerable narcissists should endorse wanting to own the unique product in order to not be seen as commonplace which in turn should lead to more positive attitudes, greater emotional investment in obtaining the unique product, and greater willingness to pay to own the unique product. Therefore, grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused reasons (and not prevention-focused reasons) to own the unique product should predict downstream consequences. By contrast, vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused reasons (not promotion-focused reasons) to own the unique product should predict downstream consequences. To test these proposed

relationships, I mean-centered predictor variables and ran a series of mediation analyses using Andrew Hayes's PROCESS software (Hayes, 2013) with 10,000 bootstrap samples (see Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4). I entered reasons to own the unique product simultaneously into Model 4 as mediators and controlled for the opposite narcissism scale. Because of several directionally consistent results with a 95% confidence interval, I also ran analyses with a 90% confidence interval for the indirect effects.

Attitudes. The direct effects of grandiose narcissism on attitudes or vulnerable narcissism on attitudes were non-significant: individuals higher in grandiose narcissism or vulnerable narcissism did not report more positive attitudes toward the unique product, direct effects: $b < -.20$, $SE < .59$, $t(235) < -.38$, $p > .30$. Grandiose narcissism marginally predicted promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product, $b = .41$, $BootSE = .24$, $p = .09$, and did not predict prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product, $b = .04$, $BootSE = .22$, $p = .87$. Vulnerable narcissism did not predict promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product, $b = .15$, $BootSE = .21$, $p = .45$, but did predict prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product, $b = .78$, $BootSE = .19$, $p < .0001$. However, these reasons did not in turn significantly predict participants' attitudes toward the unique product: promotion-focused reasons, $b = .12$, $BootSE = .18$, $p = .51$, prevention-focused reasons, $b = .14$, $BootSE = .20$, $p = .49$. In addition, the indirect effects of grandiose narcissism on attitudes or vulnerable narcissism on attitudes were non-significant: the extent to which the narcissistic subtypes endorsed the promotion- or prevention-focused reasons they should, did not predict more positive attitudes toward the unique product,

indirect effects: $b < .11$, *BootSE* < .17, 95% *BootCI*: [<-.0450, >.1740]; 90% *BootCI*: [≥ -.1404, ≤ .4300].

These results are inconsistent with predictions. One would suspect that an individual who desires a product for specific reasons would also have more positive attitudes toward the product. However, no differences existed between individuals high or low in narcissism. Looking at the distributions of the attitudes measures, ceiling effects may be the culprit. A large percentage of participants reported the maximum on the attitudes scales (100 out of 100 on the slider-scales) and the vast majority reported attitudes above the midpoint of the scale. These wide-spread positive attitudes toward the unique product may be due to the "W.E.I.R.D." sample (i.e., Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). The majority of participants were young freshman from the United States who were attending a prestigious state-college. Considering these characteristics, participants likely valued individuality or uniqueness. Thus, it is not surprising that participants would positively evaluate products that made them feel like a unique individual. Future research might take into account cultural and generational differences when choosing participant samples.

Emotional Investment. As seen in Figure 1, the direct effect of grandiose narcissism on emotional investment was non-significant: individuals higher in grandiose narcissism did not report greater emotional investment in obtaining the unique product, $b = .42$, $SE = .53$, $t(230) = .79$, $p = .43$. However, in line with hypotheses, grandiose narcissism marginally predicted promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product, *b*

= .40, *BootSE* = .24, *p* = .10, and did not predict prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product, *b* = .05, *BootSE* = .22, *p* = .83. These reasons, in turn, significantly predicted participants' emotional investment in obtaining the unique product: promotion-focused reasons, *b* = .46, *BootSE* = .17, *p* = .01, prevention-focused reasons, *b* = .55, *BootSE* = .18, *p* = .003. Consistent with predictions, the indirect effects were marginally significant: to the extent that individuals higher in grandiose narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to stand out (i.e., promotion-focused reasons), they reported being more upset they would not obtain the unique product (i.e., greater emotional investment), *b* = .18, *BootSE* = .14, 95% *BootCI*: [-.0047, .5706]; 90% *BootCI*: [.0169, .4986]. The extent to which individuals higher in grandiose narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace (i.e., prevention-focused reasons), did not influence how upset they would be if they did not obtain the unique product (i.e., no difference in emotional investment), *b* = .03, *BootSE* = .14, 95% *BootCI*: [-.2338, .3273]; 90% *BootCI*: [-.1780, .2677]. Thus, as predicted, the indirect effect of a prevention focus did not predict grandiose narcissists' emotional investment; instead, grandiose narcissists' promotion focus predicted their emotional investment to obtain the unique product.

As seen in Figure 2, the direct effect of vulnerable narcissism on emotional investment was also non-significant: individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism did not report greater emotional investment in obtaining the unique product, *b* = .42, *SE* = .46, *t*(230) = .90, *p* = .37. However, in line with hypotheses, vulnerable narcissism significantly predicted prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product, *b* = .80,

BootSE = .19, $p < .0001$, and did not predict promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product, $b = .14$, *BootSE* = .21, $p = .49$. These reasons, in turn, significantly predicted participants' emotional investment in obtaining the unique product: promotion-focused reasons, $b = .46$, *BootSE* = .17, $p = .01$, prevention-focused reasons, $b = .55$, *BootSE* = .18, $p = .003$. Consistent with predictions, the indirect effects were marginally significant: to the extent that individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace (i.e., prevention-focused reasons), they reported being more upset they would not obtain the unique product (i.e., greater emotional investment), $b = .44$, *BootSE* = .20, 95% *BootCI*: [.1370, .9584]; 90% *BootCI*: [.1820, .8671]. The extent to which individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to stand out (i.e., promotion-focused reasons), did not influence how upset they would be if they did not obtain the unique product (i.e., no difference in emotional investment), $b = .06$, *BootSE* = .11, 95% *BootCI*: [-.1081, .3563]; 90% *BootCI*: [-.0728, .3021]. Thus, as predicted, the indirect effect of a promotion focus did not predict vulnerable narcissists' emotional investment; instead, vulnerable narcissists' prevention focus predicted their emotional investment to obtain the unique product.

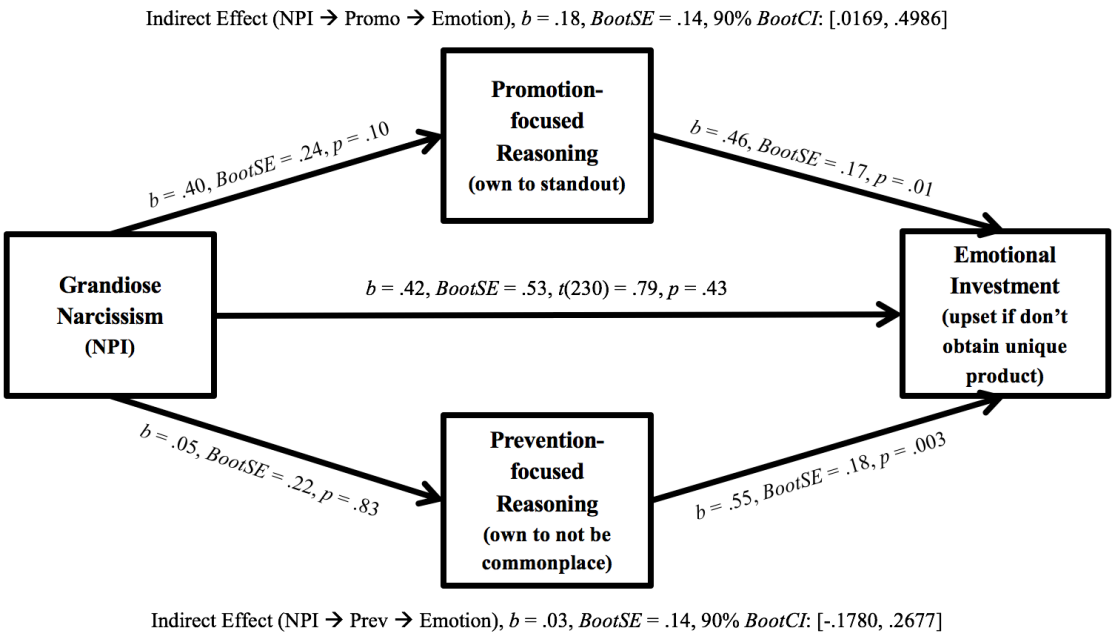

Figure 1. Grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product predict their emotional investment to obtain the unique product, controlling for vulnerable narcissism.

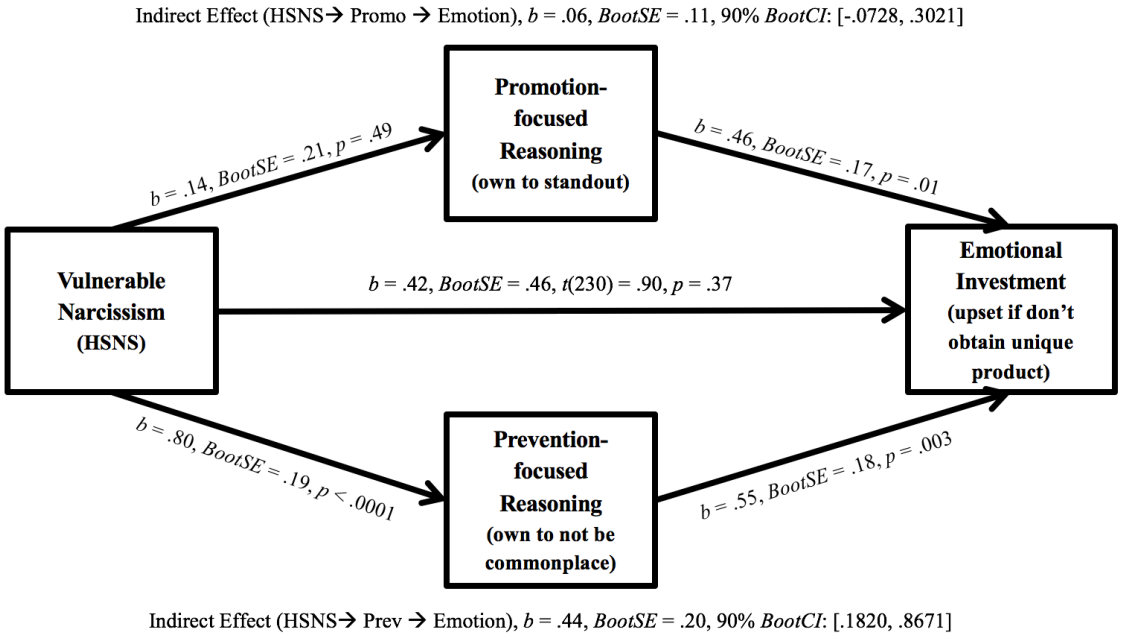

Figure 2. Vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product predict their emotional investment to obtain the unique product, controlling for grandiose narcissism.

Willingness to Pay. As seen in Figure 3, the direct effect of grandiose narcissism on willingness to pay was non-significant: individuals higher in grandiose narcissism did not report greater willingness to pay for the unique product, b = -.01, SE = .02, $t(227) = -.85$, p = .40. However, in line with hypotheses, grandiose narcissism significantly predicted promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product, b = .47, *BootSE* = .25, p = .06, and did not predict prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product, b = .12, *BootSE* = .23, p = .60. These reasons, in turn, significantly predicted participants' willingness to pay to own the unique product: promotion-focused reasons, b = .01, *BootSE* = .01, p = .01, prevention-focused reasons, b = .01, *BootSE* = .01 p = .09. Consistent with predictions, the indirect effects were marginally significant: to the extent that individuals higher in grandiose narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to stand out (i.e., promotion-focused reasons), they reported greater willingness to pay to own the unique product, b = .01, *BootSE* = .005, 95% *BootCI*: [.0004, .0199]; 90% *BootCI*: [.0011, .0172]. The extent to which individuals higher in grandiose narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace (i.e., prevention-focused reasons), did not influence their willingness to pay to own the unique product, b = .03, *BootSE* = .14, 95% *BootCI*: [-.2338, .3273]; 90% *BootCI*: [-.1780, .2677]. Thus, as predicted, the indirect effect of a prevention focus did not predict grandiose narcissists' willingness to pay; instead, grandiose narcissists' promotion focus predicted their willingness to pay to own the unique product.

As seen in Figure 4, the direct effect of vulnerable narcissism on willingness to pay was also non-significant: individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism did not report

greater willingness to pay for the unique product, b = -.01, SE = .01, $t(227) = -.77$, p = .44. However, in line with hypotheses, vulnerable narcissism significantly predicted prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product, b = .82, $BootSE$ = .19, $p < .0001$, and did not predict promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product, b = .18, $BootSE$ = .21, p = .39. These reasons, in turn, significantly predicted participants' willingness to pay to own the unique product: promotion-focused reasons, b = .01, $BootSE$ = .01, p = .01, prevention-focused reasons, b = .01, $BootSE$ = .01, p = .09. Consistent with predictions, the indirect effects were marginally significant: to the extent that individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to not be seen as commonplace (i.e., prevention-focused reasons), they reported greater willingness to pay to own the unique product, indirect effect: b = .01, $BootSE$ = .01, 95% $BootCI$: [-.0014, .0226]; 90% $BootCI$: [.0001, .0200]. The extent to which individuals higher in vulnerable narcissism endorsed wanting to own the unique product to stand out (i.e., promotion-focused reasons), did not influence their willingness to pay to own the unique product, b = .003, $BootSE$ = .004, 95% $BootCI$: [-.0031, .0120]; 90% $BootCI$: [-.0018, .0107]. Thus, as predicted, the indirect effect of a promotion focus did not predict vulnerable narcissists' willingness to pay; instead, vulnerable narcissists' prevention focus predicted their willingness to pay to own the unique product.

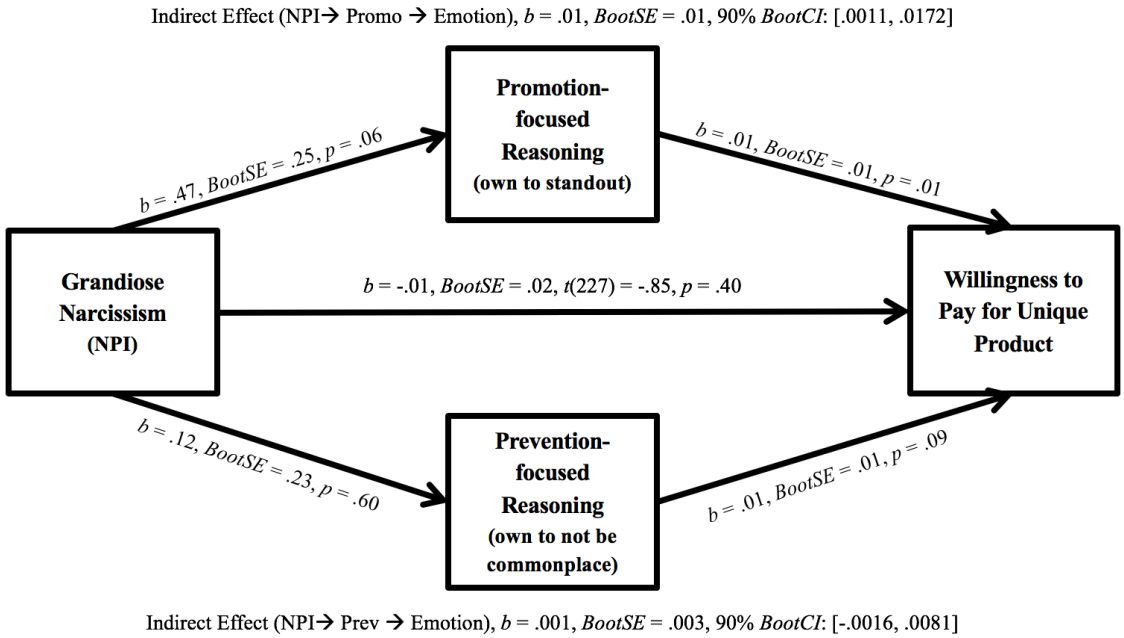

Figure 3. Grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused reasons to own the unique product predict their willingness to pay for the unique product, controlling for vulnerable narcissism.

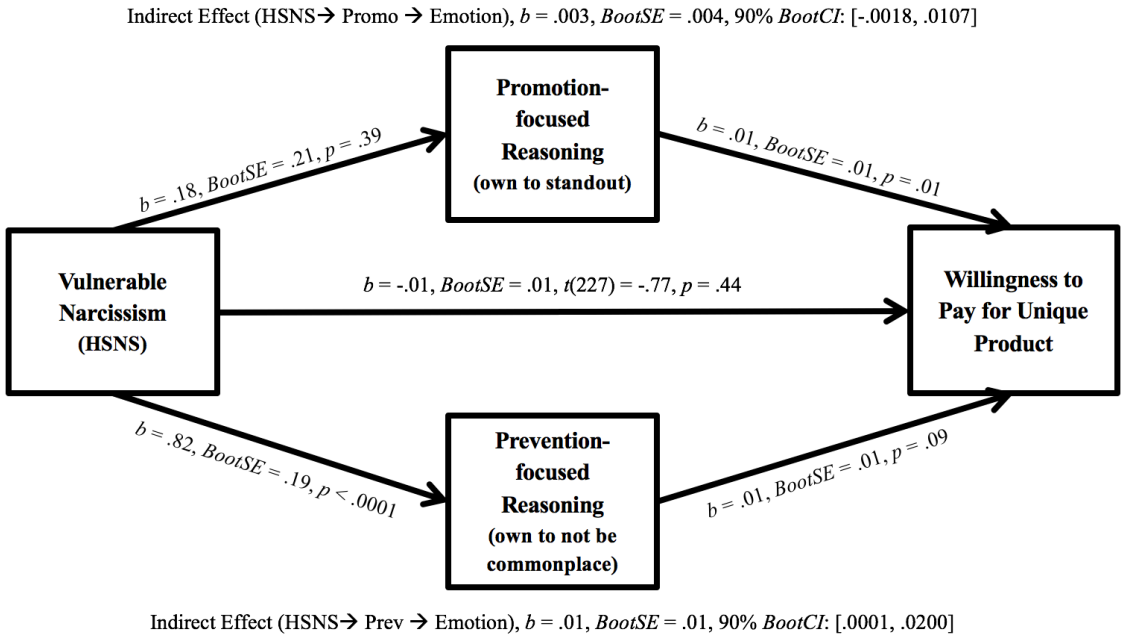

Figure 4. Vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused reasons to own the unique product predict their willingness to pay for the unique product, controlling for grandiose narcissism.

Collectively speaking, these data show that grandiose narcissists' promotion focus, not prevention focus, predicted their emotional investment and willingness to pay whereas vulnerable narcissists' prevention focus, not promotion focus, predicted their emotional investment and willingness to pay. These downstream consequences provide insight into how the narcissistic subtypes can demonstrate similar behavior for different reasons. The cognitive experiences, or how the narcissistic subtypes orient to their environment, helps distinguishes grandiose and vulnerable narcissists.

This study is limited, however, as the manipulation of regulatory fit was unsuccessful. This may likely be due to the nature of the product advertised. All participants had positive attitudes toward the unique product. In the future, it may be useful to advertise a product that is both unique but also undesirable. This may help increase the variance of attitudes toward the product and better test the DMNS predictions of regulatory fit.

These analyses also highlight the lack of direct effects between the narcissistic subtypes and emotional investment which suggests there may be other mechanisms or suppression variables that explain the relationship. For example, there are likely many reasons why a person might not want to own the tree art advertised in this study (e.g., taking care of the tree). Measuring these alternative reasons in the future will help address the lack of any direct effects. Nevertheless, these results give some evidence that different regulatory focus reasons provide some predictable consequences for the narcissistic subtypes.

Chapter 5: General Discussion

In this research, I proposed the Distinctiveness Model of the Narcissistic Subtypes (DMNS) to better understand in what manner grandiose and vulnerable narcissists are motivationally similar enough to both be considered narcissistic but also different enough to be labeled as separate subtypes. The DMNS proposes that a need for distinctiveness is what unites grandiose and vulnerable narcissists under the same construct and the different regulatory foci with which they pursue this need is what distinguishes them. The DMNS predicts grandiose narcissists are promotion focused toward their need for distinctiveness – concerned with rewards and eagerly seeking gains that grow their distinctiveness – and vulnerable narcissists are prevention focused toward their need for distinctiveness – concerned with losses and vigilantly protecting their distinct status.

The present research investigated the narcissistic subtypes' shared need for distinctiveness. Chapter 2 shows that both grandiose and vulnerable narcissists reported self-esteem that is contingent upon perceived distinctiveness. Chapter 3 shows how a general narcissism measure correlates with distinctiveness motivation measures regardless of regulatory foci. The results of these studies indicate that a common motivation of narcissistic individuals is a high need for distinctiveness, or desire to differentiate themselves from others. Individuals high in grandiose, vulnerable, or general narcissism reported contingent self-worth in the domain of perceived distinctiveness and

general narcissism predicted scores on both subscales of the Scale of Distinctiveness Motivation (SDM).

Chapters 3 and 4 explored if regulatory focus can differentiate the narcissistic subtypes in their motivation to be distinct as proposed by the DMNS. Results collectively indicate that grandiose narcissists orient toward their need to be distinct with a promotion focus, not prevention focus, and vulnerable narcissists orient toward their need to be distinct with a prevention focus. Results in Chapter 4 suggest vulnerable narcissists are primarily prevention-focused in their orientation, not promotion-focused, but Chapter 3 results suggest vulnerable narcissists may be prevention-focused and promotion-focused in their orientation and thus experiencing a chronic state of hypermotivation.

Finally, Chapter 4 explored whether the narcissistic subtypes' different regulatory foci toward their need to be distinct predicted more positive attitudes, stronger emotional investment, or stronger behavioral intentions when the regulatory focus of a persuasive message matched the regulatory focus of the recipient. Unfortunately, participants were not responsive to the manipulation of regulatory fit to test this prediction. Nevertheless, correlational analyses suggested that the two narcissistic subtypes differed in their reasons for wanting to own the distinct product. Specifically, whereas grandiose narcissists endorsed promotion (and not prevention) reasons, vulnerable narcissists endorsed prevention (and not promotion) reasons. Critically, Chapter 4 provided preliminary evidence that the extent to which grandiose and vulnerable narcissists endorsed these different reasons predicted their emotional investment in and willingness to pay for the product. Grandiose narcissists felt more upset if they were not able to

obtain the unique product and were willing to pay more for the product because they had wanted to own the unique product in order to stand out. Thus, grandiose narcissists' promotion-focused orientation, not prevention-focused orientation, motivated them to act in pursuit of distinctiveness and led them to be emotionally reactive when their goal was thwarted. Vulnerable narcissists also felt more upset if they were not able to obtain the unique product and were willing to pay more for the product, but these reactions were a result of wanting to own the unique product in order to not be seen as commonplace. Thus, vulnerable narcissists' prevention-focused orientation, not promotion-focused orientation, motivated them to act in pursuit of distinctiveness and also led them to be emotionally reactive when their goal was thwarted.

Limitations & Future Directions

The present work suggests a number of ways future research may investigate the DMNS further. Primarily, these studies were culturally bound in the United States – an individualistic culture that may encourage people to value distinct identities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), adopt promotion-focused orientations (Lee, Aaker, & Gardner, 2000), and exhibit higher levels of narcissism (Foster, Campbell, Twenge, 2003). These differences pose challenges to testing the DMNS solely in individualistic cultures.

Incorporating insights from Becker and colleagues (2012) may help in analyzing distinctiveness needs across cultures. Becker and colleagues (2012) find that the distinctiveness motive is actually stronger in collectivist cultures. However, the construction or source of this motive looks different. Individuals from a collectivist culture were motivated to be distinct to emphasize their position within social relations.

In comparison, difference from others and separateness from others (see Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2000) drove the distinctiveness motivation for people from an individualistic culture. Testing the DMNS model in interdependent contexts will better illuminate how people construct their perceptions of distinctiveness. This may require researchers to adjust how they frame a need for distinctiveness when measuring the construct or require researchers to redesign manipulations so they are meaningful to individuals from interdependent cultures.

Expanding research beyond individualistic cultural samples may also help clarify the regulatory foci of the narcissistic subtypes. Data is consistent across the present research to suggest grandiose narcissists hold a promotion-focused need for distinctiveness. However, vulnerable narcissists may be hypermotivated, holding both a promotion- and prevention-focused need for distinctiveness. This may be due to the sample of Study 1 through 3 as all participants were from the United States, an environment that encourages a promotion-focused orientation (Lee, Aaker, & Gardner, 2000).

Observing narcissists' emotional reactions could help clarify the motivated nature of vulnerable narcissists. Regulatory focus theory posits that individuals in a promotion focus would experience a range of emotions from joy/happiness to sadness/disappointment. In comparison, individuals in a prevention focus would experience a range of emotions from relief/contentment to anxiousness/worry. If vulnerable narcissists report both anxiousness and disappointment after a loss it would suggest they are in a promotion- and prevention-focused orientation (e.g.,

hypermotivated). However, measuring vulnerable narcissists' emotions relies on accurate self-insight. This poses challenges as vulnerable narcissists, in particular, lack self-insight when reporting their beliefs and anticipated behaviors (Freis & Brown, 2017, Vonk et al., 2013).[5] This highlights another limitation. The methodological approach of the current work relied on self-report data. Therefore, the different observations of vulnerable narcissists' regulatory focus could be a result of self-report constraints and/or the previously mentioned cultural constraints. Future research should extend and replicate these findings beyond self-report and utilize other indirect and behavioral measures, such as physiological or neurological indicators of emotion, to circumvent these concerns.

Theoretical & Practical Implications

Limitations notwithstanding, these results not only clarify what is common as well as distinct about the two narcissism subtypes, but also reveal new phenomenon, such as insights into what ultimately motivates narcissists' psychology and behavior. The motivational approach of the DMNS may offer more dynamic predictions about the narcissistic subtypes compared to previous trait models, and therefore offer both theoretical and practical contributions to the field.

What Divides the Narcissistic Subtypes. Theoretically, the DMNS may help clarify many differences observed between the narcissistic subtypes including, but not limited to, self-esteem, agency, risk-taking, and entitlement.

[5] I pilot tested narcissists' emotional reactions to hypothetical scenarios and trait feedback where they would gain, not gain, not lose, and/or lose distinctiveness, but did not observe consistent results across studies. If anything, grandiose narcissists appeared to report positive emotions (e.g., happy, relieved) in reaction to gaining distinctiveness while vulnerable narcissists reported negative emotions (e.g., depression, anxious) in reaction to most scenarios. I interpret these findings with caution, however, given research suggesting limited self-insight among those high in narcissism.

Self-Esteem. The current research documents how both narcissistic subtypes have self-esteem contingent on perceived distinctiveness; however, the DMNS may also be able to speak to the narcissists' different levels of self-esteem (i.e., grandiose narcissists' high self-esteem and vulnerable narcissists' low self-esteem; Rose, 2002). Scholer, Ozaki, and Higgins (2014) demonstrate how people may use more positive or negative self-evaluations to help sustain their underlying motivational concerns. A person in a promotion-focused orientation would be able to sustain their eagerness for advancement by maintaining positive self-evaluations. This positivity implies the possibility of success in the future and can lead to higher self-esteem in ongoing performance situations (Scholer et al., 2014). Grandiose narcissists' high self-esteem may occur through a similar process. Grandiose narcissists may be motivated to maintain their promotion-focused orientation toward their need to be distinct and, as a result, employ a greater number of positive self-evaluations. These promotion-focused self-evaluations could consequently promote high self-esteem.

Of course, grandiose narcissists' may not be promotion focused for the entirety of their day, year, or life. Scholer and colleagues (2014) propose that people can shift their current evaluations to strategically fit their future goals. This may help reinterpret previous research that has found discrepancies in grandiose narcissists' self-esteem levels (e.g., Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003; Zeigler-Hill, 2006). Although Bosson and colleagues' (2008) meta-analysis finds grandiose narcissists' self-esteem is chronically high, implicitly and explicitly, if grandiose narcissists found

themselves outside a promotion-focused context, their self-evaluations and self-esteem reports may look different.

The DMNS may provide similar insight into vulnerable narcissists' self-esteem levels. As demonstrated by Scholer and colleagues (2014), a person in a prevention-focused orientation could sustain their vigilance for safety by maintaining negative self-evaluations as this negativity implies the possibility for failure in the future. These motivated evaluations can also lead to lower self-esteem in ongoing performance situations (Scholer et al., 2014). Vulnerable narcissists' low self-esteem may occur through a similar process. Vulnerable narcissists may be motivated to maintain their prevention-focused orientation toward their need to be distinct and, as a result, employ a greater number of negative self-evaluations. These prevention-focused self-evaluations could consequently promote low self-esteem.

Agency. The narcissistic subtypes' differences in regulatory focus may also help illuminate their differences in agency and perceived control (i.e., grandiose narcissists' high agency and vulnerable narcissists low agency; Brown et al., 2016). Since grandiose narcissists are promotion-focused with respect to distinctiveness, constantly seeking new opportunities to grow distinctiveness and stand out, their attention is most directed toward gains. Any lack of change or growth can be frustrating or disappointing but there will always be more opportunities for more gains which they can set their sights on next. Therefore, recuperating after a setback may be easier with fresh opportunities on the horizon. Furthermore, grandiose narcissists, living in promotion-focused cultures, likely experience frequent occurrences of regulatory fit – where their personal promotion-

focused orientation matches the orientation of their environment. Experiences of regulatory fit "feel right" and help maintain goal pursuit; but the feeling that regulatory fit provides can be misattributed (Cesario, Higgins, & Scholer, 2008). As a result, grandiose narcissists' directed attention towards gains and experiences of regulatory fit may trigger or strengthen perceptions of high agency and perceived control.

Vulnerable narcissists, in comparison, are prevention-focused with respect to distinctiveness, remaining vigilant against any distinctiveness losses and worried they may be average. If vulnerable narcissists' attention is most directed toward these potential losses, they may experience rumination over past losses and have a more difficult time recuperating after a setback – or getting back to their status quo of distinctiveness. In addition, vulnerable narcissists, living in promotion-focused cultures, likely experience few instances of regulatory fit between their personal prevention-focused orientation and their predominantly promotion-focused environment. Lack of regulatory fit does not "feel right" and can impede goal pursuit; the feeling that lack of regulatory fit creates can also be misattributed (Cesario et al., 2008). As a result, vulnerable narcissists' directed attention toward losses and lack of regulatory fit experiences may trigger or strengthen perceptions of low agency and lack of perceived control.

Risk-Taking. Previous research finds that grandiose narcissists are more impulsive and myopic in their desire for rewards (e.g., Buelow & Brunell, 2014, Lakey et al., 2008) while other evidence suggests that they can, at times, be reserved and more successful in their risk-taking decisions (e.g., Byrne & Worthy, 2013; Foster et al., 2009).

The DMNS offers reinterpretation of these results by asking whether grandiose narcissists' need for gaining distinctiveness had been met or suppressed. Specifically, the DMNS would suggest grandiose narcissists will take more risks when they feel their level of distinctiveness has remained unchanged and there is a new opportunity to expand distinctiveness (Zou, Scholer, & Higgins, 2014). For example, if grandiose narcissists feel they have only been maintaining status quo, they may be more willing to engage in opportunities of social comparisons, initiate a romantic relationship, or gamble with personal or business funds in order to achieve a gain and find new points of distinctiveness.

Vulnerable narcissists are often described as being risk averse (e.g., Foster & Trimm, 2008). For example, under normal circumstances, vulnerable narcissists may be generally avoidant of social comparisons and be reluctant to initiate social or romantic relationships because of the potential for loss (Besser & Priel, 2009; Dickinson & Pincus, 2003). If they are put in a situation that provides diagnostic feedback on their distinctiveness, vulnerable narcissists are often expected to self-handicap in order to protect, and escape judgment about, their current distinct status. Any new news for the vulnerable narcissist is a risk. In this way, they are risk averse. However, incorporating insights from Scholer, Zou, Fujita, Stroessner, and Higgins (2014), the DMNS would suggest that vulnerable narcissists could take more risks if their level of distinctiveness is in a state of loss and the risky opportunity offers the possibility of eliminating the loss and getting back to status quo. For instance, rather than self-handicapping, a vulnerable narcissist who has recently received negative feedback on their distinctiveness may

instead expose themselves to *more* feedback in the hopes of getting back to status quo – so long as receiving feedback is their only available opportunity to save or recover their distinct status (Scholer, Stroessner, & Higgins, 2008). In this way, vulnerable narcissists can also be risk-takers. These motivated, risky behaviors can apply to any number of domains: if vulnerable narcissists have experienced a romantic break up, job loss, or drop in their stock market investments, they may go to tremendous odds to restore their relationship, employment, or investments – so long as these domains contributed to their distinctiveness. This raises the possibility that vulnerable narcissists may be at greater risk for exhibiting stalker behavior or gambling if they become desperate enough to get back to status quo in domains that reflect their distinctiveness.

Entitlement. Finally, the DMNS may help explain differences in grandiose and vulnerable narcissists' entitlement. Specifically, to determine one's value or worthiness, a person may draw attributions about their distinctiveness. A narcissist may justify their entitlement beliefs by highlighting the ways in which they are distinct or unique. The basis for these beliefs, however, may differ as a function of regulatory focus. The attention to gains that is prompted by promotion focus may lead grandiose narcissists to justify their entitlement on the basis of their superiority relative to others. Facilitating these merit-based attributions should lead to a feeling of inherent value. In contrast, the attention to losses that is prompted by prevention focus may lead vulnerable narcissists to justify their entitlement on the basis of their unique inferiority relative to others. Threatening a person's distinctiveness may thus lead vulnerable narcissists to appeal for

special treatment, or retribution, once again highlighting their desperation to restore their distinguished and distinctive status quo.

What Unites the Narcissistic Subtypes. A larger purpose of the DMNS is to highlight narcissists' primary motivation to better understand their behavior and design more effective interventions or recruitment strategies for treatment.

Narcissistic Behavior. Unlike previous self-esteem based models, the DMNS hinges on narcissists' need for distinctiveness. Self-esteem still has an important narrative in the concept of narcissism, but it may primarily serve as a way for narcissists to gauge how well they are meeting their need to be distinct. This helps redefine narcissists' reaction to feedback as the DMNS proposes narcissists' reactions are divorced from evaluation or valance – what matters most are the implications for distinctiveness. For example, the DMNS would predict that grandiose narcissists should be eager to claim a negative characteristic if it signified distinctiveness, such as being told they have a rare disease. Similarly, if vulnerable narcissists believed they had such a rare disease, they should be vigilant to keep it because beating the disease would mean losing distinctiveness. Seeking to obtain, or working to protect, such a terrible trait would illuminate the strength of narcissists' distinctiveness motivation.

Other narcissistic behavior, such as grandiose narcissists' willingness to help in public contexts (Konrath & Zarins, 2016) or both subtypes' exploitative behavior (Brunell et al., 2013), may be actions they take to stand out or defend their distinct status. For example, narcissists' materialism (Rose, 2007) may be a reflection or extension of themselves. Specifically, many of the narcissistic subtypes' actions in the current studies,

and the behavior proposed by the DMNS, could be interpreted in light of Wicklund and Gollwitzer's (1981) symbolic self-completion theory which discusses people's desire to define themselves by using external indicators. Grandiose and vulnerable narcissists might be especially interested in accumulating symbols of their distinctiveness which they could display or quantify. This could be in the number or type of possessions they own, the rate of their compulsive buying, or the individuals, groups, or systems that they choose to affiliate with. Of course, the DMNS would propose that while grandiose narcissists will exhibit incessant desire to accrue more symbols, vulnerable narcissists would be more protective over the symbols the already have.

Interventions & Treatment Recruitment. Because the DMNS uses a motivational approach in tandem with trait approaches, it suggests the possibility of finding ways to satisfy the narcissists' need for distinctiveness in healthy ways to prevent more detrimental behavior occurring later on. Specifically, a motivational approach provides greater insight into the situational influences that may interact with a person's traits. Perhaps findings small ways for others to recognize and reassure narcissists' specialness or providing opportunities for grandiose and vulnerable narcissists to self-symbolize could help assuage narcissists' need to act in aggressive or exploitative ways towards others in their pursuit of distinctiveness. These small reminders could be prompted by how a narcissist designs their environment, such as placing meaningful symbols of their distinctiveness in their workspace or home. They could be prompted through computer programs or phone apps. Or, researchers could teach those who must interact with narcissists more efficient ways to recognize and respond to narcissists' self-interested

behavior in workplace or social settings. Finding healthy ways to reduce the need for distinctiveness may be a key ingredient in reducing the negative effects of narcissism more generally by allowing them to satisfy their need for distinctiveness in more prosocial, less self-destructive ways.

The DMNS also provides recommendations for more traditional recruitment and treatment of these populations. A grandiose or vulnerable narcissist might respond most to the availability of treatment if it is framed to emphasize the commonality of mental distress and uniqueness of individuals who seek and complete treatment. If narcissists feel like they are special for pursuing counseling to get rid of a common trait, they may be more motivated to do so. In this way, clinicians can take advantage of the greater understanding the DMNS provides of narcissists' motivation. Encouraging narcissists' participation in treatment programs is especially important considering narcissists rarely seek treatment themselves, and often wait to seek treatment until they have comorbid issues such as depression or anxiety (e.g., Ellison, Levy, Cain, Ansell, & Pincus, 2013) or, more often, are pressured by a partner or boss (e.g., Behary, 2013). In sum, the DMNS can help address past conceptual confusion as well as offer practical implications for the field as greater understanding of what motivates narcissists can help researchers design better interventions to address negative narcissistic behavior.

Conclusion

By integrating insights from motivation and trait-based theories, the Distinctiveness Model of the Narcissistic Subtypes (DMNS) highlights the unique social challenges that grandiose and vulnerable narcissists present. Whereas the promotion

focus of grandiose narcissists leads to constant expansion of their "specialness," the prevention focus of vulnerable narcissists leads to ever-vigilant guarding against threats to their uniqueness. Such insights may provide more dynamic predictions about narcissists' emotions, cognitions, and behavior as well as promote the development of novel interventions and policies with which to address some of the negative social implications of these personality traits.

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Appendix A: Study 1 Six Factor Analysis

Table 6

Study 1 Six Factor Analysis of Self-Worth Contingency Domains

	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Distinctiveness						
My self-esteem is influenced by my level of uniqueness in any given situation.	.82	.07	-.01	-.48	.08	-.18
Advancing my uniqueness is important to me.	.77	.22	-.08	-.39	.16	-.18
I will go out of my way to obtain greater individuality.	.76	.13	-.01	-.36	.20	-.15
My self-esteem is influenced by how highly distinct I am compared to those around me.	.74	-.04	.15	-.37	.07	-.32
I make sure that people recognize how special I am in order to protect my self-esteem.	.72	-.03	.06	-.53	.03	-.44
Whenever I see evidence that others are aware of my individuality, my self-esteem gets a boost.	.66	.31	-.04	-.48	.41	-.20
Knowing others are aware of my specialness makes me feel good about myself.	.64	.16	.09	-.53	.22	.02
If I were to lose my uniqueness, I would lose my feelings of self-esteem.	.63	.23	.12	-.42	.06	-.56
My self-worth would plummet if my specialness decreased.	.61	-.15	.33	-.49	.09	-.45
It makes me feel good when I know my level of distinctiveness is secure.	.57	.27	-.13	-.47	.31	-.23
Virtue						
Doing something I know is wrong makes me lose my self-respect.	.07	.88	.12	-.04	.31	-.13

Continued

Table 6 continued

Study 1 Six Factor Analysis of Self-Worth Contingency Domains

	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
My self-esteem would suffer if I did something unethical.	.13	.87	.16	-.07	.37	-.18
Whenever I follow my moral principles, my sense of self-respect gets a boost.	.09	.77	-.16	-.07	.37	.17
My self-esteem depends on whether or not I follow my moral/ethical principles.	.19	.75	.00	-.15	.45	-.11
I couldn't respect myself if I didn't live up to a moral code.	.04	.74	.03	-.06	.27	-.07
Approval from Others						
I don't care what other people think of me.	.07	.10	.87	-.14	.19	-.22
I don't care if other people have a negative opinion about me.	.04	.10	.86	-.08	.18	-.22
What others think about me has no effect on what I think about myself.	-.08	-.01	.68	-.11	.20	-.15
My self-esteem depends on the opinions others hold of me.	.45	.07	.55	-.35	.31	-.48
I can’t respect myself if others don’t respect me.	.18	.14	.20	-.17	.27	-.44
Competition						
Knowing that I am better than others on a task raises my self-esteem.	.50	.08	.13	-.87	.04	-.11
Doing better than others gives me a sense of self-respect.	.46	-.02	.16	-.78	.12	-.20
My self-worth is influenced by how well I do on competitive tasks.	.54	-.03	.15	-.75	.02	-.26
My self-worth is affected by how well I do when I am competing with others.	.39	.15	.22	-.73	.01	-.67
I feel worthwhile when I perform better than others on a task or skill.	.36	.11	.06	-.68	.22	-.17
Family Support						
It is important to my self-respect that I have a family that cares about me.	.28	.43	.06	-.09	.80	-.20
Knowing that my family members love me makes me feel good about myself.	.08	.42	.13	-.18	.71	.05

Continued

Table 6 continued

Study 1 Six Factor Analysis of Self-Worth Contingency Domains

	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
When my family members are proud of me, my sense of self-worth increases.	.18	.59	.10	-.39	.71	-.11
When I don't feel loved by my family, my self-esteem goes down.	.25	.40	.39	-.16	.64	-.43
My self-worth is not influenced by the quality of my relationships with my family members.	.09	.11	.40	-.04	.57	-.18

Appendix B: Study 3 Tree Art Description

Text and photos used to introduce the unique tree art product to participants:

PRODUCT OF INTEREST:

PRODUCT OF INTEREST:

Artist **Sam Van Aken** is a Syracuse University art professor who grew up on a family farm in Reading, Pennsylvania. Van Aken creates unique trees through a process of *grafting*. These trees are made up of **40+ tree species** meaning they can bloom in every season and carry several varieties of fruit on one tree.

In Van Aken's first project, the tree blossomed in varied tones of pink,

scarlet, and white during spring as seen in the picture above. Each color bloom produces its unique variety of fruit in the summer.

Although some people view the artwork as too expensive to create and maintain, Van Aken's work has received global recognition. No other artist has developed such an engaging piece of work that is shared with the public so anyone who is interested can see his creation.

He has trees in museums, community centers, and art collections around the country including New York in the *east*, Arkansas in the *south*, and California in the *west* (see below for an example).

Appendix C: Study 3 Advertisement Conditions

Promotion-focused advertisement:

WHY SHOULD YOU BE INTERESTED?

Tree Promotes Your Definitive Specialness!

In the United States, we have a great desire to be seen as distinct or unique. We value individuality. Hence, it's no surprise that when the owners of Van Aken's previous work were interviewed, they expressed great happiness and pride in being able to own such a special and selective piece of artwork, and having the rest of their community know of their purchase. In some ways, owning the art piece reflects uniqueness of the owner and is a symbol of his/her own distinctiveness. A person would unmistakably be seen as unique if they were one of only a handful of individuals who own Van Aken's trees. For instance, Taylor Jackson who owns the tree artwork in New York stated, *"I am beyond happy and take great pride in being able to own this unusual and exemplary artwork. I know that my community is able to experience this art piece because of me. I also know that the growing and ever changing tree will continue to bring me a sense of pride – and the public will likely share in my joy if they are lucky enough to see the tree often. Overall, I feel so blessed to have successfully initiated this valuable project in our state and thank Van Aken for entrusting me with this tree."* Van Aken has now decided to expand his artwork to the Midwest. He is offering very limited number of individuals the chance to collaborate with him and participate in the design of their very own tree art to be planted in one of the Midwest states, including Ohio. This is a rare and special opportunity for anyone to own such an exclusive piece of growing artwork that has garnered such extreme interest from the public. Individuals who end up co-designing and owning the tree art will certainly feel happy and proud, knowing they are certainly a special person to possess one of the most unusual products in the world.

Prevention-focused advertisement:

WHY SHOULD YOU BE INTERESTED?

Tree Prevents Any Doubts About Your Averageness!

In the United States, we have a great desire NOT to be seen as average or commonplace. We value individuality. Hence, it's no surprise that when the owners of Van Aken's previous work were interviewed, they expressed great contentment and relief in being able to own such a special and selective piece of artwork, and having the rest of their community know of their purchase. In some ways, owning the art piece reflects uniqueness of the owner and is a symbol of his/her own distinctiveness. A person would unmistakably be seen as not ordinary if they were one of only a handful of individuals who own Van Aken's trees. For instance, Taylor Jackson who owns the tree artwork in New York stated, *"I am very satisfied and take great comfort in being able to own this unusual and exemplary artwork. I know that my community is able to experience this art piece because of me. I also know that the growing and ever changing tree will continue to bring me a sense of satisfaction – and the public will likely share in my contentment if they are lucky enough to see the tree often. Overall, I feel so relieved to have successfully initiated this valuable project in our state and thank Van Aken for entrusting me with this tree."* Van Aken has now decided to expand his artwork to the Midwest. He is offering very limited number of individuals the chance to collaborate with him and participate in the design of their very own tree art to be planted in one of the Midwest states, including Ohio. This is a rare and special opportunity for anyone to own such an exclusive piece of growing artwork that has garnered such extreme interest from the public. Individuals who end up co-designing and owning the tree art will certainly feel relieved and satisfied, knowing they are certainly no average person to possess one of the most unusual products in the world.