# The Relationship Between the Level of Narcissism, Self-Concept Clarity, and Life Satisfaction

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# The Relationship Between the Level of Narcissism, Self-Concept Clarity and Life Satisfaction

A Senior Comprehensive Project

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## Abstract

The relationship between narcissism, self-concept clarity, and life satisfaction in male and female college students was examined. The participants were chosen from psychology classes at a small private liberal arts school in Northwestern Pennsylvania. The students were given three surveys, The Pathological Narcissism Inventory (Pincus et al. 2009), Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985), and the Self-Concept Clarity Scale (Campbell et al., 1996). The study's three research questions were; what is the relationship between the level of narcissism and the level of life satisfaction? What is the relationship between the level of narcissism and the level of self-concept clarity? And what is the relationship between the level of self-concept clarity and level of life satisfaction? The data was collected through self-reports and then correlated to analyze relationships between the variables. The main hypothesis for this study was that a higher level of narcissism would correlate with lower self-concept clarity and lower life satisfaction. After correlations were conducted, it was found that the main hypothesis was met, thus supporting the psychoanalytic theory of narcissism.

# The Relationship Between the Level of Narcissism, Self-Concept Clarity, and Life Satisfaction

Jan Hoffman (2008), a writer for the *New York Times*, mentions how "narcissist" has quickly become a common term to identify other's displeasing behavior, emphasizing how prevailingly misunderstood narcissism is in society. It has often been used in popular culture to imply that one is in total admiration of oneself (Hoffman, 2008). Though it may seem that way from an outsider's point of view, the psychoanalytic theory defines narcissism as one's attempt to portray a consistently positive appearance in order to hide deeper emotional dysfunctions (Pincus et al., 2009). This positive outward image is created through self-enhancement processes that act as defense mechanisms to ward off criticism and hide feelings such as low self-worth and shame (Pincus et al., 2009). Psychoanalysts believe narcissism to be an ongoing developmental disorder, which begins in early childhood due to problematic child-parent relations (Bennett, 2006). For example, utilizing the attachment theory, Bennett (2006) proposed that narcissism ultimately stems from parents not fulfilling the emotional requirements of their children (Bennett, 2006). When the child's requirements are not met they develop a misconstrued view of themselves (Bennett, 2006). Though in a differing view, Millon (1981) believed that narcissism is due to an overload of praise from parents that is not also supported by society (as cited in Otway & Vignoles, 2006). According to the theorist Kohut (1971), a narcissistic child will grow into someone who has internal feelings of worthlessness and craves feedback from others to create a positive image. This positive image is created through displays of self-confidence, self-importance, and superiority (Campbell, Reeder, Sedikides & Elliot, 2000). These self-enhancement techniques depend on constant admiration and endorsement from others, rather than from their own beliefs, causing narcissists' emotions to be unstable (Pincus et al., 2009).

Psychoanalysts have placed narcissism on a continuum, ranging from narcissistic style to narcissistic personality disorder (Sperry, 2003). Narcissistic personality disorder is placed on the pathological end of the continuum (Sperry, 2003), which will be the focus of the current study. The term "narcissist" refers to someone who has received high scores on a narcissism survey (Miller & Campbell, 2010). In this paper the term "narcissist" will be used to refer to someone with pathological narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009). Narcissists can typically be identified by their actions (Hotchkiss, 2005). A study conducted by Back, Egloff, and Schmukle (2009) concluded that narcissists are detectable and even popular when first met. Back et al. (2009) suggest that narcissists are at first popular, because they give off an initial positive image through an impressive physical appearance, charm, and self-confidence. Their problematic behaviors are soon detected causing their popularity to fall drastically (Back et al. 2009). The popularity that they first receive causes them to feel admired, which in turn leads to an increase in their self-enhancement strategies (Back et al., 2009). Back et al. (2009) refer to the admiration they get from peers to be "like a drug," soon others recognize their strategies and no longer give them the praise they desire (p.142). When narcissists no longer receive positive feedback they move on to find someone else who will, which becomes a problematic cycle and causes them to not have any real social relationships (Back et al., 2009).

As stated earlier, there is much misidentification of narcissism in society. It is the goal of this study to utilize the psychoanalytic theory and hypothesize that narcissism is detrimental (Pincus et al., 2009). Although small doses of overt behaviors may seem beneficial, they are thought by psychoanalysts to be a defense mechanism (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). The current study will focus on narcissism's relationship to self-concept clarity and life satisfaction. Self-concept clarity was chosen because it is a measure of how well one understands oneself (Ayduk,

Gyurak & Luerssen, 2009). Since narcissists are constantly trying to control their emotions and the feedback they receive from others (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001), the current study will be testing if this disregulation has any effect on if they truly know who they are. Life satisfaction was chosen due to common misconceptions in society as well as conflicting findings. It is a common misconception in popular society that narcissists truly love themselves and that is why they act the way they do (Hoffman, 2008), though according to the psychoanalytic theory they act this way due to coping with their internal emotional issues (Pincus et al., 2009). Thus, life satisfaction has been included in this study to further support the psychoanalytic theory.

## Literature Review

### Narcissists' Regulation of Self- Esteem

Those with lower self-esteem desire positive feedback from others due to their lack of self-worth, causing them to become extremely fixated on compliments and more sensitive when criticized (Campbell, 1990). In an empirical study, Watson and Biderman (1993) found that narcissism correlated with feelings of anxiety. This anxiety stems from feelings of rejection and low self-worth (Wink, 1991). These inner feelings of rejection feed narcissists' desire to control their self-esteem through self-enhancement procedures (Brown, 1997). Brown (1997) notes how narcissists may deny certain feedback that jeopardizes their image, or try and rationalize criticism in a way that allows them to still appear positive. Narcissists' grandiosity has been recognized as a defense mechanism used to hide feelings of rejection (Akhtar, 1989). This grandiosity comes from narcissists ignoring negative feedback and putting too much attention on interactions that will improve their image (Tracy & Robins, 2003). These actions allow their outwardly positive image to stay intact (Banaji & Prentice, 1994). Akhtar (1989) refers to a narcissist's grandiosity as an overt characteristic of narcissism. Akhtar (1989) suggested that

narcissists are egotistical and outgoing in social situations, which makes up their overt narcissism. Though, in contrast, they are also vulnerable and lack the ability to put their trust in friends or family, which makes up their covert characteristics of narcissism (Akhtar, 1989). Narcissists' use of overt characteristics to hide their covert characteristics weakens the management they have over their emotions, which is shown through narcissists' sensitivity to self-esteem threats (Tracy & Robins, 2003). When their self-esteem is threatened, narcissists commonly react in an aggressive manner (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Since narcissists need to feel as if they are loved and respected to enhance their self-esteem, they tend to overly depend on approval from those around them (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001).

**Life Satisfaction**

Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin (1985) describe global life satisfaction as complete assessment of one's life. Social relationships have been found to be a key factor in one's life satisfaction (Diener, 2006). It has been hypothesized those who had a well-founded support system would ultimately have a higher life satisfaction than those who did not (Diener, 2006). Diener (2006) also mentions that other variables such as one's spirituality or psychological development are also main factors that contribute to one's life satisfaction. If any of these factors are challenged it can lead to dissatisfaction (Diener, 2006). Despite the many different factors that contribute to one's life satisfaction, it is possible to measure it with one score (Diener et al., 1985).

**Narcissism and Life Satisfaction**

The psychoanalytic theory proposes that narcissists are self-promoting and seemingly confident, yet they are sensitive to criticism and have a low self-worth (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Their extreme sensitivity causes them to suffer from internal and external problems (Morf

& Rhodewalt, 2001). Problematic tendencies such as reacting to criticism with aggression, or constantly seeking praise, prevent them from having long-term relationships (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). As stated in the introduction, the psychoanalytic understanding of narcissism proposes that narcissists had problematic childhood interactions and this caused their current relationships to be filled with resentment (Campbell, 1999). Bennett (2006) also used the idea of detrimental parental relationships and applied it to narcissism. She hypothesized, using the attachment theory, that parenting that is dismissive can result in narcissism. This negligence is associated with the authoritarian parenting style, which contains a lack of affection and stern disciplining (Lamborn, Steinberg, Dornbush & Darling, 1991). Narcissists lack a supportive social network (Back et al., 2009), which Diener (2006) states to be important to one's overall happiness. Though, narcissists have developed skills in order to create relationships that will allow them to look popular and successful, which could be the reason why many people believe that they truly love themselves (Buffardi & Campbell, 2001). For example, narcissists will often seek out friends and lovers that are popular, attractive, and happy, allowing them to been seen that way as well (Campbell et al., 2000).

It is the covert features of narcissism such as their vulnerability (Pincus et al., 2009), that allows this current study to believe that narcissists will have a lower life satisfaction. Many theorists believe that it is their outward positive view of themselves that ultimately hides narcissists' true loathing (Campbell, Bosson, Goheen, Lakey & Kernis, 2007). The psychoanalytic theory believes that the outward image of confidence is a defense mechanism (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). This being said, many researchers believe that test instruments will reveal narcissists' covert characteristics (Campbell et al., 2007). Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne and Correll (2003) found in their empirical study that although narcissists may

consciously believe they have high self-esteem, in actuality, unconsciously they suffer from low self-esteem. Campbell (1981) concluded that self-esteem was an important factor when determining life satisfaction (cited in Diener & Diener, 2009).

**Self-Concept Clarity**

Self-Concept Clarity is defined as how definite and consistent one is in understanding themselves (Ayduk et al., 2009). This self-knowledge refers to one's insights on their characteristics (Campbell, 1990). In recent years, self-esteem has been closely linked to self-concept clarity (Campbell et al., 1996). It has been found that those with high self-esteem will have consistent and accurate knowledge about themselves, while those with low self-esteem will be uncertain about themselves (Campbell & Fehr, 1990). Campbell (1990) found that the strength of one's self-concept clarity is an indicator of one's level of self-esteem, suggesting that self-esteem is a crucial part of the make-up of the self-concept.

**Narcissism and the Dysfunctional Self-Concept**

Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) propose that narcissists have a fragile self-concept. They are constantly looking for people to build them up and give them unending praise (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Narcissists' concepts are described as "under construction" due to the fact that narcissists will always need others to tell them how great they are (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001, p. 180). This self-concept potentially developed from the lack of intimacy and acceptance earlier on in the child's life (Ayduk et al., 2009). Since the definition of self-concept clarity refers to one's concept being stable, it seems likely that narcissists will have low self-concept clarity due to their fragility (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). One's self-concept has the potential to be threatened by certain stressors in life (Lee-Flynn, Pomaki, DeLongis, Biesanz & Puterman, 2011). Narcissists encounter a plethora of daily stressors due to their attempts to establish a positive

outward image (Pincus et al., 2009). In a 2003 study, Greve and Wentura found that the defense mechanisms of projecting imperfections onto others or ignoring criticism will result in self-deception. Tracy and Robins (2003) suggest that narcissists' self-concept are broken into two parts, the implicit and the explicit. The implicit concept has been developed to be negatively stable, "I am a bad person, and I will always be a bad person" (Tracy & Robins, 2003, p. 59). At the same time narcissists contain an explicit concept, which is positively stable, "I am a perfect person, I am always perfect" (Tracy & Robins, 2003, pg. 59). Narcissists do not look at successes as rewarding experiences, they use them to boost their image, thus hiding their implicit self (Tracy & Robins, 2003). Tracy & Robins (2003) argue that the combination of an implicit and explicit concept leads to a lack of stability in narcissists' self-concept; narcissists are deceiving themselves through these regulation processes, thus creating a dysfunctional self-concept (Greve & Wentura, 2003). Greve and Wentura (2003) stress how imperative it is that one acknowledges both their faults and their advantages in order to lead a successful life.

As noted earlier in the paper, research suggests that there is a connection between self-esteem and self-concept clarity (Campbell, 1990). Since narcissists suffer from low self-esteem (Pincus et al., 2009), it is likely their self-concept clarity is low as well (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Self-concept clarity has been found to be vital when one is encountering a stressful situation (Campbell, 1990). When faced with a stressful situation it is likely that narcissists might not know how to react (Baumeister, Bushman & Campbell, 2000). Narcissistic traits are associated with aggression, which usually comes out when their positive image is criticized (Baumeister et al., 2000). There may be a relationship between a dysfunctional self-concept (Greve & Wentura, 2003) and the aggression narcissists emit when criticized (Baumeister et al., 2000).

**Development of Narcissism and the Self-Concept**

As stated earlier in the introduction, narcissism is thought to have developed from problematic child-parent interactions (Bennett, 2006). There has been current research that suggests that self-concept is also affected by childhood experiences (Leung & Leung, 1992). There is also research suggesting that family relationships have a huge impact on one's overall development (Leung & Leung, 1992). Specifically, good relationships lead to positive self-esteem as well as positive future social interactions (Leung & Lau, 1989). In 1992, Leung and Leung conducted a study looking at the relationships between the self-concept, life satisfaction, and parental relationships. They found that the strongest relationship in their study was between one's parental relationships and one's self-concept. The self-concept deals with how one perceives oneself (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976). These perceptions are highly determined by one's surrounding, including reinforcement and criticism from one's social environment (Shavelson et al., 1976). Narcissists' perceptions of themselves are thought to be negative due to their feelings of rejection that stem from their dysfunctional relationships with their parents (Tracy & Robins, 2003). Since narcissism and self-concept are thought to be affected by one's development (Bennett, 2006; Leung & Leung, 1992), it is being hypothesized by this current study that they will be closely related.

**Self-Concept Clarity, Self-Esteem, and Life Satisfaction**

In 1968, Erikson noted that having a clearly defined self is imperative to one's happiness. Deiner (1984) also hypothesized that in order to have a high life satisfaction; one must have a positive self-concept (cited in Leung & Leung, 1992). A study done by Leung and Leung in 1992 supported this hypothesis by finding in a study of adolescents; life satisfaction scores had a positive relationship to self-concept scores. In a 2010 study, Usborne and Taylor found that self-

concept clarity was positively related to life satisfaction as well as self-esteem. Self-esteem plays a major role when one is receiving criticism (Campbell, 1990). Those that have an inconsistent self-esteem will have low self-concept clarity, due to their reliance on peers for praise (Zeigler-Hill & Showers, 2007). It has also been found that self-esteem is a strong predictor for one's overall life satisfaction (Halvorsen & Heyerdahl, 2006). Therefore, it is the hypothesis of the current study that low self-concept clarity will correlate to a low life satisfaction.

## Problem Statement

There is a discrepancy about whether or not narcissistic personality traits can be healthy. For example, Kets de Vries (2004) thought that not all narcissistic behaviors were problematic. It is the goal of this study to support the psychoanalytic theory, which believes that it is problematic due to its origin (Pincus et al., 2009). Therefore, the researcher hypothesizes that the results will support what Pincus et al. (2009) terms pathological narcissism. Although some of the behaviors that narcissists display may be considered normal, such as a need for admiration, they are in actuality problematic because they deal with impaired regulation processes (Pincus et al., 2009) There have also been current studies that have been conducted dealing with relationships between life satisfaction and narcissism, which have produced conflicting results. A study done by Campbell et al (2007) produced results that narcissists do not dislike themselves. Although psychoanalytic literature suggests that the vulnerability characteristics of narcissists' would lead them to have a lower life satisfaction (Pincus et al., 2009). There has also been previous research dealing with narcissism and its relationships to self-esteem, which is a component of self-concept (Ziegler-Hill, 2005). These previous studies link narcissism to a self-esteem, which is unstable (Ziegler-Hill, 2005). The current study will be testing if it affects the whole self-concept. Foster, Campbell and Twenge (2003) concluded that development through one's lifespan has a huge impact on how one's self is shaped. Since narcissism and self-concept are both developed through adolescence (Bennett, 2006; Leung & Leung, 1992), the study hypothesizes that they will have a close relationship. Based on the previous research stated above, research questions have been developed; what is the relationship between the level of narcissism and level of life satisfaction? What is the relationship between the level of self-concept clarity and the level of life satisfaction? And what is the relationship between the level

of self-concept clarity and level of narcissism? The researcher of this current study suggests that if high narcissism scores correlate with low self-concept clarity and low satisfaction scores, it will add further support to the psychoanalytic theory.

# Method

## Hypotheses

High levels of narcissism will correlate to lower life satisfaction, high levels of self-concept clarity will correlate to high life satisfaction, and high levels of narcissism will correlate to low self-concept clarity.

## Research Design

Due to the results being collected through self-report surveys, the design for this study was correlational. The three variables in the study are self-concept clarity, narcissism, and life satisfaction.

## Procedure

Participants were recruited from psychology classes on a college campus in Northwestern Pennsylvania. The participants were not told that narcissism was being measured in this study. This was to prevent the negative connotation that narcissism has from interfering with the participants' scores. Personality was used instead of narcissism when the researcher recruited from classes and on the informed consent form (see Appendix A). The study's focus of narcissism was revealed in the debriefing form (see Appendix B) at the end of the surveys. The surveys for this study were compiled onto an online Google document (see Appendices C, D, and E), which was emailed to the participants during the recruitment process. This online process allowed the participant's scores to be completely anonymous to the researcher. After the students submitted their scores they were taken to another page, which displayed the debriefing form. The form included information about the study, including the focus on narcissism, whom to contact if they needed to discuss the study, as well as a source they could use if they felt inclined to research narcissism further.

## Measures

**Narcissism.** The Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI) created by Pincus et al. (2009) is a self-report survey. The PNI consists of 52 items that measure the overt and covert facets, as well as the different characteristics of narcissism (Pincus et al. 2009). The two facets measured are grandiosity and vulnerability. The characteristics that fall under the grandiosity facet of narcissism are, grandiose fantasy, expoitativeness, and self-sacrificing self-enhancement (Pincus et al., 2009). The characteristics that fall under the vulnerability facet are, contingent self-esteem, hiding the self, devaluing and entitlement rage (Pincus et al., 2009). These characteristic scales as well as the facet scales were correlated with the life satisfaction and self-concept clarity scales in the present study. Their relationships can be found in the results section. The PNI was chosen for this study because it focuses specifically on pathological narcissism, where as other scales such as the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1991), only focuses on scores of normal narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009). Pincus et al. (2009) also found that the scale generalizes to clinical as well as normal populations.

**Life Satisfaction.** The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) is a five-item scale with good psychometric properties (Shimmiack at el. 2004). The items are answered on a likert scale ranging from one to seven. An answer of one indicates that the participant strongly disagrees with the statement, while an answer of seven indicates that the participant strongly agrees with the statement (Diener et al., 1985). The scale is a global measure of life satisfaction, which means it will not measure specific situations such as job, family, and school (Corrigan, 2000). The scale originally consisted of 48 items, but through validity testing 10 items were found to be highly reliable (Corrigan, 2000). Five of these 10 items were repetitive in wording, which reduced the scale down to five items (Corrigan, 2000).

**Self-Concept Clarity.** The Self-Concept Clarity Scale was created by Campbell et al. (1996). This scale includes 12 statements, which are answered on a likert-scale ranging from one to five. An answer of one indicates that the participant strongly disagrees with the statement, while an answer of five indicates that the participant strongly agrees with the statement (Campbell et al., 1996). The statements on the test focus on the stability and clarity of one's beliefs and goals (Campbell et al., 1996). The scale has been proven to be applicable to a wide variety of languages and cultures (Matto & Realo, 2000).

## Results

### Self-Concept Clarity and Life Satisfaction

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction ($N$=108, $M$=25.2, $SD$=4.9) and self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.4). There was a positive correlation between the two variables ($r$=.412) and the coefficient was significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a moderate, positive correlation with self-concept clarity and life satisfaction. The positive correlation found between the two indicates that higher self-concept clarity scores were related to higher life satisfaction scores.

### Narcissism and Life Satisfaction

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between narcissism ($N$=108, $M$=2.6, $SD$=.70) and life satisfaction ($N$=108, $M$= 25.2, $SD$=4.9). There was a negative correlation between the two variables ($r$=-.324) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a low negative correlation between narcissism and life satisfaction. As narcissism scores increased, life satisfaction scores decreased.

### Narcissism and Self-Concept Clarity

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between narcissism ($N$=108, $M$=2.6, $SD$=.70) and self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8). There was a negative correlation between the two variables ($r$=-.540) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$ <0.01). Overall there was a moderate negative correlation between narcissism and self-concept clarity. As narcissism scores increased, self-concept clarity scores decreased.

### Life Satisfaction and Grandiosity

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction ($N$=108, $M$=25.2, $SD$=4.9) and the grandiosity facet of narcissism ($N$=108, $M$=2.94,

*SD*=0.75). There was a negative correlation between the two variables (*r*=-.138), which was not found to be significant (*p*>0.01). Overall there was a very low, thus non-significant correlation between life satisfaction and narcissistic grandiosity.

**Life Satisfaction and Vulnerability**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the vulnerability facet of narcissism (*N*=108, *M*=2.3, *SD*=0.83). There was a negative correlation between the two variables (*r*=-.420) and the coefficient was found to be significant (*p*<0.01). Overall there was a moderate negative correlation between the two. As life satisfaction scores increased, vulnerability scores decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Grandiosity**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity (*N*=108, *M*=34.6, *SD*=11.8) and the grandiosity facet of narcissism (*N*=108, *M*=2.94, *SD*=0.75). There was a negative correlation between the two variables (*r*=-.328) and the coefficient was found to be significant (*p*<0.01). Overall there was a moderately low negative correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity scores increased, grandiosity scores decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Vulnerability**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity (*N*=108, *M*=34.6, *SD*=11.8) and the vulnerability facet of narcissism (*N*=108, *M*=2.3, *SD*=0.83). There was a negative correlation between the two (*r*=-.610) and the coefficient was found to be significant (*p*<0.01). Overall there was a highly moderate correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity scores increased, vulnerability scores decreased.

**Life Satisfaction and Contingent Self-Esteem**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the contingent self-esteem subscale (*N*=108, *M*=2.3, *SD*=1.12) of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation (*r*=-.481) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p<0.01$). Overall there was a moderate correlation between the two. As life satisfaction increased, contingent self-esteem decreased.

**Life Satisfaction and Exploitativeness**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the exploitativeness subscale (*N*=108, *M*=2.47, *SD*=1.06) of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two (*r*=-.094). The coefficient was not found to be significant ($p>0.01$). Overall there was a very low correlation, thus non-significant relationship between life satisfaction and exploitativeness.

**Life Satisfaction and Self-Sacrificing Self-Enhancement**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the self-sacrificing self-enhancement (*N*=108, *M*= 3.0, *SD*=0.96) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two (*r*=-.127). The coefficient was not found to be significant ($p>0.01$). Overall there was a very low correlation, thus non-significant relationship between life satisfaction and self-sacrificing self-enhancement.

**Life Satisfaction and Hiding the Self**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the hiding the self (*N*=108, *M*=2.95, *SD*=1.02) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two (*r*=-.244) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p<0.01$). Overall there was a low correlation between the two. As life satisfaction scores increased, hiding the self scores decreased.

**Life Satisfaction and Grandiose Fantasy**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the grandiose fantasy (*N*=108, *M*=3.34, *SD*=1.0) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two (*r*=-.090) and the coefficient was not found to be significant ($p>0.01$). Overall there was a very low correlation, thus there was a non-significant relationship between life satisfaction and grandiose fantasy.

**Life Satisfaction and Devaluing**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the devaluing (*N*=108, *M*=1.7, *SD*=1.06) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two (*r*=-.375) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p<0.01$). Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As life satisfaction scores increased, devaluing scores decreased.

**Life Satisfaction and Entitlement Rage**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between life satisfaction (*N*=108, *M*=25.2, *SD*=4.9) and the entitlement rage (*N*=108, *M*=2.27, *SD*= .952)

subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.217) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.05). Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As life satisfaction scores increased, entitlement rage scores decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Contingent Self-Esteem**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the contingent self-esteem ($N$=108, $M$=2.3, $SD$=1.12) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.670) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a moderately high correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity increased, contingent self-esteem decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Exploitativeness**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the exploitativeness ($N$=108, $M$=2.47, $SD$=1.06) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.232) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.05). Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity increased, exploitativeness decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Self-Sacrificing Self-Enhancement**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the self-sacrificing self-enhancement ($N$=108, $M$= 3.0, $SD$=0.96) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.244) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.05).

Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity scores increased, self-sacrificing self-enhancement scores decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Hiding the Self**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the hiding the self ($N$=108, $M$=2.95, $SD$=1.02) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.343) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As Self-Concept Clarity scores increased, hiding the self scores decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Grandiose Fantasy**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$= 34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the grandiose fantasy ($N$=108, $M$=3.34, $SD$=1.0) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.266) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity scores increased, grandiose fantasy scores decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Devaluing**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the devaluing ($N$=108, $M$=1.7, $SD$=1.06) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.521) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a moderate negative correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity scores increased, devaluing decreased.

**Self-Concept Clarity and Entitlement Rage**

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between self-concept clarity ($N$=108, $M$=34.6, $SD$=11.8) and the entitlement rage ($N$=108, $M$=2.27, $SD$=0.952) subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. There was a negative correlation between the two ($r$=-.381) and the coefficient was found to be significant ($p$<0.01). Overall there was a low negative correlation between the two. As self-concept clarity scores increased, entitlement rage scores decreased.

## Discussion

As predicted, the study's results supported the researcher's hypotheses. Those that have high self-concepts also have high life satisfaction; those with high narcissism scores have a lower life satisfaction, and those that have high narcissism scores have low-self-concept clarity. Simply put, the results suggest that those with high narcissism scores do not truly understand who they are, thus they are dissatisfied with their lives. These findings support the psychodynamic model of narcissism, which believes that covert emotional issues are the basis of narcissists' behavior (Pincus et al., 2009). Out of these three relationships, the correlation coefficient was the strongest between narcissism and self-concept clarity. This found relationship supports that there could indeed be a developmental connection between the two variables, which stems from parental rejection during development (Tracy & Robins, 2003).

### Facet Correlations

Further correlations were computed to assess how life satisfaction and self-concept clarity related specifically to the overt and covert facets of narcissism. Grandiosity, the overt facet is defined as problematic enhancement behaviors such as arrogance and self-absorption, which narcissists portray to society (Pincus et al., 2009). Narcissists' vulnerabilities are the deep emotional issues that they deal with such a low self-esteem (Pincus et al., 2009). Results reflected that the strongest relationship was between self-concept clarity and the vulnerability facet of narcissism. This strong relationship could be an indication of a connection between self-concept clarity and narcissism. According to the psychoanalytic theory of narcissism, the deep emotional issues stem from dysfunctional developmental relationships, usually parent relations (Tracy & Robins, 2003). It is the absence of warmth and caring (Campbell & Foster, 2007) in these relations that result in the vulnerability facet, which includes feelings of low self-worth

(Pincus et al., 2009). While these are developing it is possible that a dysfunctional self-concept could be forming as well, since self-concept is also thought to originate in childhood (Ayduk et al., 2009). Someone with a dysfunctional self-concept is constantly looking for reassurance and positive feedback (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001), due to narcissists' poor self-view, they also seek positive feedback (Pincus et al., 2009). These two findings further reiterate their relationship.

There was no significant relationship between life satisfaction and grandiosity. Due to grandiosity being a facet of narcissists' fake positive appearance (Pincus et al., 2009); it makes sense that they would have a non-significant relationship. Grandiosity is a front that does not reflect how a narcissist truly feels (Pincus et al., 2009), so it seems plausible that it would be ineffective when measuring life satisfaction. This low relationship between life satisfaction and grandiosity further exemplifies narcissists' use of ego-defense mechanisms to deceive others and their own feelings. Life satisfaction and vulnerability had a moderate negative relationship. This relationship is likely to exist because the vulnerability facet relates to emotional issues caused by dysfunctional development (Pincus et al., 2009). Self-concept clarity and grandiosity had a low relationship. The facet of grandiosity on the PNI measures "exploitativeness, grandiose fantasy, and self-sacrificing self-enhancement" (Pincus et al., 2009, p. 376). These refer to how one wants to be, not how one actually is (Pincus et al., 2009). All of the grandiosity characteristics refer to the narcissist manipulating others in order for others to think highly of them (Pincus et al., 2009). The low relationship between self-concept clarity and grandiosity suggests that narcissists' spend too much time convincing others of who they are and dreaming of their ideal self (Pincus et al., 2009), that they have little to no self-concept clarity, or self-knowledge (Ayduk et al., 2009). It was noticed by the researcher that the strongest relationships out of these specific correlations came from comparing life satisfaction and self-concept clarity to the facet of

vulnerability. This is to be expected due to the psychoanalytic theory that covert characteristics define the development of narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009). Overall, the correlations with the total narcissism score as well as the two different facets were stronger with self-concept clarity than with life satisfaction. These results suggest that to better understand narcissists' behavior and beliefs, more research should be done on the interaction between self-concept clarity and narcissism.

**Subscale Correlations**

There was a strong negative relationship between self-concept clarity and the contingent self-esteem subscale of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. This finding further supports previous data of their close relationship. Those who clearly understand who they are, in turn have a high self-esteem (Usborne & Traylor, 2010). Contingent self-esteem refers to social feedback regulating one's self-esteem, thus it very unstable (Pincus et al. 2009). Since a dysfunctional self-concept is also a result of one needing positive feedback from others (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001), these results seem to reinforce their relationship. The higher one's self-concept, the more confident they are in themselves and the less they need people to constantly build them up (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). This finding also explains the close correlation found between self-concept clarity and the devaluing subscale. Pincus et al. (2009) defines devaluing as one having a disregard for people who do not give the feedback necessary to boost their self-worth. The results suggest the clearer one's self-concept is the less need they have for people to feed them endless compliments (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). The contingent self-esteem subscale also had a significant negative relationship with the life satisfaction variable. The results of this study reflect a study done by Usborne and Taylor (2010) in which they found those who had strong self-concept clarity and self-esteem also had a positive well-being.

Through doing correlations with the subscales of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory, it was found that the variable of life satisfaction had a non-significant relationship with all the subscales that fell under the grandiosity facet of narcissism. The three subscales include "exploitativeness, grandiose fantasy, and self-sacrificing self-enhancement" (Pincus et al., 2009, p. 376). Pincus et al. (2009) describes the grandiose facet to be the way a narcissist controls their responses to negative criticism through dysfunctional processes. These processes lead to emotional dysfunction, due to narcissists trying to portray a positive image and ignoring threats to the ego (Pincus et al., 2009). These results seem to suggest that the facet of grandiosity is not related to life satisfaction. Narcissists' self-enhancement mechanisms attempt to prevent their inner feelings from emerging (Pincus et al., 2009). Since the grandiosity facets deal with outward deception, the results suggest that it would not reflect their inner happiness (Pincus et al., 2009)

**Validity of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory**

Carlson, Vazire & Oltmanns (2011) conducted an empirical study in which they tested if narcissists were aware of their own personality. The researchers found that not only could narcissists detect their own narcissistic characteristics, but their peers could as well. The researchers used the Big Five Inventory, The Narcissistic Personality Inventory, The Ten-Item Personality Inventory, and the Multi-Source Assessment of Personality Pathology, which are all self-report instruments (Carlson et al., 2011). Carlson et al., (2011) noted that just because they were aware of their characteristics, does not mean they recognized them as negative. It is possible they see them as normal or something that is praise worthy (Carlson et al., 2011). This could be a possible reason why few people seek psychotherapeutic attention to deal with their narcissism (Campbell & Foster, 2007). A study done by Campbell et al. (2007) suggested that self-report test instruments could uncover narcissists' covert characteristics. These two studies,

allow the current researcher to believe that the self-report method conducted in the current study can give some accurate insight to the prevalence of narcissistic characteristics in the tested sample. The construct validity of the PNI done by Pincus et al. (2009), on a sample of 2, 801 adults also add to the reliability of the scores obtained. Pincus et al. (2009) created the PNI due to the lack of vulnerability characteristics in narcissism scales. The inclusion of the vulnerability facet in the PNI allows the overt and covert facts of narcissism to be measured (Pincus et al. 2009). The PNI is a more accurate measure than the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, because it can measure the facets of narcissism that are vital in psychotherapy for narcissists (Pincus et al., 2009) Therefore, using the PNI in this current study was useful in detecting narcissists' vulnerabilities further. Although with self-reports one can never be 100% sure of accuracy, and narcissism cannot be fully diagnosed without psychoanalysis (Kohut, 1971), it seems likely that the scale chosen was beneficial in identifying the two types of narcissistic characteristics in the sample.

**Generalizability of the Scores**

When comparing the mean narcissism scores from the 2009 study, conducted by Pincus et al. to the present one, there was very little difference. The present study's mean narcissism score was 2.63, while the 2009 study obtained means of 2.19 for males and 2.27 for females. The similarities in these results suggest the present score to be reliable as well as somewhat generalizable to larger populations. The 2009 study by Pincus et al. only focused on Caucasian participants and the current study did not account for race during testing. Foster, Campbell & Twenge (2003) suggest that one's culture has a considerable amount of influence on how one thinks of themselves and the forming of their personality. The lack of focus on culture in both of

these samples could cause them to not be applicable to other cultures. One factor that the 2009 study accounted for that the present study did not was gender.

**Current Study's Limitations**

A limitation to this study was the lack of focus on gender and race and how that not only affects one's narcissism scores, but self-concept clarity and life satisfaction as well. Through including those additional factors, the researcher could have gained more insight into how these variables interact as well as the extraneous factors that affect them. The inclusion of gender in this study would have been beneficial to furthering the knowledge of narcissism due to the current need for clarification of how gender plays a role in the development of narcissistic personality disorder. Morf & Rhodewalt (2001) found the emotional issues that lead to narcissism for males and females may manifest themselves differently. According to the psychodynamic model of narcissism, the root of narcissism spans back to the mother failing to be empathetic to her child during early development (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Haaken (1983) suggests that the child's emotional response and self-construction may differ in males and females (cited in Carroll, 1989). Males are more likely to develop narcissism, while women may develop other personality disorders such as borderline personality conditions (Haaken, 1983; cited in Carroll, 1989). Other researchers believe that it is the different characteristics of narcissism that differs between genders (Tshanz, Morf & Turner, 1998). Tshanz et al. (1998) found that on the exploitiveness/entitlement scale of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, males scored higher than females. They attributed this to society's social expectations of men. Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) also stated that the gender differences between males and females in narcissism depend on societal gender expectations. The inclusion of gender would have been beneficial when looking at the seven different subscales of narcissism on the Pathological

Narcissism Scale. It would have been interesting to see how gender affects not only the total narcissism score, but also to see which scores on the subscales differed as well. Differing scores on the subscales would have shown how narcissism is manifested in different ways based on gender (Tschanz et al., 1998). The current studies that have looked at gender and narcissism have used the Narcissistic Personality inventory, which doesn't include covert factors (Pincus et al., 2009). It would have been interesting to see how the scores would have differed on the Pathological Narcissism Inventory subscales.

Race would have also been an interesting factor to include due to the lack of scientific data analyzing its relationship to narcissism. Although not much can be found about their interaction, Zeigler-Hill and Wallace (2011) created an empirical study based around the concept of "*internalization of stigma"* of black participants (p.456). Though, they hypothesized that instead of this internalization leading to low self-esteem, it results in a fragile high self-esteem. This high self-esteem is created through one taking negative feedback given about their race and blaming it on external factors such as discrimination, thus keeping their self-esteem intact (Zeigler-Hill & Wallace, 2011). Gray- Little & Hafdahl (2000) refers to this process as the "*Black self-esteem advantage"* (p. 26). Zeigler-Hill & Wallace (2011) related this concept to the psychoanalytic model of narcissism, which consists of narcissists using positive overt characteristics as a defense mechanism against their negative covert characteristics (Bosson, Lakey, Campbell, Zeigler-Hill, Jordan & Kernis, 2008). Zeigler-Hill & Wallace (2011) found that black participants scored higher than white participants on the narcissism scale. The inclusion of race in the present study could have helped support the psychoanalytic model of narcissism further, if it had taken into account the *Black self-esteem advantage*.

**Implications**

The results of the current study allow the researcher to believe that in general someone's outward manifestations may not always reflect who he or she truly is. Previous research has shown that one's self-concept can be distorted through regulation processes (Greve & Wentura, 2003). These regulation processes can prevent one from truly understanding themselves (Greve & Wentura, 2003). In narcissists these regulation processes are so severe that they develop implicit and explicit selves (Tracy & Robins, 2003). Through the results reflecting a strong connection between narcissism and self-concept clarity, it seems probable that it is the dysfunctional self-concept that causes narcissists to create false overt representations to society (Morf &Rhodewalt, 2001). The connection between narcissism and self-concept clarity reflects Kohut's (1971) belief that personality is a reflection of social interactions, as well as one's self that surfaces through psychoanalysis. Kohut (1971) clearly states that personality is not relevant to psychoanalysis; it is only a glimpse of a part of one's self. Therefore, personality in general can be a result of one's true self-concept (Kohut, 1971). Thus in the case of narcissism, since their self-concept is dysfunctional, their personality becomes dysfunctional as well (Kohut, 1971). In conclusion, this study has added more support to the psychoanalytic theory, which finds pathological narcissism to be a problematic disorder (Pincus et al., 2009). This was reflected in the results showing high narcissism scores correlating to low self-concept clarity scores and low life satisfaction scores. Although the researcher was not able to truly identify if any of the participants had narcissistic personality disorder, the data was still able to give some insight into how narcissistic characteristics affect how well someone knows themselves and if they are happy with their lives thus far.

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Appendix A

**Informed Consent**

I am asking you to be a participant in my senior comprehensive project. Please read the following information about the project. If you would like to participate, please check the box below. The purpose of this research project is to see if there is a relationship between the following variables: personality type, self-concept clarity, and life satisfaction. If you participate in this project you will be asked to fill out three separate surveys that measure each of these variables. The process of filling out these surveys will take no longer than 15 minutes. You will not receive any benefits from participating in this project except for extra credit, if your professor is offering it. The study is completely anonymous and the data will not be viewed until two weeks after day one of recruiting. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decided to not participate there will not be any negative consequences. Please be aware that if you decide to participate, you can stop participating at any time and you may decide to not answer specific questions.

___ I have read and understood the consent form and have agreed to participate.

Appendix B

**Debriefing Form**

Thank you for participating in this study examining the relationship between personality, self-concept clarity, and life satisfaction. The personality trait that was measured specifically in this study was narcissism. Narcissism is commonly defined as a tendency towards self-focus. It was hypothesized that the higher levels of narcissism would correlate to lower self-concept clarity and a lower life satisfaction. If you would like to learn more about narcissism please refer to the reference provided below. Again, the results of this study are completely anonymous, and so your particular scores will not be known by anyone, including the researcher.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to ask the researcher at any time (Meredith Beamon; email: beamonm@allegheny.edu). If you are feeling any emotional distress after participating in this study please contact the Allegheny Counseling Center at (814) 332-4368. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, please contact the Chair of the Allegheny Institutional Review Board, Jamie Lombardi, at jalombar@allegheny.edu or the Department Chair of Psychology, Joshua Searle-White, at jsearle@allegheny.edu.

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If you would like to be entered into the Giant Eagle raffle please email me a copy of this debriefing form as well as your box number. Please title this email "raffle".

Appendix C

Pincus et al. (2009)

Pathological Narcissism Inventory

*Instructions: Below you will find 52 descriptive statements. Please consider each one and indicate how well that statement describes you. There are no right or wrong answers. On the line beside the question, fill in only one answer. Simply indicate how well each statement describes you as a person on the following* ***6-point scale****:*

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all Like me | Moderately Unlike me | A little Unlike me | A little Like me | Moderately Like me | Very much Like me |

___ 1. I often fantasize about being admired and respected.

___ 2. My self-esteem fluctuates a lot.

___ 3. I sometimes feel ashamed about my expectations of others when they disappoint me.

___ 4. I can usually talk my way out of anything.

___ 5. It's hard for me to feel good about myself when I'm alone.

___ 6. I can make myself feel good by caring for others.

___ 7. I hate asking for help.

___ 8. When people don't notice me, I start to feel bad about myself.

___ 9. I often hide my needs for fear that others will see me as needy and dependent.

___ 10. I can make anyone believe anything I want them to.

___ 11. I get mad when people don't notice all that I do for them.

___ 12. I get annoyed by people who are not interested in what I say or do.

___ 13. I wouldn't disclose all my intimate thoughts and feelings to someone I didn't admire.

___ 14. I often fantasize about having a huge impact on the world around me.

___ 15. I find it easy to manipulate people.

___ 16. When others don't notice me, I start to feel worthless.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all Like me | Moderately Unlike me | A little Unlike me | A little Like me | Moderately Like me | Very much Like me |

___ 17. Sometimes I avoid people because I'm concerned that they'll disappoint me.

___ 18. I typically get very angry when I'm unable to get what I want from others.

___ 19. I sometimes need important others in my life to reassure me of my self-worth.

___ 20. When I do things for other people, I expect them to do things for me.

___ 21. When others don't meet my expectations, I often feel ashamed about what I wanted.

___ 22. I feel important when others rely on me.

___ 23. I can read people like a book.

___ 24. When others disappoint me, I often get angry at myself.

___ 25. Sacrificing for others makes me the better person.

___ 26. I often fantasize about accomplishing things that are probably beyond my means.

___ 27. Sometimes I avoid people because I'm afraid they won't do what I want them to do.

___ 28. It's hard to show others the weaknesses I feel inside.

___ 29. I get angry when criticized.

___ 30. It's hard to feel good about myself unless I know other people admire me.

___ 31. I often fantasize about being rewarded for my efforts.

___ 32. I am preoccupied with thoughts and concerns that most people are not interested in me.

___ 33. I like to have friends who rely on me because it makes me feel important.

___ 34. Sometimes I avoid people because I'm concerned they won't acknowledge what I do for them.

___ 35. Everybody likes to hear my stories.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all Like me | Moderately Unlike me | A little Unlike me | A little Like me | Moderately Like me | Very much Like me |

___ 36. It's hard for me to feel good about myself unless I know other people like me.

___ 37. It irritates me when people don't notice how good a person I am.

___ 38. I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve.

___ 39. I try to show what a good person I am through my sacrifices.

___ 40. I am disappointed when people don't notice me.

___ 41. I often find myself envying others' accomplishments.

___ 42. I often fantasize about performing heroic deeds.

___ 43. I help others in order to prove I'm a good person.

___ 44. It's important to show people I can do it on my own even if I have some doubts inside.

___ 45. I often fantasize about being recognized for my accomplishments.

___ 46. I can't stand relying on other people because it makes me feel weak.

___ 47. When others don't respond to me the way that I would like them to, it is hard for me to still feel ok with myself.

___ 48. I need others to acknowledge me.

___ 49. I want to amount to something in the eyes of the world.

___ 50. When others get a glimpse of my needs, I feel anxious and ashamed.

___ 51. Sometimes it's easier to be alone than to face not getting everything I want from other people.

___ 52. I can get pretty angry when others disagree with me.

# Appendix D

## The Satisfaction With Life Scale

Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985

A) In most ways my life is close to ideal

B) The conditions of my life are excellent

C) I am satisfied with my life

D) So far, I have gotten the important things I want in my life

E) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing

The responses to this scale are on a 7-point likert scale with 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree).

## Appendix E

### Self-Concept Clarity Scale

Trapnell, Heinie, Katz, Lavalle & Lehman, 1996

1) My beliefs about myself often conflict with one another

2) On one day I might have one opinion of myself and on another day I might have a different opinion

3) I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of person I really am

4) Sometimes I feel that I am not really the person I appear to be

5) When I think about the kind of person I have been in the past, I'm not sure what I was really like

6) I seldom experience conflict between the different aspects of my personality

7) Sometimes I think I know other people better than I know myself

8) My Beliefs about myself seem to change very frequently

9) If I were asked to describe my personality, my description might end up being different from one day to another day

10) Even if I wanted to, I don't think I could tell someone what I'm really like

11) In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am

12) If it often hard for me to make up my mind about things because I don't know what I want.

These statements are answered on a likert-scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree).