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The Development of Narcissism Among Lawyers and Farmers: A Quantitative Study

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Abstract

Narcissism has been identified as a threat to society and the individual. Individuals with high levels of narcissism (narcissistic personality disorder) struggle to maintain jobs, stable relationships, and healthy life perspectives. Without knowledge about the origins of narcissism, mental health professionals may only be treating the symptoms of narcissism and not the factors that perpetuate its development. The purpose of this study was to measure narcissism in farming and law careers and to determine whether career is a factor in the development of narcissism. It was predicted that career would be an important developmental event and process that would have the ability to influence character traits (such as narcissism) through self-presentation, a process in symbolic interaction theory. To date, there has been no research on type of career as a factor in the development of narcissism. A cross-sectional design and 2-way independent analysis of covariance was used to compare narcissism in farming ($N = 46$) and law careers ($N = 267$) at the beginning and middle of individuals' careers, as well as after 10 years of experience. Statistical analysis showed no significant difference in narcissism between farmers and lawyers. Further, there was no significant difference in narcissism levels at the different stages of a law or farming career. Thus, career may not be a factor in the development of narcissism, and future research, theory development, treatment design, and cultural considerations may be best served by focusing on other phenomena to explain narcissism's effect in adulthood.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Researchers have argued that societal narcissism is increasing (Capron, 2004; Greenberger et al., 2008; Mazlish, 1982; Paris, 2014; Stewart & Bernhardt, 2010; Trzesniewski, Donellan, & Robins, 2008; Twenge & Foster, 2010; Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008a; Twenge, Miller, & Campbell, 2014). Empirical research shows that the entitled attitude of college students has increased over the last decade (Greenberger et al., 2008). Other behaviors associated with narcissism have also increased in prevalence. A meta-analysis covering the years between 1976 and 2006 showed a steady increase in college students' narcissistic traits such as independence and individualism (Twenge et al., 2008a), assertiveness (Twenge, 2001a), extraversion (Twenge, 2001b), and self-esteem (Twenge & Campbell, 2001).

The goal of this study was founded on the following questions regarding the growing prevalence of narcissism: Why is this happening? What are the consequences? Social science is limited in its ability to answer these questions. Thus, there has been plenty of theoretical speculation about narcissism development. According to Horton (2011), most theorists place the blame for narcissism development on parents. Recently, however, other factors have been implicated in the development of narcissism. In this study, I focused on the relationship of narcissism development to career, with the intention of empirically showing that career pursuits and achievement might be culprits in the growth of personal narcissism.

This study may increase knowledge about narcissism in four ways. First, research on the origins and development of narcissism is scarce (Horton, 2011). There is little

evidence as to why some individuals develop narcissism and others do not. Additionally, there has been little discussion about why narcissistic attitudes and behaviors are increasing in prevalence. The existing developmental research links several factors that may have an influence on narcissism. Researchers have associated types of parenting (Watson et al., 1992), genetics (Campbell et al., 2009), social media (Buffardi & Campbell, 2008), abuse (Maxwell & Huprich, 2014), shame (Morrison, 2011), and culture (Paris, 2014) with narcissism development. For this dissertation, I looked at career as an additional factor in narcissism development. Career is an important factor in identity and self-esteem development (Amundson, Borgen, Iaquinta, Butterfield, & Koert, 2010). Individuals spend a great portion of their time at work; therefore, career should be considered as a possible factor in narcissism development.

A second problem associated with narcissism is clinical confusion about its global effects. The superior and grandiose attitudes of individuals with narcissism lead them to believe that they have no need for clinical participation and treatment (Pincus, Cain, and Wright, 2014). A narcissistic attitude of superiority is difficult to placate. Thus, lessons of reality can be difficult for individuals with narcissism. When narcissism does present clinically, individuals are generally seeking treatment for symptoms such as depression, shame, suicidal ideation, and anxiety. Depression in individuals with narcissism is generally accompanied with anger and envy (Pincus et al., 2014). Clinicians may not recognize narcissism when presented as depression, anxiety, or suicidality, or it may only be detected late in treatment after stabilization. Discovering factors that influence narcissism development (i.e. such as career) may enhance diagnosis and treatment. For

instance, if career is identified as a source or a predictor of narcissistic development, then a specific career might be an indicator of narcissism. Politicians have been linked to increased levels of narcissism (Hill & Yousey, 1998). A politician who presents for depression may actually have a high narcissistic profile. This knowledge might change the treatment design and plan from one predicated on treating depression to a plan based on treating narcissism.

Third, according to the current *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, narcissistic personality disorder is a pathological impairment in intrapersonal (self) and interpersonal (social) functioning (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). However, given the scarcity in developmental research, little is known about why individuals begin to exhibit narcissistic behaviors. Prevention and treatment are inhibited when dealing only with symptomology. If career is implicated as an additional factor in narcissism development, directional dialogue might begin to enter the theoretical conversation. In other words, if research shows that the factors mentioned above (parenting, genetics, social media, abuse, shame, culture) and career all influence increases in the number of individuals with narcissism, then perhaps narcissism will show development markers in whatever phenomenon researchers choose to study. It is possible that the pathological impairments associated with narcissism (intrapersonal and interpersonal difficulties) would increase regardless. Increasing narcissistic traits are just a function of the pathology. In other words, is it that these traits are influencing the development of narcissism, or is narcissism influencing these traits?

Finally, it is conceivable that individuals with narcissism seek careers that provide opportunities to meet goals associated with their impaired intrapersonal and interpersonal functioning. For instance, Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) suggested that although everyone seeks opportunities to enhance self-image, individuals with narcissism have problems in regulating their efforts to self-enhance. In other words, they will go to greater lengths and display less restriction on behavior aimed at improving their narcissistic image. It may be that individuals with narcissism perceive that self-enhancement fills intrapersonal and interpersonal needs. Career is an important element in building self-image (Amundson et al., 2010). It is logical to concur that if a career can fulfill narcissistic needs, then the process might also reinforce narcissistic behavior, thereby developing narcissism. Of course, the opposite might also be true. Some careers might deter self-enhancement efforts. The reality of not meeting career expectations could thwart the self-enhancement agenda. The design of this study was aimed at determining whether narcissism changes throughout a career. If narcissism is found to change over a career, this finding would challenge the theoretical position that only parents are to blame for narcissism development. Generally, the influence and contact of parents are significantly reduced when their adult children have started a career and become independent. Therefore, if narcissism increases at that time, other factors must be involved.

Preview of Chapter 1

A review of the literature associated with narcissism shows a lack of development research. These limits are discussed, and the reasoning for the selection of career as the "gap" in the literature is presented. The lack of developmental research on narcissism

leaves theoretical perspectives unsubstantiated. The problem statement addresses how the lack of research negatively affects clinicians and society. In the purpose statement, I address how a study about career may add to narcissism development knowledge. Symbolic interaction theory and impression management provide a foundation for career processes that may lead to narcissism development. Theory is discussed in the conceptual framework section. In the final sections, I describe the hypothesis, key terms/definitions, and the significance of the study, including its psychological importance and potential.

Background

As previously mentioned, the literature on narcissism development is scarce. Most of the major theorists in this area offer explanations of narcissism development by constructing parenting processes that theoretically clarify the path of narcissism. Object relation theorists Kohut (1971) and Kernberg (1975) contended that parent/child interactions influence narcissism development. The primary culprit, from this perspective, is a parent's motives toward managing the child. Kohut (1971) believed that self-focused parenting leads to either overly involved or negligent parenting, both of which are capable of producing narcissistic attitudes in children. Kernberg (1975) argued that parents motivated by selfishness use their children to obtain glory. This type of parent is demanding and shows little affection. Rothstein (1979) posited that selfish parents use contingent affection as a reward for approved behavior, which creates narcissism. Object theorists generally regard narcissism as a defensive behavior that children use to deal with parenting that seeks to satisfy the emotional needs of the parent and not the child. Finally, social learning theory indicates that narcissism is learned from

parenting that caters to every desire of the child. This parenting style teaches children narcissistic attitudes of entitlement and superiority (Millon, 1981).

There is some research that supports each of the theoretical parenting styles (Horton, 2011). Research has appeared to successfully operationalize the different parenting styles, which has made narcissism development theories testable (Horton, 2011). Studies that have been conducted in an attempt to test the theoretical positions mentioned above have operationalized parenting measures differently, but according to Horton (2011), these studies converge relatively well with the narcissism link. However, even though it appears that parenting is a predictor of narcissism, the fact that all of the theories have some empirical support precludes a definitive conclusion about how narcissism develops. In fact, as mentioned above, many other constructs have been empirically linked to narcissism development. The lack of consensus on a developmental process, the many other factors linked to narcissism development, and the small amount of research devoted to development has left a vague image of how narcissism grows.

Another limit found in the existing research is that only one study has followed narcissism over time. Wagner, Lu¨dtke, Jonkmann, and Trautwein (2013) conducted the only longitudinal study to follow narcissism; however, their study was more focused on self-esteem. The study found a correlation between children who made excuses to justify mistakes and adult narcissism. There was no attempt to link narcissism to parenting style. A longitudinal study is the most accurate method for observing change over time (Creswell, 2014). However, given the time constraints placed on the dissertation process, a cross-sectional approach was preferable. A cross-sectional approach allowed different

groups to be compared. Using this approach, I separated careers into three stages: beginning, middle, and later in a career. Narcissism scores were computed for the three stages and analyzed for differences.

Two other factors that were considered in the study were salary and religion. An analysis of covariance allowed the influence that these factors might have on narcissism development to be controlled. Salary has been shown to correlate with narcissism (Hirschi & Jaensch, 2015; O'Reilly III, Doerr, Caldwell, & Chatman, 2014). It is believed that this is because individuals with narcissism have high levels of approbation. They consider their efforts to be worthy of higher salaries and make efforts to achieve such compensation. Further, the power and recognition sought after by narcissists serve as motivation for them to pursue behaviors associated with career promotion, such as employment positioning, self-presentation, and personal visibility (Hirschi & Jaensch, 2015).

Religion may also have an effect on narcissism. Kohut (1966) proposed that pathological narcissism could become healthy narcissism through an empathic therapeutic approach. Cataldo (2007) took this idea a step further by proposing that religious experience can provide an environment that can transform narcissism. She agreed with Kohut (1984) that religion has the ability to create ideals that provide meaning and motivation for healthy self-function. Hill and Yousey (1998) compared narcissism in clergy, politicians, librarians, and university faculty. They found clergy to have the lowest levels of maladaptive narcissism. Additionally, Patrick (1990) found no pathological narcissism in 64 candidates for the ministry. Therefore, given that salary

and religious observance might have an effect on narcissism, these were statistically controlled.

A final background consideration has been noted by symbolic interactionists, who have contended that self-enhancement processes actually shape identity (Schlenker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). For instance, a study by Merolla, Serpe, Stryker, and Schultz (2012) showed that when an individual with a role identity is placed in a social interaction dependent on that individual's role, then the individual becomes more committed to that identity. In other words, if a group needs a confident leader and a given individual is the leader, Merolla et al. (2012) argued that the individual would be more committed to developing a confident leader identity. Schlenker (1980) also contended that individuals seeking to present the best image will work to actually become more like that best image. A narcissistic attitude is one of superiority and entitlement. Thus, it can be argued that if an individual with narcissism is socially needed in a specific role, even if it is only his or her perception that this is so, then that individual will become more committed to identifying with that role. This idea could explain one way in which narcissism might develop.

This study adds to narcissism development literature by comparing narcissism levels at three stages of a career. If narcissism levels change throughout a career, it can be inferred that career may be a factor in narcissism development. If career is linked with narcissism development, then the preeminence of parenting as the main factor in narcissism growth may be questioned, which could lead to a more precise definition of narcissism and the inclusion of sources besides parents as factors in narcissism research.

Using a cross-sectional approach, I compared narcissism at the beginning of a career (1 year or less in the career), in the middle of a career (1 to 10 years), and 10 years or more into a career. Significant results would further separate narcissism development from parenting styles. Such results would indicate that narcissism is a trait that changes over a lifetime. Conversely, a lack of movement in narcissism over a career span could implicate precareer developmental dimensions (such as parenting). Additionally, career functioning as a developmental factor among many developmental factors could indicate that narcissism in and of itself will develop. In other words, it might be a fundamental component of narcissism that one's grandiose self-image increases. If career, social media, abuse, shame, parenting, culture, and genetics all positively correlate with narcissism, then perhaps narcissism will increase no matter what phenomenon is tested. There may be something in narcissism that perpetuates its growth. Adding another phenomenon to the list of positive narcissism correlates may start this conversation in research circles. This would lead to a greater understanding of factors associated with narcissism development, which could influence research designs, treatment, career studies, and social programs affected by narcissism.

Problem Statement

As stated previously, there has been little narcissism development research. The little research that has been conducted in this area has rightly focused on confirming theoretical claims that parenting styles are factors in the development of narcissism. However, factors besides parenting styles have been found to positively correlate with higher narcissism scores. These elements have led to misunderstandings among

psychologists and researchers about the origins of narcissism. Several researchers have contended that narcissism rates are growing (Capron, 2004; Greenberger et al., 2008; Mazlish, 1982; Trzesniewski et al., 2008; Twenge et al., 2008a). Narcissism appears to have increased over the last few decades. Additionally, there is little research that focuses on how narcissism develops and grows. With a high level of narcissistic behaviors constituting a pathological personality disorder, the increase in societal narcissism is a serious concern. Additionally, there is little research that focuses on the origins and development of narcissism. Several theorists have implicated parenting as a major factor in narcissism development, but empirical research is inconclusive. Several other phenomena (genetics, abuse, social media, shame, and culture) have also correlated with high narcissism scores. These findings have led to confusion about exactly what clinicians and researchers should focus on when treating and studying narcissism.

There is very little empirical research on the factors that contribute to the development of narcissism in adulthood. There is no research on career as a factor in the development of narcissism. Career has been established as a factor in identity and self-esteem development (Amundson et al., 2010; Arnett & Tanner, 2006; Lu¨dtke, Roberts, Trautwein, & Nagy, 2011; Wagner et al., 2013). It can be argued that any construct that has been classified as a factor in personality, identity, and self-esteem development should be considered as a potential dynamic in narcissism expansion. In this dissertation, I argue that career is important in identity development, and that the motivation for constructing identity is a key component in narcissism development.

In summary, there is consensus that research is lacking about how narcissism develops (Barry & Wallace, 2010; Hill & Lapsley, 2011; Horton, 2011; Paris, 2014; Wright, 2014). Moreover, a lack of understanding about how narcissism develops is inhibiting research, treatment, and knowledge of the negative social implications of narcissism.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to use a quantitative approach to explore a proposed difference in narcissism between farmers and lawyers. It was believed that career is seen by individuals with narcissism as a tool for enhancing and projecting a specific identity (Schlenker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). It was also believed that the process of self-enhancing increases narcissistic attitudes and behaviors. The study's intent was to compare narcissism scores between law and farming careers, as well as narcissism scores at the beginning of a career (1 year or less), middle of a career (1-10 years), and with 10 years or more of career experience while controlling for salary and religion. Based on Schlenker's (1980) symbolic interaction theory, it was suspected that individuals with narcissism are motivated to choose specific high-status careers that provide opportunities to enhance their self-image and self-esteem (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Additionally, it was suspected that the very act of self-enhancement would increase narcissistic attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, it was expected that narcissism levels would be different between the three stages of a career. It was also suspected that levels of narcissism would be different for certain careers.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Studies on the narcissism construct, symbolic interaction, and career as a factor in identity development resulted in the identification of a gap in the literature and therefore contributed to the construction of the following research question: What is the relationship between the development of narcissism and the pursuit and choice of a career among lawyers and farmers? It was expected that in comparing two careers, a difference in the mean levels of narcissism would be found. It was also expected that when three different stages of a career were compared, mean levels of narcissism would be different. In addition, the effects of salary and religion were statistically controlled.

Research Question 1: Is there a difference in narcissism mean scores between individuals in farming and law careers?

Null Hypothesis 1: There will not be a significant difference between the mean scores of individuals in farming and law careers on the Narcissism Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Directional Hypothesis 1: There will be a significant difference between the mean scores of individuals in farming and law careers on the Narcissism Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Research Question 2: Is there a difference between individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late stages of their career in mean scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory?

Null Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference between mean scores of individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late career stages on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Directional Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference between mean scores of individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late career stages on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Research Question 3: Is there a difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory?

Null Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Directional Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Theoretical Foundation

Researchers have found correlations between career, self-esteem, and narcissism. Self-esteem and self-identity have been shown to be influenced by career (Amundson et al., 2010; Lu¨dtke, Roberts, Trautwein, & Nagy, 2011; Wagner et al., 2013). Additionally, a core and ironic component of narcissism is a positive but fragile self-esteem (Zeigler-Hill & Besser, 2013). In fact, several studies have shown that many behaviors exhibited by individuals with narcissism are motivated by efforts to protect and maintain a fragile self-concept (Besser & Priel, 2009, 2010; Besser & Zeigler-Hill, 2010;

Twenge & Campbell, 2003). Self-esteem appears to increase starting at adolescence and continuing to midlife (Erol & Orth, 2011). The amount of self-esteem an individual attains and the speed at which self-esteem changes are significantly different from individual to individual (Shaw, Liang, & Krause, 2010). Erickson (1968) argued in psychosocial theory that there are three developmental tasks critical for identity progression: interpersonal relationships, occupation, and world view. These tasks were tested with college students by Wagner et al. (2013), who found that higher self-esteem correlated positively with students who had a romantic relationship (Erikson's interpersonal relationship) or had gained independence from their parents (Erickson's world view). However, embarking on a career did not have an effect on self-esteem, perhaps because the students had not actually started their careers—they had only started the academic process required for a career (i.e., they were college students). This may be why a study by Stryker and Serpe (1994) found that a desire to obtain higher status is a primary forecaster of the value that individuals place on a specific career. This latter finding may explain why there is some evidence that narcissism levels are different in specific careers. After all, as mentioned above, individuals with narcissism would be interested in hiding their insecurity. A high-status career might be an ideal circumstance to cover up low self-esteem.

The theoretical foundation uniting the ideas presented above comes from the symbolic interaction theory developed by Blumer (1969), the framework upon which this dissertation was based. Symbolic interaction theory suggests that each individual works to balance incongruence between his or her projected public image and the reality of his

or her unmet internal standards (Backman, 1988). Most often, the projected public image is perceived to be superior to reality. Schlenker (1985) held that internal standards are conservative and not sufficient to guide life choices. He concluded that the construction of identity is a battle between potential and reality. The pursuit of a social role (career) is an exercise in legitimizing the projected ideal self-image. In other words, people seek approval to confirm their projected image. They seek an appropriate audience or situation. It was suspected that individuals with narcissism would seek specific careers to confirm the superior image they project. Based on Schlenker's idea, it is possible that some careers are more attractive to individuals with narcissism because they offer the possibility of admiration, attention, power, and prestige.

An additional argument in symbolic interaction theory is that the very process of managing a projected image increases the possibility of an individual becoming like that image (Schlenker, 1985). For instance, if a person is motivated to project a courageous image but in reality is a coward, the actions associated with projecting courage would actually produce a more courageous individual. The process of projecting a specific image has been called *impression management* (Goffman, 1959). This theory is discussed in depth in Chapter 2. People attempt to manage the perception that others have of them by controlling or influencing information in social situations. Merolla et al. (2012) found that participation in social activities leads to increased identity processing, increased commitment to the defined social identity, and higher positioning of that identity in the identity hierarchy. Using these findings to reason about narcissism development, it can be argued that, in an attempt to obtain status, individuals with narcissism are motivated to

use career as a tool to justify their superior image of self. Additionally, building status through career increases narcissism identity processing, increases the commitment to that narcissism identity, and produces a higher positioning of narcissism in the identity hierarchy.

Nature of the Study

Part of impression management theory is the idea that the very process of managing a projected image increases the possibility of an individual becoming like that image (Schlenker, 1985). Therefore, according to Schlenker (1985), it may be inferred that trying to compete in a business environment would make a person more competitive, which is an element of narcissism. Additionally, if an individual is constantly trying to impress a superior, that individual would become more like the image he or she is trying to project. This is impression management. Impression management is a theory that indicates how careers might influence narcissism development. Impression management is addressed more thoroughly in Chapter 2. Career, as an important developmental event (Amundson et al., 2010; Arnett, 2007; Lu¨dtke et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2013), offers incentives for performing well (increased pay and upward social mobility). Managing one's impressions may increase the possibility of obtaining those incentives by looking good for one's employer. However, improving self-image may also increase narcissism. A quantitative approach with a cross-sectional design allowed narcissism to be measured across two careers. The research questions were targeted toward ascertaining whether narcissism changes at different times in a career. Given the time limitations of a dissertation, a cross-sectional design allowed narcissism to be measured in different

groups approximating developmental periods in a career. Individual narcissism scores across different time periods might indicate that career is a factor in the development of narcissism. For instance, if narcissism scores are different in the beginning of a career, in the middle of a career, and 10 years into a career, it may be inferred that narcissism changes across a career. Further, if beginning narcissism scores in a specific career are different from those in other careers, this finding could signify that some careers attract different amounts of individuals with narcissism than others. In the example above, for instance, if law has a significantly higher number of individuals exhibiting narcissism at the beginning of a career, then it can be surmised that a career in law has characteristics (power, prestige, money) that attract individuals with narcissism.

Data were collected from two careers for a quantitative cross-sectional study. Two careers were chosen because they represent the cultural differences between individualism and collectivism. Triandis (2001) described individualist and collectivist cultural syndromes. Descriptions of individualism categorize values consistent with narcissism. Triandis listed independence, pleasure seeking, power seeking, competiveness, and self-assurance as individualistic values. These traits are similar to narcissistic traits mentioned in research such as high self-esteem, self-focused attention, need for uniqueness, need for power, and need for attention (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Meanwhile, descriptions of collectivist traits and values are the opposite of those associated with individualism (Triandis, 2001). Several studies have linked agriculture to collectivism (Hu & Yaun, 2015; Vandello & Cohen, 1999). Therefore, it was suspected that farming careers would produce lower narcissism scores. Law careers were selected

because they appear to correlate with individualism and narcissism. However, there was no literature that could be found that confirms this connection.

Individuals from the specific careers were asked to take the Narcissism Personality Inventory. Industry trade and career associations/organizations were contacted for permission to ask their members to participate in the study. Narcissism scores were compared in two ways. First, scores were compared across different careers. It was suspected that some careers would have higher numbers of individuals with narcissism. Second, narcissism scores were compared at three stages of the chosen careers. It was suspected that there would be differences in narcissism scores across the three stages of a career. According to Fields (2013), a two-way independent analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was the appropriate factorial design for comparing groups while also statistically controlling for covariance. The variance of the dependent variable (narcissism) was compared between the independent variables of farming and law careers while controlling for salary and religion. These groups were also compared at three stages of those careers.

Definitions

Career was defined by Hall (1976) as "the individually perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviors associated with work related to experiences and activities over a span of the person's life" (p. 4). Being employed is not necessarily equivalent to having a career. A career embodies identifying with the chosen work.

Farming is the business of growing crops and raising livestock for financial support.

Grandiose narcissism in the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* includes the characteristics of positive but fragile self-esteem, need for uniqueness, need for power, self-referencing, focused on obtaining attention, and inability to distinguish between the ideal and actual self (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001).

Impression construction is the process of altering one's behavior in order to alter the impressions of others (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

Impression management is any effort to govern the images one projects in social situations (Schlenker, 1980).

Impression motivation involves the incentives for individuals to control how they are viewed by others (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). For instance, the desire for an increase in pay would be an incentive for employees to control the impressions they make on their manager.

A *law career* (lawyer) is a profession that involves representing and advising individuals in legal matters.

Pathological narcissism "involves impairment in the ability to regulate the self, emotions, and behavior in seeking to satisfy needs for recognition and admiration" (Pincus et al., 2014. p. 2).

Religion is a set of feelings, behaviors, and values centered on the belief in the existence of God.

Salary is defined as the annual amount of money an individual earns in a specific career.

Self-enhancement is the desire and action of maximizing one's position in social and self-identity circumstances (Leary, 2007).

Self-presentation is the purpose-directed behavior whereby information is given about oneself to a specific audience with the express intent of obtaining certain goals (Schlenker, 1985).

Subclinical narcissism is the normal regulation of motivational mechanisms in an effort to meet the human need for recognition and admiration (Roche, Pincus, Lukowitsky, M'enard, & Conroy, 2013). Behaviors associated with subclinical narcissism fall short of needing clinical interventions. Subclinical narcissism correlates with healthy self-esteem, protective adjustments, and positive cognitions about the self.

Symbolic interaction is the study and theory behind understanding the social construction of roles and behaviors that define who an individual is in the social order (Goffman, 1959).

Assumptions, Scope, Delimitations

It was assumed that participants in the study were not biased by any alternative motivations, that they answered the survey truthfully, and that they represented the behaviors and attitudes consistent with their chosen careers. Anonymity and confidentiality were maintained to lessen these assumptive risks. A purposive sample of members of specific career associations participated in the study, and it was assumed that these associations generalized as representative of the larger career populations. It was also expected that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory is a valid assessment of the subclinical narcissism variable. Researchers have found that the Narcissistic Personality

Inventory correlates positively with several measures of narcissism, including interviews, self-report surveys, and clinician diagnosis of individuals with narcissistic personality disorder (Miller, Price, & Campbell, 2012). It was also assumed that time spent working in a career will influence identification in that career. Further, it was assumed that salary and religion have an effect on narcissism. However, there may be other factors that reinforce career identification. For instance, power, intellectual stimulation, health benefits, or social interactions could also influence career identity to varying degrees. These additional factors could not be controlled in the study. It was assumed that all factors, whatever the degree of specific influence, have an accumulative effect that influences everyone in all career identity processes.

The study also investigated the effect that time and career may have on narcissism. This was a correlational relationship analyzed through a cross-sectional design. This design did not offer the same control over variables as other approaches; therefore, other factors may contribute to correlation measurements. Further, a cross-sectional design does not have the capability of measuring across time. Therefore, causality could not be determined. It was an assumption that different groups of the same variable (career) at different stages (beginning, middle, and late) are viable predictors of time; therefore, as mentioned above, time might be considered a metaphor for all the factors in a career that might be associated with career identification. It was also assumed that the longer one works in a career, the more these factors will be accumulated. For instance, the more experience a person has in a career, the more valuable the individual with that accrued experience becomes. Correspondingly, employees will gain more

power as they become more important and valuable in the functioning of their respective company. However, it was not within the scope of this study to determine if power, intellectual stimulation, health benefits, social interaction, or other factors are associated with narcissism development. This study was limited to career and three stages of career growth while controlling for salary and religion.

Limitations

A limitation of the study was the process selected for choosing careers that appeal to individuals with narcissism. There were potential generalizability issues with selecting career. For instance, there are differences across individuals within all careers. One lawyer might have a small private practice, whereas another lawyer might work for a corporate firm with hundreds of lawyers. The same may be true with farmers. One farmer might work just enough land to support his or her family, whereas another might belong to a co-op of many farmers. These individuals may very well be affected differently by their respective experiences. However, it was assumed that there are fundamental components in specific careers that are factors in narcissism development. There is little empirical evidence for categorizing careers based on their appeal to individuals with narcissism. Holland (1985) categorized careers based on six personality styles, and he argued that successful career choice is dependent on matching career with personality.

A study by Hill and Yousey (1998) showed limited support for narcissism levels varying in specific careers. Hill and Yousey used one of Holland's six categories combined with their own stereotypical perceptions to choose several careers that they felt matched the motivations of narcissism. They also based their study choices on Morf and

Rhodewalt's (2001) characteristics of narcissism, which include attention seeking, desire for admiration, need for power, and social prestige. Although these previous parameters for selecting careers increase the likelihood of choosing careers that would be alluring to individuals with narcissism, there is no unmistakable method for selecting distinct selection that may influence narcissism. In fact, the careers chosen may not show significant differences in narcissism simply because they were the wrong choice in careers. It was important to the study's purpose that narcissism be shown to increase and decrease in a specific career. If narcissism increases in all careers, then it is very likely that some other factor is responsible for this increase. However, if narcissism increases in one career but decreases in another career, then it could be argued that the type of career is responsible for the change. Therefore, it was my intent to identify one career that has elements within it that might increase narcissism, and to identify one career that has elements within it that might decrease narcissism. Identifying specific elements that differentiate one career from another in narcissism development was beyond the scope of this study. There are many careers that could have served the needs of the study, but previous research (Hu & Yaun, 2015; Vandello & Cohen, 1999;) indicated an increased likelihood that farming and law careers would show the hypothesized results. This should have eliminated the possibility of career selection bias.

Traits that have been shown to correlate with high narcissism are discussed in Chapter 2 (shame, guilt, high self-esteem, competitiveness). Additionally, several other theories that might explain narcissism development are discussed in Chapter 2 (Alternative Developmental Factors section).Whatever the case, narcissism theorists have

ignored career as a possible factor in the development of narcissism (Horton, 2011). However, several personality theorists have argued that career is an important factor in development (Amundson et al., 2010; Arnett. 2007; Lu¨dtke et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2013). Career was chosen as an independent variable in narcissism development because of its position in the hierarchy of adult development. In the transition from adolescence to adulthood, several studies have shown that changes in personality traits correlate with work (Lu¨dtke et al., 2011; Roberts et al., 2003). Through this study, I sought to determine whether narcissism is a personality trait that can be affected by a career. Individuals with no career identity or who cannot work because of disability were not considered in this study. However, selecting careers that contradicted each other culturally, in terms of work effort (physical vs. sedentary), and educationally (law degree vs. no degree required) should have eliminated much of the trait bias. Additionally, salary and religious activity were measured in the demographic section and statistically controlled in the data analysis procedure. Bias between those with higher/lower salary or who may be more/less religious was controlled.

Significance of the Study

Some argue that narcissistic personality disorder should be taken out completely from the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), and others argue that because narcissism symptoms are misunderstood, the prevalence of the disorder is greatly underestimated (Pincus et al., 2014). Additionally, society at large may misunderstand the global impact of narcissism. Narcissism at its worst is pathological and fraught with clinical

repercussions (Pincus et al., 2014). However, more and more people may be needlessly hindered by subclinical levels of narcissism (Gruba-McCallister, 2007). The reasons for observed increases in narcissism are unknown. Understanding how narcissism develops may lead to strategic advancement toward combating its influence on society.

Career is a major factor in an important developmental period, and any developmental period should be investigated as a possible contributor to the progression of narcissism. This idea arises from the importance that sociologists have recently given the period between adolescence and adulthood (Amundson et al., 2010). Arnett (2006) listed five factors that make preadulthood a foundational developmental period. It is a time for separating from parents and thus finding one's own identity. Exploring in search of one's identity leads to instability. Additionally, a lack of family responsibilities allows preadults to focus on themselves, being between adolescence and adulthood leads to confusion, as one does not fully belong to either group. Last, it is a time for unbridled optimism about future possibilities. These confusing preadulthood dynamics need to be worked through and resolved in order for healthy adult functioning to develop. The main motivations for managing this period are romance and work (Arnett. 2007; Wagner et al., 2013). Because of work's premier position in emerging adulthood, this study on career had the potential to add to the evidence and argument that career is a developmental factor.

Research has also shown that career decisions, relationship experiences, and personal matters are impossible to separate (Amundson et al., 2010). For most people, being part of something meaningful is an important driver in the process of deciding on a

career. This notion runs contrary to trait-factor career decision making approaches such as Holland's (1985) theory of career choice. Researchers are beginning to look at career decision making from the perspective of the decision maker and are finding that factors such as relationships, emotions, culture, economics, and history carry substantial weight (Blustein, Schultheiss, & Flum, 2004; Hall, 2002; Iaquinta, 2007; Phillips, Christopher-Sisk, & Gravino, 2001). These findings suggest that career is an important and intricate dynamic in a person's life. Theorists have proposed that career is an important factor in development (Amundson et al., 2010; Arnett, 2007; Wagner et al., 2013). Showing that narcissism is developmentally influenced by career may also show researchers the need to consider career as a factor in the development of other psychological factors such as self-esteem, self-image, or shame.

It could be argued that this study has application for classifying adulthood as a developmental period. The process of becoming an adult has changed (Arnett, 2007). Entry into adulthood is more individualized and less community based (Arnett, 2007). There is no ceremony or task identified as a specific marker of the passage from adolescence into adulthood. As a result, career may have even more prominence as a marker for adulthood. Therefore, increasing numbers of high subclinical narcissism scores may be a significant factor in normal adult development.

Positive Social Change Implications

This study may increase knowledge about narcissism development, add clarification about the global effects of narcissism, start directional dialogue, and define career as a possible reinforcement of narcissism. A panoramic view of narcissism shows

a phenomenon that, in its worst form, is a severe pathological detriment to individual psychological functioning, is a construct that has a definition that is clinically and empirically continuing to evolve, has little research exploring and explaining its development, and appears to be increasing in society. Gruba-McCallister (2007) held that narcissism is the most serious "disease facing the world today" (p. 184). He suggested that anxiety, debt, waste, insatiable shopping, spending beyond one's means, bankruptcies, loss of meaning, dissatisfaction, family ruptures, and loss of community concern are symptoms of narcissistic attitudes and behaviors. Researchers have found that narcissistic attitudes are associated with aggression (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998), alcohol abuse (Luhtanen & Crocker, 2005), white-collar crime (Blickle et al., 2006), assault (Bushman et al., 2003), risky decision making (Campbell, Goodie, & Foster, 2004), and problems in higher education (Westerman, Bergman, Bergman, & Daly, 2012). Given the negative impact of narcissism and the fact that it appears to be increasing in society, a study on its characteristics and development has the potential to impact a serious societal threat.

This information may inform future narcissism and career research by designating the importance of career in development and showing a need to look at factors other than parenting as contributing to increasing narcissism rates. In addition, therapies designed for the treatment of narcissism may incorporate career in outcome planning. This study may point organizational psychology toward examination of the impact of career on personality rather than the impact of personality on career.

I feel that I personally benefited from this study as I embark on a career in clinical psychology. I understand, recognize, and have a better idea of how to treat narcissism. All of the components of my clinical psychology career will be influenced by this study. Narcissism has become the topic in which I am most interested. I look for it everywhere and hope to continue to gain increased understanding that will influence how I act and treat others.

Summary and Transition

Several narcissism research studies hold that narcissism is growing and a societal concern (Capron, 2004; Greenberger et al., 2008; Mazlish, 1982; Trzesniewski et al., 2008; Twenge et al., 2008a). However, there is very little research that explores how narcissism develops. There are also several factors that correlate with higher subclinical narcissism scores (Brown et al., 2009). Some theorists contend that career is a significant developmental event, and that emerging adulthood is a significant developmental period (Amundson et al., 2010; Arnett. 2007; Lu¨dtke et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2013). Hence, career as a developmental factor was looked at as a possible factor in narcissistic attitude increases. This idea is founded on impression management theory, which contends that self-enhancement practices increase superiority cognitions (Schlenker, 1985). Therefore, individuals seeking to manage what others think of them will present themselves in an ideal form and then will be motivated to become that ideal form (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). The approach and dissertation design allowed for inferences to be made about career as a factor in narcissism development. The research and theoretical underpinnings for this study are discussed in Chapter 2. There is little research that indicates how

narcissism develops. What research exists is discussed in this study. Theory on the effects that self-presentation processes might have on narcissism development is also discussed. Additionally, literature on career as an element of identity development is addressed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Some theorists have called narcissism the most serious problem that the world faces (e.g., Gruba-McCallister, 2007). However, there has been almost no research on how narcissism develops. The idea that a sociocultural attitude of inflated identity could be the most serious problem in the world today might seem overstated, but when one links the symptom of overconsumption to narcissism, a more serious perspective is gained. Some theorists describe the insatiable materialism, bankruptcy, chronic unhappiness, family discord, persistent loss of meaning, and lack of community plaguing the world today as results of narcissistic attitudes (e.g., Gruba-McCallister, 2007). Narcissism is a defensive method of masking an individual's low self-esteem (Miller & Campbell, 2010). The traditional desire to connect with others socially is being choked out by the individualistic desire to gain an economic advantage over others (Putman, 2000). People devoid of an understanding of where to find inner purpose and meaning are temporarily fulfilled by buying happiness and self-fulfillment (Wachtel, 1989). In other words, the narcissistic attitude enables this consumption and then covers the back trail by hiding its existence with an air of superiority and entitlement.

Research indicates that narcissistic attitudes are on the rise (Twenge et al., 2008a). Studies from every decade, using the Narcissistic Personality Inventory show that the number of individuals with high levels of narcissism is growing (Capron, 2004; Greenberger, Lessard, Chuansheng, & Farruggia, 2008; Twenge et al., 2008a). Some writers go so far as to claim that narcissism is becoming the norm in the young adult population, and that the levels are close to pathological (Twenge, Konrath, Foster,

Campbell, & Bushman, 2008b). Given the prevalence and potential for social damage that narcissistic attitudes have, social and psychological researchers have looked for contributing factors that might explain how narcissism develops. There is abundant theoretical literature that implicates traditional developmental factors such as parenting styles (Watson et al.,1992), biology/genetics (Campbell et al., 2009), and culture (Feng, Zhou, & Liang, 2012; Paris, 2014) as predictors of the development of narcissism. A dissertation search found additional narcissism research on topics such as birth order (Duffy, 2011), race (Corbett, 1994), personality traits (Kolligian, 1992), family dysfunction (Mathis, 1990), attachment style (Ettensohn, 2011), capitalism (Bufano, 2000), empathy (Leventhal, 1994), ambition (Field, 2002), and moral development (Grandovskis, 1994). These studies all linked their specific topics to narcissism levels, but the little research there is in this area implicates parenting, culture, and genetics in the development of narcissistic attitudes. This literature review establishes the need to consider career important in self-esteem, identity, and personality development. If career is a factor in self-esteem, identity, and personality development, then it should also be considered a factor in narcissism development.

An important event in identity and self-esteem development is the choice of career (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Wagner et al., 2013). According to Kohut (1966), narcissism is significant in the process of normal self-esteem development. Unhealthy narcissism develops when childhood narcissistic demands go unchecked. Research shows that there are substantial differences in the rate at which self-esteem changes between individuals. Therefore, identifying factors that contribute to differences in self-esteem

growth might also identify factors that contribute to increasing narcissism rates. It was suspected that specific career choices attract narcissistic individuals and might also increase the development of narcissistic attitudes. This review of literature establishes the need to conduct research on career as a developmental factor in narcissistic attitudes.

The theoretical framework that gave direction to this dissertation was based on the work of symbolic interactionists, who theorize that individuals seek congruence between their personal internal standards and the reality they perceive (Backman, 1988). The theory was best argued by Schlenker (1985), who contended that an individual's standards are too conservative to guide life choices. He added that individuals construct a desired identity, which balances what one is with what one can become. People seek social roles that legitimize the ideal image they project of themselves. Schlenker argued that individuals seek social opportunities, events, and audiences that confirm their desired self-image. The goal of this study was to determine whether careers might be a social opportunity, event, or audience that individuals with narcissistic tendencies use to confirm or construct their desired identity. Careers that offer increased opportunities for attention, admiration, social prestige, and power might be attractive to individuals with narcissistic attitudes.

I begin the chapter by reviewing impression management theory. Then I look at the narcissism literature. Several positive and negative forms of narcissism have been identified. I explore how these relate to career choices. Next, I discuss self-esteem and identity development and establish the position of career in that development. I then explore research involving narcissism and its relationship to careers. I also look at

specific career characteristics that might attract a narcissistic personality. The review then explores narcissism as a personality construct and investigates the influence that personality has on career choice. I establish the relationship between the variables of personality, narcissism, and self-esteem. The review chapter concludes with an analysis of research gaps and a general research question.

Literature Search Strategy

A digital search was conducted of psychology and social databases such as PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, and SocINDEX, as well as the ProQuest dissertation search engine. The list of search terms that were used to conduct the literature review included *narcissism and career*, *identity and career*, *narcissism and salary*, *narcissism and religion*, *career and self-image*, *occupation and narcissism*, *personality development and narcissism*, and *narcissism and development*. Given the lack of literature on narcissism, all years were searched. The articles and studies obtained for this review were saved digitally, and the references entered in a dissertation log.

Theoretical Foundation: Impression Management

Exploring the reasons that, and situations in which, individuals manage the way in which they present themselves is important to understand developmental processes. It also provides greater understanding as to why career is a factor in the development of self-identity. In this section, I look at research that has increased knowledge of the specific factors that influence self-presentation. I look at the opportunities and benefits of positive self-presentation in a career. I start with a discussion about symbolic interaction (Blumer, 1969), which is where impression management theory (Goffman, 1959) started.

Symbolic Interactionism

The term and premises for symbolic interaction were coined by Blumer in 1969. Blumer believed that humans act according to meanings ascribed to things. These meanings are derived from social interactions, and an individual's experience and interpretive process are used to modify and act on these societal meanings. Goffman (1969) added to symbolic interaction by developing self-presentation theory. Everyone has experience with "putting one's best foot forward." This phrase signifies the action of presenting the best possible version of oneself. However, there may be circumstances in which a less appealing self-presentation may be beneficial, such as downplaying the ability to play the piano so as not to be asked to play in public. Individuals actively present themselves in a way that represents their best interests (Goffman, 1959). The study of self-presentation and how it functions in society expanded symbolic interaction theory (Goffman, 1959). Goffman's self-presentation theory proposes that the best way to understand society is to find the meanings associated with human interaction (Goffman, 1959). Goffman believed that individuals present information to each other, which allows them to respond and act appropriately according to specific roles and circumstances. Individuals construct their social realities through role enactments. For instance, acting in the role of a father defines a man's reality of that role and his place in the social (family) order (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). According to Goffman, individuals feel obligated to support each other in their public personas. It is believed that the motivation for this behavior is to avoid potential conflict and social tension (DePaulo, Kashy, Kirkendol, Wyer, & Epstein, 1996).

From the literature review, it appears that sociologists studying symbolic interactions focused on outward behaviors that were easy to measure and study. They had little interest in any psychodynamic features that might be associated with the theory. It was Edward E. Jones and his colleagues who expanded self-presentation themes into psychological domains (Jones, Gergen, Gumpert, & Thibaut, 1965). His fundamental attribution error and actor-observer bias explored the inclination people have to judge behavior as a result of internal character traits rather than circumstances. Jones also co-developed the taxonomy of self-presentation (Jones & Pittman, 1982). His taxonomy listed (a) self-promotion, (b) ingratiation, (c) exemplification, (d) intimidation, and (e) supplication as techniques that individuals use to manage the way in which they present themselves.

While research implicates everyone as users of self-presentation strategies, self-promotion and ingratiation appear to embody the narcissistic agenda best. Self-promotion occurs when a person lists his or her past achievements, appears to be confident, or has a positive attitude about the future (Godfrey, Jones, & Lord, 1986). The strategy and goal of self-promotion is to make others believe that one is competent or good at something. Those with narcissistic attitudes want others to believe in the competent image they project in order to hide the insecurity they feel (Kohut, 1966).

The term *ingratiation* was coined to refer to the psychological techniques individuals use to gain favor with a target (Jones, 1964). The strategic behaviors used against a target have been researched in three areas. First, the types of communication between an actor and a target have been identified. Second, ingratiation refers to the

dishonest and manipulative intentions of an actor. Finally, ingratiation research covers the motivation behind an actor's behavior. In other words, what the actor has to gain or lose is instrumental in the intensity and number of ingratiation techniques he or she employs (Bohra & Pandey, 1984). Given the conceptual intent of Jones and Pittman (1982) in defining ingratiation, it appears that these techniques might work nicely to explain some narcissistic behaviors.

Jones (1964) identified several methods that people use to obtain their desired ingratiation outcomes. First, *other-enhancement* occurs when an individual compliments a target. Next, *opinion-conformity* occurs when an individual assumes the beliefs of a target as his or her own. *Self-presentation* refers to emphasizing one's own abilities for positive effect. *Favor-doing* is an attempt to produce feelings of reciprocity in the target by being helpful and considerate. Finally, *expression-of-humor* is the sharing of humorous events and stories with the hope of engendering positive affect (Jones, 1964). Additional research has added four other ingratiation methods (DuBrin, 2013). *Self-deprecation* is an attempt to receive pity from the target by decreasing one's attractiveness. *Instrumental-dependency* is presenting an inferior perception but with the hope of creating dependency with the target. *Situation-specific behavior* occurs when one gains approval by finding and using information about a target (DuBrin, 2013). Last, *name-dropping* is using the reputation of a well-respected third party (Bohra & Pandey, 1984).

Individuals who predominantly use ingratiation techniques want to be liked; those using self-promotion predominantly want to appear competent (Godfrey et al., 1986).

Impression management gained credibility as a fundamental social process due to the work of Jones and Pittman (1982), Schlenker (1980), Baumeister (1986), and Hogan (1982). These researchers conceptualized and organized impression management theory. Their work garnered attention and developed integrity for the idea that individuals have agendas and use techniques to manage the image they present to others. Additionally, they began to promote the idea that the process of presenting oneself as a specific type of person aids in the development of that specific identity (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

Impression Management

Since 1990, most impression management research has appeared to follow the conceptual blueprint laid out by Leary and Kowalski (1990), who presented a model of impression management based on two processes. First, impression management involves the levels of motivation individuals have for managing how others view them. The level of motivation toward managing impressions ranges according to individuals' awareness of the consequences of their behavior. For instance, an individual waiting for a public bus with a group of strangers has little motivation for using impression management strategies. It is likely that no one in the group of waiting strangers is relevant to that individual's goals. However, if the individual waiting for the bus detects his or her boss or a romantic target waiting for the bus, his or her motivation to present a good image will most likely increase. People search for clues about the impressions they are making and then make efforts to regulate the image they are presenting (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

When sufficiently motivated, individuals use strategies of self-presentation such as ingratiation and self-promotion to increase subjective well-being (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). The basic premise underlying impression management strategy is that individuals are affected by their perception of how others are accepting the impressions they are making. In other words, an individual's self-worth and self-concept are influenced by social approval, which is directly correlated with the individual's impression management ability (Lewis & Neighbors, 2005).

Impression Construction

The second process identified in Leary and Kowalski's (1990) model is impression construction, which involves determining what kind of image one wants to project and how to achieve this image. The list of personal attributes and characteristics that one can seek to influence through impression management strategy is long. It includes abilities, interests, moods, beliefs, values, physical stature, roles, political affinity, and economic status. Impressions may be constructed through verbal and nonverbal communication, groups of association, clothes, food, and material possessions.

Leary and Kowalski (1990) categorized impression construction into five factors: self-concept, desired identity, target values, role constraints, and current and desired social image. The first two variables are considered intrapersonal factors and have the most relevance to narcissistic considerations. An important consideration in impression construction is that individuals portray images based on how they see themselves (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Impression management is not a technique aimed at misconstruing real identity. Furthermore, most people have some aspect of themselves that they want to

accentuate, something of which they are proud (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). They also want others to have an accurate perception of them. Maintaining an accurate view of oneself can be a lot of work, especially given the propensity society has for taking liberties with the truth. Additionally, most individuals have integrity about honestly representing themselves (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). They have internal moral dispositions and values about lying. They feel obligated to tell the truth. There may also be the risk that they will not be able to back up an exaggerated claim (Schlenker, 1980). Therefore, constructing an impression does not imply that one will stray too far from the original model.

Social Identity

An important concept in the rationale for choosing impression management as a determinant in narcissism development is the role that self-presentation has in identity development. Individuals present an impression that is their ideal form (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). It could be argued that society starts training individuals at a young age to present their ideal image. Children are often asked what they want to be when they grow up. What would the adult response be if the child said, "I want to be a fry cook and make minimum wage"? It would probably elicit a negative reaction. It is more likely that the child will present an ideal image. Impression management theory indicates that individuals constantly have social interactions like this and that they present the ideal (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

People have ideas about who they can be when they are at their very best. This image is often what is used as the basis for managing one's impression (Schlenker, 1985).

Of course, there are rules (mentioned above) governing the limits one will use to present this ideal image. In the process of constructing an identity, individuals will bias their presentation toward the ideal; then, in an effort to alleviate incongruence, individuals will behave in a manner that is consistent with the desired ideal identity (Gollwitzer, 1986). The difference between an image based on reality and the desired ideal image affects how one presents oneself (Schlenker, 1985). In other words, individuals present themselves to have attributes that are consistent with an ideal identity, but they must temper that impression within behavioral limits.

A characteristic of narcissism is an inflated view of self (Twenge et al., 2008a). Self-presentation theory might explain how a person with narcissistic characteristics can present an image that is inflated or unrealistic. People exhibiting narcissistic tendencies might be susceptible to having a wider gap between the real and ideal image they present. They might also not operate with the same self-presentation limits as others.

Additionally, achieving consistency between how one behaves and how one presents him or herself increases self-esteem (Schneider, 1969). For instance, if I present myself as a great engineer yet have trouble building a paper airplane, the natural consequence of being questioned or challenged by peers will negatively affect my self-esteem. A high but fragile self-esteem is a characteristic of narcissism (Zeigler-Hill, 2006). Individuals with narcissistic beliefs express high views about themselves, but they also are very sensitive and susceptible to threat. The paradoxical reality between being exposed and being beyond reproach is considered to be the reason individuals with narcissistic personality disorder seek to construct and maintain a superior image

(Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1966). They are trying to protect their delicate self-esteem by projecting a superior persona. The conceptualization of impression management by Leary and Kowalski (1990) discussed above could be an outline for the process regulating the construction of a narcissistic identity.

The act of presenting oneself to make a certain impression is goal oriented behavior that seeks to manage the perceptions of others. A main argument of Leary and Kowalski (1990) is that this process is important for increasing and maintaining self-esteem, managing social consequences, and constructing the self-concept. Since both Kohut (1966) and Kernberg (1975) agree that narcissism is connected to self-esteem and self-concept construction we can surmise that impression management is a factor in narcissism development.

Recent research indicated that impression management tactics may be instrumental in self-esteem and self-concept development (Marsh & Tversky, 2004). Self-narratives or telling stories is a self-presentation technique (Jones, 1964). Marsh and Tversky (2004) found that accuracy is not the chief goal of story tellers. Distorting the facts is specifically designed to create a desired impression. What is even more telling is that strategic story telling actually affects the memory of that event (French, Garry, & Mori, 2008; Marsh, 2007). Vague distorted recollections can be perceived as solid facts when recounted in a story (Tversky & Marsh, 2000). Altering communications to influence an audience becomes even more pronounced when motivation is high (Echterhoff, Higgins, Kopietz, & Groll, 2009). Furthermore, research shows that people often tailor their communications, not just stories, to fit what they suspect their intended

audience will appreciate (Higgins, 1992). These "tuned" messages actually become memory (Echterhoff et al., 2009). The bias in the message influences the communicator and produces an audience agreement memory. In other words, we speak what an audience wants to hear, but in doing so we change our own thinking (memory) about the topic.

In review, impression management theory contends that it holds an important position in identity and self-esteem development. Research holds that impression management techniques increase in intensity and frequency depending on the motivation and construction goals of the user. Prominent narcissism theorists (Kenberg, 1975; Kohut, 1966) hold that narcissistic attitudes are a result of immature or underdeveloped self-esteem and self-identity. Given the influence impression management has on self-esteem and identity development it can be deduced that impression management is a contributor to narcissism development.

Previous Application of the Theory

After the work of Leary and Kowalski (1990) scholars seemed content with the theoretical format of impression management. Research based on those concepts has explored how impression management is used in romantic relationships (Howard, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1986), marketing (McFarland, Challagalla, & Shervani, 2006), social groups (Stopfer et al., 2014), politics (Gillespie, 2013), sports (Howle & Eklund, 2013), memory (Brady & Lord, 2013), education (Angulo-Ruiz & Pergelova, 2013), psychotherapy (Furhauf, Figlioli, Oehler, & Caspar, 2015), and social media (Jeong & Lee, 2013; Kobsa, Patil, & Meyer, 2012). However, the bulk of impression management

research has centered on organizational psychology. Studies of the effects of self-presentation tactics has investigated its use in teamwork (Turnley & Bolino, 2001), performance appraisals (Wayne & Liden, 1995), interviews (Kristof-Brown, Barrick, & Franke, 2002), promotion ratings (Mcfarland, Ryan, & Kriska, 2003), landing a job (Ellis, West, Ryan, & DeShon, 2002), personnel selection (Detrick & Chibnall, 2014), and achieving career success (Judge & Bretz, 1994). A simply survey of the psychological databases shows that the majority (55%) of impression management research since the Leary and Kowalski article has been on the workplace.

What does it mean that impression management research is dominated by workplace research? Unfortunately, there is no research about impression management research. It could be that corporations are negatively affected by impression management techniques and are willing to pay for research that can impact performance. It could also be possible that researchers are attracted to corporations because they have natural circumstances that lend themselves to ideal research scenarios. For instance, corporations measure job performance and employee contributions to that performance. They are trying to maximize earnings and production. This quantitative atmosphere might be conducive to producing valid research practices. It could also be indicative of an American culture that is focused on earnings. Any statistical insights that could bring understanding about how to succeed in organizational processes would be highly valued. Whatever the case may be, it appears that the workplace is a highly sought after location to conduct impression management research, and as such, is an ideal situation to observe impression management and narcissistic interaction.

Impression management relates to the present study by suggesting a way that career may be a factor in the development of narcissism. According to Leary and Kowalski (1990) self-presentation and managing the impressions that others have of you increases self-esteem and aids in the construction of the self-concept. Also, given the high prevalence of narcissism in business leadership it stands to reason that something in the process of becoming a business leader increases narcissistic attitudes. It could possibly be that impression management and self-presentation processes that aid in the construction of self-esteem and self-concept (Leary & Kowalski, 1990) somehow build narcissism along the career path. It could be that the motivations associated with becoming competent in a career also increase narcissism, or that narcissism protects a fragile self-esteem and self-concept, which is constantly threatened in business management scenarios.

Conceptual Framework: Narcissism

According to Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) narcissism is behavioral patterns of self-importance, grandiosity, and self-focus. It includes a fixation on success, power brilliance, and beauty (APA, 2013). Narcissism behavior includes exhibitionism, rage at a threat to esteem, shame, defiance, humiliation, entitlement, lack of empathy, exploitation, and demands for attention (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). From a clinical perspective narcissism has gained interest because of the empirical evidence linking it with psychological problems (Barry & Marion, 2010; Pincus et al., 2009). Researchers have found significant correlations between narcissism and substance abuse, relational dysfunction, psychopathology, interpersonal problems, abuse, sexual aggression,

impulsivity and suicide (Miller, Campbell, & Pilkonis, 2007). In addition, studies have linked narcissism to child and adolescent behaviors such as, conduct problems (Ha, Petersen, & Sharp, 2008), internalization of problems (Washburn et al., 2004), aggression/delinquency (Thomaes, Stegge, Bushman, Olthof, & Denissen, 2008), and low peer preference (Barry et al., 2008). However, the construction of an operational and conceptual definition of narcissism for research purposes has been difficult and varied, which has led some to question narcissism assessment and research (Pincus, et al., 2009). Generally researchers and clinicians agree that individuals with narcissism exhibit grandiose views of themselves, have a desire for power, have a sense of entitlement, want admiration, seek attention, show increased aggression after criticism and social rejection, lack empathy, and have frail but high self-esteem (Barry & Wallace, 2010). Conceptually researchers have used features such as self-aggrandizing, self-centeredness, and manipulative interpersonal behavior to theorize about narcissism (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Operationally narcissism has been defined with constructs such as autonomy, exploitation, superiority, exhibitionism, vanity, entitlement, and self-sufficiency (Raskin & Hall, 1979). Some believe that there is still much work to do in developing the construct of narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009).

Assessment Influence on Concept

The complexity of the narcissism construct might be exactly what has made it an interesting target for researchers. Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) suggest that the narcissist syndrome of building, bolstering, and defending a desired self-image is an “ideal prototype” for exploring “self-processes” in the social and intrapersonal world of the

narcissist (p. 178). Certainly there is much to learn about normal self-esteem and self-image development by looking at extreme forms. As a side note, some believe that narcissism in the national population is increasing so much that it is becoming more and more the norm (Twenge et al., 2008b). Nevertheless, it is important for this study to identify empirically sound elements of narcissism.

Researchers constructing the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) defined narcissism differently than in early versions of the diagnostic manual. The main features of the DSM-5 definition of narcissistic personality disorder are impairments in the way the personality functions, which are characterized by either an identity and self-esteem regulation dependent on the appraisal of others and/or self-direction that is predominantly focused on gaining the approval of others. The pathological narcissistic personality traits identified in the DSM-5 are antagonism, grandiosity, and attention seeking.

The changes between the DSM-III and the DSM-5 demonstrate that psychologists have changed the way they look at narcissistic personality disorder. In the DSM-III grandiosity, lack of empathy, and hypersensitivity to evaluation were paramount considerations for diagnosis. In the DSM-5 a lack of interpersonal intimacy became equally important for diagnosis. The ever changing definition of narcissism indicates the complexity of defining the construct.

The evolution of the definition of narcissism appears to come from greater understanding and emphasis on the identity and esteem processes inherent in the narcissistic personality. An individual with pathological narcissism derives his/her self-

esteem and identity from excessive orienting to others (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). They have an insatiable need to be admired. When "others" threaten their self-esteem and identity they become extremely emotional and defensive.

The difference between the DSM editions in constructing features of narcissism underscores the symbiotic relationship between research and practice. Each influence how narcissism is perceived and treated, but each also continues to affect future considerations of narcissism. For instance, a new assessment of narcissism has been developed to measure narcissism. The Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI; Pincus et al., 2009) was designed to measure narcissistic features of grandiosity and vulnerability. The goal of the PNI developers is to differentiate between normal and pathological narcissism. They believe that grandiosity and vulnerability represent the construct of normal and pathological narcissism most accurately. Most theorists agree that both normal and pathological narcissistic behaviors have adaptive and maladaptive features (Zeigler-Hill & Besser, 2013). In other words, there are beneficial and detrimental aspects to narcissism. However, many agree with Pincus et al. (2009) that the features most important to understanding narcissism are vulnerability and grandiosity (Pincus et al., 2009). I will discuss each of these four constructs; vulnerability, grandiosity, adaptive and maladaptive narcissism.

Adaptive and Maladaptive Narcissism

As mentioned previously, narcissism research has been convoluted by the absence of concise constructs (Pincus et al. 2009; Rose 2002). Narcissism has been viewed as a developmental process, a pathological disorder, a relational profile, a behavior that

depends on context, and a personality process (Kimonis, Harrison, & Barry, 2011). Research on narcissism began to intensify when personality disorders were added to the Diagnostic Statistical Manual III in 1980 (American Psychiatric Association, 1980). It was not long after the addition of narcissistic personality disorder to the Diagnostic Statistical Manual III that clinical, personality, self-psychology, and social psychology researchers began to identify two types of narcissistic expression (Hill & Lapsley, 2011). Researchers began to see evidence of maladaptive and adaptive narcissism when they began to discover mentally healthy traits that correlated with narcissism (Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Rose, 2002). Studies began to show some narcissism indicators correlated with ambition, extraversion, optimism, happiness, and self-confidence (Campbell, 2001; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Watson, Hickman, & Morris, 1996). However, others (Cooper & Ronningstam, 1992; Kernberg 1975) argued about the misery and maladaptive characteristics associated with those very same narcissism indicators. Researchers began to suspect that these contradictory findings indicated two types of narcissism.

Adaptive narcissism is a form of narcissism that is described as having beneficial qualities. It should be noted however that adaptive narcissism does have maladaptive components (Ziegler-Hill & Besser, 2013). Generally, high Narcissistic Personality Inventory scores have a negative correlation with trait neuroticism, dispositional depression, short-term sadness, loneliness, and daily anxiety (Brown et al., 2009; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro, & Rusbult, 2004; Watson et al., 1992). In addition, high scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory have positively correlated with subjective well-being, achievement motivation, self-

esteem, extraversion, independence, and couple well-being (Brown et al., 2009; Emmons, 1984; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Sedikides et al., 2004). Individuals high in narcissism report more self-confidence, ambition, happiness, optimism, and extraversion (Campbell, 2001; Watson & Biderman, 1993; Wink, 1992). These correlates have been argued as evidence for an adaptive form of narcissism.

Maladaptive narcissism is commonly considered a clinical manifestation of narcissism. Outcomes associated with maladaptive narcissism include emotional instability, lack of empathy, a readiness to exploit social relationships, and arrogance (Ziegler-Hill & Besser, 2013). Maladaptive narcissism also has features of a sense of entitlement and exhibitionism (Barry & Wallace, 2010). Maladaptive narcissism has been associated with conduct problems, delinquency, behavioral problems, internalizing problems, aggression, and low self-esteem in adolescents (Barry et al., 2007a; Barry et al., 2007b). Most agree that the root goal of narcissism is the obtainment of self-enhancement (Roche et al, 2013). Self-enhancement is the goal oriented behavior of adapting information so as to manipulate the impressions others may have. According to Roche et al. (2013) narcissism is maladaptive when the strategies used to self-enhance are primitive. Conversely, narcissism is adaptive when mature behavioral strategies are employed.

It is a normal aspect of personality for individuals to seek admiration (Pincus, Cain, & Wright, 2014). We want to see ourselves positively so we seek self-enhancement opportunities. However, when the need for admiration becomes extreme and is paired with faulty regulatory abilities the resulting behaviors are considered pathological. Most

individuals regulate their need for admiration appropriately. They find culturally acceptable ways to self-enhance, regulate negative emotions, manage self-esteem, and cope with interpersonal disappointments. Individuals with pathological narcissism struggle to self-regulate emotions and behavior in a social accepted and mature manner (Pincus et al., 2014). They will cross-the-line of social convention and cultural propriety to meet their narcissistic needs for admiration and adoration.

In the 1980's, factor analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory found that it measures multi-dimensions (Emmons 1984; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Although there is a lack of consensus as to how many dimensions the assessment measures, most researchers agree that there are healthy and unhealthy forms of narcissism (Kimonis, Harrison, & Barry, 2011). Generally, individuals are deemed to have narcissistic personality disorder by therapists who determine through interviews and observations the degree of distress and the number of behaviors that coincide with those listed in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual. Narcissism can also be accessed through the measurement of specific attitudes and behaviors. The levels of these narcissistic attitudes and behaviors can determine how significantly narcissism is influencing an individual's life. The most researched assessment test for narcissism is the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Emmons, 1984). There are many research studies that have shown its validity (Emmons 1984; Raskin & Terry, 1988; Raskin & Novacek, 1989; Watson, Hickman, & Morris, 1996). It measures narcissism on a continuum with high scores representing pathological narcissism and low scores representing narcissism as a personality trait (Emmons, 1987).

Through factor analysis Emmons (1984; 1987) found that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory measured four narcissism factors. Emmons called the first factor Exploitativeness/Entitlement. Several studies have shown that this subscale correlates with maladaptive narcissism (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Carroll, 1987; Emmons, 1987; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Watson et al., 1984). The Exploitativeness/Entitlement subscale of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory consisted of items that suggested manipulative attitudes, a willingness to exploit others, and expectation for special treatment and favors (Emmons, 1984). It correlates positively with suspiciousness, neuroticism, tenseness, and anxiety.

The three other subscales found by Emmons (1984) in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory have been shown to correlate with adaptive narcissism. Emmons named the adaptive subscales Leadership/Authority, which shows a perspective of being authoritative and enjoying leadership. The Superiority/Arrogance subscale shows arrogant and grandiose attitudes. The Self-Absorption/Self-Admiration subscale reflects a focus on physical looks and personal glory. All three adaptive subscales showed a positive correlation with self-esteem (Emmons, 1984, 1987). With this information in hand researchers began to look for attributes associated with each. For instance, Leadership/Authority correlates with warmth, social boldness, and dominance (Emmons, 1984). Hickman et al. (1996) found that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory adaptive subscales correlated positively with optimism, adjustment, and a positive illusion effect that predicted harmony in personality functioning. Adaptive narcissism was also shown to correlate positively with adaptive humor, which is a humor style that helps to mediate

perceived stress (Besser & Zeigler-Hill, 2011). Adaptive narcissism was found to moderate "counterproductive work behaviors" (Meurs, Fox, Kessler, & Spector, 2013, p. 368), is associated with good mental health and adjustment (Watson & Morris, 1990), and protects individuals with narcissism from insecure feelings (Rose, 2002). Kealy and Rasmussen (2012) summarize adaptive narcissism as the ability to reasonably sustain positive self-regard. It also involves a realistic measure of one's abilities and a capacity for empathic behavior. Adaptive narcissism is essential for pursing ambitions, personal agency, and restoring self-esteem after defeat.

Research has shown that self-esteem is an important predictor of adaptive and maladaptive narcissism (Sedikides et al., 2004). Sedikides and his colleagues found that elevated self-esteem correlates with adaptive narcissism and is psychologically healthy (Sedikides et al., 2004). Therefore, even though narcissism has its detrimental components (exploitative and abrasive social style) it does have its psychological benefits. Good psychological health of narcissism is due to elevated self-esteem. Conversely, narcissism can be psychological detrimental when not accompanied by positive self-esteem (Zeigler-Hill & Bessler, 2013).

Research has been clear that narcissism manifests itself in two forms; however, there has been confusion about the particulars of what that means. For instance, other researchers have argued about Emmon's (1984, 1987) methodology on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. Raskin and Terry (1988) believe that the pattern loadings used by Emmons suggested a conservative selection process. They believe that some of the factors which Emmon's loaded into his four factors were actually addressing other

conceptual dimensions. They also advocated using a tetrachoric correlation analysis for dichotomous items such as those used in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. They modified Emmons method and found seven subscales, which they titled Authority, Exhibitionism, Entitlement, Vanity, Exploitativeness, Superiority, and Self-Sufficiency (Raskin & Terry, 1988). Others have argued that the factor analytics of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory show two (Brown, Budzek, & Tamborski, 2009) and three (Kubarych, Deary, & Austin, 2004) dimensional subscales of narcissism. The lack of consensus on a factorial structure does not diminish the support for multidimensional structure (Kimonis, Harrison, & Barry, 2011). However, other components of the existing taxonomy and phenomenology of narcissism research have created inconsistencies in criterion and nomological structure.

The Confusion About Narcissism

In 2010, Pincus and Lutkowitsky reviewed the research literature on narcissism for the Annual Review of Clinical Psychology publication. They identified four inconsistencies in narcissism research conceptualization. First, the nature of narcissism is yet to be determined. Some contend that narcissism should be viewed on a continuum with pathological (maladaptive) narcissism on one end and normal (adaptive) narcissism on the other end (Cooper, 2005; Ronningstam, 2005; Watson, 2005). Others disagree; they hold that adaptive and pathological narcissism are two distinct personality dimensions (Pincus et al., 2009). Second, narcissism can be expressed overtly and/or covertly. Some (Henden & Cheek, 1997; Wink, 1992) have used these terms as phenotypic labels, but they accurately describe the expression of narcissism (Pincus &

Lutkowitsky, 2010). Overt expression of narcissism includes the behaviors, attitudes, and emotions that are typically seen in narcissistic actions. Covert expressions of narcissism are the private cognitions, feelings, motives, and needs that are hidden from view. These expressions can be seen in both normal and pathological narcissism (Pincus et al., 2014). Third, there has been debate about whether narcissism should be structured as a category, dimension, or prototype. Pincus and Lutkowitsky (2010) report that evidence is beginning to show categorical structure as being limited; therefore, they support a dimensional perspective. Last, there have been many different phenotypes used to describe narcissism. Cain, Pincus, and Ansell (2008) identified 50 different labels used to represent narcissism. These labels center around two themes, narcissism grandiosity and narcissism vulnerability.

Grandiose and Vulnerable Narcissism

The features stereotypically associated with narcissism such as arrogance, manipulative behavior, lack of empathy, and conceit may be labeled grandiose narcissism (Buss & Chiodo, 1991). The internal representation of grandiosity includes repressing and distorting negative aspects of self, attitudes of entitlement, interpersonal control, inflated self-image with no commensurate abilities, lack of remorse, and a regulatory fantasy life filled with images of power and superiority (Pincus & Lutkowitsky, 2010). Behaviorally grandiose narcissism consists of exploitation, empathy limits, envy, exhibitionism, anger, and aggression. These individuals have very little insight into their behavior. Although most people know someone who they believe matches this

description of narcissism the research literature is now showing that this definition is limited in scope (Pincus et al., 2014; Pincus & Lutkowitsky, 2010).

Pathological narcissism literature is now clearly showing two phenotypic themes of clinical dysfunction, vulnerable and grandiose narcissism, and there is growing criticism of the lack of Diagnostic Statistical Manual acknowledgement of the former (Cain et al., 2008; Gabbard, 2009; Levy, Reynoso, Wasserman, & Clarkin, 2007; Miller, Widiger, & Campbell, 2010; Pincus & Roche, 2011; Ronningstam, 2009). Some claim that a clinician armed solely with the grandiose narcissism criteria in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual may fail to recognize pathological narcissism (Pincus et al., 2014). In fact, it is the grandiose dynamic that hinders the narcissist from seeking treatment. Their grandiose attitudes have them believing that they are above treatment. They only begin to inquire about treatment when in a vulnerable symptomatic state. This is often misdiagnosed as a mood or anxiety disorder, which is most often driven by their perfectionism and unrealistic pursuits of entitlement (Ellison, Levy, Cain, Ansell, & Pincus, 2013; Pincus et al., 2014). It is the vulnerable mood with accompanying emotions such as anger, shame, resentment, and envy that clue clinicians to the possibility of narcissistic pathology.

Vulnerable narcissism is characterized in the research literature as interpersonal coldness, hostility, introversion, egocentricity, negative emotions, need for recognition, entitlement, enfeebled self-image, helplessness, depressed affect, emptiness, anger, and shamefulness (Miller et al., 2010; Miller & Campbell, 2010; Pincus & Lutkowitsky, 2010). Vulnerable narcissists are often highly self-critical, suicidal, extremely sensitive

in interpersonal activity, and tend to withdraw socially (Pincus & Lutkowitsky, 2010). Both grandiose and vulnerable narcissists use antagonistic strategies in their interpersonal dealings. However, vulnerable narcissism is most associated with distrust, hostility, childhood abuse/neglect, negative emotionality, and poor attachment styles (Miller et al., 2010). Grandiose narcissism is associated with superior and entitled attitudes.

As mentioned above, utilization of vulnerable narcissism as a pathological feature is relatively absent in clinical practice. Vulnerable narcissism's existence however is becoming increasingly acknowledged in theory and research. This should eventually filter down into clinical diagnosis and practice (Kealy & Rasmussen, 2012; Ronningstam, 2011; Russ, Shedler, Bradly, & Weston, 2008; Wright, Lukowitsky, Pincus, & Conroy, 2010). However, often vulnerable narcissism is concealed from detection by symptoms such as depression, work/relationship problems, and anxiety (Kealy & Rasmussen, 2012). Indeed, some suggest that the purpose of the grandiose display may be to conceal the vulnerable and fragile self-esteem from detection by others and the self (Kealy & Rasmussen, 2012; Roche et al., 2013).

In summary, narcissism research and practice have been inundated with inconsistencies involving the nature, phenotype, expression, and structure of narcissism nomenclature. This has led to confusion in understanding the narcissism construct. Additionally, assessment shows that narcissism correlates with both negative and positive outcomes. These have been categorized as adaptive and maladaptive dimensions of narcissism. The adaptive dimension, sometimes called normal or healthy narcissism, is associated with subjective well-being, achievement motivation, positive self-esteem,

extraversion, and independence. Maladaptive narcissism, called by some pathological or unhealthy narcissism, is associated with emotional instability, lack of empathy, a willingness to exploit social relationships, arrogance, a sense of entitlement and exhibitionism. Narcissism may be considered adaptive or maladaptive depending on whether the strategies to meet the narcissist's main needs of admiration and self-enhancement are socially appropriate. Currently researchers are beginning to structure adaptive and maladaptive elements under two phenotypes called grandiose and vulnerable narcissism.

Narcissism Development

Researchers tell us that the literature on the development of narcissism is limited (Barry & Wallace, 2010; Hill & Lapsley, 2011; Horton, 2011; Paris, 2014; Wright, 2014). Psychologists are not sure what events and processes are involved in the development of narcissism. Historically parenting has gotten the blame for narcissistic outcomes (Horton, 2011). However, recently research is beginning to show other factors that contribute to narcissistic attitudes. It is the question of how narcissism develops that is the motivation for this dissertation. I start this section by discussing the main theoretical positions that have guided narcissism development thinking. Following the theoretical discussion I describe important studies that illuminate factors associated with narcissism development. I then analyze the rationale for the selection of career as a possible factor and perpetrator of narcissistic attitudes. I then review research associated with career and narcissism, making a case for the significance and need to include career in narcissism research.

Development Theory

There are three influential theoretical perspectives that are most commonly referred to in narcissism studies (Horton, 2011). They all implicate parenting as fundamental in narcissism and self-concept development. They differed on what they believe is motivating parents and the resulting parenting behaviors. Otto Kernberg (1975, 1980), who was instrumental in the development of modern object relations theory, argued that children become narcissistic when their parents place all the family's hope and glory for success on the child. This type of selfish parent is often extremely critical and demanding. Kernberg also believed that these types of parents also showed little support and affection. It is the cold parenting that causes the child to withdraw and then to determine that the only reliable source of love and trust is the self (Kernberg, 1976, 1980).

Kohut (1966), who developed self psychology, believed that neglectful or enmeshed self-focused parenting styles develop narcissism. His explanation for narcissism is that normal self-development is not completed, and that the path to healthy self-esteem maturity is halted by a failure to idealize parents because of rejection (Liberman, 2013). Kohut's theory removed the stigma of pathology in narcissism; it was simply a stalled developmental process that could be reignited with proper care.

The last popular theoretical explanation for narcissism was espoused by Millon (1981), a social learning theorist. He held that narcissism does not develop from neglectful parenting but from the opposite-indulgent parenting (Horton, 2011). An indulgent parent fosters feelings of superiority and entitlement (key features of

narcissism) by meeting every demand and providing positive affection regardless of how the child behaves. This non-contingent affection and leniency teaches children that they are great no matter how they behave. It advances a disconnect between real self-evaluation and performance (Horton, 2011). Along these same lines, Imbesi (1999) argued that when parents protect their children from life's frustrations it inhibits the development of a realistic self-image.

Narcissism Developmental Research

Most studies on parenting and narcissism are built upon three dimensions of parenting—warmth, psychological control, and monitoring (Horton, 2011). These dimensions are associated in varying degree with the aforementioned theoretical orientations and allow researchers to operationalize parenting patterns. First, according to Horton (2011) warmth is defined as any construct dealing with the supplying of emotional and material needs. Second, psychological control refers to any behaviors parents use that intrude in the emotional and psychological development of a child. It can be manipulation through guilt, shame, expressions of disappointment, and possessiveness. Last, monitoring is operationalized with efforts by parents to control and establish rules by constantly keeping track of their children. Realistically, parents probably use a unique combination of all three parenting dimensions; however, narcissism researchers study dominant forms of these parenting patterns to understand parenting outcomes (Horton, 2011).

The limited developmental research does offer some support for each of the common theoretical orientations. Horton et al. (2006) found that parenting styles that use

guilt and contingent love (e.g. Kohut's theory) as punishment increased the development of high self-evaluation and impeded the development of a self-concept. Imbesi (1999) found that adolescents with exalted self-images lacked frustrating experiences (e.g. Millon's theory) that grounded reality. He blamed entitled adolescence on parenting behavior aimed at protecting children from the consequences of negative events and bad decisions. Another study by Cramer (2011) followed children from 3 to 23 years of age. She found that children who used denial and had authoritative and indulgent parents (Kernberg's theory) developed narcissism. She found that parenting patterns of leniency combined with stressed obedience also predicted self-aggrandizement. Cramer believes that narcissism in these cases is a defensive behavior against anxiety associated with self-doubt, feelings of worthlessness, and vulnerability. An additional study by Capron (2004) studied different parent pampering styles. He found that parenting overindulgence (Millon's theory) correlated with narcissism. He operationalized overindulgence as the consistent gratification of a child's wishes with no endeavor by that child to earn the reward. Finally, Ramsey, Watson, Biderman, and Reeves (1996) studied college freshmen in an introductory psychology class. They found that when parents were both permissive and authoritative (e.g. Kohut theory) narcissism increased. Parents were both permissive (i.e. not demanding) and authorative (i.e. overcontrolling). This contradicting style of alternating and opposing deviations predicted narcissism. These studies support each of the theoretical positions argued by Kohut (1996), Kernberg (1976), and Millon (1981).

Before we condemn parenting practices as foundational in narcissism development, we should consider several concerns with the above literature. First, as mentioned before the literature is scarce. It would be premature to make any declarations based on the limited amount of research. Additionally, all of the studies except Cramer (2011) were based on the recollections and perceptions of adult narcissistic children. These recollections would undoubtedly be biased. De Los Reyes and Kazdin (2008) argued that it is impossible to accurately identify and make research conclusions with any degree of certainty when using informant reports. It is quite possible that narcissistic children may remember and construe the same parenting actions completely different than children with low levels of narcissism.

Another concern with the developmental research is that there is some evidence of a possible gender effect. Most of the research does not address this issue. However, there is a myriad of complex issues and possibilities. Each parent influences the child, and both parents together influence the child. Also the gender of the child influences parenting. Male and female children are treated differently by their parents (Horton, Bleau, & Drwecki, 2006; Ramsey et al. 1996). Finally, there is a failure to acknowledge and identify the direction of influence (Horton, 2011). Sameroff (1995) proposed in his transactional model that family dynamics are affected by the conduct of the children. It might be possible that the child's narcissistic behavior is affecting mom and dad's parenting skills. Based on twin and adopted sibling studies Pinker (2002) argued that parenting has little if any effect on child outcomes. Behavioral genetic analysis has shown non-significant effects for shared environments in twin and adoption studies

(Pinker, 2002). Additionally, personality research alludes to the interaction process between children with narcissism and their parents. A child with a narcissistic attitude will respond differently to parenting styles when compared to how a normal child will respond (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). The above concerns do not necessarily eliminate parenting as a primary culprit in narcissism development, but they do however show that there might be other possible explanations and possible influences on developmental processes.

Alternative Developmental Factors

Sameroff's (1995) transactional model implies that narcissistic behavior may be initiated from a source besides parenting. Parenting may simply exacerbate narcissistic behavior. The actually source of narcissism may come from another origin. For instance, an antisocial screening test is beginning to show a stable and genetic component of antisocial behavior (Frick & Hare, 2001). Antisocial behavior correlates with several narcissistic dimensions such as lack of guilt, no empathy, emotional inattention, behavioral problems, aggression, and reward dominance (Blair, 1999; Frick et al., 2003; Loney, Huntenburg, Counts-Allen, & Schmeelk, 2007). The evidence supports the idea that genes have a significant impact on behavior (Vernon, Villani, Vickers, & Harris, 2008). In fact, several behavioral genetic studies show a 40% or more genetic component accounting for variance in narcissism traits and behavior (Campbell et al., 2009; Torgersen et al., 2000; Vernon et al., 2008).

Research has also implicated peers as a potential influence on the development of narcissism (Harris, 1995, Pauletti, Menon, Menon, Tobin, & Perry, 2012). This idea is

confusing given the propensity of individuals with narcissism to struggle in their interpersonal relationships. However, peer groups are positioned to provide reinforcement and to control circumstances, which are both theoretically relevant to an environment necessary for narcissism development (Horton, 2011). Culture has also been linked to narcissism (Cushman, 1990; Gruba-McCallister, 2007; Paris, 2014). Theorists hold that industrialization, secularism, and urbanization have shaped an individualistic and narcissistic modern society (Cushman, 1990). Modernity has allowed individuals to focus on their inner feelings rather than on external needs (Paris, 2014). Some contend that the rise of narcissistic attitudes the last few decades (Twenge et al., 2008b) is further evidence that culture and society are factors in development. Foster, Campbell and Twenge (2003) administered the Narcissistic Personality Inventory in several countries. They found scores are higher in the United States than in other countries. A cultural context would presuppose that any change in narcissism outcomes is a result of social forces (Paris, 2014).

Four other factors have been incriminated as being influential in narcissism development. Social media, attachment systems, abuse, and shame-aggression have been found to correlate with high subclinical narcissism (Bennet, 2006; Buffardi & Campbell, 2008; Maxwell & Huprich, 2014; Morrison, 2011; Thomaes, Bushman, Stegge, & Olthof, 2008; Utz, Tanis, & Vermeulen, 2012). First, researchers have argued that social media may contribute to narcissism development because it offers ideal activities for narcissism self-construction (Buffardi & Campbell, 2008; Utz, Tanis, & Vermeulen, 2012). Individuals with narcissism can also avoid some of their interpersonal relationship

problems by using the distance created by social media. Social media affords individuals with narcissism shallow versus committed relationships, and also they can more easily control their self-presentation (Buffardi & Campbell, 2008). Second, attachment theory suggests that children develop faulty interpersonal interpretive abilities due to caregiver attachment issues (Bennet, 2006; Maxwell & Huprich, 2014). Children develop insecure and avoidant attachment when their caregivers use dismissive patterns of parenting behavior. Third, abuse has been found to correlate with pathological narcissism (Maxwell & Huprich, 2014). Several theorists believe that narcissism is a defensive mechanism that helps individuals cope with the effects that abuse has on self-esteem (Kernberg, 1976; Maxwell & Huprich, 2014). Last, shame is very threatening to the fragile self-esteem of individuals with narcissism. They may be more susceptible to emotions related to shame because of their perfectionism and achievement motivations (Morrison, 2011; Thomaes, Bushman, Stegge, & Olthof, 2008). Shame conversely initiates aggressive behavior against threats, which serves to protect the ego. Narcissism functions to direct the blame and anger associated with shame onto others, thereby preserving and protecting self-esteem (Thomaes, Bushman, Stegge, & Olthof, 2008).

Career as a Factor in Narcissism Development

The idea that career might have some influence on narcissism development should not be too ill-conceived given the factors mentioned above. After all, at first glance career offers a chance to self-enhance, build self-esteem, pursue perfectionism/achievement, and project a grandiose image. Then again I suppose it depends on the career. Certain careers might have the opposite effect, which still supports

the idea that career is important in narcissism development (i.e. positive and negative correlations). I will look at the empirical evidence that supports the idea that career holds a position in identity development. After all, when a child is queried with the oft asked question "What do you want to be when you grow up?" the response is not often an inferior choice. They do not aspire to be a thief, drug dealer, pimp/madam, criminal, or murderer. This common sequence supports the very notion of self enhancement. Conversely, it could also be argued that some individuals do not even follow a career path; they take whatever job for which they qualify. Of course, this can change throughout the life span. For instance, a college student preparing for a specific and permanent career will take a temporary job to pay for college expenses. However, career has been shown to have a preeminent position and role in human experience (Axelrod, 1999; Lu¨dtke et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2013). In fact, evidence is emerging that career is inexplicably intertwined with personal and relational perspectives (Amundson et al., 2010).

In order to assist understanding of how career impacts narcissism development I will review three major constructs of the narcissism definition—self-esteem, self-identity, and need for admiration. The relevance of these constructs to career can then be analyzed using career literature.

Self-esteem. First, self-esteem correlates with narcissism (Sedikides et al., 2004). Positive self-esteem correlates with grandiose narcissism. Research supports the idea that narcissism is a preoccupation with the self (Sedikides et al., 2004). Those high in narcissism have been shown to have a positive view of themselves and a negative view of

others. However, it also fairly clear that the self-esteem of those with narcissism is unstable and insecure (Mort & Rhodewalt, 2001; Rose, 2002) Individuals with high narcissism are eager to perceive and impose circumstances that have self-esteem implications. These circumstances are then managed with characteristic narcissistic self-regulatory strategies, which have the intent of maintaining self-esteem (Mort & Rhodewalt, 2001; Pincus et al., 2014). Self-esteem maintenance appears to be an important goal of narcissistic behavior.

Several researchers have found career, especially in emerging adulthood, to be an important factor in self-esteem development (Arnett, 2000, 2007; Wagner et al., 2013). It is clear that self-esteem rises substantially from late adolescence until early adulthood (Erol & Orth, 2011; Huang, 2010; Orth, Trzesniewski, & Robins, 2010; Pullmann, Allik, & Realo, 2009; Shaw, Liang, & Krause, 2010). A major consideration and research point of emphasis is that life events are contributors to this rise; after all, this is a time when several important life events take place (Lehnart, Neyer, & Eccles, 2010). Wagner et al. (2013) studied three life events they considered salient tasks for emerging adulthood. They wanted to know if these events had any effect on self-esteem. They found that developing a long-term romantic relationship and developing independence from parents are events that have a positive effect on self-esteem. Ironically, they found that deciding on a career did not affect self-esteem. This may be because their study population had not actually embarked on a career. They were college students.

Other research has shown that the quality of the job is important to self-esteem. Barling, Rogers, and Kelloway (1995) found that adolescents with part-time jobs of more

than 20 hours of week had poorer grades, increased risk of drug and alcohol use, cynical attitudes about work, and stress on family relations. Conversely, if the part-time job did not conflict with other adolescent roles (i.e., sports, music, clubs), had high autonomy, and had high skill variety then self-esteem increased (Barling et al., 1995). Part-time employment for adolescents had self-esteem benefits when it met psychological criteria.

Self-Identity. A strategy in impression management used to validate self-image is called selective interaction (Reich & Rosenberg, 2004). This refers to the process of finding and selecting partners and situations that support the validity of one's social identity. Schlenker (1985) argues that we seek social roles with an audience that supports our claims to an idealized identity. This supports other prominent vocational theorists who suggest that career is an important task in identity development (Erikson, 1968; Holland, 1985; Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). Côté (2005), a career dimension approach theorist, conceptualized identity development as a process of obtaining social capital. Life's obstacles can then be conquered using capital resources such as economic production, personal agency, and social adaptability (Côté, 2005; Creed & Hood, 2015). Holland's (1985) theory of career development holds that vocational identity develops as individuals identify their interests, goals, and abilities. Careers can then be identified that match those traits. Those with narcissism may develop their heightened vocational identity based on selective interaction processes. Pincus (2013) supports this conclusion with research showing that those with narcissism have extreme needs to achieve.

Need for admiration. The quality of a job has increasingly become an important factor in organizational psychology (Grant, Fried, & Juillerat, 2011). Research has shown

that performance increases and employee turnover goes down when employers make efforts to positively address psychological components (Hall & Heras, 2010). However, those psychological components differ from individual to individual. For instance, some individuals may measure objective success (e.g. salary and promotion) more importantly than subjective success (e.g. meaning and purpose) and vice versa (Hall, 2002). Obviously different careers offer opportunities in varying degree for either subjective or objective success. Individuals high in narcissism have a high need for admiration and recognition (Pincus, 2013; Roche et al., 2013; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006). In fact, some believe the need for admiration is the primary motivation behind most narcissistic behavior (Roche et al., 2013). However, because of mistrust and disdain for others those with narcissism must constantly search for self enhancement opportunities while negotiating their inadequacies in long-term social relationships (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). They struggle in personal relationships, and therefore a career that is considered socially significant offers an opportunity for those with narcissism to make impactful impressions. Millon (1981) suggests that some individuals with psychopathology have adapted and learned to operate in main stream society. He went so far as to suggest that some features of personality disorders are even rewarded and encouraged in our society. Babiak (1995, 1996) found individuals with personality disorders functioning successfully in many organizations. He also found a narcissistic emotional factor that allowed these individuals to be adept at charming, finessing, and influencing people higher in authority while still maintaining an emotional detachment that allowed them to

be remorseless in using others. This allowed them to achieve career goals without the burden or concern for the feelings of others.

The literature on career makes a strong case for career as an important factor in developing self-esteem and identity. Career also appears to be an avenue for developing admiration and recognition (Maccoby, 2000). Also, given the important role that self-esteem, identity, and need for admiration have in narcissism it can be argued that career has some effect on narcissism, and therefore warrants attention in empirical research.

Research on Career and Narcissism

There is research exploring the link between career and narcissism. The majority of these studies focus on the impact a narcissistic leader has on followers (Higgs, 2015; Meurs et al., 2013; Owens, Wallace, & Waldman, 2015; Sosik, Chun, & Zhu, 2014, Wang & Jiang, 2014). Organizations are inherently interested in the negative and positive impact narcissistic leaders have on performance. However, for the purposes of this study I was interested in possible effects that career might have on narcissism. Two trends began to emerge from the literature. First, it is argued by organizational theorists that narcissism is disproportionately prevalent in executive management (Lubit, 2002; Post, 1993; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Travis, 2003). Second, there is some evidence that the presence of narcissism is more prevalent in certain careers (Hill & Yousey, 1998; Westerman et al., 2012).

Narcissism in executive management. Narcissism may be disproportionately high in executive positions; however, some research shows that narcissistic characteristics are becoming increasingly valued by modern Western societies (Foster et

al., 2003; Twenge et al., 2008b). In fact, Nevicka, De Hough, Van Vianen, and Ten Velden (2013) found that uncertainty predicted a preference for higher narcissism choices in leadership. In other words, there is something about narcissistic leaders, perhaps the conviction they have about their opinions, which reduces contextual uncertainty for followers.

Although business literature strongly suggests that narcissism is pervasive in organization leadership there is little empirical evidence. However, two studies on United States presidents support the research suggesting narcissism imbalance in leadership. Watts et al. (2013) and Deluga (1997) rated United States presidents for narcissism. They both found a high prevalence of narcissistic attitudes and behaviors in the executive leadership of the United States. They found a greater incidence of narcissism in the presidency compared to the general population. They also found that U. S. presidents rated highest in overall narcissism also experienced the most congressional impeachment proceedings and unethical accusations. It is also interesting to note that the U. S. president rated highest for narcissism was elected in arguably the most uncertain and troubling era of United States history. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected in 1933 and presided over the economic depression and World War II. This supports Nevicka et al. (2013) and the possibility that society prefers a leader with narcissism in times of uncertainty.

One other study shows narcissism in leadership. Board and Fritzon (2005) administered the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Scale to 39 CEOs and senior executive business leaders. They compared those scores to existing mental health

patient databases. They found the CEOs in their population scored relatively equal to pathological personality disordered individuals in narcissism and obsessive-compulsive personality disorders. The CEOs actually scored higher than pathological patients in histrionic personality disorder assessments.

Narcissism in specific careers. Only one study compares narcissism scores between careers. Hill and Yousey (1998) compared four careers that they believed offered various job tasks related to narcissism behaviors. They suspected that some careers supported adaptive narcissistic behaviors, and vice versa that other careers supported non-narcissistic attitudes and behaviors. They used Holland's (1985) vocational personality theory to select careers that matched narcissistic behaviors. Holland believes that individuals choose and have optimal performance with careers that match their personality. Hill and Yousey (1998) believed that Holland's (1985) social and enterprising personalities matched narcissistic behavior patterns. Features of social personality include warmth, persuasion, sociability, friendliness, and ascendance. Enterprising personality features optimism, exhibitionism, domineering, self-confident, talkative, ambitious, and aggressive behaviors. Furthermore, occupations were selected based on narcissistic features of admiration, attention, power, and social prestige. Hill and Yousey selected clergy, politicians, and university faculty as careers supportive of narcissism. These careers were believed to offer opportunities for authority over others, social attention, power, responsibility, status and prestige. The career selected for its lack of narcissistic interest was a librarian career.

The Hill and Yousey (1998) study did result in differences in narcissism scores. They administered the Narcissistic Personality Inventory across samples of the four career groups and found politicians to have significantly higher total narcissism scores. They also used Emmons (1984) subscales mentioned above and found clergy to have significantly lower scores in the Exploitativeness/Entitlement subscale. Additionally, the Watts et al. (2013) and the Deluga (1997) studies mentioned above also show evidence that individuals with narcissism may be attracted to specific careers. These studies also indicated that politicians have higher narcissism scores. Finally, although the Board and Fritzon (2005) study was limited to CEOs it could be argued that the sample population was obtained from the same career—a business career. After all, many of the same practices, tasks, and marketing strategies are used across business industries.

One other study specifically looked at narcissism in emerging career development. Westerman et al., (2012) compared narcissism in college students majoring in business and psychology. They found that business students had higher levels of narcissism than psychology students. This relationship between career and narcissism signifies that career choice may be linked to narcissism levels, but it also hints at a possible link between narcissism development and career.

While the above literature may make a case for the inclusion of career as an influence on narcissism there is very little research documenting changes over time in narcissism. I have identified this as the gap in literature necessary for validating a dissertation study. Measuring change is imperative for validating and identifying developmental factors. Postpositivist views and assumptions are based on measurement

(Creswell, 2014). The scientific method entails a deterministic effort to understand cause and effect. Career as a developmental effect cannot be determined without measuring narcissism over the life of that career. In other words, if at the start of a career narcissism scores are low but after a lifetime of working in that career narcissism scores have increased it may indicate that the career influenced the development of narcissism.

Population

Finding the right populations (i.e. careers) to compare was an important consideration for the relevance of this study. It is quite possible that an important psychological consideration has been identified for this study, but this would not be demonstrated if the wrong careers were compared. Personality theories that match an individual with an appropriate career have most often been associated with successful outcomes (Holland, 1985). The concept is that happiness and career success are best achieved by matching specific personality traits with careers that appreciate those traits. Holland (1985) categorized personalities into six areas with corresponding lists of appropriate careers. Briggs and Myers (1985) also used personality types to achieve successful career outcomes. They identified 16 personality types and careers to match. Cognitive theory has also contributed various models for choosing positive career outcomes. Cognitive Information Processing (Peterson, Sampson, Lenz, & Reardon, 2002) and social cognitive career theory (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994) are models that attempt to understand and organize the cognitions necessary for career decision making. However, it is becoming increasingly advocated that culture should be a major consideration for understanding human behavior (Segall, Lonner, & Berry, 1998).

Personality or cognitive theories might be suitable models for matching careers with high populations of narcissism; however, they lack explanatory meaning for societal gains in narcissism. In other words, if research is correct and narcissism attitudes are rising in our society (Capron, 2004; Greenberger et al., 2008; Twenge et al., 2008a) would it not be easier to explain global changes in society from a culture perspective rather than a cognitive or personality perspective. It seems more reasonable to look for group changes in group dynamics rather than individual influence. In fact, personality has been given credit for an individual's uniqueness in the world (Triandis, 1996). Personality has been defined as an individual's characteristic behaviors, emotions, and cognitions combined with psychological mechanisms that drive those tendencies (Funder, 1997). Personality allows individuals to react to the world circumstances in different manners. Whereas, according to Triandis (2001) societies share tools, assumptions, values, norms, beliefs, role meaning and pass them from one generation to the next. Given these definitions, increasing societal patterns of narcissism may best be looked at from a societal perspective. Therefore, choosing careers for narcissism analysis was best approached from a societal or cultural perspective.

Triandis (1996) appears to have the most comprehensive theory and research concerning syndromes in culture. He divides societies into collectivist and individualist patterns of group behavior. It should be noted that these societal characteristics are not all inclusive, but these syndromes appear to categorize general patterns of difference between societies. Collectivism at its foundation is interdependence between group members (Triandis, 2001). The needs of the group outweigh the needs of the individual.

The priority for members of collectivist groups is their standing and relationship with other group members. Their identity is associated with being in the group. The group's goals are more important than the individual's goals. Collectivist group members seek to avoid conflict, enjoy group activities, are loyal, and show solidarity (Triandis, 1995). Also, marriage is an important vehicle for keeping social order and linking families together. Low income families are over represented in collectivist societies.

On the other hand, the foundational tenet for individualistic societies is independence and the importance of the self (Triandis, 1995). The needs of the individual outweigh the needs of the group. Priorities for individualistic societies are personal goals, competition, power, private self, achievement, and individual distinction. Associating with others is analyzed according to positive and negative advantages. Individualism values the casual relationship, freedom, and pleasure. There is an emphasis on appearing self-assured, so often blame for failure is placed on others. Chastity is viewed as unimportant in individualistic societies. Individualism is over represented in high income societies.

An individualistic perspective shares similar attitudes to a narcissistic perspective. The values of power, achievement, competition, and individual distinction are shared features of the narcissism definition (Morf &Rhodewalt, 2001). The values (e.g. casual relationship, freedom, pleasure) of individualism defined by Triandis (1995) sound similar to the focus on self, which is valued by individuals with narcissism. Also, looking to blame others when things go wrong is a familiar narcissistic strategy used to protect a fragile self-esteem (Morf & Rodewalt, 2001). Conversely, it is difficult to make a

comparison between a collectivistic perspective and low levels of narcissism. There is a lack of literature on describing and defining what low levels of narcissism looks like, probably because it is not a societal/personal problem to have low levels of narcissism. However, given that collectivism behaviors appear to be the exact opposite of individualistic behaviors there may be a similarity between collectivistic values, norms, and behaviors and low levels of narcissism. In fact, it has been argued that collectivism and individualism are different ends of a continuum of cultural and individual patterns of core values (Brewer, & Venaik, 2011; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Zhang, Liang, & Sun, 2013).

Understanding the values important to each respective societal syndrome (i.e. collectivism-individualism) was beneficial in selecting careers for this study. Given the aforementioned similarities to narcissistic attitudes that collectivist and individualistic societies share, these cultural syndromes were utilized for selecting careers. Collectivism values and cultural patterns prioritized the selection of a career for low narcissism scores. The values espoused in individualistic cultures were the basis for selecting careers with high narcissism scores.

Several studies have correlated agriculture with collectivist patterns. Vandello and Cohen (1999) studied collectivist and individualistic variations across the United States. They found correlations between agricultural based regions and high collectivist scores. More recently a study in China confirmed an earlier study by Talhelm et al. (2014), which also linked agriculture and collectivism (Hu & Yaun, 2015). Both studies found

that agriculture communities fostered interdependent and holistic thinking. Agriculture was the career selected to demonstrate low narcissism scores.

Unlike agriculture and collectivism there is little research on the influence of individualism on specific careers. Patterns such as increases in income (Triandis, 1994), binge drinking (Morgan, Morgan, & Quitno, 1994), suicide (Naroll, 1983), gender and racial equality (Vandello & Cohen, 1999), and heart disease (Triandis, Bontempo, Asai, & Lucca, 1988) have been empirically associated with individualism. The negative correlates (e.g. suicides, heart disease, binge drinking) may be a result of the stress associated with the hierarchal nature of individualism (Vandello & Cohen, 1999). The literature is quiet on the influence of individualism and specific careers. The pursuit of high income is an individualistic value and is associated with career, but in the literature specific careers are not addressed. Therefore, the career selection for the individualistic portion of this study was based on the criteria associated with individualism. Power, competition, high income, independence, achievement, and self-assurance are the valued tenants listed above of an individualistic society and individual. One career that stereotypically appears to match the criteria is a law practice. It should be noted that law is practiced in both individualistic and collectivist cultures; although, it is probably practiced differently according to the respective cultural syndrome's priorities. According to the U. S. Bureau of Labor statistics (2014) the average salary for lawyers is $133,470/year. This places this career in the top ten for earning potential. Additionally, although this career gains benefits with group association (i.e. law firm) their basic responsibilities are usually performed individually. It may be argued that there is inherent

power in this career. The responsibilities lawyers have in regards to enforcing and interpreting the law gives them weight in societal concerns. Also, lawyers can gain benefits through competition and achievement. High levels of performance put lawyers in greater demand, which increases their prestige and practice.

In summary, individualism and collectivism are the most researched paradigms for identifying differences in cultures. Culture has been argued to be a key and overlooked component of human behavior (Segall, Lonner, & Berry, 1998). Individualism and collectivism syndromes have similar values to those identified in narcissism definitions (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). The values identified as important in each respective cultural syndrome were ideally suited as career selection criteria. An agriculture career has been shown to correlate with values and behaviors associated with collectivism (Hu & Yaun, 2015; Vandello & Cohen, 1999). A law career was selected because of its apparent similarities to individualistic priorities.

Summary and Conclusions

Several major themes added credibility to the validity of this study. The first and fundamental concept presented for consideration of career as a developmental factor is the impression management idea that the process of presenting oneself as a specific type of person actually aids in the development of that identity (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Another key major idea from impression management theory is argued by Schlenker (1985) who proposed that individuals seek opportunities, events, and audiences in an effort to confirm the self-image they desire. Impression management theory offers the conceptual idea that it is possible that individuals with narcissism seek out careers that

offer opportunities, events, and audiences that confirm the superior self-image they desire to present. It is also plausible that while using career as a tool to present and pursue a superior self-image narcissistic attitudes are being developed. This premise is supported by the amount of organizational research mentioned above. The majority of impression management research is conducted in employment environments.

Another major theme that emerged in the literature is the categorization of two narcissistic phenotypes, which are currently called grandiose and vulnerable narcissism. Research has been complicated due to confusion about the nature, expression, structure, and phenotype of narcissism (Pincus & Lutkowitsky, 2010). This is an important consideration in order to operationalize and understand narcissism.

The literature is also limited on understanding which factors are associated with the development of narcissism. Parenting is generally considered to be fundamental in narcissism development, and there is some empirical evidence to support this premise (Horton, 2011). However, many other factors have been implicated and researched as having an influence on the development of narcissism. Genetics, friends, social media, culture, industrialization, attachment, abuse, and shame have all been empirically implicated as contributors to narcissism development. Given the power, admiration, attention, status, responsibility, and prestige opportunities that certain careers offer a case was made for the inclusion of career as a factor in narcissism development.

What is known. Narcissism may be reliably measured with the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988). The impact of narcissism on career has been studied. It appears that certain careers attract individuals with narcissism. This effect

has mainly been studied with regards to politics. It also appears that some careers (e.g. librarians and clergy) are not attractive to individuals with narcissism. Also, there are two types of narcissism. The two narcissistic phenotypes affect careers differently. Grandiose narcissism has personal benefits and correlates positively with career achievement; however vulnerable narcissism is personally detrimental and correlates negatively with career achievement (Hill & Yousey, 1998). In business research it is generally acknowledged that there are a disproportionate number of individuals with narcissism in executive leadership (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006). Psychological research shows support for excessive narcissism in executive leadership (Board & Fritzon, 2005). Finally, developmentally there is some empirical evidence that specific parenting styles correlate with high narcissism (Horton, 2011).

Filling the gap. The research literature is devoid of information on change in an individual's narcissism scores over a career. The present study was designed to measure narcissism at different points in a career. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory was used to measure narcissism at the beginning and end of a career. A cross sectional design allows for the comparison of assessment scores, and to look for changes in narcissism scores at the beginning, middle, and end of a career. Differences among group narcissism scores may indicate career as a possible influence on narcissism development.

Narcissism development literature has been limited. Research has focused on understanding the impact parenting has on narcissism (Horton, 2011). This study looked at narcissism development after parental influence has taken place. Most individuals settling into a career have finished school and have moved away from parents (Wagner et

al., 2013). This study can support research, which infers that parenting style is a main factor in the development of narcissism. In other words, if narcissism scores remain stable through a career then it can be argued that narcissism develops before a career starts. On the other hand, if the data showed that narcissism continues to increase after an individual leaves home then a case may be made that other factors (e.g. career) may be a factor in the development of narcissism.

Given the research it appears that many factors influence narcissism development, but it could also be possible that the direction of effect is reversed. Perhaps it is the nature of narcissism to increase. The cognitions associated with an inflated self-image may perpetuate narcissism. This would explain why social media, culture, peers groups, parenting, genetics, and abuse have all been correlated with the development of narcissism. It may be that any endeavor an individual with narcissism attempts can be assessed as a contributor to narcissism development. An important aspect of this study was comparing narcissism across careers. The Hill and Yousey (1998) study showed that librarian and clergy populations have low narcissism scores. A cross sectional assessment over the span of a career had the possibility of showing a reduction in narcissism scores, which would give credibility to a phenomenon other than parenting (i.e., career, social media, romantic relationship, etc.) as being influential in the development of narcissism. Most often career experience happens after individuals have left their parents (Flaherty & Pappas, 2002). Therefore, this study filled a gap in the literature by showing the possibility that individuals continue to develop through their career, and that changes in narcissism are potentially a part of an individual's development.

Chapter 3 will discuss how the proposed study will address the research question with the methodology and design. It will describe how the method and data analysis selections are appropriate for the study's intentions. The population and the sampling strategy will be revealed. Further, there will be conversation about how the variables narcissism and career were operationalized. Also, threats to the validity of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and concerns about the ethics of the study will be discussed.

Chapter 3: Research Method

A quantitative approach provided an opportunity to test for a relationship between narcissism and career. It was suspected that individuals with narcissism select careers that provide opportunities to cultivate and manage narcissistic goals such as the attainment of power, social prestige, competition, and achievement. I sought to compare farming and law careers for differences in narcissism. It was suspected that individuals who farmed would have lower narcissism scores than individuals in law careers. Law careers have more opportunities to obtain power, prestige, competition, and achievement. Another intention was to compare narcissism at the beginning, middle, and late stages of a career. It was believed that the process of self-enhancement or trying to make oneself look good in front of others might increase narcissism. Therefore, it was suspected that narcissism would increase as individuals spent longer in a law career. It was also possible that mean narcissism scores would decrease from the beginning career stage to the later stages. It was the purpose of this dissertation to compare these relationships and determine whether career is a factor in narcissism development.

In this chapter, I discuss the method and design of the study, including how the choices that accompanied the approach accomplished the desired purpose of the study. For instance, in this chapter I discuss the choice of a cross-sectional design and its properties as a comparative tool. In the methodology section, I discuss the procedures used for recruiting, sampling, and collecting data from farmers and lawyers. I also discuss the narcissism measurement instrument, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1979). Additionally, I address two-way independent analysis of covariance as the

choice for comparing narcissism in farming and law careers. This data analysis method allowed narcissism to be compared in farming and law careers while also controlling for salary and religion. The narcissism construct presented several validity challenges, which are discussed. Finally, the ethical precautions used to protect the participants are noted.

Research Design and Rationale

The main focus of this study was narcissism development. Development changes were determined by measuring narcissism at the beginning, middle, and end of a career in a cross-sectional design. Thus, narcissism was designated as the dependent variable. Differences in mean scores of narcissism may indicate that the chosen careers (independent variable) influenced narcissistic attitudes by serving as powerful motivational tools at an important developmental stage (Amundson et al., 2010).

This study investigated subclinical narcissism in farming as well as in the practice of law. The reasoning behind the choice of these professions and their capacity to provide appropriate subclinical narcissism samples is discussed shortly. The strength of narcissism may be influenced by the variable of time spent at a career. Time is represented by three groups, signified by the beginning (less than 1 year), middle (1 to 10 years), and late (10 or more years) stages of a career. These variables provided viable sources of developmental data. Additionally, the effects that salary and religion might have on narcissism scores were statistically controlled. Salary and religion information was collected through a demographic section in the questionnaire.

Strategically, a cross-sectional survey design was best suited to direct the process of answering the research questions. A cross-sectional survey allowed the gathering of

greater amounts of data and the ability to look for the prevalence of something in a group at a point in time (Creswell, 2014). In the cross-sectional surveys, no variables were manipulated. Therefore, several phenomena were analyzed at the same time. Further, cross-sectional survey designs are based on the proposal that a generalization about an attitude or behavior may be made about a population from a sample of that population (Babbie, 1990). These strengths of cross-sectional surveying allowed narcissism to be compared across careers and across points in time. Given this information, I looked for the prevalence of narcissism in two careers at three stages of those careers. According to Babbie (1990), with this design, it is possible to make inferences about narcissism in each of these career populations at three different stages of a career. Two additional advantages of cross-sectional designs are that they are relatively inexpensive and time efficient.

Because no variables are manipulated, cross-sectional survey research is considered descriptive, not relational or causal (Trochim & Donnelly, 2006). Therefore, it would be difficult for this study to advance any claims that career causes or is related to narcissism. This study simply noted changes in narcissism at different stages of a career. Inferences may be drawn from differences when careers are compared, but there are many factors that could contribute to any measured differences. This leads to another disadvantage of a cross-sectional design, which is that groups (e.g. careers, stages) may be influenced by unique circumstances or abilities of group members (Gratton & Jones, 2004). For instance, a global political event such as a war might influence one of the groups and not the others.

Caution must be exercised when making claims and assertions with cross-sectional research surveys (Trochim & Donnelly, 2006). However, among the advantages of the design was that it offered defensible and descriptive research that presented a valuable opportunity to gain developmental information about narcissism. The cross-sectional survey parameters and how they matched the intent of the dissertation have been described above; it appeared to be an ideal fit for the dissertation's goals. With this design, it is possible to infer that narcissism levels vary in different careers. It is also possible to infer that narcissism is different at the various stages of a career. Although inferences are limited, cross-sectional surveys are observational in nature and have the potential to lead other researchers to design more causal and relational narcissism/career studies (Trochim & Donnelly, 2006).

Methodology

Several research tools have been mentioned as important to realizing the goals of this study. First, a cross-sectional study allowed a phenomenon to be measured in a large population. An ideal method that could include time as a variable would be a longitudinal study. However, given the limits of a dissertation study, a longitudinal study was not feasible. Instead, I used a cross-sectional study, trying to replicate time by categorically measuring narcissism at three different intervals. Individuals in specific careers were assessed for narcissism. These scores were then compared based on the time that an individual had been engaged in that career. Individuals at the beginning, middle, and end of a career were assessed for differences in narcissism. This allowed data associated with the gaps in literature identified above to be analyzed.

Another tool necessary for the study was a valid narcissism assessment instrument. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory has been the primary instrument used in narcissism research, and this has led to a sophisticated and robust volume of empirical literature (Miller & Campbell, 2010; Raskin & Terry, 1988). This instrument was designed to measure narcissism constructs identified in the third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (Raskin & Terry, 1988). The Narcissistic Personality Inventory correlates significantly with self-report surveys, clinician evaluations, and structured interviews of individuals diagnosed with narcissistic personality disorder (Miller, Gaughan, Pryor, Kamen, & Campbell, 2009; Samuel & Widiger, 2004, 2008). There is some disagreement about the validity of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Cain et al., 2008). However, recent research on the validity of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory has shown significant incremental validity above other proposed replacements for the assessment (Miller et al., 2012). The Narcissistic Personality Inventory combined with a cross-sectional research method provided a valid and reliable study of potential differences in narcissism attitudes across the lifespan of a career.

Population

As mentioned above, farming and law were the careers selected for this study. These choices were based on the social psychology principles of collectivism and individualism, which were explained in the literature review. The sample for this study was recruited from national and regional trade associations for the respective careers. National associations provided lists that I used to recruit a sample population.

Associations work for the good of their members. They also provide career resources and opportunities for members to network and continue their education. These advantages make membership attractive. For these reasons, many associations have large populations. Permission was obtained from the respective association leaderships. Recruitment was requested through email communication.

While a trade association offered a convenient mode for collecting data, it should be noted that the possibility existed for some sampling bias. It was possible that there would be a segment of a career population that did not affiliate itself with a trade association. This could happen for a variety of reasons. For instance, the cost in time, resources, or dues may prohibit some from joining. Others may not agree with the politics of the trade association. They may not like the leadership of the association. There may be competing trade associations, which could splinter the career populations into groups based on characteristic cognitions or behaviors. Choosing one association over the other might misrepresent the career population. However, it was assumed that the sampling frame (law and farming trade associations) was representative of all individuals in those careers.

Sampling and Sampling Procedures

Selecting a sample from two careers required a probability sampling method. A stratified sampling strategy allowed for a more precise estimation of the target population. Therefore, recruiting from trade associations allowed for collecting a target stratum of farmers and lawyers. A power analysis using G*Power (Paul et al., 2007) software ensured correct results with the most efficient sample size. G*Power showed

that an alpha error (type I) probability of .05, which is conventionally chosen in social and behavioral research, with a power of at least .80 required a sample size of at least 128 to detect a medium effect size of .25. The analysis was a priori with user specified effect estimates for effect size, power, and error probability. The power of .80 is a conservative assumption because of a lack of preexistent research data on which to base the calculations. According to Cohen (1991), a .25 F-score for an ANCOVA represents a medium effect size. In prospective estimations, a medium effect size avoids the risk of underpowering a study. This computation left a sample number of 32 for each career subgroup.

Random participants from the trade associations mentioned above were emailed an informed consent form (Appendix A). The informed consent form explained the purpose and parameters of the study, as well as any potential risks associated with the study. At the bottom of the informed consent was a link to Survey Monkey. Survey Monkey is a cloud-based survey development company through which custom surveys can be developed and managed anonymously. The link at the end of the informed consent form had two functions. First, it served as consent. Individuals who selected the web link were considered to be informed about the study, and they were considered to be consenting to participate. This action was explained in the informed consent form. Second, selecting the link took them to the Survey Monkey website and the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Appendix B). Demographic information necessary for the study was included as part of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. The demographic information included career, gender, years spent in career, salary, and religious

commitment. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1979a) is a 40-question inventory that can be taken in approximately 10 minutes. There were no follow-up procedures planned for exit or debriefing. My email address was provided in the informed consent form for questions or follow-up information requests.

Instrumentation and Operationalization of Constructs

Several demographic questions were included at the beginning of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988). These questions are outlined in the literature review and are included in the Appendix (Appendix B). Permission to use the inventory was included in the Appendix (Appendix C). Narcissism was operationalized according to the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, which was first developed in 1979 by Raskin and Hall. It was designed to measure differences in narcissism among individuals in nonclinical populations. Raskin and Terry (1988) used item-total correlation and internal consistency strategies to achieve the current 40-item inventory. It has a robust history of empirical literature (Miller & Campbell, 2010). Since its introduction in 1979, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory has been the dominant narcissism measurement instrument (Corry et al., 2008; Pincus et al., 2009; Rhodewalt & Mort, 1998). Recently, the instrument has come under some criticism (Brown, Bukzek, & Tamborski, 2009; Cain et al., 2008; Rosenthal & Hooley, 2010). Questions have arisen about the predominance of grandiose narcissism assessment, the relationship of the instrument with positive mental functioning and self-esteem, the reliability of its factorial structure, and maladaptive versus adaptive focus (Miller et al., 2012). There has also been concern that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory does not pay attention to lower order traits that

make up narcissism (Miller et al., 2012). Therefore, there have been efforts to establish new narcissism assessments.

Problems associated with defining the narcissism construct have been noted throughout this study. For the purposes of this study, subclinical narcissism was defined by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. Raskin and Hall (1979) designed their measuring tool for nonclinical populations and used the criteria in the third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (American Psychiatric Association, 1980) for a conceptual framework. A principal-components analysis found seven first-order constructs of narcissism in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988). They were categorized as authority, superiority, exhibitionism, vanity, self-sufficiency, entitlement, and exploitativeness. These constructs characterize attitudes associated with narcissism. Varying amounts of these traits and attitudes appear to exist in all individuals. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory has been shown to measure these varying amounts in subclinical populations (Miller et al., 2012). It is a 40-question forced choice response survey. It includes forced-choice items such as "I am uncomfortable confronting people" or "it is important to hold people accountable," as well as "my decisions are respected by my peers" or the opposite, "I am rarely in a position to offer an opinion." Points are accumulated based on whether the responses match narcissism attitudes. Higher scores suggest higher subclinical narcissism.

The career literature suggests that the development of a career is an important element for social, psychological, and personality development (Amundson et al., 2010; Holland, 1985). An important aspect of operationalizing career is the understanding that

individuals define success in a career in different ways (Baltes, Rudolph, & Bal, 2013, Chapter 7). Additionally, attitudes about what a successful career entails evolve and change over time. For instance, objective and/or subjective criteria gain different priority in the early and late stages of a career (Wang, Olson, & Shultz, 2013). In fact, career literature shows that early career decisions focus more on objective criteria such as prestige and financial gain, whereas late career decisions focus more on subjective criteria such as less stress and a flexible work schedule (Olson & Shultz, 2013). These natural changes in career definition over the lifespan can create confusion over operationalizing career. It is acknowledged that career definition is individual and evolves, but that idea is conducive to this study's proposition that narcissism evolves and changes. However, for the purposes of this study, career was defined as having and maintaining membership in a farming or law trade association. The demographic questionnaire also provided data about whether individuals with memberships in trade associations are making money and practicing in their trade. Completed surveys with incomplete demographic information were disregarded, as they showed that the participant was not engaged and invested in the career.

Empirical literature identifying career stages has not categorized these stages according to years but rather by developmental tasks (Flaherty & Pappas, 2002). For instance, researchers have used measures such as occupational tenure, job tenure, attitudes, or psychometric factors to construct career stage categories. Early career theorists such as Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and Mckee (1978) based their career stage theory categories strictly on age. Super's (1957) theory categorized these

stages based on employee concerns. The lack of consensus regarding stage parameters has limited research (Bedeian, Pizzolatto, Long, & Griffeth, 1991; Cohen, 1991). A study by Flaherty and Pappas (2002) showed that psychometric measures such as attitude, opinions, and behavior allowed career stages to be more effective in predicting employee success. However, as there is no test for identifying psychometric differences in career stages, it is impossible to use this measurement. Therefore, this study used occupation tenure to operationalize the career stage variable. This should satisfy the purpose of the study, which was to compare narcissism in careers at three different stages. Career Stage 1 encompassed career tenure of 1 year or less. The middle career stage was between 1 and 10 years, and the end stage was 10 years or more. Career was operationalized as members of the State Bar Association in the state of Oregon and members of farming trade associations in various states. Narcissism was operationalized according to the Narcissistic Personality Inventory.

Data Analysis Plan

According to Fields (2013) a two-way independent analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) allows for group mean differences to be compared. A two-way analysis compared two independent variables, which in the case of this study was career (i.e. variable one) and stages of a career (i.e. variable two). This was required because the participants in each group were different. A two-way independent analysis of covariance allowed for measurement of the effects on the dependent variable (i.e. narcissism) and also looked at how the independent variables interacted. Also, an ANCOVA allowed for the controlling of multiple covariates that might have influenced the dependent variable.

In this case, salary and religion were identified as having a probable effect on narcissism. Therefore, an ANCOVA statistically controlled these two covariates and their effect. Computing the effect of career on narcissism was done by determining the total variability or sum of squared errors. This variance was then broken down into variance that can be explained by the independent variable (i.e. career), variance explained by the second independent variable (i.e. stages of a career) and variance that is explained by the interaction between the two. A significance level of $p < .05$ was selected to control for Type 1 errors (rejecting a true null hypothesis). To control for family-wise error Bonerroni's (1937) correction was used, which is effective for controlling type 1 error rate. Field (2013) also recommends the Ryan, Einot, Gabriel and Welsh Q (Ryan, 1960) procedure for testing all pairs of means and controlling for Type 1 error rate in a two-way independent analysis of covariance. Additionally, Levene's (1960) test for equality of variances was used for testing homogeneity of variance across population samples. All data analysis was conducted using IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS; IBM Corp, 2013). Additional data screening included the sorting of data tables for inconsistency, exploring graph distributions, scatter plot inspection, frequency distributions checks, and analysis of summary statistics.

The research questions and hypotheses will all be tested using a two-way independent analysis of variance. The research questions and hypotheses are included again for review.

Research Question 1: Is there a difference in narcissism mean scores between individuals in farming and law careers?

Null Hypothesis 1: There will not be a significant difference between the mean scores of individuals in farming and law careers on the Narcissism Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Directional Hypothesis 1: There will be a significant difference between the mean scores of individuals in farming and law careers on the Narcissism Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Research Question 2: Is there a difference between individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late stages of their career in mean scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory?

Null Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference between mean scores of individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late career stage on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Directional Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference between mean scores of individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late career stage on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Research Question 3: Is there a difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory?

Null Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Directional Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Threats to Validity

External Validity Threats

Possible threats to external validity included specificity of variables and reactive effects. There is some argument about the operationalization of the narcissism construct. This may compromise the generalizability of the narcissism construct as applied by other researchers. However, despite the attention and arguments for new narcissism instruments the Narcissistic Personality Inventory remains the most relevant measure of subclinical narcissism (Miller & Campbell, 2010). External validity is shown in that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory correlates positively with self-reported measures of narcissistic personality disorder (Samual &Widiger, 2008) and with what clinicians consider most typical of narcissistic personality disorder (Samual &Widiger, 2004). The robust history of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory reported by Miller and Campbell (2010) was mentioned previously. In fact, 77% of the narcissism research in social/personality psychology conducted since 1985 has used the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Cain et al., 2008). Even more telling, Miller and Campbell argued that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and trait narcissism are "inextricably linked" (p. 181). In other words, you cannot talk about one without talking about the other. Convergent validity is evident in positive correlations that the Narcissistic Personality Inventory has

with the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Raskin & Hall, 1981) and the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (Auerbach, 1984).

A recent study by Miller et al., (2012) compared the Narcissistic Personality Inventory to six other trait measurement instruments. Given the criticism of the inventory, they sought to compare the narcissism traits of grandiosity and entitlement across different instruments. The instruments included the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1992), the Pathological Narcissism Inventory (Pincus et al., 2009), the Pathological Entitlement scale (Campbell et al., 2004), and the Narcissistic Grandiosity scale (Rosenthal, Hooley, & Steshenko, 2011). The Narcissistic Personality Inventory correlated significantly with the other instruments in the prediction of grandiosity and entitlement (Miller et al., 2012). Despite some criticism the Narcissistic Personality Inventory is still the most viable and reliable instrument for measuring narcissism (Miller et al, 2012). The researcher has permission to use this instrument (Appendix C). Evidence supporting the construct validity, reliability and internal consistency of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory has been reported in multiple studies (Emmons, 1984, 1987; Raskin & Hall, 1979; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Therefore, even though the construct is difficult to operationalize there is enough evidence that narcissism is measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory that the researcher was comfortable with the external validity of the instrument.

There was also the possible external validity threat of reactivity by the study's participants. The fact that a participant is taking an inventory about their personal narcissism may cause some external validity issues. This may have affected how they

respond to the survey questions. For this reason the results of each individual's survey were not available. This was explained before the survey was administered. Participants could get the overall results by request, but they were not allowed to view their individual narcissism score, thereby, reducing the risk for a reactivity threat.

Threats to Internal Validity

Instrumentation, differential selection of participants, and selection-maturation interaction were identified as possible threats to the internal validity of the study. The instrumentation operationalization has been discussed above. Questions about its internal validity have also been answered by previous researchers and the developers. Split-half scores of .80 have shown good reliability (Raskin & Hall, 1979). Emmons (1984) demonstrated good internal validity when lower-order traits related to narcissism such as impulsivity, hostility, extraversion, independence, self-esteem have correlated positively with narcissism (i.e. content validity). Additionally, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory correlates strongly with semi-structured interviews conducted on individuals with narcissistic personality disorder indicating strong predictive validity (Miller et al., 2009).

Another threat to internal validity was the differential selection of participants. There may be some independent characteristic in each selected career that differentiates the study's participants from each other. However, this study was predicting that there are different characteristics in farming and law careers that affect narcissism, still the potential existed that some unknown trait related to career yet to be categorized may have affected narcissism. Salary and religion were selected to be controlled in the data analysis. The literature review has not indicated any other significant covariates that may

significantly threaten the internal validity of the study so it is believed that the risk was minimal.

Finally, selection-maturation interaction also posed a threat to internal validity. If narcissism changes as the hypothesis predicts. It was possible that the rates of change may be different between the two careers. However, this internal validity threat should have been mediated by direction. In other words, since it was predicted that narcissism in lawyers will increase and narcissism in farmers will decrease, any movement in those opposite directions should have been enough to validate the purposes of the study.

Ethical Procedures

Ethical treatment was a constant consideration throughout the study's design. It was believed that the process for the study's participants effectively dealt with potential ethical risks. The informed consent (Appendix A) was designed to be an open and honest communication of full disclosure, which allowed participants maximum study awareness before they choose to become involved. They knew of the purpose, risks, confidentiality procedures, and benefits of the study before voluntary agreeing to participate. Recruitment started with the informed consent. It was sent to potential candidates for their consideration. A link at the bottom of the page took potential participants to a confidential third party test administration website. I had no access to any specific personal information regarding the participants. However, the university and my contact information were provided in case additional information was needed. Also, individual scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory were not revealed. Any negative effects that may have resulted from the inventory were unavailable to participants. For instance,

the idea of being narcissistic may have negative social connotations. Individuals with narcissism may consider themselves as normal and well adjusted. Scoring high on a narcissism inventory might have had a negative effect on these individuals. I was unaware of individual inventory scores. Any harmful repercussions, such as effects on self-esteem or feeling shame, which may be associated with how people perceive their narcissism levels, was negated. Participants in the study had no access to their scores and therefore had no knowledge of their narcissism levels.

Informed consent was required before any individual could proceed. The consent form had sections about the background of the study, which indicated the research question and a brief summary about narcissism. A procedural section pointed out what participation required as well as several sample questions. The voluntary nature section described the ability of the participant to choose to be in the study and also to stop at any time. The inherent risks and benefits of the study were explained in a section. The procedures for maintaining privacy and confidentiality were also clarified in the privacy section. Participation was anonymous. The data were not able to be matched up to the participants as they were not known. I did not have access to the email list of those who responds to the inventory; he only had access to the data. The data collection website was set up to not collect the email addresses of respondents. Additionally, all data were stored on my personal computer. No one else has access. The computer is password protected. Finally, university and researcher contact information and responsibility were included in the last section.

Summary

In scientific inquiry the research question dictates the approach and method that will provide the most likely execution for obtaining knowledge about that question. This chapter explained the plan for obtaining knowledge about narcissism development. A cross-sectional design offered the best approach for analyzing the research questions about narcissism and career. Given the impossibility of manipulating variables and introducing interventions in an individual's career a cross-sectional design offered an effective yet low impact research study. Additionally, an analysis of variances between farming and law careers should have provided enough information for implicating career as a possible factor in narcissism development. In Chapter 4 the proposed study was executed and the data analyzed. The results of the data analysis are also presented in Chapter 4 and include descriptive statistics, finding results for each hypothesis, and appropriate tables. Also, a summary of answers to the research questions were discussed. Chapter 5 will interpret the findings and give recommendations for further study.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

This study was designed to compare narcissism between lawyers and farmers. It also compared narcissism at the beginning of, middle of, and after 10 years of experience in each respective career. The intent was to ascertain whether subclinical levels of narcissism differ between the two careers. It was also a goal to determine whether subclinical levels of narcissism change the longer one is in a career. Specifically, the study addressed the relationship between career and narcissism. Three hypotheses and research questions were tested using a cross-sectional design and an ANCOVA data analysis method. In this chapter, I explain the study's target population and describe the results of the statistical analyses.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. Is there a difference in narcissism mean scores between individuals in farming and law careers?

   H_{01}. There will not be a significant difference between the mean scores of individuals in farming and law careers on the Narcissism Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

   H_{a1}. There will be a significant difference between the mean scores of individuals in farming and law careers on the Narcissism Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

2. Is there a difference between individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late stages of their career in mean scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory?

   H_{02}. There is no significant difference between mean scores of individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late career stages on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

   H_{a2}. There is a significant difference between mean scores of individuals in farming at the beginning, middle, and late career stages on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

3. Is there a difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of a career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory?

   H_{03}. There is no significant difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of a career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

   H_{a3}. There is a significant difference between mean scores of lawyers at the beginning, middle, and late stages of a career on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory controlling for salary and religion.

Sections in Chapter 4 include a discussion about the data collection, including recruitment and response rates, demographic information, external validity, and covariate analysis. In the results section, the descriptive statistics, assumptions, and findings are reported and analyzed. Post hoc analysis is also completed. In the summary section, I look at the data in relation to the research questions and introduce Chapter 5.

Data Collection

In January and February 2017, an email was sent inviting 13,804 lawyers and 7,902 farmers to take the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. Of the 21,706 email addresses obtained for the study, 136 failed with error messages. Participants were recruited from Oregon State Bar (OSB) public records, which were bought and provided by the OSB. These records included lawyers from the states of Oregon and Washington. The farmers were recruited from a list bought from a website listing service and from the Washington State University farm and crop locator service. A total of 316 participants clicked through the link from the informed consent form indicating willingness to be involved in the study. The final data collection results included 21,570 contacted subjects, with 316 completing the study for a total response rate of 1.4%. Of the 316 study participants, 85% of the responses came from lawyers and 15% came from farmers. The study subjects included 268 lawyers and 48 farmers. Table 1 highlights the demographic information for the study's participants. There were no discrepancies in the data collection plan provided in Chapter 3.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics

Variable	*N*	Mean	Std. deviation
Lawyer	267	.85	.35
Agriculture	46	.15	.35
1 year of experience	9	.03	.17
1 to 10 years of experience	91	.29	.46
10 or more years of experience	211	.68	.47
Less than $50,000/year salary	70	.22	.42
Between $50,000 and $100,000 yearly salary	92	.29	.46
More than $100,000 a year salary	151	.48	.50
Not religious	178	.57	.50
Attend a religious service once/year	55	.18	.38
Attend a religious service once/week	64	.21	.40
Attend a religious service more than once/week	15	.05	.21
High school graduate	1	.00	.06
Attended some college	10	.03	.18
College degree	20	.06	.25
Graduate degree	281	.90	.30
Male	159		
Female	157		

Table 1 shows that males and females were equally represented, with 51% of the sample being male and 49% female. Regarding work experience, nine (3%) study subjects declared 1 year or less of experience, 91 (29%) claimed to have 1 to 10 years working in their field, and 211 (67%) endorsed 10 or more years of experience in their field. In addition, 151 (48%) participants reported making a salary over $100,000/year, 92 (29%) reported a salary between $50,000 and $100,000/year, and 70 (22%) reported a salary under $50,000/year. In regard to religious commitment, 178 (56%) declared not being religious, 55 (17%) claimed to attend a religious service once a year, 64 (20%) reported attending a religious service once a week, and 15 (5%) admitted to attending a religious service more than once a week. Finally, concerning education, 281 (86%) study subjects claimed to have graduate degrees, 20 (6%) declared college degrees, 10 (3%) had attended college, and one (.003%) had a high school degree.

Due to a probability sampling method, which involved recruiting from the Oregon State Bar Association and the Washington State farm and crop locator, the sample participants appeared to be lawyers and farmers. Additionally, the survey asked participants to declare their career. All of the survey participants endorsed being either a lawyer or a farmer. Data collection included three career-experience groups. The study design was developed to compare narcissism at the beginning, middle, and end stages of a career. Beginning was defined as 1 year or less of experience. The end stage was defined as over 10 years of experience. This spread left a middle group of between 1 and 10 years of experience. Originally, the middle group was not going to be included in data analysis. However, due to low participation rates from the beginning sample group,

inclusion of the middle group served to increase the overall sample size. According to Schoeneberger (2016), a larger sample size increases the statistical power and external validity of a study. The larger sample size and the fact that the sample was taken from the target populations resemble real-world circumstances and were key elements for increasing validity and generalizability (Trochim, 2000). Proximal similarity between lawyers and farmers in the United States should be high. For instance, the National Conference of Bar Examiners (NCBE) is a U.S.-based nonprofit organization that develops national standardized tests for individual states. The NCBE offers testing portability across states and ensures that testing is uniform (Cassens Weiss, 2010). Additionally, national academic accreditation agencies set criteria and standards for law schools. Lawyers in Oregon and Washington should be fairly representative of all lawyers in the United States. Farmers in the United States also have equal federal regulations and resources across states. These examples of proximal similarity elements in the target samples indicate that external validity should be high in this study.

Results

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 compared differences in narcissism between lawyers and farmers. I hypothesized that these two careers would produce significant differences in mean narcissism scores. Narcissism means were compared between lawyers and farmers using an ANCOVA and controlling for salary and religious commitment. Narcissism was measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (i.e. scaled measurement) and was the dependent variable. The career independent variables were coded 0 = lawyer and 1=

farmer. The control variables were salary (coded 0 = less than $50,000, 1 = between $50,000 and $100,000, and 2 = more than $100,000) and religious commitment (coded 0 = not religious, 1 = attend religious service once a year, 2 = attend religious service once a week, and 3 = attend religious service more than once a week). The results of the ANCOVA showed no significant differences between narcissism mean scores between lawyers and farmers (see Table 4). In comparing the adjusted means (means after controlling for salary and religious commitment), there was a slight difference (not significant) for narcissism between individuals practicing law and farmers. Table 5 shows the means before and after controlling for salary and religious commitment. The unadjusted means for lawyers and farmers shows lawyers with higher narcissism. However, the adjusted means after controlling for salary and religious commitment show that farmers in the study have a slightly higher (not significant) level of narcissism. Comparing the means before and after controlling for salary and religious commitment shows that these covariates did have an effect on the means.

Levene's test (see Table 2) was used to identify homogeneity of variance between the two independent variables. Analysis showed that this assumption was not violated *(F* (1,310) =2.382, p = .124). An evaluation of the homogeneity of regression assumption (see Table 3) indicated that the relationship between the covariates (i.e. salary and religious commitment) and the dependent variable (i.e. narcissism) did not differ between the two groups (F(2,306) =2.78, p = .065).

The ANCOVA showed nonsignificance for the salary covariate (F (1,312) = 2.06, p > .01). The ANCOVA did, however, show significance for the religious commitment

covariate (F (1,312) = 5.09, p < .01), which accounted for 2% of the variability in narcissism. Narcissism levels in lawyers (M = 12.31) and farmers (M = 12.58), adjusted for salary and religious commitment, showed no significant difference. Therefore, in the present study, Null Hypothesis 1 was accepted; Alternative Hypothesis 1 was rejected. After adjusting for salary and religious commitment, farmer narcissism mean scores were slightly, but not significantly, higher. The Ryan, Einot, Gabriel, and Welsh Q (Ryan, 1960) procedure for testing all pairs was not administered, as there were no significance differences found. Post hoc comparison using the Bonferroni correction (Table 6) indicated that the mean narcissism score difference (M = .279) between lawyers and farmers was not significant (F = .782).

Table 2

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

F	*df*1	*df*2	Sig.
2.382	1	310	.124

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups. Dependent variable: NPI.

[a] Design: Intercept + Salary + Religious commitment + Occupation

Table 3

Homogeneity of Regression

Source	Type III sum of squares	*df*	Mean square	*F*	Sig.
Corrected model	432.034[a]	5	86.407	2.515	.030
Intercept	7795.150	1	7795.150	226.894	.000
Occupation	63.588	1	63.588	1.851	.175
Salary	110.432	1	110.432	3.214	.074
Religious commitment	13.378	1	13.378	.389	.533
Occupation * Salary * Religious commitment	189.523	2	94.762	2.758	.065
Error	10512.886	306	34.356		
Total	58527.000	312			
Corrected total	10944.920	311			

Note. Dependent variable: NPI.

[a]*R* squared = .039 (adjusted *R* squared = .024).

Table 4

ANCOVA: Hypothesis 1

Source	Type III sum of squares	*df*	Mean square	*F*	Sig.	Partial eta squared
Corrected model	242.511[a]	3	80.837	2.326	.075	.022
Intercept	10531.384	1	10531.384	303.078	.000	.496
Salary	71.640	1	71.640	2.062	.152	.007
Religious commitment	177.019	1	177.019	5.094	.025	.016
Occupation	2.677	1	2.677	.077	.782	.000
Error	10702.409	308	34.748			
Total	58527.000	312				
Corrected total	10944.920	311				

Note. Dependent variable: NPI. The covariate religious commitment is significant, $p = .025$, but career is not significant ($F(1,312) = .007$, $p > .005$) in narcissism mean differences.

[a]*R* squared = .022 (adjusted *R* squared = .013).

Table 5

Unadjusted and Adjusted Means

	Unadjusted	Adjusted with salary and religious commitment
Occupation	Mean	Mean
Lawyer	12.42	12.31
Agriculture	11.93	12.59

[a]Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Salary = 1.26, Religious commitment? = .73.

Table 6

Bonferroni Comparison

(I) Occupation?	(J) Occupation?	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig.[a]	95% confidence interval for difference[a]	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
Lawyer	Agriculture	-.279	1.005	.782	-2.256	1.698
Agriculture	Lawyer	.279	1.005	.782	-1.698	2.256

Note. Based on estimated marginal means.

[a]Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 compared narcissism mean levels in farmers at different stages. It was thought that narcissism means would be higher at the beginning and lower as a farming career progressed. Narcissism means were compared using a two-way ANCOVA and controlling for salary and religious commitment. Narcissism was measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (scaled measurement) and was the dependent variable. The stages of career were the independent variables and were coded 0 = 1 year or less, 1=

1 to 10 years, and 2 = more than 10 years. The control variables were salary (coded 0 = less than $50,000, 1 = between $50,000 and $100,000, and 2 = more than $100,000) and religious commitment (coded 0 = not religious, 1 = attend religious service once a year, 2 = attend religious service once a week, and 3 = attend religious service more than once a week). The results of the ANCOVA showed no significant differences between narcissism mean scores between farmers with 1 year of experience, 1 to 10 years of experience, and more than 10 years of experience (see Table 10).

Levene's test (see Table 7) was used to identify homogeneity of variance between the three independent variables. Analysis showed that this assumption was not violated *(F* (6,304) = 1.801, p = .099). An evaluation of the homogeneity of regression assumption (see Table 8) indicated that the relationship between the covariates (i.e. salary and religious commitment) and the dependent variable (i.e. narcissism) did not differ between the two groups (F(3,311) = 1.406, p = .241).

The ANCOVA showed nonsignificance for the salary covariate (F (1,302) =2.71, p >.101). The ANCOVA did however show a significance for the religious commitment covariate (F (1,302) = 4.44, p < .01), which accounted for 1.5 % of the variability in narcissism. Narcissism levels, adjusted for salary and religious commitment, in farmers with one year of experience (M = 16.46), farmers with between 1 and 10 years of experience (M = 13.27), and farmers with more than 10 years of experience (M = 12.33) showed no significant difference. Therefore in the present study the Null Hypothesis 2 is accepted; the Alternative Hypothesis 2 is rejected. Farmer narcissism mean scores, after adjusting for salary and religious commitment, when compared at three different

experience stages were not significantly different. The Ryan, Einot, Gabriel and Welsh Q (Ryan, 1960) procedure for testing all pairs was not administered as there was no significance differences found. Post hoc comparison using the Bonferroni correction (Table 13) indicated that the narcissism mean scores between farmers with less that 1 year experience, between 1 and 10 years experience, and more than 10 years of experience were not significantly different.

Table 7

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

F	*df*1	*df*2	Sig.
1.801	6	304	.099

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups. Dependent variable: NPI.
[a]Design: Intercept + Salary + Religious commitment + Agriculture + Career experience + Agriculture * Career experience.

Table 8

Homogeneity of Regression Assumption

Source	Type III sum of squares	*df*	Mean square	*F*	Sig.	Partial eta squared
Corrected model	497.415[a]	8	62.177	1.890	.061	.048
Intercept	5049.794	1	5049.794	153.535	.000	.337
Career experience	81.568	2	40.784	1.240	.291	.008
Salary	140.631	1	140.631	4.276	.040	.014
Religious commitment	.038	1	.038	.001	.973	.000
Career experience * Salary * Religious commitment	138.762	3	46.254	1.406	.241	.014
Error	9932.804	302	32.890			
Total	57302.000	311				
Corrected total	10430.219	310				

Note. Dependent variable: NPI.
[a]*R* squared = .048 (adjusted *R* squared = .022).

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics Before Controlling for Salary and Religious Commitment

Career experience		Mean	Std. deviation	*N*
Lawyer	1 year	10.71	6.157	7
	1-10 years	12.53	6.146	80
	10 or more	12.25	5.409	177
Agriculture	1 year	16.00	.	1
	1-10 years	12.08	5.961	12
	10 or more	11.76	6.888	33

Note. Dependent variable: NPI.

Table 10

ANCOVA: Hypothesis 2

Source	Type III sum of squares	*df*	Mean square	*F*	Sig.	Partial eta squared
Corrected model	387.372[a]	8	48.422	1.456	.173	.037
Intercept	2859.267	1	2859.267	85.981	.000	.222
Salary	90.249	1	90.249	2.714	.101	.009
Religious commitment	147.793	1	147.793	4.444	.036	.015
Agriculture	28.105	1	28.105	.845	.359	.003
Career experience	141.855	3	47.285	1.422	.236	.014
Agriculture * Career experience	19.003	2	9.502	.286	.752	.002
Error	10042.847	302	33.254			
Total	57302.000	311				
Corrected total	10430.219	310				

[a]*R* squared = .037 (adjusted *R* squared = .012). [b]Computed using alpha = .05.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 compared narcissism mean levels in lawyers at different stages. It was thought that narcissism means would be lower at the beginning and higher as a law career progressed. Narcissism means were compared between lawyers using a two-way ANCOVA and controlling for salary and religious commitment. Narcissism was measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (scaled measurement) and is the dependent variable. The stages of career were the independent variables and were coded 0 = one or less, 1= 1 to 10 years, and 2 = more than 10 years. The control variables were salary (coded 0 = less than $50,000, 1 = between $50,000 and $100,000, and 2 = more than $100,000) and religious commitment (coded 0 = not religious, 1 = attend religious service once a year, 2 = attend religious service once a week, and 3 = attend religious service more than once a week). The results of the ANCOVA showed no significant differences between narcissism mean scores between lawyers with one year of experience, 1 to 10 years of experience, and more than 10 years of experience (see Table 12).

Levene's test (see Table 11) was used to identify homogeneity of variance between the three independent variables. Analysis showed that this assumption was not violated *(F* (5,303) =1.677, *p* = .140). An evaluation of the homogeneity of regression assumption (see Table 8) indicated that the relationship between the covariates (i.e. salary and religious commitment) and the dependent variable (i.e. narcissism) did not differ between the two groups (*F*(3,311) =1.406, *p* = .241).

The ANCOVA showed nonsignificance for the salary covariate (F (1,302) =2.71, p >.101). The ANCOVA did however show a significance for the religious commitment covariate (F (2,302) = .286, p < .01), which accounted for 4 % of the variability in narcissism. Narcissism levels, adjusted for salary and religious commitment, in lawyers with one year of experience (M = 11.36), lawyers with between 1 and 10 years of experience (M = 12.68), and lawyers with more than 10 years of experience (M = 11.97) showed no significant difference. Therefore in the present study the Null Hypothesis 3 is accepted; the Alternative Hypothesis 3 is rejected. Lawyer narcissism mean scores, after adjusting for salary and religious commitment, when compared at three different experience stages were not significantly different. The Ryan, Einot, Gabriel and Welsh Q (Ryan, 1960) procedure for testing all pairs was not administered as there was no significance differences found. Post hoc comparison using the Bonferroni correction (Table 13) indicated that the narcissism mean scores between lawyers with less that 1 year experience, between 1 and 10 years experience, and more than 10 years of experience were not significantly different.

Table 11

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

F	*df*1	*df*2	Sig.
1.677	5	303	.140

Note. Dependent variable: NPI. Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

[a]Design: Intercept + Salary + Religious commitment + 1 year + 10 or more + Lawyer + 1 year * 10 or more + 1 year * Lawyer + 10 or more * Lawyer + 1 year * 10 or more * Lawyer.

Table 12

ANCOVA: Hypothesis 3

Source	Type III sum of squares	*df*	Mean square	*F*	Sig.	Partial eta squared
Corrected model	387.372[a]	8	48.422	1.456	.173	.037
Intercept	2859.267	1	2859.267	85.981	.000	.222
Salary	90.249	1	90.249	2.714	.101	.009
Religious commitment	147.793	1	147.793	4.444	.036	.015
Career experience	141.855	3	47.285	1.422	.236	.014
Lawyer	28.105	1	28.105	.845	.359	.003
Career experience * Lawyer	19.003	2	9.502	.286	.752	.002
Error	10042.847	302	33.254			
Total	57302.000	311				
Corrected total	10430.219	310				

[a]*R* squared = .037 (adjusted *R* squared = .012). [b]Computed using alpha = .05.

Table 13

Pairwise Comparisons

(I) Career experience	(J) Career experience	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig.[c]	95% confidence interval for difference[c]	
					Lower bound	Upper bound
1 year	1-10 years	.935	3.221	1.000	-7.618	9.489
	10 or more	1.761	3.170	1.000	-6.659	10.180
1-10 years	1 year	-.935	3.221	1.000	-9.489	7.618
	10 or more	.825	1.086	1.000	-2.058	3.708
10 or more	1 year	-1.761	3.170	1.000	-10.180	6.659
	1-10 years	-.825	1.086	1.000	-3.708	2.058

Note. Dependent variable: NPI. Based on estimated marginal means.
[a]An estimate of the modified population marginal mean (J). [b]An estimate of the modified population marginal mean (I). [c]Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

Analysis of the main hypotheses did not yield a need for any other additional statistical testing.

Summary

Analysis of the data did not support hypotheses 1, 2, or 3. Subclinical levels of narcissism, with salary and religious commitment controlled, were not found to be significantly different between lawyers and farmers. Also, the data showed no significance between farmers at 1 year of experience, between 1 and 10 years' experience, or more than 10 years of experience. Additionally, the data showed no significance between lawyers at 1 year of experience, between 1 and 10 years experience, or more than 10 years of experience.

Chapter 5 will discuss the implications and possible interpretations of the study's findings. Several limitations of the study will be explained. Recommendation for future study will also be explored.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

Research has shown that narcissism levels are increasing (Greenberger et al., 2008; Mazlish, 1982; Paris, 2014; Trzesniewski et al., 2008; Twenge et al., 2014; Twenge et al., 2008a; Twenge & Foster, 2010; Stewart & Bernhardt, 2010). Researchers studying narcissism have generally ignored its development (Barry & Wallace, 2010; Hill & Lapsley, 2011; Horton, 2011; Paris, 2014; Wright, 2014). Theorists have implicated parenting, culture, genetics, social media, abuse, and shame as primary culprits in narcissism's growth (Buffardi & Campbell, 2008; Campbell et al., 2009; Maxwell & Huprich, 2014; Morrison, 2011; Paris, 2014; Watson et al., 1992). Research supporting these claims has been inconclusive (Horton, 2011). Given the potential consequences that high narcissism levels can bring (e.g. personality disorder, troubled relationships, unstable employment), understanding narcissism could benefit society and the field of psychology.

The purpose of this study was to determine if career is a factor in the development of narcissism. Data were collected from participants from two careers, farmers and lawyers, for a quantitative cross-sectional study. These careers were chosen because they represent the cultural differences between individualism and collectivism. Triandis (2001) described individualist and collectivist cultural syndromes. Descriptions of individualism include values consistent with narcissism. According to Fields (2013), two-way independent analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) is the appropriate factorial design for comparing groups while also statistically controlling for covariance. The variance of

the dependent variable (i.e. narcissism) was compared between the independent variables of farming and law careers while controlling for salary and religion. These groups were also compared at three stages of those careers.

Farmers' and lawyers' narcissism levels were compared and found to not be significantly different. Farmers' levels of narcissism were found to not be significantly different across the following groups: less than 1 of year of career experience, between 1 and 10 years of career experience, and more than 10 years of experience. Lawyers' levels of narcissism were also found to not be significantly different across groups representing less than 1 of year of career experience, between 1 and 10 years of career experience, and more than 10 years of experience. Career has been identified as having a premier position in adult development (Amundson et al., 2010; Arnett. 2007). Differences found in narcissism scores between farmers and lawyers might be attributed to specific tasks and identity discovery associated within careers. Findings and interpretation are summarized in the following section.

Interpretation of the Findings

Narcissism mean scores for lawyers and farmers were not significantly different (Hypothesis 1). Additionally, mean narcissism scores were not significantly different between stages of experience for lawyers or farmers (Hypotheses 1 and 2). This finding suggests that career may not be a factor in the development of narcissism. Narcissism levels did not change significantly when stages of law and farming careers were compared. Although these findings were not predicted, they do offer some interpretive meaning and may extend social science knowledge. In comparing the study findings to

topics mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 2), the following can be inferred. First, results of this study show that narcissism was not significantly different between farming and law careers. In the literature review section, I argued that career has an effect on narcissism. Future studies may show that careers other than farming and law may influence narcissism. However, that was not the case in this study. Narcissism was not significantly different when different stages of a career were compared to each other. Career does not appear to influence narcissism levels.

Second, according to Reich and Rosenberg (2004), *selective interaction* is the process of selecting situations and partners that support a social identity. It was argued that selective interaction processes would support this study's hypotheses and that individuals with narcissism would choose careers that protect their social identity claims. I also suggested that individuals with narcissism are attracted to specific careers. It was suspected that if this study showed a difference when early stages of law and farming careers were compared, it could be inferred that individuals might start their careers based on narcissism building tasks provided by those careers. However, there was no significant difference between lawyers and farmers starting their careers. The findings in this study did not support the idea that individuals select careers, audiences, and roles in those careers to validate a narcissistic social identity. It appears that individuals do not select careers because they believe that a specific career will improve their status, provide power, entitle them to a position, or enhance their self-esteem.

Another factor addressed in the literature review was a need for admiration. Research shows that the quality of a job correlates with employee performance and

turnover (Hall & Heras, 2010). A job perceived as high in quality will positively affect employee performance and the desire of employees to stay in that job. Further, what is considered to be a quality job differs from individual to individual. I suggested that individuals with narcissism have narcissistic perceptions that influence their definition of a quality job (Hall, 2002; Pincus, 2013; Roche et al., 2013; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006). It cannot be inferred from the current findings that narcissism is a factor in defining what is considered to be a quality job. Other factors, such as benefits, camaraderie, or job satisfaction, should be considered and researched when defining the quality of a job.

A fourth factor discussed in narcissism development was the disproportionately high number of individuals with narcissism in executive management (Lubit, 2002; Post, 1993; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Travis, 2003). Some research shows that narcissistic character traits are becoming more valued by modern Western societies (Foster et al., 2003; Nevicka et al., 2013; Twenge et al., 2008b). The current findings did not address this factor; however, several qualitative observations during data collection support this idea. During data collection, a semiretired judge contacted me proposing a new study. He conveyed a longstanding theory he had that judges were more narcissistic than lawyers. Additionally, I had several dealings with the Oregon State Law Board. Executives in charge at the board exhibited character traits associated with narcissism. Two members of the board contacted me and demanded that I stop collecting data until significant changes were made to the informed consent. The manner and language they used to communicate their demands was consistent with narcissistic behavior. For instance, one lawyer demanded that I cease and desist. She also demanded that I send a retraction to all those I

had emailed previously. I had broken no laws, but these lawyers appeared to be unempathetic concerning the work I had completed and the significance of the research. They also appeared entitled, believing that I should and would acquiesce to their demands simply because they had demanded that I do so. They were also defensive and argumentative when I pointed out that I had done nothing wrong and that they might be overreacting. These attitudes reflect narcissistic thinking.

Finally, one study found that narcissism levels were different in specific careers (Hill & Yousey, 1998). In that study, narcissism levels were found to be different between clergy, university faculty, librarians, and politicians. However, the current study did not confirm a significant difference in narcissism levels between lawyers and farmers. This finding does not preclude narcissism levels being different between other careers, but the two careers studied showed no difference in narcissism. This means that farmers and lawyers may have similar levels of narcissism, and therefore these specific careers do not appear to influence or be influenced by narcissism. The possibility remains that a study measuring two other careers might have produced different results.

Symbolic interaction theory (Blumer, 1969) was proposed as the conceptual framework for career being a potential factor in the development of narcissism. Specifically, impression management theory concerns the processes and motivations individuals have for managing how others view them. People search and explore for clues about impressions they are making, and then they seek to control the image they present (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). According to Gollwitzer (1986), in this process of managing our impressions (making ourselves look good), we present biased information.

The incongruence between the ideal self and the real self is what motivates individuals to act more in line with their ideal image. I hypothesized that career consequences such as power, salary, and status are noteworthy motivators in the process of acting more like ones perceived ideal image. These consequences are strong motivators (Schlenker, 1985) for individuals to present an ideal image and therefore create strong incongruence between the real and ideal self. In other words, telling people that one is a great boss is a motivator to actually be a better boss. The process of acting more closely to ones ideal and projected image is the theoretical process of changing the self-image to a narcissistic one. However, this study's findings did not support the idea that career is a strong motivator for presenting an ideal image and starting a process of narcissism development. The ideal self-image potential that a career may offer does not appear to create enough incongruence (Schlenker, 1985) to initiate impressions in such a way as to influence narcissism.

Some attempt should be made to explain the lack of significant results (i.e. inability to reject the null hypothesis). In my opinion, the most obvious reason that narcissism did not show any significant difference between lawyers and farmers was that career is not a factor in narcissism development. Perhaps the lack of developmental literature concerning narcissism derives from the correctness of the theoretical assumption that parents are to blame for narcissism (Horton, 2011; Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1966; Millon, 1981). It may be, in other words, that the lack of a research movement focused on the genesis and development of narcissism is due to the fact that the notion that parental influence is a primary cause of narcissism is strong and is based

on qualitative and intuitive observations that are fundamentally correct. Family research literature provides ample evidence that parenting optimizes or minimizes child development (Chadwick, Chadwick, Kusel, & Cuddy, 2008; Guajardo, Snyder, & Petersen, 2009; Koskentausta, Livanainen, & Almqvist, 2007; Stack, Serbin, Enns, Ruttle, & Barrieu, 2010). Although this literature does not specifically target narcissism, other forms of psychopathology such as depression and anxiety are measured (Gettler & Oka, 2016; Moller, Nikolic, Majdandzic, & Bogels, 2016; Olino et al., 2016). These offer compelling arguments for the veracity of parenting's influence.

Other reasoning behind the lack of significance shown in the study could be that the limitations discussed below had a bigger influence on the study than could be controlled. For instance, although thought and research sought to choose careers that would possibly affect narcissism, farmers and lawyers may not have shown enough difference in narcissism to produce a statistically significant result. Different careers may have produced different statistical findings, such as differing levels of narcissism or significantly different levels of narcissism at varying stages of job experience. The study by Hill and Yousey (1998) did find a statistical difference in narcissism between political, educational, library, and clergy careers. Hill and Yousey used factorial structuring of the Narcissism Personality Inventory to determine levels of adaptive and maladaptive narcissism. Arguments against the efficacy of factoring reliability regarding the Narcissism Personality Inventory have suggested that this instrument is best used as a measurement only of subclinical narcissism and not of categorical traits that define narcissism (Miller et al., 2012). This study used the Narcissism Personality Inventory as

suggested by Miller et al., 2012). A more sensitive instrument might have produced indications of a greater difference in narcissism between lawyers and farmers.

Along this same line of reasoning, perhaps the method, design, or statistical options such as effect size did not have sufficient analytical power to produce significant results (Trochim, 2000). Perhaps comparing different experience stages would have produced significant results. Instead of 1 year or less, 1 to 10 years, and more than 10 years of experience, a different range of experience might have produced different findings. Flaherty and Pappas (2002) differentiated career stages based on task competency rather than experience. Perhaps identifying tasks associated with farming and law careers would have allowed for differentiating categorical stages, which might have shown differences in narcissism levels.

Limitations of the Study

Execution of the study found several limitations that should be considered in future studies on career and narcissism. The probability sampling method provided a high likelihood of participants who were both lawyers or farmers, but the representativeness of the participants in relation to the general populations of lawyers and farmers may be subject to the following limits. First, the delivery of the survey by email may have been prohibitive. For instance, the sensitivity of email spam filters can be adjusted. Individual personal email, server networks, and law firm firewalls have different levels of security, which may limited the survey's ability to reach its intended target population. The study's email request may have triggered some network security systems and not others. In addition, the probability is high that different individuals had varying degrees of

computer technical skills. Law and farming careers may require different levels of computer skills. It is conceivable that a law career and its educational requirements necessitate a higher level of computer skill. Lawyers may have stricter spam filters that stop delivery of unfamiliar emails, which might have automatically sent the narcissism research request into the trash file. This would have decreased the number of requests viewed by lawyers, which might have impacted response rates. However, as the response rate was higher for lawyers than for farmers, it might be the case that improved computer skills led to a greater likelihood of email delivery. Farmers would not be required to use computers as much as lawyers and therefore might not be savvy concerning tools that restrict email delivery. Further, it is possible that training associated with becoming a lawyer impacted response rates. Lawyers may have had a perspective that made them critical or suspicious of an email's intent, which would have affected their willingness to participate. This may have influenced the study by keeping a segment of the lawyer population, those who were technologically advanced as well as suspicious, from giving serious consideration to an email request. If that portion of the lawyer population is also higher in narcissism (or lower), this behavior could conceivably have influenced the total mean score for narcissism in lawyers. If the mean difference was significantly different, it could lead to a Type II error.

There are other factors that could also affect email delivery and response. Age, culture, preferences, and bias are just a few factors that might affect an individual's receptiveness to an email invitation. Additionally, the majority of emails were sent over the Christmas and New Year's holidays. Some prospective participants may have been

busy with holiday preparations and not as willing to engage in email correspondence. This may have been especially prohibitive in the farming industry. Several automatic responses from farmers indicated that the farming season was over and that the particular email address being used was not monitored during the off-season. The nature of email delivery systems may impose limitations that may differentiate the sample population.

A limitation discussed in Chapter 1 that may have affected generalization involves the different categorical forms of employment embedded in farming and law. This did prove to be a factor in data collection. For instance, there are major differences between certain crops in the ways that they are grown and harvested. Vineyards, orchards, grains, and organics all have particular challenges that may make each of these a unique farming career. A vineyard farmer generally produces wine as part of the farming job. Such farmers have particular marketing strategies that they must employ. Most vineyards have retail stores on their properties and host wine-tasting tours. For these reasons, operating a vineyard is a completely different job than being a potato farmer. Additionally, the Washington and Oregon Farm Bureaus list dairy and meat producers as farmers. Meat, in other words, is considered a crop. This may have affected the ability of the sample population to represent farmers as described in the definition section.

Lawyers also have categorical differences in their careers. There are likely differences between corporate, criminal, divorce, civil and private practice law. These differences were not controlled in the study and may differentiate the participants regarding narcissism. This may have affected the ability of the sample population to

represent a lawyer as described in the definition section. This would have impacted the study by inhibiting the ability of the study's sample to generalize to the target population.

The majority of study participants were recruited from Oregon and Washington states. However, given the low response rate for farmers, additional states were incorporated into participant recruitment. It was my intent to control regional differences by enlisting both lawyers and farmers from the same area, but this became problematic given recruiting and response rate limitations. It is likely that there are regional differences in practicing law and farming but these were not controlled or analyzed, which may be a threat to internal validity because of differential selection. For instance, farmers in California may be completely different than farmers in Washington. Farmers in California have better weather and therefore longer growing seasons. This might make it easier for them to make a living compared to farmers in Washington, which could conceivably affect narcissism. This would limit the ability of the sample population to represent general population.

Data collection also proved difficult with regards to finding participants in the 1 year or less category of career experience. Participation numbers improved as the stage experience increased, with the more than 10 years of experience having the most participants. This may have been a result of several factors. First, there may be time constraints associated with being in the first year of a career. Possible early career participants could be focused on developing career skill and position, which may take preeminence in their task pursuits. More experienced individuals are established and comfortable in their career and have time to consider participating in a study. Culture

could be a factor with more experienced individuals feeling a greater need to further scientific pursuits. The nature of the study could be a factor. A study that hypothesizes about narcissism increasing or decreasing as a career progresses may have interest to individuals who have been in a career for a 10 or more years. Finally, a colleague who grew up on a farm mentioned the possibility that most farmers grow up on a farm and cannot differentiate when their first year of farming started. They have been raised as, and always have been, farmers. There may be other factors that inhibited the response rates for individuals. Future studies seeking to recruit career respondents with one year or less of experience should consider factors that prohibit participation of this group.

Finally, one participant's data set was eliminated from data analysis. A narcissism score for one lawyer with one year or less of experience was over 4 standard deviations from the mean, which constituted it as an outlier. According to Judd and McClelland (1989) removal of an outlier with a standard deviation of 3 or more offers a more honest estimate of the possible parameters of a population. Overall, despite the above limitations the findings in this study do not appear to be out of the bounds of previous studies on narcissism. In other words, given the lack of significance found in the results it would be difficult for the stated social implications to exceed the study's boundaries and purpose. The findings of this study, despite the limitations, did not violate assumptions for an ANCOVA analysis, and all threats to validity discussed in Chapter 3 have been addressed.

Recommendations

Narcissism did not show a significant difference between farmers or lawyers in this study. Despite this lack of significant findings, Hill and Yousey (1998) did find differences between a sample of clergy, universities faculty, librarians, and politicians. Additionally, research has shown higher levels of narcissism in business (Board & Fritzon, 2005; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006) and political leadership (Deluga, 1997; Watts et al., 2013). Further studies on careers would verify whether levels of subclinical narcissism differ in other careers besides farming and law. I reviewed individualism and collectivism theory and studies attempting to identify careers that may differ in narcissism. It is possible that other theories could offer a better approach to classifying careers with higher or lower narcissism opportunities. A study testing many careers (e.g. 10 or more) might also be effective and efficient in meeting the limitations mentioned above and finding differences in career narcissism. In other words, if career does influence narcissism but did not manifest in this study the more careers that are compared the more likely it would be that one would show a significant difference in narcissism, which would confirm the hypotheses outlined in this study.

Another recommendation for further study stems from the link mentioned above between leadership in both business and politics. Research has shown that leaders in politics (Deluga, 1997; Watts et al., 2013) and business (Board & Fritzon, 2005) have a high incidence of individuals with narcissism. It may be that leadership is a catalyst for narcissism development, or possibly that individuals with narcissism are naturally drawn to pursue leadership positions. A study that focuses on leadership, other than politics and

business, and the corresponding narcissism rates could aid in determining if leadership is a factor in the development of narcissism.

Another recommendation that comes from the findings is the possible link between religious commitment and narcissism. According to the data analysis (Hypothesis 1) the religious commitment covariate did have a measured effect on narcissism levels. Research confirming religion as an influence on narcissism development would corroborate this possibility. Religion was chosen as a covariate by virtue of research correlating it to narcissism (Patrick, 1990). Census numbers indicate that religious commitment is declining in Western societies (Altemeyer, 2004). The present study showed that only 25% of the participants attended religious services once a week or more. If there is a correlation between religious commitment and narcissism and individuals in the United States are becoming less and less religious this might explain, at least partially, why narcissism rates are rising. People are less religious. A study comparing subclinical narcissism and religious commitment would confirm if religion influences narcissism.

Finally, comparing narcissism at different stages of a career would be more valid in a longitudinal study. The logistics of this study made it prohibitive to embark on a study of such magnitude and length. However, a longitudinal design would present the best chance for determining if career affects narcissism levels. Perhaps it would be feasible and achievable as part of another study. Overall, narcissism still has little research aimed at determining what factors contribute to its development. The recommendations listed above could further knowledge about how society's narcissism

levels are increasing (Capron, 2004; Greenberger et al., 2008; Mazlish, 1982; Paris, 2014; Trzesniewski et al., 2008; Twenge et al., 2014; Twenge et al., 2008a; Twenge & Foster, 2010; Stewart & Bernhardt, 2010). Religious commitment and leadership appear to be viable candidates as factors to consider in narcissism development.

Implications

In Chapter 1, possible social implications of narcissism were described and included increasing knowledge about development, its effects, establishing directional dialogue, and starting conversation about career as a possible factor in measured narcissism levels. Given the nonsignificant findings for each of the hypotheses, the potential impact for positive social change is limited. It can be asserted that narcissism levels are not significantly different between lawyers and farmers. It can also be inferred that when narcissism is compared at different work experience stages of farmers and lawyers there is no significant difference. This adds to the literature about narcissism development. The literature review described the continuing evolution and social science's difficulty defining the narcissism construct. A goal of this study was to identify whether career should enter the conversation as a possible factor in narcissism development. The current findings do not suggest that career influences narcissism. Regarding positive social change implications, the potential narcissism has for causing detrimental consequences has been firmly established in the literature review (see Chapter 2). Narcissism influences people's ability to work, have quality interpersonal relationships, and negatively influences self-concepts (Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995). Also, there is very little research on how narcissism develops. This study's value towards

positive social change is by narrowing the field of research possibilities. Narcissism research, organizational structuring, and mental health practice, is probably better served by looking else ware for knowledge about how narcissism developments. Additionally, career as represented by lawyers and farmers does not influence narcissism levels. Any programs aimed at changing the detrimental influences of narcissism, whether on an individual, institutional, cultural, or societal basis, should not use career processes as tools for achieving these goals.

The study also implies that narcissism levels are established before careers are chosen. Developing directional dialogue was suggested as an objective of the study. The directional question being does narcissism influence a career or does career influence narcissism? The study results suggest that narcissism does not influence a career or a specific career choice. Another intention of the study was to clarify the effects of narcissism. The express purpose was to determine if career should be considered when dealing with narcissism issues. Narcissism issues may manifest in treatment, an organization, family, or society. For instance, narcissistic personality disorder affects interpersonal relationships (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Individuals suffering from this disorder have difficulty maintaining friendships, romantic interests, and family relationships. It was suggested in the review that if career was a factor in the development of narcissism then career should be used as a resource and focal point in treatment. These findings suggest that career should not be a concern in issues (e.g. treatment, organizations, family, or society) that deal with narcissism.

Data analysis showed no significant results for any of the study's proposed hypotheses. Therefore, scholarly integrity inhibits concluding that the intended purposes of the study meted great social significance. Any value found in the results must be taken from the fact that the alternative hypotheses were not accepted. Narcissism does not appear to be different between farmers and lawyers. Narcissism levels do not appear to be different at various stages of law and farming careers. These results can be added to the research data base on narcissism. Future endeavors at studying narcissism can apply and add to these findings with the hope that the scope, definition, and development of narcissism will be better understood.

The results and analysis appear to support the chosen methodology. Given the limitations and research questions, a cross-sectional study with ANCOVO analysis provided appropriate measures for the study goals. Symbolic interaction theory and impression management (Blumer, 1969; Schlenker, 1985) processes do not appear to be relevant in narcissism development. The dissonance between an ideal self-image and a reality based self-image does not appear to generate processes that influence narcissism, at least in regards to career. Also, theories incriminating parents as culprits in narcissism development are not contradicted by this study's findings. Parenting practices and processes, although not empirically supported at the moment, may still be the main authority in influencing narcissism.

The findings also have applications for mental health professionals working with narcissism. Given the findings, I recommend that career not be included in interventions intended to alleviate or understand narcissism. Additionally, directional language used in

organizational psychology may be better understood. It appears from the findings that career is influenced by narcissism and not vice versa. Career does not influence narcissism. Psychologists seeking to determine the impact of narcissism on career (Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995) should look at it as a stand-alone construct, separate from career. It appears from the study that interventions, treatments, and education will be more accurate when not considered in conjunction with career processes.

Conclusions

Notwithstanding the limited value of the findings of this study, given the lack of research on narcissism development, it amounts to a bigger portion of the narcissism development literature than is warranted. In other words, there is little research about narcissism development, and this study constitutes a significant amount of that literature. The consequences of clinical narcissism combined with the increasing rates of narcissism justify more research effort. Additionally, narcissism research is needed that successfully identifies constructs and factors that increase or decrease narcissism. I argued that theoretically career is a possible factor in narcissism development, and it appears, at least in farming and law careers, that the study eliminated it as a possible consideration. However, eliminating factors and constructs one at a time will make defining narcissism and its development impossible, especially given the high number of possible contributors to narcissism levels.

During data collection, I received two emails from individuals who had recently been victimized by individuals with narcissism. Both related similar stories of exploitation associated with the narcissistic behaviors of these people. Despite being

victimized and manipulated they were mainly interested in being able to identify individuals with narcissism in the future. Chapter 2 discussed the difficulty mental health professionals have in identifying narcissism. Kealy and Rasmussen (2012) argue that narcissism is often accompanied by and concealed by symptoms like depression, anxiety, and behavioral problems. Diagnosticians often misdiagnose narcissism as a mood or anxiety disorder. These moods are generally present but are driven by desires for perfection and unrealistic pursuits of entitlement (Ellison et al., 2013; Pincus et al., 2014). It is probably not practical for society in general to understand and identify the consequences of narcissism, but if mental health professionals are struggling with the same problem then more research is needed. The heart of this study sought to understand how narcissism increased in adulthood and where it came from. Increasing empirical research shows individuals are being victimized by narcissistic behaviors (Gruba-McCallister, 2007). Although not supported by this study's results, given the lack of research regarding narcissism, any knowledge about adult narcissism processes and development is beneficial to psychological understanding.

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Appendix A: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to take part in a research study about narcissism. Almost everyone has some level of narcissism. In its extreme, narcissism is linked to dysfunctional relationships and interpersonal problems . Everyone knows someone who they consider to be an egomaniac who only thinks of him/her self. However, in normal levels, narcissism has been linked to higher self esteem, achievement, and life satisfaction. Narcissism has been identified as attitudes or feelings of wanting authority, feeling superior, exhibitionism (showing off), vanity, self-sufficiency, entitlement, and exploitativeness. These constructs characterize attitudes associated with narcissism. Varying amounts of these traits and attitudes appear to exist in all individuals. I am studying career and narcissism. I am comparing narcissism levels in two specific careers. I invited lawyers and farmers to be in the study. Participants must be 18 years or older. I obtained your name/contact info via (I will insert the specific career association when they have been determined). This form is part of a process called "informed consent" to allow you to understand this study before deciding whether to take part. This study is being conducted by a researcher named Stephen Murdock, who is a doctoral student at Walden University.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is to see if narcissism levels are different in some careers, and to compare those levels at different stages of a career. I am looking for individuals who are in a law or farming career.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to:

- Take a 10 minute (40 question) survey about narcissism, and answer a few demographic questions. The survey will be administered one time only.

Here are some sample questions:

Choose the one that you MOST AGREE with.

A. I am uncomfortable confronting people.

B. It is important to hold people accountable.

A. My decisions are respected by my peers.

B. I am rarely in a position to offer an opinion.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

This study is voluntary. Participation in the study does not include any thank you gift(s), compensation, or reimbursement. Everyone will respect your decision of whether or not you choose to be in the study. No one at (I will insert the specific career association when they have been determined) will treat you differently if you decide not to be in the study. If you decide to join the study now, you can still change your mind later. You may stop at any time.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:

Being in this type of study involves some risk of the minor discomforts that can be encountered in daily life, such as stress or becoming upset. Being in this study would not pose risk to your safety or wellbeing. Several researchers have asserted that narcissism levels are increasing. There is little research about how narcissism develops. This study can add to the research about narcissism development.

Privacy:

Any information you provide will be kept anonymous. I will not use your personal information for any purposes outside of this research project. Also, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you in the study reports. Data will be kept secure by password protection**,** SSL/TLS encryption, data encryption, and not collecting names. The survey website used for administering the narcissism inventory has a strict privacy policy, which includes measures to protect data user security, physical data center protection, network security, and industry-standard software secure coding practices. Data will be kept for a period of at least 5 years, as required by the university.

Contacts and Questions:

You may ask any questions you have now. Or if you have questions later, you may contact the researcher via email at stephen.murdock@waldenu.edu. Participants may also request from the researcher via email a brief report summarizing the findings. If you want to talk privately about your rights as a participant, you can call Dr. Leilani Endicott. She is the Walden University representative who can discuss this with you. Her phone

number is 612-312-1210. Walden University's approval number for this study is 12-15-16-0324041and it expires on December 14, 2017.

Please print or save this consent form for your records.

Obtaining Your Consent

If you feel you understand the study well enough to make a decision about it, please indicate your consent by clicking the link below.

(Link inserted here)

Appendix B: Survey

Demographic Information

Occupation
- A. Lawyer
- B. Agriculture
- C. Other

Gender
- A. Male.
- B. Female.

Career experience
- A. Less than one year.
- B. 1-10 years.
- C. More than 10 years.

Salary
- A. Less than $50,000/year.
- B. Between $50,000 and $100,000.
- C. More than $100,000/year.

Religious commitment
- A. Not religious.
- B. Attend once a year.
- C. Attend once a week.
- D. Attend more than once a week.

Narcissistic Personality Inventory Items

(Raskin & Terry, 1988)

Below are several pairs of attributes (i.e., descriptions of you).
Choose the one that you MOST AGREE with.

1. A. I have a natural talent for influencing people.
   B. I am not good at influencing people.

2. A. Modesty doesn't become me.
   B. I am essentially a modest person.

3. A. I would do almost anything on a dare.
   B. I tend to be a fairly cautious person.

4. A. When people complement me I sometimes get embarrassed.
   B. I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so.

5. A. The thought of ruling the world frightens the hell out of me.
   B. If I ruled the world it would be a better place.

6. A. I can usually talk my way out of anything.
   B. I try to accept the consequences of my behavior.

7. A. I prefer to blend in with the crowd.
   B. I like to be the center of attention.

8. A. I will be a success.
   B. I am not too concerned about success.

9. A. I am no better or worse than most people.
   B. I think I am a special person.

10. A. I am not sure if I would make a good leader.
    B. I see myself as a good leader.

11. A. I am assertive.
    B. I wish I were more assertive.

12. A. I like having authority over other people.
    B. I don't mind following orders.

13. A. I find it easy to manipulate people.
    B. I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people.

14. A. I insist upon getting the respect that is due to me.
    B. I usually get the respect that I deserve.

15. A. I don't particularly like to show off my body.
    B. I like to show off my body.

16. A. I can read people like a book.
    B. People are sometimes hard to understand.

17. A. If I feel competent I am willing to take responsibility for making decisions.
    B. I like to take responsibility for making decisions.

18. A. I just want to be reasonably happy.
    B. I want to amount to something in the eyes of the world.

19. A. My body is nothing special.
    B. I like to look at my body.

20. A. I try not to be a show off.
    B. I will usually show off if I get the chance.

21. A. I always know what I am doing.
    B. Sometimes I am not sure of what I am doing.

22. A. I sometimes depend on people to get things done.
    B. I rarely depend on anyone else to get things done.

23. A. Sometimes I tell good stories.
    B. Everybody likes to hear my stories.

24. A. I expect a great deal from other people.
    B. I like to do things for other people.

25. A. I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve.
    B. I take my satisfactions as they come.

26. A. Compliments embarrass me.
    B. I like to be complemented.

27. A. I have a strong will to power.
    B. Power for its own sake does not interest me.

28. A. I don't care about new fads and fashions.
    B. I like to start new fads and fashions.

29. A. I like to look at myself in the mirror.
    B. I am not particularly interested in looking at myself in the mirror.

30. A. I really like to be the center of attention.
    B. It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention.

31. A. I can live my life in any way I want to.
    B. People can't always live their lives in terms of what they want.

32. A. Being an authority doesn't mean that much to me.
    B. People always seem to recognize my authority.

33. A. I would prefer to be a leader.
    B. It makes little difference to me whether I am a leader or not.

34. A. I am going to be a great person.
    B. I hope I am going to be successful.

35. A. People sometimes believe what I tell them.
    B. I can make anyone believe anything I want them to.

36. A. I am a born leader.
    B. Leadership is a quality that takes a long time to develop.

37. A. I wish someone someday would write my biography.
    B. I don't like people to pry into my life for any reason.

38. A. I get upset when people don't notice how I look when I go out in public.
    B. I don't mind blending into the crowd when I go out in public.

39. A. I am more capable than other people.
    B. There is a lot that I can learn from other people.

40. A. I am much like everybody else.
    B. I am an extraordinary person.

Appendix C: Permission

Narcissistic Personality Inventory

Version Attached: Full Test PsycTESTS Citation: Raskin, R. N., & Hall, C. S. (1979). Narcissistic Personality Inventory [Database record]. Retrieved from PsycTESTS. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/t00001-000

Instrument Type:
Inventory/Questionnaire

Test Format:
One point is assigned for each response that matches the key.

Source:
Raskin, Robert, & Terry, Howard (1988). A principal-components analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and further evidence of its construct validity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol 54(5), 890-902. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.54.5.890