

GRANDIOSE NARCISSISM VERSUS VULNERABLE NARCISSISM IN THREATENING SITUATIONS: EMOTIONAL REACTIONS TO ACHIEVEMENT FAILURE AND INTERPERSONAL REJECTION

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This study compared grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism in terms of emotional reactions to threats involving achievement failure and interpersonal rejection. It was hypothesized that grandiose narcissism is associated with vulnerability to achievement setbacks. In contrast, vulnerable narcissism involves sensitivity to shaming interpersonal experiences. A randomized experimental 2-wave design was used with a community sample of 448 participants. Each participant was asked to imagine 1 of 4 randomly assigned hypothetical scenarios intended to evoke the threat of high- ($n = 117$) or low- ($n = 105$) level interpersonal rejection; or high- ($n = 108$) or low- ($n = 118$) level achievement failure. According to this study's findings, in the high achievement-threat group, but not in the high interpersonal-threat group, grandiose narcissism significantly predicted greater change in negative outcomes. In contrast, in the face of a high-level interpersonal threat, but not a high-level achievement-threat, high levels of vulnerable narcissism were significantly associated with greater change in negative outcomes. These findings illustrate how different types of threatening situations vary in their relevance to grandiose narcissism as compared to vulnerable narcissism.

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In recent years, the study of narcissism has shifted toward viewing subclinical levels of narcissism as points along a continuum, much like any other personality trait (see Miller & Campbell, 2008). An emerging distinction of importance is the nature of grandiose narcissism as compared to vulnerable narcissism. The primary goal of the present study was to examine whether grandiose and vulnerable narcissism differ in their associations with emotional reactivity in response to domain-specific threats.

The narcissism literature has commonly postulated two subtypes of narcissism: *grandiose* and *vulnerable* (e.g., Akhtar & Thomson, 1982; Cooper, 1998; Dickinson & Pincus, 2003; Gabbard, 1989, 1998; Gersten, 1991; Hendin & Cheek, 1997; Kohut, 1971; Rose, 2002; Røvik, 2001; Wink, 1991, 1996). Over the years, a range of labels have been used to distinguish between these subtypes (see Dickinson & Pincus, 2003, for a review). The most frequently used labels for grandiose and vulnerable narcissism have been overt narcissism and covert narcissism, respectively (Akhtar & Thomson, 1982; Cooper, 1998; Wink, 1991). The grandiose subtype has also been referred to as oblivious narcissism (Gabbard, 1989, 1998) and the vulnerable subtype has also been referred to as closet (Masterson, 1993), hypervigilant (Gabbard, 1989), and hypersensitive narcissism (Hendin & Cheek, 1997).

Clinical theorists have articulated distinct descriptions of narcissistic personalities distinguished by their use of defensive strategies in response to stressors; these strategies reflect either grandiose or vulnerable themes. Grandiose narcissism is characterized by arrogance, self-absorption, a sense of entitlement, and reactivity to criticism. Grandiose narcissism is a form of narcissism captured by the diagnostic criteria of narcissistic personality disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric Association, 2000). While grandiose narcissism has been characterized as defensive and unhealthy, work by Watson and colleagues on a continuum model of narcissism based on the factors inherent in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) has suggested that grandiose narcissism may be a less deleterious form of functioning than previously thought, to the extent that it attenuates affects that would otherwise be experienced as shame and disillusionment with the self (see Watson, Hickman, & Morris, 1996; Watson, Morris, & Miller, 1997). Although certain elements of narcissism seem adaptive, it is important to interpret narcissism within the context of the work by Emmons (1987), which suggested

that narcissism is associated with emotional lability and intense reactions that are often unhealthy. The content of the NPI total score may reflect a confusing mix of adaptive and maladaptive content (e.g., Emmons, 1984, 1987; Watson, 2005; Watson, Little, Sawrie, & Biderman, 1992; Watson, Varnell, & Morris, 1999/2000), with the latter being limited to the traits of entitlement and exploitativeness (NPI E/E).

Research conducted by Morf and colleagues led to the development of the self-regulation theory of narcissistic functioning, which suggests that self-regulation concerns of individuals with high grandiose narcissism scores are driven largely by their inflated senses of self (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Morf and colleagues have demonstrated that individuals with high grandiose narcissism scores are highly invested in promoting their self-perceived superiority and are hypervigilant in their efforts to detect and diffuse potential threats to their grandiose self-perceptions. For example, grandiose narcissistic individuals relish direct competition against others (Morf, Weir, & Davidov, 2000) and often respond with self-protective behaviors, such as derogation or devaluation, when threatened by comparison with a better performing other (e.g., Morf & Rhodewalt, 1993) or by negative feedback (e.g., Kernis & Sun, 1994). These individuals were found to self-report concerns for self-presentation, status, power, dominance, and physical beauty (Hill & McFerren, 1995).

The current study compares and contrasts the two forms of narcissism (grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism) in terms of the reactions they associate with under two different types of threat conditions—achievement failure and interpersonal rejection. In this study, threat is defined and conceptualized according to the definition provided in the seminal work of George Kelly. That is, threat is experienced when a situation or context is perceived as being significant enough to cause a change in how the self is conceptualized and regarded (see Kelly, 1965). The scenarios used in this investigation (i.e., finding out that an important promotion is going to a coworker rather than one's self, and finding out that one's lover has been unfaithful) are particularly disquieting in terms of the self-view of the extreme narcissist (see Appendix). The threat is amplified because these are embarrassing events that other people would find out about.

One of the guiding premises of the current investigation is that people characterized as grandiose-narcissistic individuals will be

particularly threatened by achievement setbacks. Extant research suggests that narcissistic individuals are particularly reactive to achievement competition failure; high-scorers on the NPI responded with intense negative affect to upward comparisons with superior others (Bogart, Benotsch, & Pavlovic, 2004). Self-enhancers tend to protect themselves by making downward comparisons with inferior others, but they react strongly when confronted with negative feedback suggesting that they are not up to par in a competitive situation. A similar response was anticipated in the current study in terms of reactions to a hypothetical, ego-involving achievement failure (i.e., losing a promotion to a coworker).

Indirect evidence attests to the likelihood that grandiose narcissism incorporates a tendency to respond maladaptively to achievement failures. Previous research with a measure seen as primarily tapping grandiose narcissism (the NPI) has converged on the notion that grandiose-narcissistic individuals have achievement-based vulnerabilities. Raskin and Terry (1988) found that NPI scores correlated strongly with both the need for achievement and self-descriptions of being highly competitive. Other investigators have found that grandiose-narcissistic individuals exhibit high levels of ego involvement, which is an orientation that reflects competitiveness and a need for public recognition of one's accomplishments (see Morf et al., 2000). The extent of the extreme need for achievement and reaching achievement goals is further reflected by evidence that individuals with high NPI scores have elevated levels of self-oriented perfectionism and are especially driven in their pursuit of goals (see Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Watson et al., 1999/2000).

Vulnerable narcissism is similar to grandiose narcissism in that both subtypes are associated with grandiose fantasies about the self, feelings of entitlement, and a willingness to exploit others for one's own gain (Cooper, 1998; Dickinson & Pincus, 2003; Pimentel, Ansell, Pincus, & Cain, 2006; Pincus et al., 2009). According to clinical and nonclinical definitions, grandiose narcissism includes an extremely positive, but also somewhat fragile self-view (see Bosson et al., 2008, for review). In contrast, the vulnerable narcissistic personality has been described as presenting shyness, constraint, and even the appearance of empathy. Theoretical assumptions suggest that behind this presentation lies a covert core organized around grandiose fantasies and entitlement. However, it is important to note here that the theory of covert grandiosity in vulnerable narcissism has not yet been empirically tested and that previous findings, which

relied on self-report measures, should be interpreted and understood as measures of overt sensitivity. The theoretical assumptions concerning covert grandiosity in vulnerable narcissism may be explained by other paradigms. Vulnerable narcissistic individuals are less equipped to use self-enhancement strategies to modulate self-esteem, and often must rely upon external feedback from others to manage self-esteem. These individuals experience much greater anxiety in developing relationships with others, are hypervigilant to cues of separation, and experience greater distress over separation because of the fragile nature of their self-esteem (e.g., Besser & Priel, 2009; Mikulincer, Kedem, & Paz, 1990). Indeed, a recent experiment by Besser and Priel (2009) clearly established that vulnerable-narcissistic individuals, as measured by the Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale (HSNS; Hendin & Cheek, 1997), reported greater distress in a threatening interpersonal context than individuals with low levels of vulnerable-narcissism.

Dickinson and Pincus (2003, p. 189) provided a cogent and insightful description of how vulnerable narcissism results in psychological distress. Specifically, they stated that:

In more vulnerable individuals, chronic hypersensitivity and disappointment stemming from unmet entitled expectations is intolerable enough to promote social withdrawal and avoidance in an attempt to manage self-esteem, leading to the development of overt anger and hostile expressions. These are followed by the experience of shame and depression, resulting in the impression of a rather labile emotional presentation (Cooper, 1998; Gabbard, 1989, 1998; Gersten, 1991; Kraus & Reynolds, 2001; Wink, 1991).

Thus, in many respects, vulnerable narcissism is a heightened interpersonal sensitivity to social situations and public experiences that foster a sense of shame.

While they share certain characteristics, empirical research on grandiose narcissism as compared to vulnerable narcissism has highlighted the differences between these subtypes rather than their similarities (see Cain, Pincus, & Ansell, 2008). The development of new measures considerably improved these comparisons. One example of this is a new measure developed by Pincus, and colleagues, the Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI; see Pincus et al., 2009). This inventory was designed to tap the more pathological elements of the narcissism construct. Pimentel et al. (2009) reported that the PNI and the NPI have some correlates in common

(i.e., both are related to low empathy), but they diverge in terms of their links with other factors. For instance, the NPI is positively associated with self-esteem; whereas the PNI is negatively associated with self-esteem. Similarly, the NPI is negatively associated with shame; whereas the PNI is positively associated with shame.

These differences in correlation patterns point to the possibility that grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism also differ in terms of reactions to different types of threatening situations. As suggested above, grandiose-narcissistic individuals may react poorly to achievement setbacks that reflect personal deficits, as they have a great deal at stake when unflattering performance feedback is received, especially when it highlights a failure to “keep up with the competition.” However, for grandiose-narcissistic individuals, the degree of threat associated with negative feedback from the interpersonal arena can be blunted by their tendency to attribute such feedback to the negative attributes and shortcomings of others. As for vulnerable-narcissistic individuals, as indicated above, that they will be highly vulnerable to interpersonal threats. This account of vulnerable narcissism is very much in keeping with the theory that self-esteem acts as an interpersonal monitor (see Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995) and vulnerable-narcissistic individuals are attuned to cues that signal social inclusion or social rejection. Given the paucity of research on narcissism and domain-specific threats, it is not clear whether this threat is generalized or whether vulnerable-narcissistic individuals will also be vulnerable to achievement-based threats, perhaps to a lesser degree. Accordingly, the present study focuses on the experience of threat of failure in the domain of achievement competition and the experience of threat of rejection in the domain of close interpersonal relationships. These two domains were selected based on their apparent relevance to the main anxieties of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism, respectively. To the best of our knowledge, the present study represents the first attempt to directly compare achievement versus interpersonal threats in the context of subtypes of narcissism.

THE PRESENT STUDY: OVERVIEW AND PREDICTIONS

In the present study, we use the terms grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism to refer to continuous variables within a nonclinical sample that was assessed using the NPI E/E subscale (Raskin &

Terry, 1988) and the PNI CSE, HS, and DEV vulnerable narcissism subscales (Pimentel et al., 2006; Pincus et al., 2009), respectively.¹

The primary aim of the present study was to examine whether grandiose and vulnerable narcissism differ in their associations with emotional reactivity in response to domain-specific threats. We predicted that grandiose narcissism would be specifically associated with increased negative affectivity and anger vis-à-vis achievement competition failure. We also predicted that vulnerable narcissism would be associated with increased negative affectivity in the face of interpersonal rejection.

As noted above, an earlier study by Besser and Priel (2009) demonstrated that narcissistic individuals are sensitive and reactive to the experience of a romantic partner's rejection (Besser & Priel, 2009). This study established a link between vulnerable narcissism and hypersensitivity to interpersonal threats. The present study extends the Besser and Priel (2009) study in three key respects. First, whereas only vulnerable narcissism was assessed in the previous study, the current experiment assesses grandiose and vulnerable narcissism. Second, as noted earlier, reactions to both achievement and interpersonal threat were assessed in this study, as well as reactions to various levels of threats. We structured the experiment as a two-wave study in order to be able to separate the assessments of personality predispositions (predictors) from the assessments of exposure reactivity (outcomes) following the threatening experiences (manipulation).

The main questions of the present study were: Do individuals exhibiting grandiose and vulnerable subtypes of narcissism differ in the negativity of their responses to achievement and interpersonal threats? And, are these effects weaker in the context of lower levels of threat? It should be noted that individual differences in neuroticism were also assessed in the current study. A measure of neuroticism was included for various reasons. Most notably, we sought to establish that the anticipated results involving vulnerable narcissism are beyond, and should not be attributed to, related individual differences in neuroticism.

1. Conceptually and empirically, subclinical levels of narcissism refer to a continuous personality variable with narcissist and nonnarcissist representing the two ends of the continuum.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Our sample consisted of 448 Israeli community participants (219 men, 229 women) who each reported being currently involved in a serious and committed romantic relationship and holding a permanent employment position. Participants responded to a call for volunteers to take part in a study of personality and mood. Of the 448 participants, 222 were randomly assigned to the interpersonal rejection conditions. Overall, 117 of these participants (50 men, 67 women) were randomly assigned to the high-threat condition and 105 of these participants (50 men, 55 women) were randomly assigned to the low-threat condition. The remaining 226 participants were randomly assigned to the achievement failure conditions; 108 of these participants (55 men, 53 women) were randomly assigned to the high-threat condition and 118 of these participants (64 men, 54 women) were randomly assigned to the low-threat condition. Participants were young adults in their mid-20s (range 20–30; $M = 25.09$ years, $SD = 2.33$). All participants had more than 12 years of formal education ($M = 13.49$, $SD = 1.51$).

MEASURES AND PROCEDURE

Participation in the study was voluntary and participants were not paid or compensated for their participation. Participants were asked whether they were currently involved in a serious committed romantic relationship, whether they held a permanent job, and if they would be willing to complete a questionnaire about personality and mood. Only those who were currently involved in a serious committed romantic relationship, had a permanent job, and who agreed to take part in the study were invited to first and second sessions. All participants were reminded of their right to withdraw from the study should they feel uncomfortable. None chose to do so. The participants were given a written debriefing after the 2nd session. The study was conducted in two separate sessions. For a randomly chosen 50% of the participants, the first session took place at the beginning of the week, and the second session took place 5

days later. For the other half of the participants, the first session took place at the end of the week, and the second session followed 5 days later. Participants reported individually to a psychology laboratory, where they were informed that this was a study of the relationship between personality and behaviors that occur in the context of romantic relationships or personal achievement. During the first session, participants completed measures of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism and baseline measurements of their anger responses, neuroticism, and their current state negative mood were collected. The order of the presentation of the questionnaires was randomized. In the second session, participants read a vignette of a hypothetical scenario intended to evoke a high- or low-level threat of romantic rejection or a high- or low-level threat of achievement failure. Participants were randomly assigned to one of these four possible conditions prior to their arrival at the first session. After reading the vignette of the hypothetical scenario, the participants were asked to rate their current feelings and experiences in response to the hypothetical scenario, in terms of how they were feeling at that moment (How do you feel now?; i.e., they imagined the scenarios, and then responded to the questions according to how they felt at that moment in the lab). We measured these responses with the same measures used for determining baseline anger responses, and in terms of their current state negative mood. Potential order effects were controlled by means of randomized presentation of the questionnaires at each time of measurement.

Induced Threat of Interpersonal Rejection and Achievement Failure. For the induced high-level threat of interpersonal rejection, we used the scenario validated by Besser and Priel (2009). We used the same procedure described by Besser and Priel (2009) for the development and validation of the other three scenarios used in the current study: low-level threat of interpersonal rejection, high-level threat of achievement failure, and low-level threat of achievement failure.

Participants assigned to the interpersonal rejection threats were instructed to "Please think of a serious committed romantic relationship that you currently have, have had in the past, or would like to have in the future."² Next, participants were asked to imagine the high- or low-level interpersonal threats. Participants assigned to the achievement-failure threat scenarios were instructed to "Please

2. This was used in order to capture more general tendencies rather than responses related to a specific current or previous relationship.

think of a serious long-term job that you currently have, have had in the past, or would like to have in the future.”³ Next, participants were asked to imagine the high- or low-level achievement-failure threat scenarios (for the four scenarios, see the Appendix).

Negative State Mood. Current (i.e., How do you feel now?) negative state mood was measured before and after exposure to the scenarios using the three negative affective state scales of the VAS (Albersnagel, 1988). These scales include 14 negative mood adjectives. Participants were asked to indicate how they were feeling at the moment by placing a vertical mark on each 80-mm line anchored at 0% and 100%, with opposing labels for each adjective (e.g., Not at All Sad to Extremely Sad). The three affective states assessed were dysphoria (depressed, sad, blue, despondent, tormented, and lost), hostility (hostile, irritable, annoyed, and disagreeable), and anxiety (anxious, nervous, uneasy, and tense).

Anger Responses. Current/state anger (i.e., How do you feel now?) was measured before and after exposure to the rejection scenario, using the State Anger Scale (STAS; Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell, & Crane, 1983). This scale is designed to measure the intensity of anger that a person experiences. The STAS is a 15-item scale that uses a 4-point Likert format. Items were rated for intensity of current feeling and experiences, from Not at All (1) to Very Much (4). Scores are the sums of the responses to the state-anger items. Higher scores indicate that a person is more likely to respond with elevated levels of transient anger. For reliability and validity information for this measure, see Spielberger et al. (1983).

Grandiose Narcissism. Grandiose narcissism was measured using the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979, 1981). The NPI is based on diagnostic criteria, but provides an index of narcissism that reflects pathological levels, as well as less extreme forms of narcissism that are believed to reflect narcissism as a personality trait. The version of the NPI used in the present research contains 37 true-false items that Morf and Rhodewalt (1993) adapted from Emmons’s (1987) factor analysis of the original, 54-item instrument. The construct validity and internal consistency of the NPI have been previously demonstrated (Emmons, 1984, 1987; Raskin & Hall, 1981; Raskin & Terry, 1988). The NPI has been shown to have

3. This was used in order to capture more general tendencies rather than responses related to a specific current or previous job.

a complex structure of four factors: Leadership/Authority (L/A), Superiority/Arrogance (S/A), Self-Absorption/Self-Admiration (S/S), and Entitlement/Exploitation (E/E) (Emmons, 1984, 1987). Several researchers have pointed out that the content of the NPI total score may reflect a confusing mix of adaptive and maladaptive content (e.g., Emmons, 1984, 1987; Watson, 2005; Watson et al., 1992; Watson et al., 1999/2000). The empirical literature concerning the relationships of these factors to other measures has shown that the NPI Entitlement/Exploitation (E/E) element may be the core of pathological narcissism (e.g., Emmons, 1984, 1987; Watson et al., 1992). Accordingly, in the present study, the E/E subscale was used (e.g., I find it easy to manipulate people; I insist upon getting the respect that is due to me; See Dickinson & Pincus, 2003).

Vulnerable Narcissism. Vulnerable narcissism was measured using the Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI; Pimentel et al., 2006; Pincus et al., 2009), a 50-item measure for which responses are made on scales ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 6 (very much like me). The PNI measures 7 dimensions of pathological narcissism spanning problems with narcissistic grandiosity (Entitlement Rage, Exploitativeness, Grandiose Fantasy, Self-Sacrificing Self-Enhancement) and narcissistic vulnerability (Contingent Self-Esteem, Hiding the Self, Devaluing). Pimentel et al. (2006) provided initial information concerning the reliability and validity of the PNI, which includes correlations in the expected directions with related constructs such as self-esteem, grandiose narcissism, empathy, and dependency (see Pincus et al., 2009). In the present study, the 3 narcissistic vulnerability subscales were used: the Contingent Self-Esteem (CSE) subscale, which reflects a significantly fluctuating experience of self-esteem and acknowledgement of dysregulation in the absence of external sources of admiration and recognition; the Hiding the Self (HS) subscale, which reflects an unwillingness to reveal faults and needs to others; and the Devaluing (DEV) subscale, which reflects disinterest in others who do not provide needed admiration and shame over needing recognition from others, who are sources of disappointment.

Neuroticism. The measure of neuroticism employed in the present study was the neuroticism scale from the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999). The BFI is a well-validated measure of the Big Five personality traits (see John & Srivastava, 1999 for a review). The neuroticism scale of the BFI consists of eight potentially

descriptive phrases (e.g., I see myself as someone who worries a lot) for which participants were asked to provide ratings of agreement on scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

The Cronbach's α -values obtained in the present study are reported in Table 2.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

To ensure that there would be no initial differences between the participants randomly assigned to the different domains and threat levels, we first compared the groups in terms of scores for the narcissistic subtype scales, neuroticism, initial levels of state dysphoria, anxiety, hostility, and anger responses. ANOVAs (2×2 , Domain \times Threat levels) confirmed the utility of our study design, indicating no significant differences in variables assessed prior to exposure to the threatening conditions. Therefore, any significant effect(s) obtained should not be attributed to initial differences. This increased our confidence in the randomized design and in our ability to attribute the observed effects to the study's manipulation.

It is important to note that no gender differences were noted for the measures included in the present study. Moreover, preliminary analyses indicated that the inclusion of gender did not affect the results reported in the following sections. Consequently, gender will not be discussed further.

Finally, in the present study, the correlations among the three individual negative state mood individual dependent measures were high pre- and post-exposure. Accordingly, we computed a mean composite score for negative state mood based on these three ratings at each time of assessment, which served as the dependent measure in subsequent analyses.

MANIPULATION CHECK

ANOVAs [$2 \times 2 \times (2)$, Domain \times Threat levels \times Time (pre-post exposure repeated measure)] were computed in order to examine the effects of high- vs. low-level threat (between subjects) and interpersonal vs. achievement threat domains (between subjects) on chang-

es in levels of negative state mood (a mean composite score for dysphoria, anxiety, and hostility state affects dependent measure)⁴ and anger responses (within-subject repeated pre-post measures). Analyses revealed significant main effects for Time, $F(1, 444) = 186.66$, $p < .0001$ for composite negative affect and $F(1, 444) = 251.75$, $p < .0001$ for anger expressions, for Threat level, $F(1, 444) = 14.58$, $p < .0001$ for composite negative affect and $F(1, 444) = 61.41$, $p < .0001$ for anger expressions, and for Domain, $F(1, 444) = 15.19$, $p < .0001$ for composite negative affect and $F(1, 444) = 6.47$, $p < .01$ for anger expressions. Moreover, analyses revealed significant Time \times Threat level interaction effects, $F(1, 444) = 45.20$, $p < .0001$ for composite negative affect; and $F(1, 444) = 97.59$, $p < .0001$ for anger expressions, significant Time \times Domain interaction effects, $F(1, 444) = 10.76$, $p < .001$ for composite negative affect; and $F(1, 444) = 34.77$, $p < .0001$ for anger expressions, and significant Threat \times Domain interaction effects, $F(1, 444) = 4.39$, $p < .05$ for composite negative affect; and $F(1, 444) = 4.38$, $p < .05$ for anger expressions]. Analyses also revealed significant Time \times Threat \times Domain interaction effects, $F(1, 444) = 4.91$, $p < .05$ for composite negative affect; and $F(1, 444) = 4.45$, $p < .05$ for anger expressions.

Further examination of these interaction effects indicated that the changes in the ratings that participants gave their negative state mood levels and their anger responses, from the baseline levels to the levels reported following exposure to the high-threat-level induced imaginary situations, were significantly greater than the changes in the ratings following exposure to the low-threat-level induced imaginary situations. These changes were significantly greater for the interpersonal threats. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1.

Table 2 presents the intercorrelations and internal consistency coefficients for the measures included in this study. As can be seen from this data, the correlation between the grandiose narcissism NPI E/E subscale and the 3 vulnerable narcissism PNI subscales reached conventional levels of significance. This correlation is thought to reflect the core of narcissism that is believed to be common to both subtypes (see Zeigler-Hill, Clark, & Pickard, 2008).

4. Analyses in which the VAS individual scales were considered as dependent factors reiterated the results obtained for the analysis of the composite negative affect scores. (Means and standard deviations for dysphoria, anxiety, and hostility are presented in Table 1).

TABLE 1. Changes in Mood in Response to High- vs. Low-Level Interpersonal and Achievement Threats

| | Induced Imaginary Threat (N = 448) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|-------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Interpersonal (n = 222) | | | | | | Achievement (n = 226) | | | | | | | | | |
| | High Threat (n = 117) | | | Low Threat (n = 105) | | | High Threat (n = 108) | | | Low Threat (n = 118) | | | | | | |
| | Baseline | | Post | Baseline | | Post | Baseline | | Post | Baseline | | Post | | | | |
| M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | | | | | |
| Dysphoria | 14.59 | 13.39 | 46.49 | 25.31 | 17.98 | 16.65 | 27.92 | 23.01 | 13.77 | 17.12 | 32.12 | 26.37 | 15.82 | 17.01 | 23.27 | 19.72 |
| Anxiety | 26.43 | 10.51 | 39.52 | 16.22 | 25.72 | 11.46 | 31.68 | 14.03 | 23.33 | 12.29 | 32.23 | 16.28 | 24.59 | 10.74 | 28.37 | 13.00 |
| Hostility | 23.16 | 10.55 | 43.30 | 16.76 | 24.73 | 11.30 | 28.97 | 13.58 | 22.43 | 12.62 | 32.64 | 16.90 | 25.14 | 10.74 | 28.70 | 15.07 |
| Composite Negative Affect ^a | 21.39 | 9.21 | 43.10 | 17.77 | 22.81 | 11.21 | 29.52 | 15.33 | 19.84 | 12.16 | 32.33 | 18.53 | 21.85 | 10.80 | 26.78 | 14.16 |
| Anger responses | 20.75 | 8.60 | 41.51 | 16.10 | 19.68 | 6.61 | 25.90 | 12.23 | 21.76 | 9.49 | 32.93 | 13.96 | 21.60 | 9.24 | 22.80 | 10.08 |

Note. ^aA mean composite score for Dysphoria, Anxiety, and Hostility state affects.

ARE NARCISSISTIC SUBTYPES ASSOCIATED WITH INCREASED NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL AND ANGER RESPONSES TO INDUCED IMAGINARY INTERPERSONAL AND ACHIEVEMENT THREATS?

The associations between the narcissistic subtypes and increased negative emotional and anger responses to induced imaginary high- and low-level interpersonal and achievement threats were examined using a series of hierarchical multiple-regression analyses. Although our hypotheses concerned narcissistic subtypes, the analyses also included neuroticism because of its reported associations with narcissism and negative outcomes (see, e.g., Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008). All of the predictor variables were centered for the purpose of testing interactions (Aiken & West, 1991). These regressions were set up hierarchically, with baseline measures entered as main effects in Step 1. Neuroticism was entered as the main effect in Step 2. Interpersonal threat and achievement threat (contrasts) were entered as main effects for comparing the high vs. low levels of each domain. For a full set of orthogonal constructs, required to analyze all of the variance in the data, we also included a contrast vector for domains to compare the two achievement threat conditions with the two failure conditions in Step 3. Grandiose narcissism (NPI E/E subscale) and vulnerable narcissism (PNI CSE, HS, and DEV subscales) were entered as main effects in Step 4. The two-way interactions of interpersonal threat and achievement threat levels and domain (contrasts) with grandiose narcissism, and with the vulnerable-narcissism subscales were entered in Step 5. The results of these regression analyses are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

As shown in Tables 3 and 4, a significant main effect emerged in Step 1 for baseline levels, such that higher baseline levels associated with increased negative responses. In Step 2, neuroticism was found to have a significant main effect, such that higher neuroticism scores were associated with increased changes in responses. In Step 3, significant main effects were found for differences between high- and low-level interpersonal threats and high- and low-level achievement threats beyond the baseline and neuroticism assessments; high-level achievement and interpersonal threats were associated with increased changes in responses. Narcissistic subtypes were entered in Step 4, and the only significant main effects to emerge from this step were those of PNI CSE vulnerable narcissism

TABLE 2. Intercorrelations Among Preexposure Narcissism, Neuroticism, and Postexposure Negative Responses (N = 448)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|-----|
| 1st session | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. NPI E/E | — | | | | | | | | |
| 2. PNI CSE | .30*** | — | | | | | | | |
| 3. PNI HS | .26*** | .20*** | — | | | | | | |
| 4. PNI DEV | .34*** | .41*** | .37*** | — | | | | | |
| 5. Neuroticism | .32*** | .31*** | .28*** | .39*** | — | | | | |
| 6. Composite Negative Affect ^a | .19*** | .14** | .13** | .17*** | .25*** | — | | | |
| 7. Anger responses | .03 | .11* | .05 | .17*** | .15** | .14** | — | | |
| 2nd session | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Composite Negative Affect ^a | .28*** | .29*** | .15** | .26*** | .22*** | .20*** | .25*** | — | |
| 9. Anger responses | .25*** | .27*** | .13** | .26*** | .21*** | .11* | .30*** | .82* | — |
| α | .71 | .92 | .71 | .85 | .81 | .92 | .97 | .89 | .98 |

Note. PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; NPI CSE = Contingent Self-Esteem; NPI HS = Hiding the Self; NPI DEV = Devaluing. NPI = Narcissistic Personality Inventory; NPI E/E = Entitlement/Exploitativeness. Alpha coefficients were NPI total (.87) and PNI total (.93). ^a A mean composite score for Dysphoria, Anxiety, and Hostility state affects. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

TABLE 3. Hierarchical Multiple Regressions of Grandiose and Vulnerable Narcissism in the Prediction of Negative Emotional Responses to Induced Imaginary Interpersonal and Achievement Threats (N = 448)

| Predictors | R | R ² | ΔR ² | β | F change | Overall F |
|---|-----|----------------|-----------------|--------|----------|-----------|
| Step 1 | .20 | .04 | | | 17.47*** | 17.47*** |
| Baseline Composite Negative Affect ^a | | | | .20*** | | |
| Step 2 | .26 | .07 | +3% | | 15.12*** | 16.57*** |
| Neuroticism | | | | .19*** | | |
| Step 3 | .44 | .19 | +12% | | 22.34*** | 20.99*** |
| Domain ^b | | | | .17*** | | |
| Interpersonal threat ^c | | | | .28*** | | |
| Achievement threat ^d | | | | .12** | | |
| Step 4 | .52 | .27 | +8% | | 11.80*** | 18.06*** |
| NPI E/E | | | | .14** | | |
| PNI CSE | | | | .17*** | | |
| PNI HS | | | | .01 | | |
| PNI DEV | | | | .10 | | |
| Step 5 | .57 | .33 | +5% | | 2.76*** | 9.70*** |
| NPI E/E × Interpersonal threat | | | | .13 | | |
| NPI E/E × Achievement threat | | | | .40*** | | |
| NPI E/E × Domain | | | | -.09 | | |
| PNI CSE × Interpersonal threat | | | | .26** | | |
| PNI CSE × Achievement threat | | | | -.15 | | |
| PNI CSE × Domain | | | | .22 | | |
| PNI HS × Interpersonal threat | | | | -.14 | | |
| PNI HS × Achievement threat | | | | -.08 | | |
| PNI HS × Domain | | | | .22 | | |
| PNI DEV × Interpersonal threat | | | | -.02 | | |
| PNI DEV × Achievement threat | | | | -.02 | | |
| PNI DEV × Domain | | | | .03 | | |

Note. PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; CSE = Contingent Self-Esteem; HS = Hiding the Self; DEV = Devaluing; NPI = Narcissistic Personality Inventory; NPI E/E = Entitlement/Exploitativeness.

^a A mean composite score for Dysphoria, Anxiety, and Hostility state affects; ^b Domain (contrast of Interpersonal threat = 1, achievement threats = -1); ^c Interpersonal threat (contrast of high interpersonal threat = 1, low interpersonal threat = -1, achievement threats = 0) ^d Achievement threat (contrast of high achievement threat = 1, low achievement threat = -1, interpersonal threats = 0) **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

and NPI E/E grandiose narcissism, such that higher PNI CSE vulnerable and NPI E/E grandiose narcissism scores associated with increased change in negative responses above and beyond any effects of the domain or level of threat. In Step 5, significant two-way interactions were observed for grandiose narcissism (NPI E/E) and high vs. low achievement threat, and for vulnerable narcissism (PNI CSE) and high vs. low interpersonal threats. The pattern of these

TABLE 4. Hierarchical Multiple Regressions of Grandiose and Vulnerable Narcissism in the Prediction of Anger Responses to Induced Imaginary Interpersonal and Achievement Threats (N = 448)

| Predictors | <i>R</i> | <i>R</i> ² | ΔR^2 | β | <i>F</i> change | Overall <i>F</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|--------------|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| Step 1 | .30 | .09 | | | | |
| Baseline Anger | | | | .30*** | 44.38*** | 44.38*** |
| Step 2 | .35 | .12 | +3% | | | |
| Neuroticism | | | | .17*** | 14.30*** | 30.00*** |
| Step 3 | .59 | .35 | +23% | | | |
| Domain ^a | | | | .21*** | 50.31*** | 46.20*** |
| Interpersonal threat ^b | | | | .35*** | | |
| Achievement threat ^c | | | | .23*** | | |
| Step 4 | .64 | .41 | +6% | | | |
| NPI E/E | | | | .12** | 11.26*** | 33.07*** |
| PNI CSE | | | | .15*** | | |
| PNI HS | | | | .02 | | |
| PNI DEV | | | | .09 | | |
| Step 5 | .68 | .46 | +5% | | | |
| NPI E/E × Interpersonal threat | | | | .09 | 3.47*** | 17.12*** |
| NPI E/E × Achievement threat | | | | .35*** | | |
| NPI E/E × Domain | | | | -.08 | | |
| PNI CSE × Interpersonal threat | | | | .31** | | |
| PNI CSE × Achievement threat | | | | -.03 | | |
| PNI CSE × Domain | | | | .23 | | |
| PNI HS × Interpersonal threat | | | | -.08 | | |
| PNI HS × Achievement threat | | | | .11 | | |
| PNI HS × Domain | | | | .07 | | |
| PNI DEV × Interpersonal threat | | | | -.02 | | |
| PNI DEV × Achievement threat | | | | -.16 | | |
| PNI DEV × Domain | | | | .15 | | |

Note. PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; CSE = Contingent Self-Esteem; HS = Hiding the Self; DEV = Devaluing; NPI = Narcissistic Personality Inventory; NPI E/E = Entitlement/Exploitativeness. ^a Domain (contrast of interpersonal threat = 1, achievement threats = -1); ^b Interpersonal threat (contrast of high interpersonal threat = 1, low interpersonal threat = -1, achievement threats = 0); ^c Achievement threat (contrast of high achievement threat = 1, low achievement threat = -1, interpersonal threats = 0) **p* < .05; ***p* < .01; ****p* < .001.

interactions was probed using the simple slope tests recommended by Aiken and West (1991).

These tests found that the slope of the line representing the association between the NPI E/E grandiose narcissism subscale and negative state mood and anger responses was significant among those individuals who were exposed to the high-level achievement threat scenario ($\beta = .37$, $t = 4.28$, $p < .001$ for change in composite negative affect and $\beta = .44$, $t = 5.37$, $p < .001$ for anger responses),

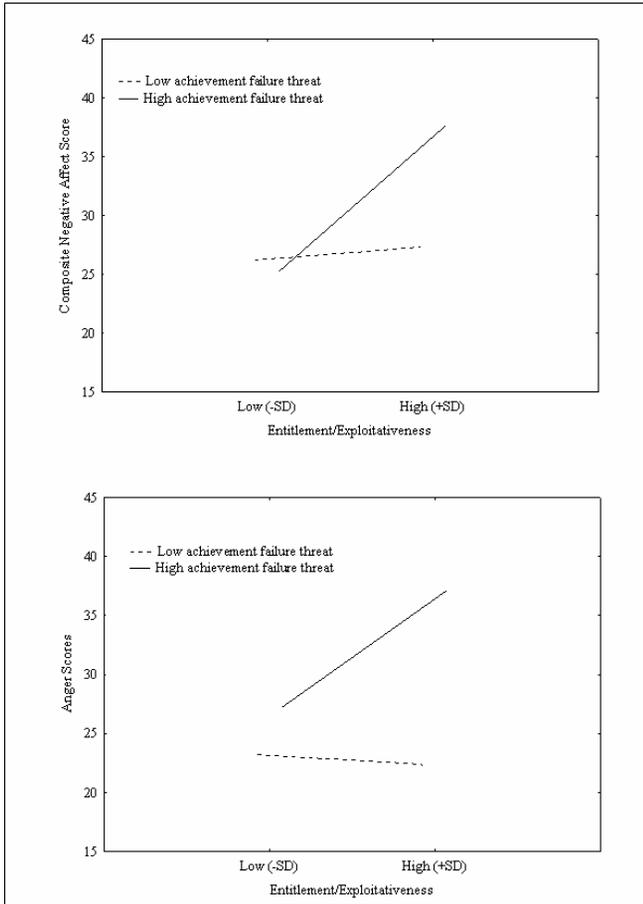


FIGURE 1. The general pattern plots of the simple slopes for significant two-way interactions for the associations between the Grandiose Narcissism Entitlement/Exploitativeness subscale and the change in negative emotional responses following exposure to high- and low-level threats of achievement failure.

but not among those exposed to the low-level achievement threat scenario ($\beta = .02$, $t = .20$, *ns*, for change in composite negative affect and $\beta = -.00$, $t = -.04$, *ns*, for anger responses). This pattern shows that, among those exposed to the high-level threat of achievement failure, the NPI E/E grandiose narcissism subscale was a significantly stronger predictor of changes in negative affect and anger responses than it was among those exposed to the low-level threat of achievement failure. Thus, we can infer that low-level threat of achievement failure moderates these effects. The plots of the simple

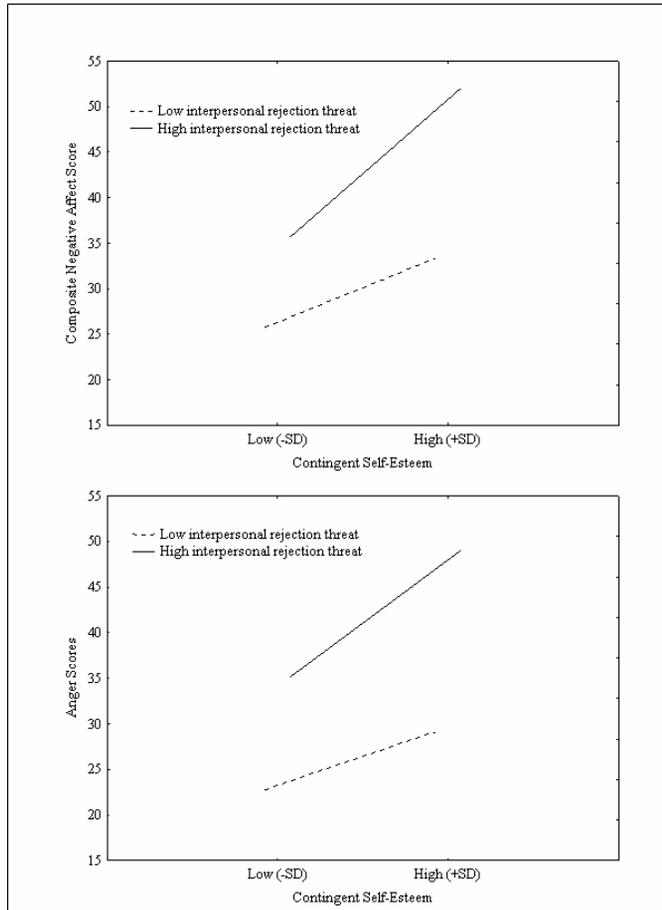


FIGURE 2. The plots of simple slopes for significant two-way interactions for the associations between the Vulnerable Narcissism Contingent Self-Esteem subscale and the change in negative responses following exposure to high- and low-level interpersonal rejection threats.

slopes for these significant two-way interactions are presented in Figure 1.

The slope of the line representing the association between the PNI CSE vulnerable-narcissism subscale and negative state mood and anger responses was significantly greater for those who were exposed to the high-level interpersonal rejection threat ($\beta = .50$, $t = 6.04$, $p < .001$ for change in composite negative affect and $\beta = .50$, $t = 6.17$, $p < .001$ for anger responses) than for those exposed to the low-level interpersonal rejection threat scenario ($\beta = .29$, $t = 3.07$, $p <$

.01 for change in composite negative affect; $\beta = .27, t = 2.74, p < .01$ for anger responses). This pattern indicates that, among those exposed to the high-level interpersonal rejection threat, the PNI CSE vulnerable-narcissism subscale was a significantly stronger predictor of changes in negative affect and anger responses, as compared to the situation among those exposed to the low-level threat of interpersonal rejection. This difference indicates that the low-level threat of interpersonal rejection moderates these effects. The plots of the simple slopes for these significant two-way interactions are presented in Figure 2.

The above results indicate that the NPI E/E grandiose narcissism subscale predicts significantly greater change in negative outcomes only in high-level achievement threat situations; whereas the PNI CSE vulnerable-narcissism subscale predicts significantly greater change in negative outcomes mainly under conditions of high-level interpersonal threat.⁵

DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of the present study was to compare and contrast two different conceptualizations of narcissism (grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism) in terms of emotional reactivity in response to experienced threats of imagined interpersonal rejection and achievement failure. Participants' responses were assessed in terms of change in the levels of state negative affect and anger expressions. In support of our hypotheses, grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism differed in terms of the reported emotional reactions to achievement threat as compared to interpersonal threat. Specifically, participants with high levels of grandiose narcissism were vulnerable to the threat of achievement competition failure. Those participants with high levels of vulnerable narcissism, on the other hand, were particularly vulnerable to interpersonal threat in the form of being humiliated and betrayed by a significant other. Grandiose narcissism, as assessed by the NPI E/E, and vulnerable narcissism, as assessed using the newly created PNI subscales, were significantly correlated, which is not surprising given that they both

5. It is important to note here that regression analyses in which the VAS individual scales were considered as dependent measures reiterated the results obtained for the analysis of the composite negative affect scores.

reflect the narcissism construct. When we keep in mind the fact that the individuals with elevated levels of grandiose narcissism also tended to have elevated levels of vulnerable narcissism, the significant differences that emerged between the achievement threat and the interpersonal threat situations seem more remarkable. Vulnerable narcissism, as measured by the PNI CSE, and grandiose narcissism, as measured by the NPI E/E, were associated with negative emotional reactivity across domains and threat levels. However, specific reactivity was documented for PNI CSE under the high-level interpersonal rejection threat, suggesting that vulnerable-narcissistic individuals present a global vulnerability emphasizing the role that the approval of significant others plays in the maintenance and enhancement of their self-esteem (relational self-esteem). In contrast to these findings, the associations between grandiose narcissism (NPI E/E) and negative emotional reactivity were specific to the high-level threat of achievement failure, suggesting that while grandiose narcissistic individuals value the role that competition plays in the maintenance and enhancement of self-esteem (achievement self-esteem), they seem to undervalue domains that require the approval of others. Thus, it appears that both forms of narcissism are clearly sensitive to threat, but the nature of the threat must be considered. Further studies should examine how threats to specific self-esteem domains (e.g., relational and achievement) might act as potential intervening constructs in the differential emotional reactivity related to grandiose and vulnerable narcissism in response to the domain-specific threats (e.g., rejection and failure) found in the present study.

It should be noted that the differences detected in our investigation were found across all four measures of negative affect (i.e., dysphoria, anxiety, anger, and hostility) and they were not specific to any particular form of negative affect. It is revealing that the threat scenarios elicited a range of negative affects. Anger and hostility tend to reflect external attributions of blame; whereas dysphoria often reflects self-blame and an awareness of personal inadequacies. The anticipated experience of these complex emotional blends makes sense given that the imagined scenarios emphasized the self in relation to others.

Although univariate zero-order correlation analyses indicated that all 3 vulnerable narcissism subscales significantly associated with post-exposure negative responses (see Table 2), multivariate analyses indicated that, while controlling for negative responses

baseline levels, neuroticism, and the shared variance among the vulnerable narcissism subscales, it is only the Contingent Self-Esteem (CSE) subscale that makes a unique significant contribution to the prediction of post-exposure negative responses (see Tables 3 and 4). These results provide additional support for the distinction between grandiose and vulnerable narcissism and are in line with the findings of Zeigler-Hill et al. (2008), who showed that the domains of contingent self-esteem associated with grandiose narcissism may be more limited in scope than those associated with vulnerable narcissism. They found that vulnerable narcissism was associated with contingent self-esteem across an array of domains and suggested that vulnerable narcissists may possess a relatively global form of contingent self-esteem. In contrast, the associations between grandiose narcissism and the domains of contingent self-esteem were more complex and suggest that grandiose narcissists value the role that competition plays in the maintenance and enhancement of self-esteem, but devalue domains that require the approval of others. Thus, it appears that both forms of narcissism are clearly sensitive to domains requiring external validation. However, the subtypes differ in that vulnerable narcissism was associated with a tendency to base one's self-esteem on those domains requiring the approval of others; whereas grandiose narcissism was linked with a reluctance to do so. Our results for vulnerable narcissism's (CSE) specific effect on emotional reactivity in the face of the high-level threat of interpersonal rejection and of a grandiose (E/E)-specific effect on emotional reactivity in the face of the high-level threat of achievement failure extend this line of findings.

In our study, the vulnerable narcissism dimension had a significant effect in the face of both levels of threat of interpersonal rejection, with a specific effect on emotional reactivity in the face of the high-level threat of interpersonal rejection. Grandiose narcissism, in contrast, had only specific associations with emotional reactivity to the high-level threat of achievement failure. The differences between the associations of vulnerable and grandiose narcissism with responses to the high vs. low specific threats suggest that the low-level threat rejection condition was still threatening. Thus, the achievement failure condition seems to affect responses only under high threat conditions; whereas the rejection condition seems to affect participants under both high-threat and low-threat conditions. In addition, the fact that there were no significant Narcissism \times Domain interaction effects on emotional reactivity highlights the sig-

nificant role of threat level within specific domains. Further studies should include both a no threat interpersonal rejection scenario and a low threat interpersonal rejection scenario, in order to compare no threat and low threat conditions relating to each domain and their effects on the effects of the narcissism subtypes on emotional reactivity.

The differences in the patterns of associations between grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism suggest the possibility that vulnerable narcissism constitutes a rather generalized form of vulnerability; whereas grandiose narcissism constitutes a specific form of vulnerability. The pattern for vulnerable narcissism is consistent with the contention that narcissistic vulnerability is associated with the search for the approval and the validation of others, in order to maintain and enhance self-esteem.⁶ It is possible that this reliance upon external validation might make individuals more vulnerable to a wider range of negative experiences (i.e., both social rejection and failure) when they do not receive the approval of others (Crocker & Knight, 2005; Crocker & Park, 2004). Thus, this relatively generalized form of vulnerability, with its emphasis on external validation (interpersonal; e.g., rejection) may provide at least a partial explanation of the fragility that is believed to characterize the self-esteem of vulnerable-narcissistic individuals (Pimentel et al., 2006; Pincus et al., 2009). At the same time, the specific associations between grandiose narcissism and the achievement failure threats may be seen as a case of contingent self-esteem, in which grandiose narcissism was positively associated with competition and negatively associated with domains that require external validation (Bosson & Prewitt-Freilino, 2007).

It is important to note here that the obtained results are based on two waves of measurement. The use of a pre/post design allow for the estimation of baseline levels. The obtained effects are thus beyond personality associations with baseline levels of negative state mood and neuroticism, and this might increase our ability to make causal inferences. Moreover, this study enriches our understanding of the distinction between grandiose and vulnerable narcissism and we are now in a better position to compare how each type of narcissist responds to different threats. Finally, the manipulation of threat

6. It is important to note here that ancillary analyses indicated that the results remained unaltered when we did not control for neuroticism. This suggests that there is something about vulnerable narcissism, and not the associated neuroticism, that is linked to the reaction to threat.

levels and domains allowed for the estimation of these variables as manipulated moderators. Further studies might consider using laboratory manipulations of the rejection/achievement threat and comparing those manipulations with the imaginary threats used in this study.

The limitations of the current study must be mentioned. First and foremost, the current study was based on reactions to hypothetical scenarios. While this afforded a significant degree of control, as is the case with most experiments, it is obvious that the associations among grandiose narcissism, vulnerable narcissism, achievement threats, interpersonal threats, and emotional responses need to be examined in more naturalistic settings, perhaps in the form of an investigation tapping daily life experiences. Second, level of threat was manipulated in the current investigation, and this made it impossible to examine possible differences between grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism in terms of cognitive appraisals of threat. Indeed, the current study focused primarily on affective reactions and a more complete understanding of the similarities and differences between these two forms of narcissism will necessarily require an analysis of possible differences in cognitive processes and products. Similarly, future research should include the careful consideration of the fluctuations in self-evaluations in various threatening contexts experienced by grandiose-narcissistic individuals and vulnerable-narcissistic individuals.

In summary, a multifaceted experiment was conducted and it was found that even though grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism correlated positively with one another, these two forms of narcissism operate quite differently in response to imagined situations involving an achievement threat as compared to an interpersonal threat. Grandiose narcissism is responsive to achievement setbacks; whereas vulnerable narcissism is responsive to interpersonal setbacks. These findings highlight the vast differences between these two forms of narcissism in terms of their nomological networks, despite evidence that these forms of narcissism overlap to a substantial degree. Importantly, our results also indicate that the observed pattern of results cannot be attributed to related individual differences in neuroticism because individual differences were taken into account in our investigation. Clearly, grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism are distinguishable and complex and it will be interesting to learn more about their similarities and differences in future research projects.

**APPENDIX. Scenarios for the High- and Low-Level Induced Threats of
Interpersonal Rejection and Achievement Failure**

| Interpersonal Rejection | |
|--|---|
| High-level threat | Low-level threat |
| <p>You get out of work early and decide to surprise your partner, X, and buy her/him a present. As you walk up to the apartment, you hear some laughter coming from inside. As you get closer, you see that the door is cracked open. You open the door, to find X and another person having sexual relations in the living room. You hear X whispering to this person, "I think I might be in love."</p> | <p>You get out of work early and decide to surprise your partner, X, and buy her/him a present. As you walk up to the apartment, you hear some laughter coming from inside. As you get closer, you see that the door is cracked open. You open the door, to find X setting the table while the TV in the living room, which is on at high volume, is showing a laughing couple having sexual relations.</p> |
| Achievement Failure | |
| High-level threat | Low-level threat |
| <p>Recently, an opportunity for a promotion has opened up for one exceptional employee only; you are competing for this opportunity and want it very much. You have been invited to a meeting with X, the executive manager.</p> <p>You approach X's office earlier than expected. As you walk up to the office, you hear laughter coming from inside. It seems they are celebrating—they probably already know who has won the promotion. As you get closer, you see that the door is cracked open. You open the door, to find X making a toast with your opponent to celebrate his promotion. You hear X saying to this person, "Of all of the candidates for this promotion, you are the best."</p> | <p>Recently, an opportunity for a promotion opened up for one exceptional employee only; you are competing for this opportunity and want it very much. You have been invited to a meeting with X, the executive manager.</p> <p>You approach X's office earlier than expected. As you walk up to the office, you hear laughter coming from inside. It seems they are celebrating—they probably already know who has won the promotion. As you get closer, you see that the door is cracked open. You open the door to find X making a toast with his secretary, who is about to retire. You hear X saying to her, "Thank you for your highly professional work over the years."</p> |

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