Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 34, No. 10, 2015, pp. 877-895

SHAME, RAGE, AND UNSUCCESSFUL MOTIVATED REASONING IN VULNERABLE NARCISSISM

STEPHANIE D. FREIS, ASHLEY A. BROWN, PATRICK J. CARROLL, AND ROBERT M. ARKIN
The Ohio State University

The purpose of this research is to better illuminate a vulnerable narcissist's daily emotional life, targeting the experiences of shame, anger, and emotion regulation. Participants completed self-report questionnaires before writing an essay on their adjustment to college. After being randomly assigned to receive either satisfactory or unsatisfactory feedback, participants rated the quality of their own essay performance, reported their current emotions, and completed extra process measures to assess what they were thinking during the study. Feedback which disconfirmed vulnerable narcissists' self-reported performance ratings led to greater emotionality. Furthermore, vulnerable narcissists' intention to regulate their emotions, specifically their attempts to disqualify the importance of interpersonal feedback, ultimately led to greater shame. Conceptual and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: Individual differences; narcissism; emotion; shame; rage

Receiving feedback is an extensive part of being human. People must learn to function in a world that constantly provides external information about oneself. This feedback can often lead to a range of emotional reactions, such as shame or anger, after receiving negative or positive feedback. Some individuals place greater or lesser value on this external information and cope with these emotions more or less effectively. Individuals with

A special thanks to Jean Guerrettaz for valuable discussion and feedback.

Address correspondence to Stephanie D. Freis, Department of Social Psychology, The Ohio State University, 1835 Neil Ave., Columbus, OH 43210; E-mail: freis.1@osu.edu

narcissistic characteristics may react to external feedback in particularly interesting ways.

Social psychologists view narcissism as a trait existing on a continuum on which everyone falls (Foster & Campbell, 2007; Miller & Campbell, 2008, 2010). In addition, narcissism can be divided into two subtypes: grandiose and vulnerable (e.g., Dickinson & Pincus, 2003; Wink, 1991). Grandiose narcissism is marked by explicit self-absorption, arrogance, high self-esteem, entitlement, and interpersonal hostility (Emmons, 1987; Miller et al., 2011; Raskin & Terry, 1988). This work aims to elucidate the subjective experiences of the lesser known subtype, vulnerable narcissism.

VULNERABLE NARCISSISM

Vulnerable narcissists are self-absorbed, exploitative, aggressive, and harbor grandiose thoughts, much like grandiose narcissists (Krizan & Johar, 2012, 2014; Miller et al., 2011; Zeigler-Hill, Green, Arnau, Sisemore, & Myers, 2011). Although both vulnerable and grandiose narcissists also share highly entitled beliefs (Emmons, 1987), vulnerable narcissism is even more strongly associated to high levels of entitlement rage than grandiose narcissism (Miller et al., 2013; Zeigler-Hill & Wallace, 2011). Vulnerable narcissists report that they become more upset or angry when they do not receive what they think they deserve. Thus, vulnerable narcissists are much more sensitive to judgments of outcome fairness, ruminating over the outcomes they did not get but believe they deserved.

Vulnerable narcissists also experience uncertainty about their internal experiences, including their attitudes, beliefs, and self-evaluations (Wink, 1991). This self-doubt leads to hypersensitivity toward external feedback. In particular, vulnerable narcissists are highly sensitive to social evaluation (Hendin & Cheek, 1997) and base their self-worth in externally validated domains, including others' approval (Zeigler-Hill, Clark, & Pickard, 2008). Thus, although vulnerable narcissists use others' feedback to regulate their own self-esteem (Besser & Priel, 2010), they are frequently dissatisfied with such feedback (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008).

This creates a paradox in vulnerable narcissism that does not exist in grandiose narcissism. Vulnerable narcissists' entitlement leads them to think deep down that "I deserve more!" but then they doubt this sentiment, consequently turning to other individuals for assistance with self-regulation and approval. As a result, these characteristics create the perfect storm (Krizan & Johar, 2012) to produce detriments to vulnerable narcissists' well-being, such as reduced happiness and, in antithesis to the inflated self-regard of grandiose narcissists, low self-esteem (Rose, 2002; Wink, 1991). Moreover, vulnerable narcissists' egocentric or self-absorbed nature and poor emotion regulation style manifests in unnecessary worry and pessimism (Krizan & Johar, 2012; Zalpour, Shahidi, Zarrani, Mazaheri, & Heidari, 2015). In other words, vulnerable narcissists' egocentric and hypersensitive nature creates psychological distress and lowered self-acceptance that sets them up for disappointment and a damaging emotional life.

SHAME AND RAGE

The shame-rage cycle represents one aspect of vulnerable narcissists' dysfunctional emotional life. According to theory (Pincus et al., 2009), vulnerable narcissists harbor entitled beliefs and expectations of themselves and others, but do not adequately express those expectations. When others fail to live up to these entitled beliefs, vulnerable narcissists experience anger (or entitlement rage) as they attempt to cope with the disappointment. This can be followed by shame. Some researchers propose that shame arises in vulnerable narcissists over the recognition of their dependence on others (Pincus et al., 2009).

The conceptual links between vulnerable narcissism and the shame-rage cycle suggest that shame and anger are critical to vulnerable narcissists' emotional experiences and significant psychological distress. Shame is elicited when an individual attributes the cause of a negative event to internal factors (e.g., Bosson & Prewitt-Freilino, 2007; Tracy & Robins, 2004) while anger allows a person to externalize threats and protect their sense of self (Dickinson & Pincus, 2003; Krizan & Johar, 2012, 2014; Miller et al., 2011). This protection is especially vital for

vulnerable narcissists due to their low self-esteem. Since they view themselves and those around them negatively, threats to their already low self-regard (e.g., unflattering feedback) can be particularly aversive (Papps & O'Carroll, 1998).

Given the detrimental consequences of these emotions, it is important to understand when and why shame and anger might play such pivotal roles in the life of a vulnerable narcissist. We are faced with external information about ourselves all the time, but how does that really impact a vulnerable narcissist?

TWO COMPETING HYPOTHESES WITHIN A FEEDBACK PARADIGM

The present research aims to examine how vulnerable narcissists respond to self-relevant feedback. Specifically, we aimed to determine when vulnerable narcissists react to such evaluative feedback with shame, and when they react with anger. Moreover, the present research explores underlying mechanisms for these emotional reactions by (1) assessing participants' own ratings of their performance as a reaction to feedback and (2) assessing reports of their experience during the study to investigate possible emotion regulation strategies in use.

Past research using a feedback paradigm provides insight into the self-reports we may expect from vulnerable narcissists. In research by Atlas and Them (2008) and Malkin, Barry, and Zeigler-Hill (2011), participants who scored high on vulnerable narcissism reported a significantly greater negative mood state, particularly shame, after receiving positive feedback. Researchers speculated this was due to pressure or self-doubt of living up to others' future expectations. However, these feedback manipulations consisted of overly inflated feedback of great performance. Work by Brummelman, Thomaes, de Castro, Overbeek, and Bushman, (2014) has shown that inflated praise can cause shame in low self-esteem children. It is possible that these shame-inducing effects of inflated positive feedback may similarly impact the emotional reactions of vulnerable narcissists. In other words, drawing broad conclusions about the effects of positive feedback may be premature. Furthermore, past research has not examined narcissists' performance self-ratings in relation to their reactions

to feedback. We assert that performance self-ratings, or reactions to the feedback, are essential to understand and contextualize the root of vulnerable narcissists' negative emotions. Additionally, these studies did not investigate the processes behind the emotional reactions reported. Thus, while past conclusions on the basic reported emotions are consistent, skepticism remains and further investigation of the mechanism behind these emotions is needed.

Considering vulnerable narcissists' hypersensitivity and entitled nature, an alternative hypothesis compared to past research findings exists: Whether it be shame or anger, the most negative emotion may occur for those high in vulnerable narcissism who specifically received negative feedback compared to all other groups (e.g., individuals who received positive feedback or individuals low in vulnerable narcissism). It is under this condition of high vulnerable narcissism and negative feedback that the greatest theoretical mismatch exists between what the vulnerable narcissist desires, or feels entitled to (i.e., good outcomes or special treatment), and the external feedback they actually receive (i.e., negative feedback).

CURRENT RESEARCH

To address questions left open by Atlas & Them (2008) and Malkin et al. (2011), the present study treats shame and anger as independent negative emotions, uses milder forms of feedback (i.e., satisfactory and unsatisfactory), and incorporates participants' self-reported performance ratings, or reactions to feedback, into analyses. In addition, this study aims to shed light on the regulation strategies used by vulnerable narcissists when experiencing negative states of emotion. Specifically, we aim to explore not the absolute effect of valenced feedback, but when and why shame and anger may be uniquely evoked as a function of self-reported performance ratings.

Two competing hypotheses exist to answer the question of when shame and anger may occur. On one hand, due to vulnerable narcissists' hypersensitive and entitled nature, we expect unsatisfactory feedback to produce the most emotional turmoil, evidenced by reported shame and anger, as a function of self-re-

ported performance ratings or reactions to feedback. In contrast, past literature would suggest that satisfactory feedback may arouse the most negative emotions in vulnerable narcissists, and it is unclear what role self-reported performance ratings may have in this condition based off past literature. Overall, we aim to elucidate the consistency of vulnerable narcissists' reactions to external information and, as importantly, the underlying mechanisms and contextual factors that account for the emotional experiences of vulnerable narcissists.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Eighty-five participants completed the study online in exchange for course credit in an undergraduate psychology course. The data of eight participants were excluded because they either completed less than half of the survey, failed to pass attention check measures, or reported they did not take the study seriously. Thus, the final sample consisted of 77 participants (43 female, ages 18–28).

PROCEDURE

After completing a consent form, participants filled out a series of self-report questionnaires, including measures of vulnerable narcissism and self-esteem, before writing a 200–400 word essay on adjustment to college. In addition, participants were told that the computer would be recording their behavior as they typed so judges could observe their progress on a separate monitor to deliver feedback more quickly. After completing the essay, participants were randomly assigned to one of two feedback conditions.

Participants received either satisfactory or unsatisfactory feedback. In the satisfactory feedback condition, participants were told that one judge rated the essay positively while another rated it negatively, therefore concluding the participant did a sufficient job on the writing task. In comparison, in the unsatisfac-

tory feedback condition, both judges rated the essay negatively and concluded that the participant did a poor job on the writing task. Participants were then asked to rate their own essay performance along with their current emotions. Next, participants completed a manipulation check designed to ensure participants had read the feedback they received. Finally, participants completed several process measures to provide insight into what they were thinking and experiencing during the experiment. A fuller description of the process measures appears later in these methods. At the end of the study, participants were probed for suspicion, asked to report their demographics and how seriously they took the study, and finally were debriefed.

MATERIALS

Vulnerable Narcissism. The Hypersensitive Narcissistic Scale (HSNS; Hendin & Cheek, 1997) assesses vulnerable narcissism. This is a ten-item measure rated on a 5-point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. Example items included "My feelings are easily hurt by ridicule or by the slighting remarks of others," "I dislike being with a group unless I know that I am appreciated by at least one of those present," and "I feel that I have enough on my hands without worrying about other people's troubles." The items were averaged to create a total score of vulnerable narcissism ($\alpha = .77$).

Self-Esteem. Participants completed the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) to assess trait self-esteem. This ten-item measure is rated on a 5-point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. Items included statements such as "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" and "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others." The items were averaged to create a total score of self-esteem ($\alpha = .91$).

Essay Quality. To assess participants' perceptions of their own essay performance, we created a six-item measure rated on a 5-point scale from Very Bad to Very Good. Example items include, "The quality of my writing was _____," "Compared to others I probably did _____ on the writing task," and "It would

be _____ if my essay was shown to others as an example in the future." Items were averaged to create a total score of essay quality ($\alpha = .83$).

Emotion. The PANAS (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) was used to assess participants' current emotions. Because we were specifically interested in shame and anger, we enhanced the PANAS by incorporating additional emotions based on a paper by Thomaes, Stegge, Olthof, Bushman, and Nezlek (2011).[1]

A total shame score ($\alpha = .90$) was computed by taking participants' average ratings of humiliated, foolish, stupid, and ashamed. A total anger score ($\alpha = .91$) was based on the average ratings of annoyed, mad, and angry.

Process Measures. Past literature highlights the importance of interpersonal concerns over achievement concerns among vulnerable narcissists (Besser & Priel, 2010) and their lack of emotion regulation (Zalpour et al., 2015). Thus, process measures were included to capture vulnerable narcissists' experience in this interpersonal context. Participants rated questions on a 5-point scale from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree (e.g., "I was concerned with how much the judges liked me" and "I was concerned with how smart the judges thought I was"). Additional items were included to verify the validity of the manipulation and the clarity of the task being asked of participants (e.g., "I was confused on what the writing task was asking me to do").

RESULTS

CORRELATIONS AMONG STUDY VARIABLES

Table 1 outlines the correlations, means, and standard deviations of continuous variables used in this study. Replicating past research, vulnerable narcissists were found to report low self-esteem, $r = -.47$, $p < .01$, and high negative emotions of shame, $r = .42$, $p < .01$, and anger, $r = .41$, $p < .01$. Prior to analyses, all continuous variables were mean-centered unless otherwise stated.

1. The change to the PANAS scale was prompted by results obtained in our pilot study in which floor effects occurred on reported emotions. Modifications were therefore completed in an attempt to increase internal consistency.

TABLE 1. Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 1 Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mean	*SD*
1. HSNS							2.96	.66
2. RSES	–.47**						3.80	.70
3. Essay Quality	–.09	.17					2.98	.73
4. Shame	.42**	–.48**	–.11				1.57	.81
5. Anger	.41**	–.25*	.01	.67**			1.63	.97
6. Concerned Judges Like Me	.21†	–.23*	.19†	.37**	.25*		2.35	1.20
7. Concerned Judges Think I'm Smart	.31**	–.29*	.08	.41**	.22†	.86**	2.61	1.33

Note. HSNS: Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale; RSES: Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; †$p < .10$

MANIPULATION CHECK

The purpose of the manipulation was to make participants feel that others perceived their performance on the writing task as either poor or sufficient. The effectiveness of this manipulation was assessed by analyzing how participants described their performance to potential future participants. Descriptions were coded as 1 if participants reported they did sufficient, okay, or well on the task and -1 if they stated they did poorly or bad. An independent samples *t*-test yielded a significant difference such that participants in the unsatisfactory feedback condition described their essays more negatively ($M = -.63$, $SD = .67$) whereas those in the satisfactory feedback condition described their essays more positively ($M = .58$, $SD = .69$), $t(1,74) = 7.75$, $p < .001$.

Response to the process measure item, "I think the judges see my skill level as high" provided further confirmation for the effectiveness of the feedback conditions. An independent samples t-test shows participants in the unsatisfactory feedback condition were less likely to think the judges saw their skill level as high ($M = 1.59$, $SD = .71$) than those in the satisfactory feedback condition ($M = 2.58$, $SD = .81$), $t(1,75) = 5.79$, $p < .001$.

SHAME

A multiple regression analysis revealed no significant differences in shame as a function of HSNS and feedback type received, *b*

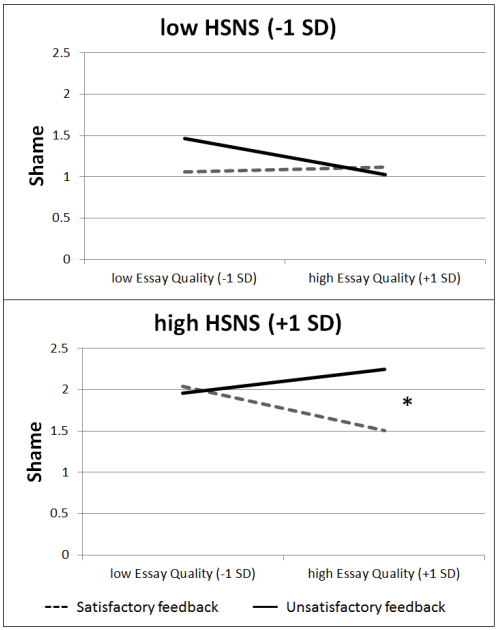

FIGURE 1. Shame as a function of vulnerable narcissism (HSNS), reported essay quality, and feedback type. *$p < .05$

= .15, SE = .26, $t(73)$ = .59, $p > .05$. However, if it is true that vulnerable narcissists are sensitive to fair outcomes, then a relationship should exist between how well they think they did on the essay and an emotional reaction to what feedback they receive, to the extent that a mismatch between self-perceptions and feedback exists. Although the number of participants provides lower than ideal power, we found that regressing shame onto essay quality ratings, feedback type, HSNS, and the relevant interactions revealed a significant 3-way interaction, b = .68, SE = .28, $t(69)$ = 2.45, $p < .05$ (see Figure 1). When participants scored low on the HSNS, there was no interaction of essay quality or feedback type, b = -.33, SE = .36, $t(69)$ = -.92, $p > .05$. But there was a marginally significant interaction of feedback type and essay quality when participants scored high on the HSNS, b = .56, SE = .32, $t(69)$ = 1.74, $p < .10$. Particularly, those who scored high on the HSNS reported significantly more shame after receiving negative, rather than satisfactory, feedback if they believed they wrote a high quality essay, b = .73, SE = .33, $t(69)$ = 2.23, $p < .05$. Importantly, these effects cannot simply be explained by other,

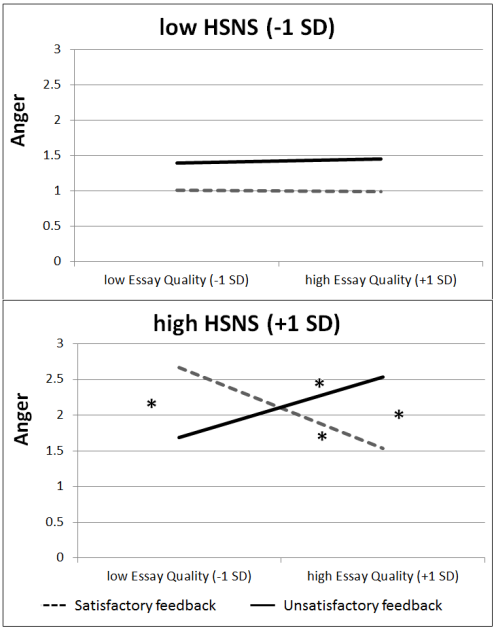

FIGURE 2. Anger as a function of vulnerable narcissism (HSNS), reported essay quality, and feedback type. *$p < .05$.

related individual differences such as self-esteem. When controlling for self-esteem, the 3-way interaction between the HSNS, essay quality, and feedback type remains significant in predicting shame, $b = .82$, $SE = .26$, $t(68) = 3.24$, $p < .001$.

ANGER

Similar to shame, a multiple regression analysis of anger on the HSNS and feedback type was not significant, $b = -.25$, $SE = .31$, $t(73) = -.81$, $p > .05$. However, using moderational analyses to regress reported levels of anger on the HSNS, essay quality ratings, feedback type, and the relevant interactions, revealed a significant 3-way interaction, $b = .99$, $SE = .31$, $t(69) = 3.16$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 2). While participants low on the HSNS did not experience significantly different levels of anger based on feedback type or essay quality, $b = .05$, $SE = .41$, $t(69) = .12$, $p > .05$; we found a significant interaction of feedback type and essay quality when participants scored high on the HSNS, $b = 1.35$, $SE = .36$, $t(69) =$

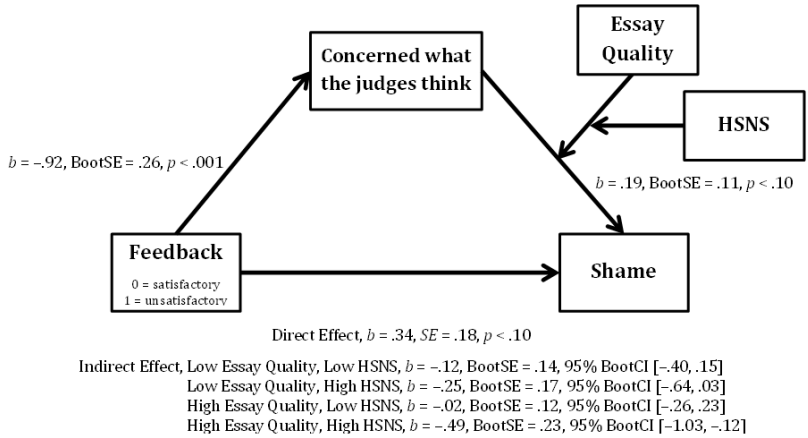

FIGURE 3. Shame as a consequence of feedback type and concern for what the judges think about the participant as a function of perception of essay quality and vulnerable narcissism (HSNS).

3.73, $p < .001$. Specifically, similar to shame, high HSNS participants reported significantly more anger after receiving negative, compared to satisfactory, feedback if they believed they wrote a high quality essay, $b = .58$, $SE = .19$, $t(69) = 2.99$, $p < .01$. In contrast to shame, however, high HSNS participants who believed they wrote a low quality essay reported more anger after receiving satisfactory feedback, $b = -.77$, $SE = .19$, $t(69) = -2.52$, $p < .01$. These effects also cannot simply be explained by self-esteem. When controlling for self-esteem, the 3-way interaction between the HSNS, essay quality, and feedback type remains significant in predicting anger, $b = 1.08$, $SE = .31$, $t(68) = 3.48$, $p < .001$.

MOTIVATED REASONING

To investigate the phenomenology of vulnerable narcissists and how they come to experience negative emotions, we conducted a moderated mediational analysis incorporating ratings from the process measures. Specifically, we used participants' ratings of concern with what the judges thought of them. This served to operationalize a potential emotion regulation tactic whereby participants could defensively minimize feedback importance.

Utilizing Model 18 of Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro for SPSS, with a bootstrap sample set at 5000, we found significant moderated mediation (see Figure 3). The direct effect of feedback on shame was positive, showing that unsatisfactory feedback (coded as 1) produced marginally significantly more shame than satisfactory feedback (coded as 0), $b = .34$, $SE = .18$, $t(68) = 1.88$, $p < .10$. However, following the indirect pathway we see this effect reverse. Participants who received unsatisfactory feedback reported being less concerned about what the judges think of them, $b = -.92$, $SE = .26$, $t(68) = -3.56$, $p < .001$. Participants' lower concern for what the judges think of them led to no difference in reported shame for those who rated their essay quality as low, regardless of their standing on the HSNS; low HSNS, $b = -.12$, BootSE = .13, 95% BootCI [-.40, .15], high HSNS, $b = -.125$, 95% BootCI [-.64, .03]. In comparison, when participants rated their essay quality as high, it was only those high on the HSNS, who received unsatisfactory feedback and reported less concern for what the judges think of them, that led to significantly higher reports of shame; low HSNS, $b = -.02$, BootSE = .12, 95% BootCI [-.26, .23], high HSNS, $b = -.49$, 95% BootCI [-1.03, -.12]. Therefore, only vulnerable narcissists with the greatest mismatch between feedback and self-perceptions (i.e., perceptions of high essay quality) reported greater shame after attempting to discredit their concern for what the judges thought of them.

Furthermore, these analyses remain significant even when controlling for self-esteem within the model; direct effect, $b = .37$, BootSE = .17, $t(67) = 2.15$, $p < .05$, indirect effect of feedback type on concern for what the judges think, $b = -.90$, BootSE = .25, $t(67) = -3.57$, $p < .001$, indirect effect of concern for what the judges think on shame, $b = .16$, BootSE = .10, $t(67) = 1.56$, $p > .05$, low essay quality and low HSNS, $b = -.08$, BootSE = .13, 95% BootCI [-.31, .23], low essay quality and high HSNS, $b = -.26$, BootSE = .16, 95% BootCI [-.66, .01], high essay quality and low HSNS, $b = .03$, BootSE = .11, 95% BootCI [-.15, .28], high essay quality and high HSNS, $b = -.43$, BootSE = .19, 95% BootCI [-.91, -.13]. However, this moderated mediational analysis was not significant for anger.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this work was to understand when and why feedback impacts the emotional life of vulnerable narcissists. Results show that unsatisfactory feedback left those high in vulnerable narcissism feeling angry and ashamed, particularly when they rated their own performance as high. In comparison, satisfactory feedback led to reports of anger among those high in vulnerable narcissism who believed they performed poorly, although this effect had no impact on reports of shame. These results provide some support for both predictions, but stronger support for the prediction that unsatisfactory feedback would elicit the greatest emotions. A mismatch of any kind between self-perceptions and outcomes produced the negative emotion of anger while shame arose only when the mismatch signaled poor self-evaluations. Thus, while anger can arise in vulnerable narcissists after they receive satisfactory feedback, this type of feedback does not produce the same extremity of turmoil and negative emotions in vulnerable narcissists as unsatisfactory feedback does. That said, feedback alone did not explain the emotional patterns observed in vulnerable narcissists. Instead, finding a mismatch between self-perceptions and feedback was key to distinguishing vulnerable narcissists' hypersensitivity to external information.

Furthermore, a mechanism was shown behind the increase in shame after unsatisfactory feedback. Vulnerable narcissists who believed they performed well on a task but received unsatisfactory feedback reported having low concern for what the judges thought of them, interpreted as a sort of motivated reasoning or defense mechanism. However, instead of this defensive minimization of concern alleviating the emotional turmoil caused by the unsatisfactory feedback, as it did for the average population, these reports of low concern led to greater experiences of shame for vulnerable narcissists. This is likely because vulnerable narcissists really do care about external feedback; in fact, their primary contingency of self-worth is approval from others (Zeigler-Hill et al., 2008). We can thus speculate that vulnerable narcissists likely experienced greater difficulty when they tried to convince themselves that they did not care about the judges'

opinions. Hence, it is not a successful strategy for vulnerable narcissists to engage in motivated reasoning that undermines their own values. This reliance on, but simultaneous poor denial of, external feedback helps explain why vulnerable narcissists fail to regulate their own emotions. They need external feedback to reinforce their self-status because they cannot do it themselves, but feel ashamed for needing it (Besser & Priel, 2010). In other words, when a vulnerable narcissist is faced with a mismatch between self-perceptions and external information, they place greater weight on others' judgments than on their own, a very ineffective way to manage one's emotional life.

In comparison, concern for the judges' impressions did not account for the effect of unsatisfactory feedback on reported anger among vulnerable narcissists, signaling the unique qualities of shame and anger. This lack of parallel mediating effects on anger may result from participants directing anger toward the source who contradicted their self-perceptions, thus focusing their attention outward. Shame, on the other hand, focuses attention inward. Therefore, as they already feel bad about themselves (i.e., low self-esteem), shame may alert vulnerable narcissists to protect themselves more and engage in defensive processes. Anger poses a less immediate threat to the individual. That said, since vulnerable narcissists fail at their initial attempt to implement motivated reasoning, their increase in shame may still lead to greater anger downstream, setting off a shame-rage cycle. In other words, anger could arise through a more indirect pathway and thus serve as a defense mechanism in and of itself. As feeling shame is an unpleasant experience, some researchers suggest individuals react to the emotion of shame by externalizing that energy into anger, or rage (Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992; Tracy, Robins, & Tangney, 2007). Yet, fully uncovering the mechanisms through which anger arises necessitates further research.

In order to strengthen support for these claims, future work should consider adding additional process measures to directly assess the interpretation provided here, whereby vulnerable narcissists experience greater difficulty in motivated reasoning. In

addition, other emotion measures could be included in this study design. Too often participants report little to no emotion. It may be that difficulty in obtaining explicit self-reported emotions in these studies could be a result of the order of our design. Participants complete a cognitive measure before the affective measure; they rate their essay quality after receiving feedback but before rating their current emotions. As noted by Swann, Griffin, Predmore, and Gaines (1987), this could diminish responses on the subsequent affective measure. Yet, difficulty in obtaining explicit self-reports of emotions is common in psychology (Mauss & Robinson, 2009); thus, utilizing implicit measures may prove fruitful.

CONCLUSION

The current study provides evidence toward a clearer conceptual understanding of what it means to be a vulnerable narcissist by demonstrating the role of mismatched self-perceptions and outcomes in vulnerable narcissists' emotional life. This work suggests that emphasis on self-perceptions enhances our understanding of vulnerable narcissists' hypersensitive nature underlying their emotional life. Future research should continue to delineate the conditions under which shame and anger are uniquely evoked. With daily life full of mixed information, how might vulnerable narcissists ever protect themselves from such turmoil? This article presented evidence of the unsuccessful strategies vulnerable narcissists use to regulate their own emotions. Although future work should further clarify more useful mechanisms and the phenomenological experience of vulnerable narcissists, this research represents a promising beginning.

REFERENCES

Atlas, G. D., & Them, M. A. (2008). Narcissism and sensitivity to criticism: A preliminary investigation. *Current Psychology*, *27*, 62–76. doi:10.1007/s12144-008-9023-0

Besser, A., & Priel, B. (2010). Grandiose narcissism versus vulnerable narcissism in threatening situations: Emotional reactions to achievement failure and interpersonal rejection. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *29*, 874–902. doi:10.1521/jscp.2010.29.8.874

Bosson, J. K., & Prewitt-Freilino, J. L. (2007). Overvalued and ashamed: Considering the roles of self-esteem and self-conscious emotions in covert narcissism. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, and J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research* (pp. 407–425). New York: Guilford Press.

Brummelman, E., Thomaes, S., de Castro, B. O., Overbeek, G., & Bushman, B. J. (2014). "That's not just beautiful—that's incredibly beautiful!" The adverse impact of inflated praise on children with low self-esteem. *Psychological Science*, *25*, 728–735. doi:10.1177/0956797613514251

Dickinson, K. A., & Pincus, A. L. (2003). Interpersonal analysis of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *17*, 188–207. doi:10.1521/pedi.17.3.188.22146

Emmons, R. A. (1987). Narcissism: theory and measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *52*, 11–17. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.52.1.11

Foster, J. D., & Campbell, W. K. (2007). Are there such things as 'narcissists' in social psychology? A taxometric analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *43*, 1321–1332. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2007.04.003

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis*. New York: Guilford Press.

Hendin, H. M., & Cheek, J. M. (1997). Assessing hypersensitive narcissism: A reexamination of Murray's Narcism Scale. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *31*, 588–599. doi:10.1006/jrpe.1997.2204

Krizan, Z., & Johar, O. (2012). Envy divides the two faces of narcissism. *Journal of Personality*, *80*, 1415–1451. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2012.00767.x

Krizan, Z., & Johar, O. (2014). Narcissistic rage revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *108*, 784–801. doi:10.1037/pspp0000013

Malkin, M. L., Barry, C. T., & Zeigler-Hill, V. (2011). Covert narcissism as a predictor of internalizing symptoms after performance feedback in adolescents. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *51*, 623–628. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2011.05.031

Mauss, I. B., & Robinson, M. D. (2009). Measures of emotion: A review. *Cognition and Emotion*, *23*, 209–237. doi:10.1080/02699930802204677

Miller, J. D., & Campbell, W. K. (2008). Comparing clinical and social-personality conceptualizations of narcissism. *Journal of Personality*, *76*, 449–476. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00492.x

Miller, J. D., & Campbell, W. K. (2010). The case for using research on trait narcissism as a building block for understanding narcissistic personality disorder. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment*, *1*, 180–191. doi:10.1037/a0018229

Miller, J. D., Few, L. R., Wilson, L., Gentile, B., Widiger, T. A., MacKillop, J., & Campbell, W. K. (2013). The Five-Factor Narcissism Inventory (FFNI): A test of the

convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity of FFNI scores in clinical and community samples. *Psychological Assessment*, *25*, 748–758. doi:10.1037/a0032536

Miller, J. D., Hoffman, B. J., Gaughan, E. T., Gentile, B., Maples, J., & Campbell, W. K. (2011). Grandiose and vulnerable narcissism: A nomological network analysis. *Journal of Personality*, *79*, 1013–1042. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00711.x

Morf, C. C., & Rhodewalt, F. (2001). Unraveling the paradoxes of narcissism: A dynamic self-regulatory processing model. *Psychological Inquiry, 12*(4), 177-196.

Papps, B. P., & O'Carroll, R. E. (1998). Extremes of self-esteem and narcissism and the experience and expression of anger and aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, *24*, 421–438.

Pincus, A. L., Ansell, E. B., Pimentel, C. A., Cain, N. M., Wright, A.G.C., & Levy, K. N. (2009). Initial construction and validation of the Pathological Narcissism Inventory. *Psychological Assessment*, *21*, 365–379. doi:10.1037/a0016530

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

Rose, P. (2002). The happy and unhappy faces of narcissism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *33*, 379–391. doi:10.1016/S0191-8869(01)00162-3

Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Swann, W. B., Griffin, J. J., Predmore, S. C., & Gaines, B. (1987). The cognitive–affective crossfire: When self-consistency confronts self-enhancement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *52*, 881–889. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.52.5.881

Tangney, J. P., Wagner, P., Fletcher, C., & Gramzow, R. (1992). Shamed into anger? The relation of shame and guilt to anger and self-reported aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *62*, 669–675. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.62.4.669

Thomaes, S., Stegge, H., Olthof, T., Bushman, B. J., & Nezlek, J. B. (2011). Turning shame inside-out: "Humiliated fury" in young adolescents. *Emotion*, *11*, 786–793. doi:10.1037/a0023403

Tracy, J. L., & Robins, R. W. (2004). Putting the self into self-conscious emotions: A theoretical model. *Psychological Inquiry*, *15*, 103–125. doi:10.1207/s15327965pli1502_01

Tracy, J. L., Robins, R. W., & Tangney, J. P. (Eds.). (2007). *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. New York: Guilford Press.

Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: the PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*, 1063–1070. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063

Wink, P. (1991). Two faces of narcissism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*, 590–597. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.61.4.590

Zalpour, K., Shahidi, S., Zarrani, R., Mazahert, M. A., & Heidari, M. (2015). Empathy and cognitive emotion regulation in phenotypes of narcissism. *Payesh*, *14*, 239–247.

Zeigler-Hill, V., Clark, C. B., & Pickard, J. D. (2008). Narcissistic subtypes and contingent self-esteem: Do all narcissists base their self-esteem on the same domains? *Journal of Personality*, *76*, 753–774. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00503.x

Zeigler-Hill, V., Green, B. A., Arnau, R. C., Sisemore, T. B., & Myers, E. M. (2011). Trouble ahead, trouble behind: Narcissism and early maladaptive schemas. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, *42*, 96–103. doi:10.1016/j.jbtep.2010.07.004

Zeigler-Hill, V., & Wallace, M. T. (2011). Racial differences in narcissistic tendencies. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *45*, 456–467. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2011.06.001