Pursuing Interpersonal Goals: Consequences for Interpersonal Conflict, Self-Relevant Affect, and Alcohol-Related Problems

by

Scott J. Moeller

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Doctoral Committee:

      Professor Jennifer K. Crocker, Chair
      Professor Brad J. Bushman
      Professor Phoebe C. Ellsworth
      Professor Robert A. Zucker

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ABSTRACT

Three studies tested the effects of two interpersonal goals, self-image goals and

compassionate goals, on hostility and conflict (Study 1), alcohol-related problems (Study

2), and self-relevant affect following goal progress and setbacks (Study 3). Self-image

goals involve constructing and defending a positive self-image in the eyes of other

people, whereas compassionate goals involve supporting others and contributing to

something outside the self, thus reflecting two different motivational perspectives on the

self. Using a longitudinal design (pretest assessments and 10 subsequent weekly surveys),

Study 1 showed that chronic self-image goals, pursued by narcissistically entitled people,

predict chronic relationship conflict and hostility. Chronic compassionate goals did not

predict these same negative interpersonal outcomes. Study 2 showed that self-image

goals, but not compassionate goals, are positively associated with alcohol-related

problems. Subsequent cross-sectional path models showed that self-image goals relate to

coping motives for drinking (drinking to reduce negative affect), but not enhancement

motives (drinking to increase positive affect); coping motives then relate to heavy-

episodic drinking, which in turn relate to alcohol-related problems. These results suggest

a model of how self-image goals may translate into alcohol-related problems. Thus, given

that self-image goals predict negative consequences and compassionate goals do not,

Study 3 shifted focus to possible beneficial effects of compassionate goals. Specifically,

and again using a longitudinal design (pretest assessments and 10 subsequent weekly

surveys), Study 3 tested whether compassionate goals buffer negative emotional experience (i.e., shame) following goal setbacks in domains of contingent self-worth. Results showed that on weeks participants were high on compassionate goals relative to their own mean score, they were partially protected from experiencing shame. Taken together, these studies indicate that self-image goals to create desired self-images ultimately create interpersonal and intrapersonal problems; compassionate goals to support others do not create these same problems, and may instead offer some protection from consequences that arise from self-image concerns.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

My doctoral research examines how people's strivings to appear worthy and valuable to others are ultimately costly. In particular, in the present research we explore the potential of self-image goals to undermine intrapersonal, interpersonal, and health-related outcomes. *Self-image goals* are driven by the motivation to construct and maintain desired self-images that are recognized and acknowledged by others. They involve self-presentation and impression management, intending to convey an accurate, though idealized or glorified, conception of the self that the actor genuinely believes to be true (Baumeister, 1982; Greenwald & Breckler, 1985; Leary, 1995; Schlenker, 1980). Social psychological research on the self has extensively documented the motivation to construct, protect, and inflate self-images, evidenced in self-enhancing biases in judgments of the self, defensive responses to self-threats, and self-serving attributions for success and failure (Baumeister, 1998; Dunning, Heath, & Suls, 2005; Taylor & Brown, 1988). Self-image goals may help people present themselves favorably and successfully to others, such that they can obtain social benefits or avoid social harms (Leary, 2007; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Miller, 2006; Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004; Schlenker, 2003).

Nevertheless, despite the potential for self-image goals to produce short-term benefits (e.g., securing a job, finding a new relationship, or receiving recognition or

acknowledgement from others), the motivation to bolster one's self-worth or self-image that characterizes the pursuit of self-image goals may be fraught with long-term negative consequences (Crocker & Park, 2004). When people pursue goals with the aim of boosting their self-esteem, they may procrastinate, self-handicap, or perseverate (Baumeister, 1997; Baumeister, Heatherton, & Tice, 1993; Jones & Berglas, 1978; Tice & Baumeister, 1997; Zuckerman & Tsai, 2005); indulge in short-term emotion regulation at the expense of other self-regulatory goals (Tesser, 1988; Tice & Bratslavsky, 2000; Tice, Bratslavsky, & Baumeister, 2001); or even turn to alcohol as a means of escape (Hull, 1981; Hull & Young, 1983). My Master's thesis suggested that self-image goals, which elicit a constellation of negative affective states encompassing fear, confusion, and ambivalence (Crocker & Canevello, 2008), undermine academic and friendship self-regulation.

Whereas self-image goals are expected to undermine these interpersonal and health-related outcomes, compassionate goals to support others are expected to benefit (or at least not undermine) these same outcomes. Compassionate goals involve the desire to be constructive and supportive, and avoid harming others (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Crocker, Olivier, & Nuer, 2009). When people are high in compassionate goals, they have what Crocker et al. (2009) call an ecosystem motivational perspective: they believe that people are interconnected across geographic locations and generations; they view success as a nonzero-sum proposition, so that one person's success does not detract from another's; and they believe it is important that people take care of each other, not because of what they stand to gain or lose from doing so, but rather because they genuinely care about others' well-being (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Crocker, Liu, & Canevello, 2009).

People with chronically high compassionate goals also tend to have high self-compassion and private self-consciousness, low psychological entitlement, and high agreeableness and extraversion. My Master's thesis showed that compassionate goals, which elicit a constellation of positive other-directed affective states encompassing love, peace, and joy (Crocker & Canevello, 2008), facilitate academic and friendship self-regulation (Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009).

It is important to note that compassionate goals are not necessarily the converse of self-image goals. Because both are interpersonal goals, they often correlate in our datasets. These correlations require that we enter both goals as simultaneous predictors, a strategy employed throughout this dissertation. People can have both goals concurrently (e.g., a basketball player may want to contribute to a team victory, while still scoring a desired number of points), or they can have neither (e.g., a person could have the goal to complete a crossword puzzle everyday for personal enjoyment, and as this is not an interpersonal goal, it is unlikely to inspire either self-image or compassionate goals).

Research Paper 1

My dissertation consists of three papers; all examine the intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes associated with adopting self-image or compassionate goals. The first line of research (Moeller, Crocker, & Bushman, 2009) explores the consequences of self-image goals for interpersonal conflict and hostility. When people have self-image goals, other people are potentially threatening, as they can provide or deny something desired by the self (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Because they are trying to get something from others, people with self-image goals should tend to view their social

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interactions through a zero-sum lens (what is good for the self is bad for others and vice versa) (Crocker, Liu et al., 2009), possibly culminating in interpersonal conflict. In this way, people with self-image goals undermine what they want.

This account of self-image goals and interpersonal conflict is reminiscent of an influential theoretical account for narcissism (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001), which posits narcissism to be a dynamic self-regulatory processing system that is ultimately self-defeating. Narcissists' constant need for admiration makes them poor friends and relationship partners, ultimately scuttling the chance to receive the admiration they desire. We suggest that narcissists adopt self-image goals that ultimately create hostility and conflict with others. This research has the potential to explain how narcissists, and people with self-image goals, ultimately create the opposite of what they want.

Research Paper 2

The second line of research (Moeller & Crocker, 2009) builds off the perspective that self-image goals elicit negative affect, incorporating this association into a theoretical model of how self-image goals trigger heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems. We further draw on an extensive college student alcohol literature that has linked drinking to unsuccessful coping (Cooper, 1994; Ham & Hope, 2003). Motivational models of alcohol use propose that distinct drinking motives are associated with distinct patterns and consequences of drinking (Cooper, 1994; Cooper, Frone, Russell, & Mudar, 1995). Coping motives, in particular, operate through a negative affect pathway. We expected that self-image goals might contribute to heavy drinking and alcohol-related problems through this same negative affect pathway, serving as a distal predictor of

alcohol problems. More specifically, we tested a cross-sectional path model in which self-image goals relate to coping motives, which relate to heavy-episodic drinking, which in turn relates to alcohol-related problems. This research has the potential to link self-image goals to health-related outcomes; if these goals can be reduced, college students' drinking may also be reduced.

Research Paper 3

With Research Papers 1 and 2 establishing consequences of self-image goals, the third line of research (Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2010) tests compassionate goals as a way to improve one's emotional experience. Specifically, Research Paper 3 tests the effect of compassionate goals on positive and negative affect when people experience progress or setbacks on academic and friendship goals. We also test the effects of self-image goals, though they are not the focus of this final paper. In these analyses, we spotlight shame, a negative self-conscious emotion that implicates the self (Tracy & Robins, 2004), though we examine positive ego-involved emotions as well (e.g., feeling strong, powerful). We expect that high compassionate goals do not predict ego-involved affect (i.e., affect that implicates the self, such as feeling shameful in response to setbacks or feeling powerful in response to progress); instead, we expect that compassionate goals predict affect following goal progress or setbacks that is less ego-involved (e.g., feeling humble or determined, respectively). We expect an opposite pattern of results for self-image goals.

A second, but crucial component of this research pertains to testing whether compassionate goals buffer the negative ego-involved affect associated with

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contingencies of self-worth. Contingencies of self-worth refer to the domains through which people believe they can attain worth and value (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). External contingencies, in particular, predict many negative health-related outcomes (Crocker, 2002; Crocker & Luhtanen, 2003; Luhtanen & Crocker, 2005; Sargent, Crocker, & Luhtanen, 2006). This research has the potential to extend current knowledge of how self-image and compassionate goals shape people's emotional experience, and uncover a way to reduce the pernicious effects of external contingencies.

Summary

Taken together, Research Paper 1 explores a potential association between narcissism and the pursuit of self-image goals, and how both relate to interpersonal conflict and hostility (**Chapter 2**). Research Paper 2 explores a potential relation between self-image goals and alcohol problems, as possibly operating through coping motives for drinking (**Chapter 3**). Research Paper 3 explores the relation between self-image/compassionate goals and affect following success or failure, and how these goals might moderate the negative effects of external contingencies of self-worth (**Chapter 4**).

CHAPTER 2

Creating Hostility and Conflict:

Effects of Entitlement and Self-Image Goals

Compassionate goals and self-image goals have important implications for creating or undermining interpersonal relationships. C*ompassionate goals* involve supporting others and contributing to their well-being; these goals foster social support and trust. Conversely, *self-image goals* involve constructing, maintaining, and defending a positive self-image; these goals undermine social support and trust (Crocker & Canevello, 2008).

Narcissistic people should be especially likely to adopt self-image goals as an interpersonal strategy because they are concerned (if not downright obsessed) with obtaining admiration and respect from others (Baumeister & Vohs, 2001). Narcissistic people hold grandiose self views, an inflated sense of entitlement, and an interpersonal style marked by exploitative attitudes and low empathy (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Narcissists may pursue self-image goals to obtain the inclusion, acceptance, advancement, status, admiration, and respect from others that they desire (Leary, 2007; Schlenker, 2003).

However, the self-image goals adopted by narcissists may ultimately trigger relationship conflict. We suggest that narcissists' fragile self-esteem becomes damaged when they do not achieve their self-image goals. Because narcissists care deeply about

maintaining their grandiose self-views, they respond with aggression, conflict, and hostility against those who insult or criticize them (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Bushman, Bonacci, van Dijk, & Baumeister, 2003; Kernis, Grannemann, & Barclay, 1989; Rhodewalt, Madrian, & Cheney, 1998; Zeigler-Hill, 2006). Therefore, narcissists may use a self-defeating interpersonal strategy, aimed at garnering respect and admiration, but instead breeding conflict and ill-will (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). And because narcissism and entitlement continue to rise among today's young adults, compared to previous generations (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008) (but see Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010), understanding how narcissism contributes to negative interpersonal outcomes becomes increasingly important.

The present research tests the hypothesis that narcissists, particularly those with a high sense of entitlement, pursue self-image goals, which lead to conflict with others. We are particularly interested in the entitlement component of narcissism (i.e., the belief that one simply deserves more than others), because it specifically relates to interpersonal conflict (e.g., Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bushman, 2004), and also because it may contribute more to maladaptive behavior than other narcissism components (Bushman & Baumeister, 2002; Emmons, 1984, 1987). Studies 1A and 1B sought to establish a link between entitlement and self-image goals. Study 2 tested whether self-image goals mediate the link between entitlement and perceived interpersonal conflict and hostility.

STUDIES 1A and 1B

Method

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Participants

  Study 1A. Participants ($N = 96$) were college students who received course credit for their voluntary participation. Although demographic data are unavailable, participants came from a population that mainly consisted of college freshmen (49% female, 65% Caucasian, 6% African American, 13% Asian American).

  Study 1B. Participants ($N = 86$; 59% female; $M_{age} = 19.6$; 41% Caucasian, 11% African American, 40% Asian American) were college students who responded to advertisements. They received $5 for their voluntary participation.

Procedure

  Study 1A. Participants completed the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Terry, 1988; total $\alpha = .82$), which contains 40 forced choice items divided into seven subscales: Authority, Self-Sufficiency, Superiority, Exhibitionism, Exploitativeness, Vanity, and Entitlement. Analyses focused on Entitlement, which contains six items (e.g., "If I ruled the world it would be a much better place" versus "The thought of ruling the world frightens the hell out of me"; $\alpha = .54$). We note the low reliability of the NPI entitlement subscale as observed here and throughout this manuscript, a frequently encountered and acknowledged problem (Campbell et al., 2004).

  We assessed self-image goals (e.g., "get others to recognize or acknowledge your positive qualities"; $\alpha = .89$) and compassionate goals (e.g., "be supportive of others"; $\alpha = .86$; see Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*always*).

  Study 1B. Participants completed the NPI (total $\alpha = .83$; entitlement $\alpha = .44$) and

a different measure of self-image goals and compassionate goals (Moeller, Crocker, &

Canevello, 2009, Study 1). Participants responded to an open-ended question about an

important self-improvement goal, then responded to 11 items about the consequences of

having the goal [response scale: 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*)]. Two composite scores

were computed: *self-image* items included "feel competitive with others," "want to

project a certain image to others," "afraid to risk failure," "critical or judgmental of

others," "responsible for achieving it," and "wish others would stop getting in the way of

achieving it" (α = .71); *compassionate* items included "help you make a difference for

other people," "make you feel collaborative with others," "increase your compassion for

others' weaknesses or mistakes," "make you feel close to others," and "expand your

capacities as a person" (α = .80). As expected, this new measure of goals correlated with

the goal measures used in Study 1A (self-image goals: r = .41, p < .001; compassionate

goals: r = .50, p < .001).

Results & Discussion

Table II.1 presents the means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations

among all variables. Because of intercorrelations among NPI subscales, self-image goals,

and compassionate goals across all studies (Tables II.1 & II.2), the zero-order

correlations could be spurious; therefore, all analyses controlled for compassionate goals

and the other NPI subscales.

Table II.1. *Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for all variables in Studies 1A and 1B.*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Self-Image Goals	2.95 (2.84)	0.72 (0.80)	--	**.40****	**.22***	-.03	.01	**.22***	.10	-.12	.14	.06
2. Compassionate Goals	3.54 (2.78)	0.63 (0.88)	.10	--	.09	.03	.01	.05	-.13	-.05	-.03	-.02
3. Entitlement	0.24 (0.33)	0.21 (0.21)	**.35****	.05	--	**.23***	**.47****	**.29****	**.39****	**.42****	.21	**.50****
4. Authority	0.57 (0.57)	0.28 (0.27)	**.23***	**.24***	**.44****	--	**.57****	**.28***	.17	**.31****	**.41****	**.78****
5. Self-Sufficiency	0.40 (0.40)	0.24 (0.23)	-.12	.01	.10	.16	--	**.35****	.16	**.40****	**.30****	**.73****
6. Superiority	0.42 (0.46)	0.27 (0.26)	.07	.16	**.25***	**.30****	.18	--	**.35****	.20	**.38****	**.63****
7. Exhibitionism	0.21 (0.24)	0.25 (0.25)	**.25***	-.02	**.60****	**.42****	-.01	**.36****	--	.14	**.45****	**.53****
8. Exploitativeness	0.27 (0.26)	0.22 (0.25)	.09	-.14	**.39****	**.35****	.16	.09	**.35****	--	.17	**.55****
9. Vanity	0.36 (0.37)	0.37 (0.36)	.06	.09	.15	.10	.05	.15	**.27****	.05	--	**.66****
10. Narcissism	0.39 (0.40)	0.16 (0.17)	.18	.13	**.56****	**.77****	**.45****	**.60****	**.66****	**.54****	**.40****	--

Note. Numbers not in parentheses and on the lower diagonal come from Study 1A; numbers in parentheses and on the upper diagonal come from Study 1B. Narcissism represents the total NPI score (scores range from 0 to 1), with subscales entitlement, authority, self-sufficiency, superiority, exhibitionism, exploitativeness, and vanity.
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

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Regression analysis showed that entitlement was significantly related to self-image goals when controlling for the other narcissism subscales and compassionate goals (Study 1A: $\beta = .32$, $p < .016$; Study 1B: $\beta = .26$, $p < .048$). The total NPI score, and the other subscales, were unrelated to self-image goals.

Consistent with our hypotheses, Studies 1A and 1B showed that people with high entitlement pursue goals to construct and inflate desired images of the self. Study 2 aimed to replicate the specificity of the entitlement finding in a larger sample while also examining the potential interpersonal problems that arise as a consequence of the self-image goals of highly entitled people. Study 2 assessed goals, entitlement, and perceived interpersonal conflict and hostility in a longitudinal design, and employed a second measure of psychological entitlement to address the low reliability of the entitlement scale of the NPI. We predicted that self-image goals would mediate the effects of entitlement on interpersonal conflict and hostility.

STUDY 2

Method

Participants and Procedure

Study 2 used data from the Goals and Adjustment to College Study (Crocker & Canevello, 2008), a 12-week longitudinal study consisting of a pretest, a posttest, and 10 weekly surveys. Participants were college students ($N = 199$; 61% female; $M_{age} = 18.1$; 71% Caucasian, 6% African American; 19% Asian American) who received $5 for each survey, plus a $40 bonus if they completed all 12 surveys.

At pretest, participants completed the NPI (Raskin & Terry, 1988) and the Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES) (Campbell et al., 2004), which consists of 9 items (e.g., "If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the *first* lifeboat!"; α = .83) rated on scales ranging from 1 (*strong disagreement*) to 7 (*strong agreement*).

Weekly surveys included measures of self-image and compassionate goals (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; the same items used in Study 1A), which exhibited good internal consistency each week of the study (self-image goals: .85 < α < .95, M_α = .91; compassionate goals: .88 < α < .96, M_α = .94), and measures of hostility and conflict. *Weekly hostility* was assessed using three items from the Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis, 2000). Items included "having urges to beat, injure, or harm someone," "getting into frequent arguments," and "feeling easily annoyed or irritated". Weekly hostility exhibited adequate internal consistency each week of the study (.64 < α < .78, M_α = .68). *Weekly conflict* was measured using one item: "In the past week, how often did you have conflicts with people?" All items from the weekly surveys were rated using 5-point scales.

Results

Table II.2 presents the means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations among all variables used in Study 2. Data, which were complete for all participants, were analyzed using regression analysis. Again, due to intercorrelations among our variables of interest, and to establish the specificity of entitlement, all NPI entitlement analyses controlled for the other NPI subscales. No significant effects emerged for total NPI scores

or any other NPI subscale in any analysis. All analyses also controlled for compassionate

goals, because they correlated with self-image goals over the ten weeks.

Table II.2. *Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for all Study 2 variables*.

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Self-Image Goals	3.03	0.56	--											
2. Compassionate Goals	3.30	0.64	.53**	--										
3. Entitlement (PES)	3.05	1.06	.09	-.23**	--									
4. Entitlement (NPI)	0.30	0.20	.04	-.28**	.45**	--								
5. Authority	0.61	0.27	.06	-.06	.21**	.43**	--							
6. Self-Sufficiency	0.42	0.22	-.09	-.15*	.23**	.27**	.41**	--						
7. Superiority	0.44	0.29	.00	-.04	.39**	.33**	.33**	.24**	--					
8. Exhibitionism	0.26	0.24	15*	-.03	.33**	.43**	.31**	.15*	.41**	--				
9. Exploitativeness	0.34	0.28	-.01	-.13	.26**	.38**	.34**	.29**	.17*	.28**	--			
10. Vanity	0.41	0.38	.09	-.03	.20**	.24**	.21**	.16*	.35**	.39**	.26**	--		
11. Narcissism	0.43	0.17	.05	-.11	.41**	.55**	.76**	.59**	.64**	.63**	.61**	.56**	--	
12. Hostility	1.64	0.54	.14*	-.15*	.19**	.24**	.12	-.03	-.11	.21**	.15*	.05	.10	--
13. Conflict	2.19	0.63	.25**	-.02	.14*	.22**	.19**	-.05	-.07	.11	.14*	.09	.12	.60**

Note. Narcissism represents the total NPI score (scores range from 0 to 1), with subscales entitlement, authority, self-sufficiency, superiority, exhibitionism, exploitativeness, and vanity. NPI and PES were assessed at pretest; self-image goals, compassionate goals, hostility, and conflict were averaged over 10 weekly reports.
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

Although the zero-order correlations were not significant, regression analysis showed that when we entered the control predictors, NPI entitlement and PES prospectively predicted self-image goals, averaged over the 10 weeks ($\beta = .18$, $p < .019$ and $\beta = .23$, $p < .001$). NPI entitlement prospectively predicted chronic hostility, averaged over the 10 weeks ($\beta = .17$, $p < .042$), as did PES ($\beta = .16$, $p < .028$). Both NPI entitlement and PES predicted chronic interpersonal conflict ($\beta = .20$, $p < .023$ and $\beta = .14$, $p < .05$). Chronic self-image goals, averaged over 10 weeks, predicted chronic hostility ($\beta = .31$, $p < .001$) and chronic interpersonal conflict ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$).

Mediation

Chronic self-image goals mediated the effect of NPI entitlement (Sobel's $z = 1.81$, $p < .07$) and PES (Sobel's $z = 2.51$, $p < .012$) on weekly hostility. Chronic self-image goals also mediated the effect of NPI entitlement (Sobel's $z = 1.99$, $p < .047$) and PES (Sobel's $z = 2.77$, $p < .006$) on weekly conflict. In all mediation analyses, the effects of NPI entitlement and PES became nonsignificant, indicating complete mediation.

Additional Results

We also performed the same regression analyses for each study using the four-factor solution of the NPI proposed by Emmons (1987): leadership/authority (Study 1A: $\alpha = .80$; Study 1B: $\alpha = .76$; Study 2: $\alpha = .74$), self-absorption/self-admiration (Study 1A: $\alpha = .53$; Study 1B: $\alpha = .62$; Study 2: $\alpha = .67$), superiority/arrogance (Study 1A: $\alpha = .45$; Study 1B: $\alpha = .45$; Study 2: $\alpha = .53$), and exploitativeness/entitlement (Study 1A: $\alpha = .67$; Study 1B: $\alpha = .54$; Study 2: $\alpha = .48$). Controlling for compassionate goals and the other three NPI subscales, exploitativeness/entitlement related to self-image goals in Study 1A ($\beta = .29$, $p < .012$) and Study 2 ($\beta = .25$, $p < .001$), but not in Study 1B ($\beta = .18$, $p > .10$);

in Study 1B, self-absorption/self-admiration related to self-image goals ($\beta = .27, p < .02$). The different items that comprised self-image goals in Study 1B may account for the discrepancy.

Again controlling for compassionate goals and the other three NPI subscales, in Study 2 exploitativeness/entitlement uniquely predicted chronic hostility ($\beta = .19, p < .016$) and chronic conflict ($\beta = .18, p < .025$). Tests of mediation were significant for both chronic hostility (Sobel's $z = 2.48, p < .013$) and chronic conflict (Sobel's $z = 2.71, p < .007$). The effects of exploitativeness/entitlement were no longer significant with the addition of self-image goals, indicating complete mediation. Taken together, the results obtained using the four-factor solution largely mirror the results obtained with the seven-factor solution, with entitlement as the common thread. Nevertheless, due to the nonsignificant effect observed for Study 1B, the Emmons (1987) factor solution cannot completely account for our results. Thus, these results increase our confidence in entitlement as the unique predictor of self-image goals and interpersonal consequences.

Discussion

Study 2 replicated Studies 1A and 1B by showing an association between entitlement and self-image goals. Study 2 extended these results by showing that two different measures of entitlement prospectively predict chronic self-image goals, averaged over the following ten weeks.

In Study 2, these relations only emerged when we controlled for compassionate goals, which was not unexpected because these chronic goals correlate over time (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Therefore, detecting effects of one goal may require

controlling for the other. We also caution that although we again found effects using the NPI entitlement subscale, its poor reliability remains a concern (Campbell et al., 2004). Therefore, replicating these relations with the PES, a more reliable measure of entitlement, increases confidence in our findings.

Importantly, the results of Study 2 also revealed that self-image goals mediated the effect of entitlement on perceived hostility and conflict in relationships. Thus, the self-image goals that entitled people adopt predict perceptions of interpersonal problems.

General Discussion

Narcissism, particularly a sense of entitlement, predicts a variety of negative outcomes (Campbell et al., 2004; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Vazire & Funder, 2006). Our results indicate that the self-image goals entitled people pursue might ultimately damage their relationships. Previous studies have not investigated the types of goals entitled people pursue, nor have they broadly linked such goals to the interpersonal consequences that ensue within a single theoretical framework.

All studies reported here revealed a unique effect of the entitlement subscale of the NPI, demonstrating the reliability and specificity of this effect; no other NPI subscale remained significant in the regressions, including the four subscales identified by Emmons (1987). Thus, although other narcissism components may relate to self-image goals, our results suggest that such associations are explained by shared variance with entitlement. This perspective is consistent with the hypothesis that entitlement may be particularly responsible for narcissists' maladaptive behavior (Bushman & Baumeister, 2002; Emmons, 1984, 1987).

Accordingly, our results also support previous research demonstrating problematic outcomes specifically associated with psychological entitlement. Although we acknowledge the impressive body of literature linking narcissism to interpersonal consequences (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Bushman et al., 2003; Kernis et al., 1989; Rhodewalt et al., 1998; Zeigler-Hill, 2006), we draw on recent research to suggest that entitlement may drive such associations (Bushman & Baumeister, 2002; Campbell et al., 2004; Reidy, Zeichner, Foster, & Martinez, 2008; van Dijk & De Cremer, 2006). But whether entitlement accounts for all narcissism findings, or only conflict-related findings, requires further research.

In general, our findings support the hypothesis that narcissism is self-defeating (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Narcissistic people often attempt to construct and inflate desired self-views in the eyes of others, such as boasting about accomplishments or flaunting money and possessions (Buss & Chiodo, 1991; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). However, people often perceive such strategies negatively, perhaps because the motivations underlying them likely come across as empty and selfish (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Feeney & Collins, 2001, 2003; Schlenker & Leary, 1982; Turan & Horowitz, 2007). Thus, rather than receiving the attention and admiration they desire, narcissistic people instead alienate others.

Our mediation results indicated that self-image goals completely accounted for the effect of entitlement on conflict and hostility. These results are consistent with process models of personality, which posit that personality traits shape goals, affect, and cognition to produce behavior (Mischel, 2004; Mischel & Shoda, 1995; Mischel & Shoda, 1998). Our mediation findings suggest that reducing self-image goals (and, we

speculate, adopting compassionate goals) could provide a sustainable approach for reducing the consequences of narcissism and entitlement. This idea is buttressed by zero-order correlations indicating negative associations between entitlement (both measures) and compassionate goals in Study 2 (see Table II.2), and by our previous work showing that establishing an interpersonal connection in a laboratory setting can reduce narcissistic aggression (Konrath, Bushman, & Campbell, 2006). This idea of shifting toward compassionate goals is also consistent with recent calls to replace self-esteem programs with programs that encourage empathy (Twenge, 2006).

Several limitations of these studies should be acknowledged. First, these studies relied on correlations, and therefore other causal sequences could account for these data. For example, a childhood characterized by lack of (or inconsistent) parental support could give rise to the pathological self-focus and unstable self-esteem that characterize narcissism, as classical clinical accounts have emphasized (Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1971); this kind of childhood could similarly give rise to chronic self-image goals, in which people who experienced deficient parental support chronically feel the need to prove their worth to others. Thus, low parental support could explain the entitlement-self-image goal relationship. However, we consider this explanation to be less plausible because narcissism relates positively to parental warmth, and to recollections of pervasive parental admiration (Horton, Bleau, & Drwecki, 2006; Otway & Vignoles, 2006). Competition contingencies of self-worth, which correlate with both narcissism and self-image goals, may also be involved (Crocker, Luhtanen, Cooper, & Bouvrette, 2003; Zeigler-Hill, Clark, & Pickard, 2008). Therefore, only experimental studies that manipulate self-image goals can establish causality.

Another limitation involves these studies' inability to assess objective markers of conflict and hostility. Study 2 relied on self-reports from only one person; future studies could use dyads, perhaps observing them while they interact in the laboratory (e.g., Roisman, Clausell, Holland, Fortuna, & Elieff, 2008). We note, though, that socially desirable responding and other demand characteristics are probably not especially prominent in these studies, because we believe few people would arbitrarily report relationship conflict and hostility if none existed. Nevertheless, future studies should remedy some of these concerns.

In summary, these studies have shown that entitled people pursue self-image goals, which aim to construct and inflate a desired image of the self. However, their self-image goals appear to damage their relationships, breeding relationship conflict and hostility, outcomes contrary to the admiration and respect they desire from others. By pursuing self-image goals, entitled people appear to create exactly the opposite of what they want.

CHAPTER 3

Drinking and Desired Self-Images: Path Models of

Self-Image Goals, Coping Motives, Heavy-Episodic Drinking, and Alcohol Problems

Alcohol use among college students constitutes a public health threat in the United States (Hingson, Heeren, Winter, & Wechsler, 2005). Representative national surveys show that approximately 44% of college students report heavy-episodic drinking (Wechsler et al., 2002), and that 18% percent of US college students (24% of men, 13% of women) suffer from clinically significant alcohol-related problems (Slutske, 2005). Successful intervention requires understanding the psychosocial antecedents underlying drinking behavior that precipitate dangerous alcohol-related outcomes (Ham & Hope, 2003). The current study therefore investigated whether two interpersonal goals, self-image goals and compassionate goals, relate to drinking motives, heavy-episodic drinking, and alcohol-related problems. Uncovering the interpersonal goals associated with drinking provides a possible point of intervention other than alcohol-related beliefs and motivations. In particular, because these interpersonal goals encompass broader outcomes related to college than alcohol-related beliefs and motivations, interventions that target such goals might reduce problematic drinking while concurrently promoting positive outcomes in other aspects of students' lives.

Self-image goals refer to goals in which people seek to construct, maintain, and defend positive self-views (Crocker & Canevello, 2008), often to gain or obtain

something for the self (Schlenker, 2003). People can have self-image goals for many domains of life, including academics (e.g., getting others to see one as smart and competent) and friendships (e.g., getting others to see one's desirable qualities). Dispositionally, people with chronic self-image goals are self-conscious, entitled, socially anxious, insecurely attached, competitive, low in self-compassion, and view their relationships as zero-sum (success for one person detracts from the successes of others) (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Bushman, 2009). Importantly, people with chronic self-image goals chronically experience a constellation of negative affective states, including fear, pressure, ambivalence, and confusion as a consequence of having those goals (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009).

We predict that college students with chronic academic and friendship self-image goals will drink heavily and experience more alcohol-related problems. Drinking alcohol can dampen the self-relevant negative affect that accompanies self-image goals, affording escape from self-awareness and evaluation anxiety (Baumeister, 1997; Higgins & Marlatt, 1975; Hull, 1981; Hull & Young, 1983). However, because drinking to cope with negative affect predicts heavy drinking and alcohol-related problems (Cooper, 1994; Cooper et al., 1995; Neighbors, Lee, Lewis, Fossos, & Larimer, 2007; C. L. Park & Levenson, 2002; Simons, Gaher, Oliver, Bush, & Palmer, 2005), people with self-image goals may be susceptible to such problems. Thus, we expected an association between self-image goals and problematic drinking outcomes (e.g., heavy drinking and alcohol-related problems) mediated through coping motives, but not other drinking motives such as enhancement motives (Cooper, 1994; Cooper et al., 1995), which do not involve self-relevant negative affect.

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Whereas we predict that college students with chronic self-image goals will experience alcohol-related problems, we predict that college students with chronic compassionate goals will not. *Compassionate goals* refer to goals in which people seek to support others and contribute to their well-being (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Similarly to self-image goals, people can have compassionate goals for many domains of life (e.g., academics and friendships). However, unlike self-image goals, people with chronic compassionate goals want to be a constructive force in their interactions with others and avoid harming them. People with chronic compassionate goals also have high self-compassion, feel cooperative with others, high agreeableness and extroversion, and view their relationships as nonzero-sum (success for one person does not detract from the successes of others). As a result, people with chronic compassionate goals chronically report feeling clear, calm, peaceful, empathic, and connected to others (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009). Because compassionate goals do not foster negative affect, they should be unrelated to drinking to cope and alcohol-related problems.

Accordingly, the current study tested self-image and compassionate goals as correlates of heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems. We predicted that self-image goals relate to heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems, both directly and indirectly through coping motives; these coping motives then relate to heavy-episodic drinking, which in turn relate to alcohol-related problems. This hypothesized path model rests on the assumption that people with self-image goals drink alcohol to reduce their negative affect, in line with previous research suggesting that dispositional variables promote risky behaviors by shaping emotional experiences (Baumeister &

Scher, 1988; Cooper, Agocha, & Sheldon, 2000). And because coping motives might better explain drinking behavior of women than men (Beck, Thombs, Mahoney, & Fingar, 1995; Ham & Hope, 2003; Stewart, Zvolensky, & Eifert, 2001), we also explored whether our hypothesized effects of goals and motives on problematic drinking outcomes differ by gender. Conversely, because compassionate goals do not elicit negative affect, we did not expect them to relate to coping motives for drinking, heavy-episodic drinking, or alcohol-related problems. In summary, we predicted that self-image goals are associated with alcohol-related problems through drinking to cope with negative affect (but not through drinking to enhance positive affect); compassionate goals, which do not elicit negative affect, should not be associated with alcohol-related problems, either directly or indirectly.

Method

Participants

Three hundred fifty-nine undergraduates from a large Midwestern University participated in exchange for course credit. We restricted our analyses to students who reported drinking alcohol within the previous semester. This sample included 258 undergraduates (133 women; M_{age} = 18.9; 76% Caucasian, 5% African American, 12% Asian or Asian American), who reported engaging in a median of two heavy drinking episodes per month (Min = none; Max = more than three per week; see heavy-episodic drinking measure below). This reduced sample did not differ in age or ethnicity (Hispanic or not Hispanic) from the full sample, but included fewer females (χ^2 (1, N = 358) = 4.67, p < .05) and fewer non-White minorities (encompassing African Americans, Asian

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Americans, and Latinos) (χ^2 (1, $N = 359$) = 16.64, $p < .001$). Moreover, this reduced

sample did not differ from the full sample on self-image- or compassionate goals (Fs <

0.01, ps > .94).

Measures

       Self-image goals for academics and friendships. We assessed self-image goals

for academics and friendships, following previous research (Moeller, Crocker, &

Bushman, 2009, Study 1B). Participants reported their most important academic goal

(e.g., "Maintain a 3.6 GPA," "Make the Dean's list," "Get into business school") and

friendship goal (e.g., "Make as many friends as I can," "Form new friendships while

maintaining old ones," "Have a close group of friends") for the current semester; they

then responded to six items with the lead-in statement "Does having that [academic]

[friendship] goal…?" Following previous research conducted in our laboratory (Crocker

& Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009), we selected academic and

friendship goal domains based on their importance for first-semester college students.

Items included "make you afraid to risk failure," "make you critical or judgmental of

others," "make you want to project a certain image to others," "make you feel responsible

for achieving it," "make you wish others would stop getting in the way of achieving it,"

and "make you feel competitive with others." Academic and friendship items were

separated by other measures not reported in the current study. All items were rated on a

scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*always*). Because previous research suggests that

people have high chronic self-image goals in both academics and friendships (Moeller,

Crocker, & Canevello, 2009), and because in the current study the self-image items

loaded on a single factor across the goal domains according to exploratory factor

analysis, we collapsed the academic and friendship self-image items into a single self-image goal composite (α = .78).

Compassionate goals for academics and friendships. We also assessed compassionate goals for academics and friendships. While thinking of their important academic and friendship goals, participants responded to five items with the lead-in statement "Does having that [academic] [friendship] goal…" Items included "help you make a difference for other people," "increase your compassion for others' weaknesses or mistakes," "make you feel close to others," "expand your capacities as a person," and "make you feel collaborative with others." Items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*always*). We again collapsed the compassionate items across the academic and friendship domains (α =.73).

Coping and enhancement motives for drinking. We assessed coping and enhancement motives for drinking with two subscales of the Drinking Motives Questionnaire (Cooper, 1994), which asks respondents why they typically drink alcohol. In accordance with our a priori hypotheses, we were particularly interested in coping motives: "to forget your worries," "because it helps you when you feel depressed or nervous," "to cheer up when you are in a bad mood," "because you feel more self-confident and sure of yourself," and "to forget about your problems" (α = .79). We also assessed enhancement motives to establish the specificity of coping motives. Enhancement items included: "because you like the feeling," "because it's exciting," "to get high," "because it gives you a pleasant feeling," and "because it's fun" (α = .86). All items were rated on a 1 to 4 scale (1 = *almost never/never*, 2 = *sometimes*, 3 = *often*, and

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4 = *almost always/always*), a slightly altered response scale from the original measure (which used a 5-point scale).

Heavy-episodic drinking. Participants responded to an item asking how often they engage in heavy-episodic drinking, with the number of drinks differing slightly for men and women, respectively: "How often, on the average, did you have 5 [4] or more drinks in a row [during the previous semester]?" Response options included: "(0) never," "(1) once," "(2) twice," "(3) 3 times," "(4) once a month," "(5) twice a month," "(6) 3 times a month," "(7) once a week," "(8) twice a week," "(9) 3 times a week," or "(10) more than 3 times a week." The 5/4 method has been used extensively over the past 15 years as a measure of heavy-episodic drinking (Wechsler & Nelson, 2001).

Alcohol-related problems. We assessed alcohol-related problems with the Young Adult Alcohol Problems Screening Test (YAAPST, an established acronym for this scale), which measures potential negative consequences of alcohol use occurring in the past 12 months (Hurlbut & Sher, 1992). Items spanned many consequences of heavy alcohol use including becoming ill, missing classes, having conflicts with friends and loved ones, participating in unintended sexual encounters, and needing to drink early in the morning. Items were rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*) to maintain response consistency with the measures of self-image and compassionate goals. The YAAPST has a single-factor structure, good internal consistency ($\alpha = .79$ in the current study), and good concurrent validity with indices of drinking, alcohol expectancies, and alcohol abuse and dependence symptoms; moreover, it targets drinking symptoms of a young adult population (Hurlbut & Sher, 1992).

Social desirability. We assessed social desirability as a potential covariate with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale ($\alpha = .73$). The measure asks respondents to choose between 33 pairs of socially desirable (e.g., "I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable") or socially undesirable (e.g., "I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved") statements. People with higher composite scores are more likely to respond in ways that gain them social approval (e.g., underreporting heavy drinking episodes or alcohol-related problems). Thus, controlling for social desirability increases confidence in participants' self-reports.

Analytic Approach

All analyses were conducted using Mplus 5 (Muthén & Muthén, 2007), which estimates model parameters and by default accounts for missing data using full information maximum likelihood estimation (in the current study less than 2% of all participant data was missing). To evaluate overall fit of our path models reported below, we report the chi-square test of model fit, the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). A CFI value greater than or equal to 0.95 and a RMSEA value less than or equal to 0.05 indicate adequate fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1992; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Analyses of indirect effects, for which we report Sobel's *z*, were calculated independently using the parameter estimates provided by M-plus.

Preliminary analyses. We first regressed heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems on self-image goals and compassionate goals (entered simultaneously) in two separate regression equations. Although chronic self-image and compassionate goals predict very different behavioral outcomes, they often correlate in our data because both are interpersonal goals. Thus, to uncover unique effects of each goal, we typically

enter both goals as predictors simultaneously (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). In addition, we explored potential goal × gender and motive × gender interactions on our outcome variables (motives, heavy-episodic drinking, and alcohol-related problems; we deemed the sample size insufficient to conduct multiple group analysis).

Path analyses. We then tested our hypothesized model depicted in Figure III.1 through path analysis. We predicted that self-image goals relate to coping motives for drinking (Figure III.1, Path A), which relate to heavy-episodic drinking episodes (Figure III.1, Path B), which in turn relate to alcohol-related problems (Figure III.1, Path C). To further quantify the relation between self-image goals, heavy-episodic drinking, and alcohol-related problems, we conducted Sobel tests to inspect potential indirect effects of self-image goals on heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems through coping motives. A final path model tested the specificity of the coping motives hypothesis by replacing coping motives with enhancement motives, which like coping motives predict heavy drinking and alcohol-related problems (Cooper et al., 1995). However, because enhancement motives involve positive affect, we hypothesized that they would not relate to self-image goals (i.e., we hypothesized that Path A in Figure III.1 would be nonsignificant with enhancement motives as the outcome).

Figure III.1. Hypothesized model. Self-image relate to coping motives for drinking (Path A), which relate to heavy-episodic drinking episodes (Path B), which in turn relate to alcohol-related problems (Path C).
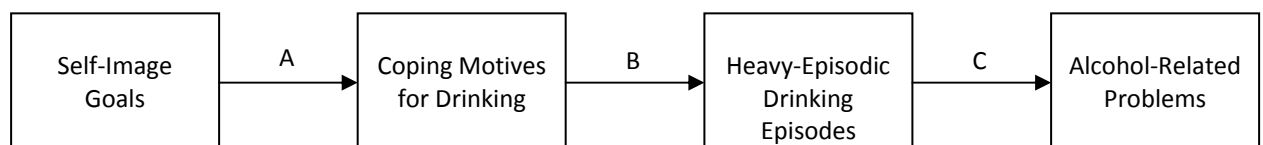
Results

Table III.1 presents the means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations among all variables included in the analyses. Social desirability significantly correlated with all measures included in the models; we therefore included social desirability as a covariate in all analyses. Self-image goals correlated with compassionate goals; we therefore controlled for compassionate goals in all analyses that included self-image goals as a predictor. No significant goal × gender or motive × gender interactions emerged on any variable included in Table III.1, so gender will receive no further consideration in the Results.

Table III.1. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations Among Variables Included in the Models*

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Self-Image Goals	2.89	0.58	--						
2. Compassionate Goals	3.21	0.55	**.35****	--					
3. Coping Motives	1.82	0.64	**.31****	.10	--				
4. Enhancement Motives	2.67	0.73	.15*	.14*	**.32****	--			
5. Heavy-Episodic Drinking	5.25	2.76	.03	.01	**.18****	**.41****	--		
6. YAAPST Alcohol Problems	26.93	6.39	**.27****	.12	**.26****	**.27****	**.51****	--	
7. Social Desirability	0.44	0.15	**-.23****	**.17****	**-.20****	-.15*	-.13*	**-.24****	--

Note. Self-image and compassionate goals were averaged across academic and friendship domains; * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01.

Preliminary Analyses

As expected, heavy-episodic drinking was associated with alcohol-related problems, controlling for social desirability ($B = 1.13$, $SE = 0.12$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .49$). We next entered self-image goals and compassionate goals as simultaneous predictors of coping motives, heavy-episodic drinking, and alcohol-related problems, while also controlling for social desirability. Compassionate goals were not associated with any of these outcomes ($Bs < 0.99$, $SEs > 0.76$, $ps > .19$, $\beta s < .09$). Self-image goals were associated with coping motives ($B = 0.29$, $SE = 0.07$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .27$) and alcohol-related problems ($B = 2.14$, $SE = 0.73$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .19$), but not heavy-episodic drinking ($B = -0.08$, $SE = 0.33$, $p > .79$, $\beta = -.02$) (see Table III.1 for the complete list of bivariate correlations).

Path Analyses

We next tested through path analysis whether self-image goals relate to coping motives, which relate to heavy-episodic drinking, which then relate to alcohol-related problems; social desirability and compassionate goals were included in the model as covariates. This model did not adequately fit the data, χ^2 (6, $N = 258$) $= 26.35$, $p < .001$; CFI $= 0.857$; RMSEA $= 0.115$. Because previous analyses indicated that self-image goals directly related to alcohol-related problems, we included a direct path from self-image goals to alcohol-related problems in the model; we also included a direct path from coping motives to alcohol-related problems, in accordance with theory and research on coping motives. These modifications improved model fit to acceptable criteria, χ^2 (4, $N = 258$) $= 4.65$, $p = .33$; CFI $= 0.995$; RMSEA $= 0.025$. This final model accounted for 34% of the variance in alcohol-related problems.

Figure III.2 presents the path coefficients for the final model; social desirability and compassionate goals, although included as covariates, are not depicted. As predicted, significant paths emerged from self-image goals to coping motives, from coping motives to heavy-episodic drinking, and from heavy-episodic drinking to alcohol-related problems. The direct association between self-image goals and alcohol-related problems remained significant even with the potential mediators (coping motives and heavy-episodic drinking) included in the model ($B = 2.25$, $SE = 0.59$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .21$). Nevertheless, consistent with our predictions, self-image goals were indirectly associated with alcohol-related problems through coping motives (Sobel's $z = 2.29$, $p < .05$). Self-image goals were also indirectly associated with episodes of heavy drinking through coping motives (Sobel's $z = 2.19$, $p < .05$), even though the bivariate correlation between self-image goals and heavy-episodic drinking was not significant.

Figure III.2. Negative affect path model, $\chi 2$ (4, N = 258) = 4.65, $p = .33$; CFI = 0.995; RMSEA = 0.025, showing standardized regression coefficients for associations between self-image goals and coping motives, coping motives and heavy-episodic drinking, and heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems. Paths are also included from self-image goals and coping motives to alcohol-related problems (the latter association is a trend). Compassionate goals and social desirability are included as covariates, though they are not depicted in the model; $+ p < .09$, $* p < .05$, $** p < .01$, $*** p < .001$.
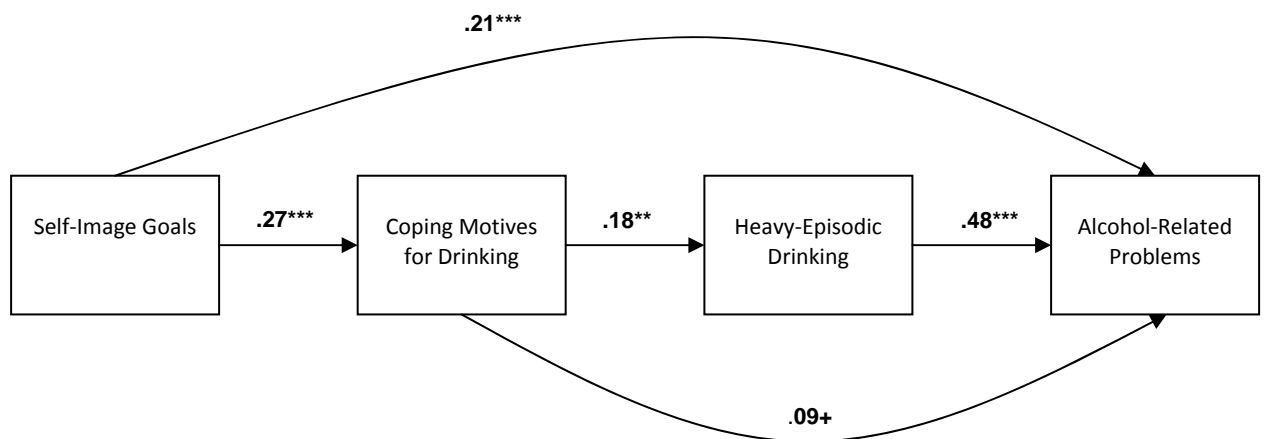
Finally, we tested the specificity of our final model by replacing coping motives with enhancement motives; this model is depicted in Figure III.3. Although this path model fit the data well, χ^2 (4, $N = 258$) = 3.81, $p = .43$; CFI = 1.000; RMSEA = 0.000, self-image goals were not associated with enhancement motives ($B = 0.08$, $SE = 0.09$, $p > .33$, $\beta = .07$). Further, enhancement motives were not associated with alcohol-related problems in this sample ($B = 0.17$, $SE = 0.49$, $p > .73$, $\beta = .02$). The high model fit likely stems from the strong association between enhancement motives and heavy-episodic drinking ($B = 1.53$, $SE = 0.22$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .41$). Thus, as predicted, enhancement motives do not explain the association between self-image goals and alcohol-related problems.

Figure III.3. Positive affect path model, χ^2 (4, $N = 258$) = 3.81, $p = .43$; CFI = 1.000; RMSEA = 0.000, showing standardized regression coefficients for associations between self-image goals and enhancement motives (nonsignificant), enhancement motives and heavy-episodic drinking, and heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems. Paths are also included from self-image goals and enhancement motives to alcohol-related problems (the latter association is also nonsignificant). Thus, enhancement motives do not explain how self-image goals contribute to alcohol-related problems. Compassionate goals and social desirability are included as covariates, though they are not depicted in the model; *** $p < .001$.
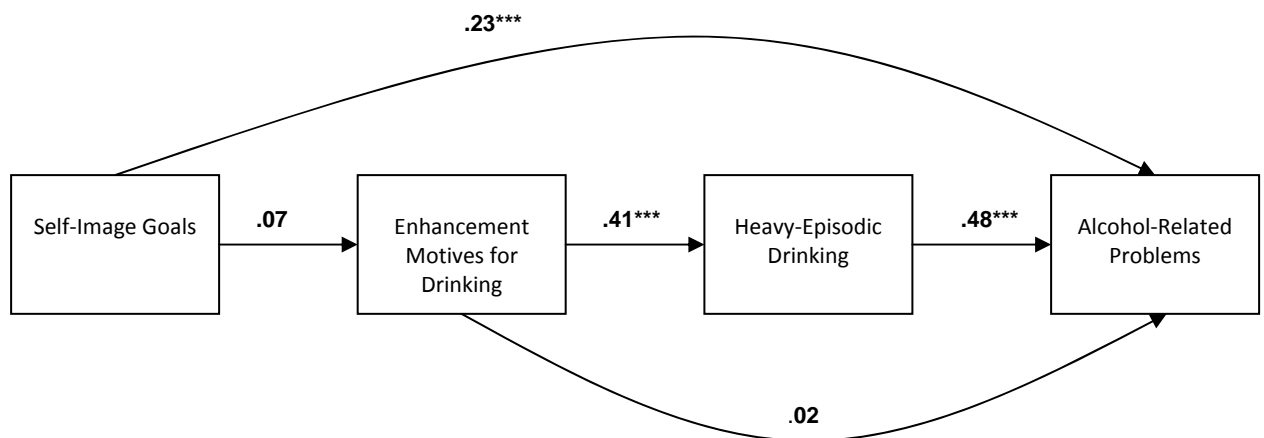
Discussion

As predicted, the current study found that self-image goals are associated with alcohol-related problems. A model with significant paths from self-image goals (averaged across academics and friendships) to coping motives, from coping motives to heavy-episodic drinking, and from heavy-episodic drinking to alcohol-related problems fit the data well; direct paths from self-image goals and coping motives to alcohol-related problems were also included. Analyses of the indirect effects suggested that self-image goals contribute to heavy-episodic drinking and alcohol-related problems through coping motives for drinking. Finally, nonsignificant interactions with gender suggest that men and women do not differ on how self-image goals contribute to problems with alcohol.

Particularly pertinent to the current study, a significant path from self-image goals to coping motives was expected based on previous research suggesting that chronic self-image goals predict chronic negative affect (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009), and further extends the finding that people who base their self-worth on others' approval experience problems with alcohol in the freshman year of college (Luhtanen & Crocker, 2005). This finding is particularly important in light of research suggesting that college students often perceive that existing social norms condone heavy drinking (Borsari & Carey, 2003; A. Park, Sher, & Krull, 2008; Pedersen, LaBrie, & Lac, 2008; Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986). Not only may students with high self-image goals drink alcohol to alleviate negative affect, but they may think such behavior is common among their peers. Interactions between self-image goals, coping motives, and norm misperceptions could lead students to drink especially high quantities of alcohol (and potentially experience especially high numbers of alcohol-related consequences), predictions that remain to be tested in future studies.

In contrast to our initial hypotheses, the direct effect of self-image goals on heavy-episodic drinking was nonsignificant. Nevertheless, our results revealed that self-image goals indirectly contribute to heavy drinking through coping motives. Although these indirect effects analyses did not show that coping motives account for a previously significant association between self-image goals and heavy-episodic drinking as required by some mediational approaches (e.g., Baron & Kenny, 1986), analyses of the indirect effects still provide a sufficient test of the intervening variable hypothesis (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). Thus, even without an initially significant correlation, self-image goals can still indirectly influence heavy-episodic drinking through coping motives, as our analyses suggest.

The direct effect of self-image goals on alcohol-related problems was significant, however. And even when we included in the final model coping motives and heavy-episodic drinking, which themselves carry negative consequences associated with drinking (Cooper et al., 1995; C. L. Park & Levenson, 2002), self-image goals remained a significant predictor of alcohol-related problems. This finding indicates that self-image goals are directly associated with YAAPST alcohol problems, in addition to their indirect association through coping motives. This significant direct effect suggests contributions from additional mechanisms. Because self-image goals predict interpersonal conflict and hostility (Moeller, Crocker, & Bushman, 2009), and because the YAAPST includes conflict-related items (e.g., physical altercations, destruction of property, problems involving loved ones, and unintended sexual encounters), conflict may also contribute to the association between self-image goals and alcohol-related problems. In particular, we speculate that interpersonal conflict may account for the direct effect of self-image goals

on alcohol-related problems, further elucidating how self-image goals contribute to alcohol-related problems even though they did not significantly correlate with heavy-episodic drinking. Future studies that specifically measure interpersonal conflict, especially during drinking episodes, can test this hypothesis (e.g., Westmaas, Moeller, & Woicik, 2007).

Both direct and indirect associations between self-image goals and alcohol-related problems highlight the importance of modifying how students pursue academic and friendship goals. Pursuing academic and friendship goals while trying to construct and defend desired self-views leads to chronic negative affect, which people may attempt to reduce through drinking. Consequently, interventions aimed at reducing self-image goals associated with academic and friendship goals may reduce chronic negative affect, and consequently reduce problematic drinking. Reducing self-image goals and ensuing negative affect could even extend beyond problematic drinking, as suggested by previous research showing that motivation to escape negative affect may underlie other risky behaviors as well (Cooper, Wood, Orcutt, & Albino, 2003). And reducing self-image goals could simultaneously improve students' interpersonal (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Bushman, 2009) and mental health (Crocker, Canevello, Breines, & Flynn, in press) outcomes, thus promoting positive affect that may buffer problematic drinking (Mohr, Brannan, Mohr, Armeli, & Tennen, 2008; Wills, Sandy, Shinar, & Yaeger, 1999).

The correlational nature of the data prevents any conclusions about the causal direction of the effects; previous alcohol use or motivations for drinking may shape students' interpersonal goals. We note, though, that research and theory typically view

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motivations and goals as causes, not consequences, of drinking (Cooper, 1994; Cox & Klinger, 1988). However, we cannot rule out the possibility that negative affect produces self-image goals. Another limitation involves reliance on retrospective self-reports, which may be distorted by social desirability concerns, self-deception, or inaccurate recall. Although controlling for social desirability increases confidence in the current findings, we cannot completely rule out concerns about the accuracy of self-report. Finally, these results await replication in a prospective design with a larger, more representative sample of students and more refined measures of alcohol use.

In summary, the current study supported the hypothesis that self-image goals contribute to alcohol-related problems through coping motives for drinking. No other study we know of has linked goals to construct and defend desired self-views to problems with alcohol. Yet this link makes sense, given that such goals elicit negative affect, and people sometimes drink to escape from negative affect. We consider these results promising, both theoretically and practically, because a path model that began with self-image goals accounted for 34% of the variance in alcohol-related problems in this sample of undergraduates. Reducing the self-image goals of college students may substantially attenuate their risky alcohol consumption.

CHAPTER 4

Associations between Contingencies of Self-Worth and Feelings about Goal Progress

and Setbacks: Moderation Effects of Interpersonal Goals

Most people want to believe they have worth and value (Crocker, 2002; Crocker & Park, 2004; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Pinel, 1993; Kunda & Sanitioso, 1989; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Pyszczynski et al., 2004). However, people differ in the domains through which they believe they can attain this worth and value. These *contingencies of self-worth* shape people's emotional experience in response to success and failure (Crocker, Karpinski, Quinn, & Chase, 2003; Crocker, Luhtanen et al., 2003; Crocker, Sommers, & Luhtanen, 2002; Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). The present research seeks to understand how people can actively intervene in this passive process, such that their emotional experiences are less at the mercy of external events.

Contingencies of self-worth have powerful affective consequences. When self-worth is contingent, people experience stronger positive emotions following success because it verifies that they possess the qualities on which their self-esteem is staked, making them feel valuable and worthy. On the other hand, people feel stronger negative emotions following failure in contingent domains because it suggests that they lack those important qualities, making them feel worthless (Crocker, Moeller, & Burson, 2010; Crocker & Park, 2004). For example, the more people stake their self-esteem on academics, the more their self-esteem increases when they experience academic success,

and the more it decreases when they fail (Crocker, Karpinski et al., 2003; Crocker et al., 2002). The more students base their self-esteem on others' approval, the more their self-esteem drops following rejection by a same-sex peer (L. E. Park & Crocker, in press). The negative emotion following failure can be especially painful (Crocker, 2002; L. E. Park & Crocker, in press). In particular, failing in domains of contingent self-worth may lead people to overgeneralize failure and criticism as an indictment of the entire self (Carver & Ganellen, 1983; Carver, la Voie, Kuhl, & Ganellen, 1988; Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007), and may lead them to attribute such failures to internal, stable, and uncontrollable forces (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006). Such processes may culminate in the belief that failure was caused by a lack of ability, triggering shame (Covington, 2000). We expected this shameful affect in response to goal setbacks (we also expected ego-involved, positive affect in response to goal progress) to occur specifically for external contingencies, in which self-worth depends on sources outside the self, and which lead to lower psychological functioning (Crocker, 2002; Crocker & Luhtanen, 2003; Luhtanen & Crocker, 2005; Sargent et al., 2006). In contrast, we did not expect these ego-involved affective reactions to occur for internal contingencies (e.g., virtue and God's love).

Compassionate goals to support others may buffer the negative effects of external contingencies on affect. This idea follows from previous theory that the affective consequences associated with externally contingent self-worth may be circumvented by self-transcendent goals—goals that include the well-being of other people, or that are important for reasons beyond one's self-esteem or self-interest (Crocker & Park, 2004). Compassionate goals are interpersonal goals (Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2003), characterized

by the desire to be constructive and supportive, and avoid harming others (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Crocker, Olivier et al., 2009). When people are high in compassionate goals, they believe it is important that people take care of each other, not because of what they stand to gain or lose from doing so, but rather because they genuinely care about others' well-being (Canevello & Crocker, in press; Crocker & Canevello, 2008). A study of roommate dyads found that college freshmen with compassionate goals for their roommate relationship were more responsive to their roommate's needs (Canevello & Crocker, in press); they also gave more support to their roommates and received more support in return, according to both self- and roommate reports (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Most pertinent to the present study, people high in compassionate goals report that their most important academic and friendship goals elicit in them a constellation of low arousal, positive feelings including loving, peaceful, clear, empathic, and connected to others (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009). These findings collectively indicate that compassionate goals help people transcend concerns about self-image or self-worth, resulting in less extreme affect surrounding their goals. With self-worth comparatively less involved in goal pursuit, compassionate goals should lessen the consequences of external contingencies for emotional experience.

The present study had three aims. First, we sought to replicate and extend previous research showing that external contingencies predict more high-arousal (both positive and negative) affect following goal progress and setbacks; to determine whether the effects are specific to external contingencies, we also tested the effects of two internal contingencies (virtue and God's love). We tested these effects in two important domains for college students: academics and friendships. Second, we tested the hypothesis that

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compassionate goals would predict more low-arousal (both positive and negative) affect following goal progress and setbacks, oppositely to external contingencies. In doing so, we controlled for the effects of self-image goals, which are also interpersonal goals, but involve constructing, maintaining, and defending desired public and private images of the self to gain or obtain something for the self (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Third, we tested the hypothesis that compassionate goals buffer the effects of external contingencies on affect following goal progress and setbacks.

Method

This study used data from the Goals and Adjustment to College Study (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Crocker et al., in press). Previous studies using these data did not examine affect following goal progress and setbacks, and therefore all analyses reported in the current study are unique. First semester-college students ($N = 199$; 61% female; M_{age}=18.1, $SD = 0.5$; 71% Caucasian, 19% Asian; 6% African American) from a large Midwestern university participated in a 12-week longitudinal study on adjustment to college. They received $5 for each study session and a bonus of $40 for completing all sessions (see Crocker and Canevello, 2008, Study 1 for more details on the method and procedure).

Procedure

Participants completed pretest and posttest surveys, and 10 weekly surveys. At pretest, participants completed a measure of contingencies of self-worth. Subsequently, in each of the 10 weekly surveys, participants reported their most important academic and friendship goal(s) for the past week in an open-ended format; they then reported their

affect when they experienced progress or setbacks on those goals. Also as part of the weekly surveys, participants completed measures of compassionate and self-image goals, assessed separately for academics and friendships.

Pretest Measure

At pretest, participants completed a measure of *contingencies of self-worth* (Crocker, Luhtanen et al., 2003). Previous analysis of this measure identified two higher-order, labeled as external contingencies and internal contingences (e.g., Sargent et al., 2006). Our analyses focused on two external contingencies: academic contingencies (e.g., "My self-esteem is influenced by my academic performance"; α=.77) for affect elicited by academic goals; and approval contingencies (e.g., "My self-esteem depends on the opinions others hold of me"; α=.81) for affect elicited by friendship goals. We also conducted analyses with two internal contingencies: virtue (e.g., "Whenever I follow my moral principles, my sense of self-respect gets a boost"; α=.87) and God's Love (e.g., "My self-worth is based on God's love"; α=.97) to test whether the effects were specific to external contingencies.

Weekly Measures

Compassionate and self-image goals for friendships were assessed using measures developed by Crocker and Canevello (2008). Participants rated 14 items preceded by the phrase, "In the past week, in the area of *friendships*, how much did you *want* or *try* to…" Compassionate items included, "have compassion for others' mistakes and weaknesses," "be supportive of others," "avoid being selfish or self-centered," "avoid doing anything that would be harmful to others," "be constructive in your comments to others," "make a positive difference in someone else's life," and "avoid doing things that

aren't helpful to me or others." Self-image items included, "avoid showing your weaknesses," "avoid the possibility of being wrong," "avoid being rejected by others," "avoid appearing unattractive, unlovable, or undesirable," "avoid taking risks or making mistakes," "get others to recognize or acknowledge your positive qualities," and "convince others that you are right." Ratings ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Both scales had high internal consistency for each of the 10 weekly reports (self-image goals: $.77 < \alpha < .89$, $M_\alpha = .83$; compassionate goals: $.83 < \alpha < .93$, $M_\alpha = .90$).

Compassionate and self-image goals for academics were assessed weekly using measures developed by Crocker, Niiya, and Luhtanen (2008). Participants rated 16 items preceded by the phrase, "In the past week, in the area of *academics*, how much did you *want* or *try* to…" Compassionate items included, "have compassion for others' mistakes and weaknesses," "be supportive of others," "avoid being selfish or self-centered," "avoid doing anything that would be harmful to others," "be constructive in your comments to others," "make a positive difference in someone else's life," and "avoid doing things that aren't helpful to you or others." Self-image items included, "avoid showing your weaknesses," "avoid being wrong," "avoid being criticized by others," "avoid appearing ignorant, incompetent, or unintelligent," "avoid taking risks or making mistakes," "get others to recognize or acknowledge your intelligence," "convince others that you are right," "do things you knew you could succeed at," and "do things that feel safe and comfortable." Participants rated their agreement on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Both scales had high internal consistency each week of the study (self-image goals: $.77 < \alpha < .91$, $M_\alpha = .85$; compassionate goals: $.80 < \alpha < .93$, $M_\alpha = .88$).

Feelings about goal progress were assessed weekly using measures developed by Crocker and Luhtanen (2008). Participants rated 12 items preceded by the phrase, "To what extent did your progress in achieving those [academic or friendship] goals make you feel…" Items included "powerful," "superior," "admirable," "compassionate," "curious," "centered," "powerful," "strong," "fallible," "joyful," "in control," and "humble." Exploratory factor analyses conducted previously by Crocker and Luhtanen (2008) on these same data revealed two factors that were consistent across academics and friendships, and that emerged across the 10 weekly reports. These two factors were labeled as *powerful feelings* about progress (powerful, strong, superior, and admirable) and *humble feelings* about progress (humble, compassionate, and curious). Using principle axis factoring with promax rotation as recommended (Russell, 2002), separately for each week of the 10 reports, the present study verified this factor structure as indicated by inspection of the scree plots and by the fact that only two factors achieved eigenvalues greater than 1.

Feelings about goal setbacks were also assessed weekly using measures developed by Crocker and Luhtanen (2008). Participants rated 12 items preceded by the phrase, "To what extent did your setbacks in achieving your [academic/friendship] goals make you feel…" Items included "inferior," "authentic," "weak," "wanting to learn," "determined," "human," "powerless," "ashamed," "realistic," "victimized," "responsible," and "out of control." Exploratory factor analyses conducted by Crocker and Luhtanen (2008) on these data also revealed two factors that were consistent across academics and friendships, and that emerged across the 10 weekly reports. These factors were labeled as *ashamed feelings* about setbacks (inferior, weak, powerless, ashamed,

victimized, and out of control) and *determined feelings* about progress (authentic, wanting to learn, determined, human, realistic, and responsible). The present study also verified the factor structure of these setback feelings, separately each week of the study, and using the same criteria as for the progress feelings.

Results

Data Structuring

Weekly reports were nested within participants; consequently, we analyzed these data with linear mixed models, using the MIXED command in SPSS. Linear mixed models statistically adjust for any biases in either the standard errors or the significance tests due to nonindependence of the observations (Kenny, Korchmaros, & Bolger, 2003; Krull & MacKinnon, 2001). Linear mixed models are also desirable because, unlike MANOVA, they do not employ listwise deletion of participants for missingness on a single variable. However, given that only 1.5% of data was missing on any given variable, missingness was not a concern in this dataset. Because weeks are indistinguishable (e.g., no specific treatment occurred on a particular week), we specified a compound symmetry covariance structure throughout the analyses. We structured the data with the goals and affect as Level 1 variables in the HLM analyses, and with contingencies as Level 2 continuous moderators. Before analyzing the data, we person centered all predictors. These person-centered predictors yield unstandardized regression coefficients that represent the effects of weekly departures from each participant's own mean goals on the dependent variable. Effects obtained with these person-centered predictors are informative because they cannot be explained by individual differences.

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Data Analytic Plan

Data analysis proceeded in three steps, corresponding to three steps in a hierarchical regression analysis framework, and also corresponding to our three aims. In the first step, we entered weekly compassionate goals to predict the weekly affect following goal progress and setbacks. These analyses also controlled for self-image goals to establish the unique effects of compassionate goals, as the goals were positively correlated each week of the study in both academics ($.24 < r < .58$, $M_r = .44$, all $p < 0.01$) and friendships ($.29 < r < .59$, $M_r = .49$, all $p < 0.001$). In the second step, we entered external contingencies as a Level 2 continuous moderator to predict the affect (academic contingencies were entered to predict academic-related affect, and approval contingencies were entered to predict friendship-related affect). In the third step, we entered the Compassionate Goal × External Contingencies product term to predict the affect; external contingencies were first grand-mean centered to reduce multicollinearity due to inclusion of the product term. Finally, we repeated this same three-step analytical rationale for internal contingencies (virtue for academics and God's love for friendships). Thus, in summary, the following variables were entered in turn as predictors of the weekly affect: compassionate goals (controlling for self-image goals), contingencies, and the compassionate goal × contingency interaction term.

These three analytical steps, in conjunction with the number of individual affect variables available for inspection, yield a cumbersome number of effects. We attempted to remedy this problem in two ways. First, following the factor analyses described above, and to enhance clarity of results, we created composites of powerful feelings and humble feelings following progress, and ashamed feelings and determined feelings following

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setbacks, which we use throughout the main text. Together, these four affect composites

encompass positive event, high ego involvement (powerful feelings); positive event, low

ego involvement (humble feelings); negative event, high ego involvement (ashamed

feelings); and negative event, low ego involvement (determined feelings). For further

reference, however, effects for the individual items (and results for self-image goals) are

presented in Table IV.1. Second, we specified a significance level of $p < .01$ to minimize

Type I errors. Throughout all analyses, we report the model coefficients as partial

correlations (pr), in which we consider the magnitude of the effect (stronger effect,

higher coefficient) and the degrees of freedom associated with the statistical test (higher

degrees of freedom, lower coefficient).

Table IV.1. *Within-person analyses of self-image goals and compassionate goals, and interactions with contingencies, with self-relevant feelings following goal progress and setbacks.*

Weekly Outcome	Weekly Self-Image Goals	Weekly Compassionate Goals	Relevant External Contingency	Relevant External Contingency X Compassionate Goals	Relevant Internal Contingency	Relevant Internal Contingency X Compassionate Goals
Powerful Academic Progress	**.11****	**.03**	**.13**	**.02**	**.00**	**.00**
Strong	.08**	.08*	.13	.01	.12	-.01
Powerful	.08*	.03	.13	.01	.03	.01
Admirable	.10**	-.00	.09	.02	-.02	.00
Superior	.11**	-.03	.14	.02	-.12	.00
Humble Academic Progress	**.07***	**.11****	**.11**	**-.06+**	**.13**	**-.02**
Humble	.01	.08*	.05	-.08*	.15+	-.03
Compassionate	.07*	.08*	.08	-.00	.10	.01
Curious	.08*	.08*	.15+	-.04	.08	-.03
Powerful Friendship Progress	**.06+**	**.10****	**.14+**	**.05+**	**.04**	**.02**
Strong	.04	.10**	.15+	.03	.09	.04
Powerful	.07*	.09**	.13	.05*	.03	.02
Admirable	.04	.10**	.16+	.03	.04	.01
Superior	.05+	.02	.08	.07*	-.02	-.01
Humble Friendship Progress	**.05+**	**.20****	**.27****	**-.06***	**.16+**	**-.03**
Humble	.03	.11**	18+	-.08*	.27**	-.04
Compassionate	.00	.23**	.28**	-.04	.13	.01
Curious	.06+	.09**	.26**	-.02	.04	-.03
Ashamed Academic Setbacks	**.04**	**-.00**	**.25****	**-.06***	**-.01**	**-.04**
Powerless	.05+	.01	.21**	-.05	-.01	-.04
Weak	.02	.00	.29**	-.08*	.05	-.02
Ashamed	.05	-.03	.30**	-.07*	.07	-.04
Inferior	.02	.02	.28**	-.04	-.02	-.01
Out of control	.01	-.01	.10	-.02	-.11	-.03
Victimized	.02	.00	.07	-.03	-.05	-.04

Determined Academic Setbacks	**-.00**	**.11****	**.15+**	**-.04**	**.18+**	**.02**
Determined	.02	.09**	.18+	-.02	.19*	.03
Realistic	.00	.08*	.09	-.04	.13	.01
Human	.02	.07*	.14+	-.04	.20*	.03
Wanting to learn	-.01	.11**	.16+	-.06+	.17+	.01
Responsible	-.01	.03	.13	-.00	.18+	.02
Authentic	-.04	.08*	.06	-.02	.04	-.02
Ashamed Friendship Setbacks	**.10****	**-.09****	**.20***	**-.08***	**.05**	**-.03**
Powerless	.08*	-.06+	.18+	-.05+	-.00	-.03
Weak	.09**	-.08*	.19*	-.08*	.10	-.04
Ashamed	.11**	-.09**	.20*	-.08*	.07	-.06+
Inferior	.07*	-.07*	.22*	-.09**	.08	-.03
Out of control	.06+	-.06+	.18*	-.04	-.02	.01
Victimized	.05	-.07+	.11	-.03	.06	.02
Determined Friendship Setbacks	**.07***	**.03**	**.12**	**-.04**	**.11**	**-.03**
Determined	.06+	.03	.16+	-.01	.09	.00
Realistic	.06+	.01	.10	-.05+	.05	-.00
Human	.04	.03	.10	-.04	.15+	-.01
Wanting to learn	.07*	.03	.12	-.02	.11	-.04
Responsible	.04	.01	.11	-.04	.14	-.02
Authentic	.05+	.02	.04	-.02	.02	-.05

Note. Coefficients are partial correlations; relevant external contingency refers to academic contingencies for academics and approval contingencies for friendships; bolded coefficients represent coefficients of the composite scores; + $p < .05$, * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$.

Compassionate Goal Associations with Feelings

Academics. Controlling for academic self-image goals, on weeks participants were high on academic compassionate goals relative to their own baselines, they felt more humble ($pr = .11$, $p < .001$) but not more powerful ($pr = .03$, ns) when they experienced goal progress; they also felt more determined ($pr = .11$, $p < .001$) but not more ashamed ($pr = -.00$, ns) when they experienced goal setbacks. These results were consistent with our hypotheses.

Friendships. Controlling for friendship self-image goals, on weeks participants were high on friendship compassionate goals relative to their own baselines, they felt more humble ($pr = .20$, $p < .001$) following goal progress, similarly to the results for academics. However, unlike academics, on weeks participants were high on friendship compassionate goals relative to their own baselines, they felt more powerful ($pr = .10$, $p < .001$) when they experienced goal progress, and they did not feel more determined when they experienced goal setbacks ($pr = .03$, ns). Moreover, uniquely for friendships, when participants were high on friendship compassionate goals, they felt less ashamed in response to goal setbacks ($pr = -.09$, $p < .001$). Thus, the results for feeling humble following goal progress and feeling ashamed following goal setbacks were consistent with our hypotheses; results for feeling powerful following goal progress and feeling determined following goal setbacks were not.

Contingency Associations with Feelings

Academic contingencies. External (academic) contingencies, measured at pretest, prospectively predicted feeling ashamed in response to academic setbacks over the 10 weekly reports ($pr = .25$, $p < .001$), consistent with our hypotheses. Academic

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contingencies did not significantly predict the other feeling composites following goal progress (powerful: $pr = .13$, *ns*; humble: $pr = .11$, *ns*) or setbacks (determined: $pr = .15$, *ns*). These results spotlight shame as a unique outcome of having external (academic) contingencies when academic setbacks occur.

Approval contingencies. External (approval) contingencies, also measured at pretest, prospectively predicted feeling ashamed in response to academic setbacks over the 10 weekly reports ($pr = .20$, $p < .01$), consistent with both our hypotheses and with the results for academics. No significant associations emerged between approval contingencies and powerful feelings about goal progress ($pr = .14$, *ns*), or between approval contingencies and determined feelings about goal setbacks ($pr = .12$, *ns*), associations that were also nonsignificant in academics. However, in friendships, approval contingencies predicted feeling humble following goal progress ($pr = .27$, $p < .001$).

Internal contingencies. As expected, internal (virtue) contingencies did not predict any of the feeling composites in academics (all $pr < .19$, *ns*). Similarly, God's Love contingencies did not predict any of the feeling composites in friendships ($-.04 < pr < .03$, *ns*).

Cross-domain effects. To rule out the possibility that the null effects for internal contingencies were due to a goal-domain mismatch (e.g., we did not have people report on virtue-related goals), we conducted contingency-affect analyses across domains. Academic contingencies marginally predicted feeling ashamed in friendships ($pr = .16$, $p < .05$), and approval contingencies predicted feeling ashamed in academics ($pr = .27$, $p <$

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.001). These cross-domain effects are consistent with the idea that external contingencies, but not internal contingencies, predict shame as we have hypothesized.

External Contingency and Compassionate Goal Interactions

This final portion of the main analyses tested the hypothesis that compassionate goals buffer the effects of contingencies on the feelings following goal progress and setbacks, first in academics and then in friendships. Support for a buffering hypothesis requires an initially significant effect of the relevant contingency, which occurred for ashamed feelings following setbacks (in both academics and friendships) and humble feelings following progress (friendships only). Results showed that academic contingencies interacted with compassionate goals to predict feeling ashamed following academic setbacks ($pr = -.06$, $p < .01$); in addition, approval contingencies interacted with compassionate goals to predict feeling ashamed following friendship setbacks ($pr = -.08$, $p < .01$). As depicted in Figure IV.1A and Figure IV.1B, these interactions are consistent with our buffering hypothesis, as more clearly revealed in friendships. A final interaction emerged between approval contingencies and compassionate goals to predict feeling humble ($pr = -.06$, $p < .01$). However, as depicted in Figure IV.1C, this interaction did not indicate a buffering effect; instead, this interaction indicated that the lowest levels of feeling humble occurred among those with low goals and low contingencies. Compassionate goals did not interact with external contingencies to predict any other feelings composite; compassionate goals did not interact with internal contingencies to predict any feelings composite in either domain (Table IV.1).

Figure IV.1. Compassionate goal × external contingency interactions. Compassionate goals buffer the effects of academic contingencies on feeling ashamed in both (A) academics and (B) friendships. (C) Lowest levels of feeling humble occur for people low in friendship compassionate goals and approval contingencies.
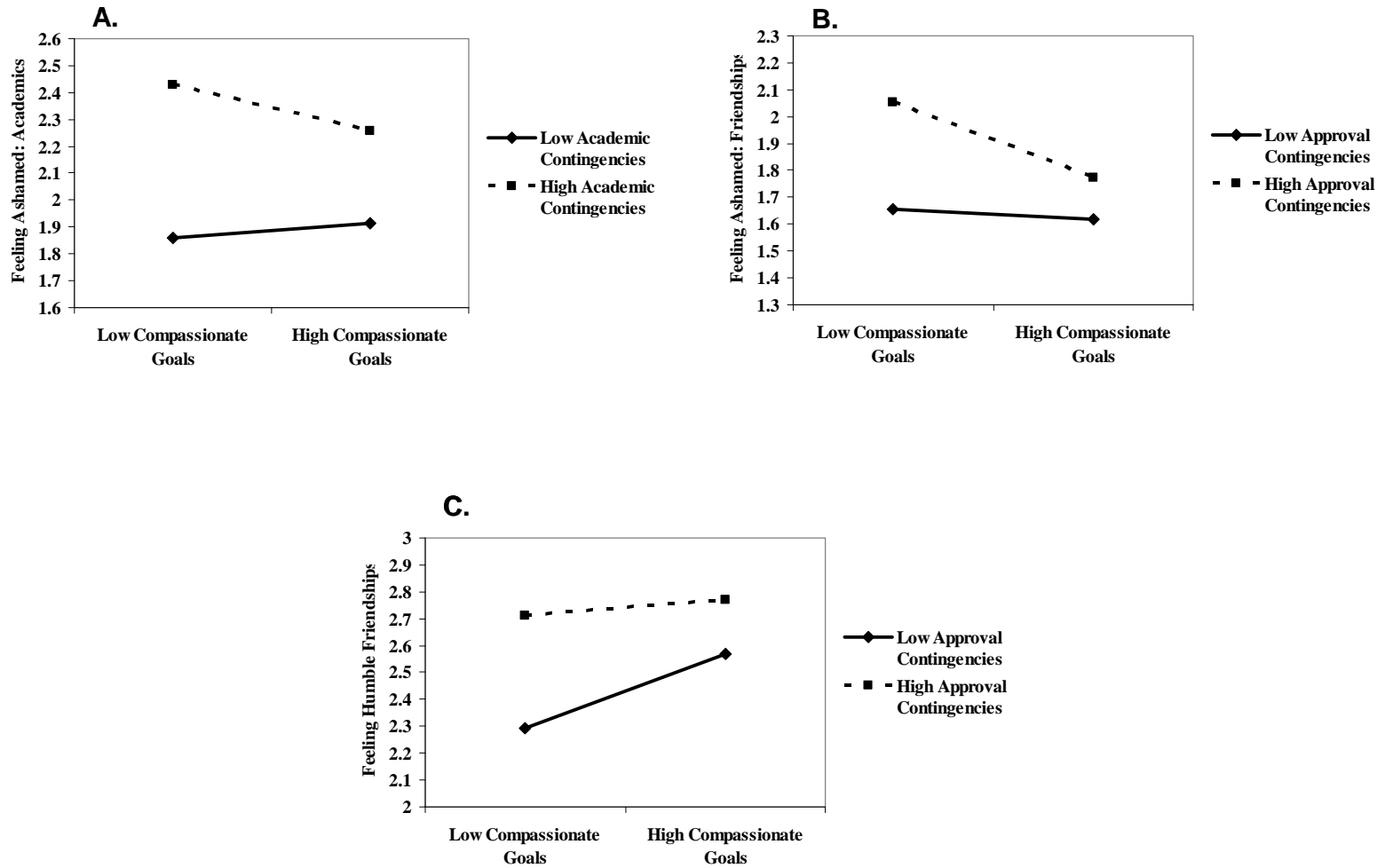
Reverse Regressions

Given the correlational nature of these analyses, we conducted supplementary reverse regressions of our main findings: compassionate goal-affect associations, and compassionate goal buffering effects. Specifically, we examined the effects of weekly fluctuations in the affect composites on compassionate goals; we also probed for potential buffering effects of the weekly affect on the external contingency-compassionate goal relationship. Not unexpectedly, these reverse regressions revealed similar effects to the regressions reported in the main analyses above, though the buffering effect of feeling ashamed in academics did not reach significance. Table IV.2 presents the coefficients of these reverse regressions.

Table IV.2. *Reverse regressions showing the effects of weekly fluctuations in affect on compassionate goals.*

Weekly Predictor	Compassionate Goals (Outcome)	
	Direct Effect	Buffering Effect (Affect × Relevant Contingency Interaction)
Progress		
Powerful Academic	.02	.02
Humble Academic	.10**	-.06+
Powerful Friendship	.09**	.04
Humble Friendship	.19**	-.07*
Setbacks		
Ashamed Academic	-.00	-.06+
Determined Academic	.10**	-.04
Ashamed Friendship	-.10**	-.06*
Determined Friendship	.03	-.05

Note. The 'direct effect' column refers to the effect of weekly affect on compassionate goals, controlling for weekly fluctuations in self-image goals. The 'buffering effect' column refers to the relevant contingency × affect interaction effect on compassionate goals, also controlling for weekly fluctuations in self-image goals. Coefficients are partial correlations; + $p < .05$, * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$.

Discussion

The present study sought to examine how contingencies relate to affect following progress and setbacks, specifically vis-à-vis interpersonal compassionate goals to support others. First, we tested the hypothesis that external contingencies (academic contingencies when reporting on academics; approval contingencies when reporting on friendships) predict ego-involved affect following goal progress and setbacks in academics and friendships. Second, we tested the effects of compassionate goals on affect, predicting a soothing effect of these goals on emotional experience (less ego-involved affect and more non-ego-involved affect). Third, we tested the hypothesis that weekly compassionate goals buffer the effects of external contingencies, which would indicate that weekly increases in these goals tamp down people's emotional experience when they also have high external contingencies. Reducing the effects of external contingencies is important because these contingencies can ultimately compromise social functioning and mental health (Crocker, 2002; Crocker & Luhtanen, 2003; Luhtanen & Crocker, 2005; Sargent et al., 2006).

Hypothesis 1: Contingencies and Affect

Results were partially consistent with our first hypothesis that external contingencies predict ego-involved affect. Specifically, external contingencies predicted ego-involved negative affect (i.e., the shame composite), but not ego-involved positive affect (i.e., the powerful composite), a pattern of results that emerged in academics and friendships. These findings obtained for ego-involved negative affect are consistent with the idea that contingencies of self-worth shape affective reactions to situational events, supporting and extending prior research (Crocker, Karpinski et al., 2003; Crocker,

Luhtanen et al., 2003; Crocker et al., 2002; Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). However, the fact that the current results were specific to shame support the idea that failing in domains of contingent self-worth is especially hurtful (Crocker, Karpinski et al., 2003; Crocker et al., 2002), with such failure possibly impugning the entire self (Carver & Ganellen, 1983; Carver et al., 1988; Tangney et al., 2007). In particular, given that participants were engaged in their academic or friendship goal (as evidenced by their contingencies in these domains), they may believe their failure is due to lack of ability, resulting in shame (Covington, 2000). Further highlighting the specificity of the external contingencies-shame association, internal contingencies did not predict shame following setbacks, perhaps because with these contingencies emotional experience does not depend on external events. This suggestion was bolstered by additional analyses showing that both external contingencies predicted shame in both domains. These non-shameful responses to failures could help elucidate why internal contingencies do not typically have the same pernicious consequences that characterize external contingencies (Luhtanen & Crocker, 2005; Sargent et al., 2006).

Unexpectedly, external (approval) contingencies also predicted feeling humble following friendship goal progress, which runs counter to our prediction that external contingencies uniquely predict ego-involved affect. This finding could reflect a strategic approach in which people who desire approval from others become humble, rather than boastful, in social situations to preserve or enhance belongingness (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006).

Hypothesis 2: Compassionate Goals and Affect

Results were also partially consistent with our second hypothesis that interpersonal compassionate goals, which seek to support others and contribute to something larger than the self, relate to less ego-involved affect and more non-ego-involved affect; in particular, this hypothesis was fully supported in academics, but not fully supported in friendships. In academics, on weeks participants were high on compassionate goals, they did not experience ego-involved affect including shame or power, but they did experience non-ego-involved affect including feeling humble and determined. In friendships, on weeks participants were high on compassionate goals, they experienced both types of affect stemming from progress but neither type of affect stemming from setbacks. These discrepancies across domains could speak to an overall beneficial effect of compassionate goals in friendships (Canevello & Crocker, in press; Crocker & Canevello, 2008), in which on weeks participants are high on compassionate goals their setbacks and resulting setback-related affect are both low (Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009).

In general, these findings expand our current knowledge of the emotional profile of compassionate goals; at least for academics, compassionate goals elicited non-ego-involved feelings that do not implicate the self, and not simply the positive other-directed affect that we have found previously (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009). Furthermore, increased compassionate goals do not induce (academics) or even reduce (friendships) shame in response to goal setbacks. This latter finding is of crucial theoretical and practical importance because shame contributes to many psychological and biological pathologies (Cheung, Gilbert, & Irons, 2004; Dickerson,

Gruenewald, & Kemeny, 2004; Orth, Berking, & Burkhardt, 2006; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney et al., 2007; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992).

Hypothesis 3: Buffering Effect of Compassionate Goals

Finally, results supported our third hypothesis that compassionate goals buffer the effects of external contingencies on negative affect following goal setbacks. Moderation analyses revealed that on weeks participants were high on compassionate goals, external contingencies were less predictive of shame in response to setbacks in academics (Figure IV.1A) and friendships (Figure IV.1B). These moderation findings suggest that the potential costs of external contingencies could be ameliorated by adopting compassionate goals. And unlike contingencies, which are individual differences that resist change, compassionate goals are malleable. Accordingly, interventions to increase compassionate goals could be beneficial in future studies seeking to undercut shame and its associated consequences. Supporting this suggestion, compassionate goals indeed decrease symptoms of anxiety and dysphoria (Crocker et al., in press).

Unexpectedly, an interaction also occurred between approval contingencies and compassionate goals to predict feeling humble in friendships (Figure IV.1C). This interaction, which showed the lowest levels of humbleness when both compassionate goals and approval contingencies were low, could simply indicate a lack of engagement with the particular friendship goal. Low engagement would likely produce low contingencies, low goals, and low resulting affect.

Limitations and Future Directions

Person-centering the predictor variables as done here is an informative analytic strategy because significant effects cannot be explained by individual differences; this

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strategy limits the number of alternative explanatory variables because such a variable

would need to fluctuate week-to-week in the same way as compassionate goals. Still,

these analyses do not allow us to ascertain causality among these weekly associations.

For example, threats in contingent domains (e.g., goal failure) could prompt goals for

social connection (L. E. Park & Maner, 2009). Inspection of the data does not rule out

this possibility, as reverse regressions (i.e., examining weekly fluctuations in progress or

setback affect as predictors of compassionate goals) revealed the same pattern of results

(Table IV.2). Relationships could also be bi-directional, such that compassionate goals

initiate a virtuous cycle of less negative ego-involved affect that is then followed by more

compassionate goals. Thus, experimental manipulations of compassionate goals are

clearly needed to determine whether they causally influence affect. A second limitation

involves our reliance on self-reports, which could be distorted by inaccurate recall,

especially since surveys were completed weekly and not at the moment goal progress or

setbacks occurred. Although we suspect that few people would arbitrarily report feeling

negative self-conscious emotions (e.g., shame) without cause, future research could

benefit from diary measures.

Future research could also investigate the potential consequences of these

emotions following progress and setbacks. For example, shamed people often respond

aggressively against others (Baumeister & Bushman, 2007). Narcissistic people, in

particular, respond with aggression, conflict, and hostility against those who insult or

criticize them (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Bushman et al., 2003; Kernis et al., 1989;

Rhodewalt et al., 1998; Zeigler-Hill, 2006). Thus, feeling ashamed in response to

setbacks, prompted by contingencies, may also lead to conflict with others (Moeller,

Crocker, & Bushman, 2009) or involvement with substance abuse (Dearing, Stuewig, &

Tangney, 2005; Moeller & Crocker, 2009; Stuewig & Tangney, 2007), the latter perhaps

increasing conflict with others indirectly through behaviors enacted while intoxicated

(Westmaas et al., 2007).

Conclusion

The current study shows that people with externally contingent self-worth

experience more shame when they experience setbacks on important academic or

friendship goals. In contrast, interpersonal compassionate goals to support others did not

induce this shame, and in fact weekly increases in these goals tempered the negative

effects of external contingencies. Thus, compassionate goals, which can change from

week to week, may substantively improve people's emotional reactions to situational

events, even when these events occur in goal domains in which people are highly

invested.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Taken together, my doctoral research speaks to the consequences of pursuing goals to appear worthy and valuable in the eyes of other people. Research Paper 1 examined whether self-image goals, when pursued by people who feel entitled, predict chronic hostility and conflict with others. Research Paper 2 examined whether self-image goals lead to problems with alcohol, specifically through a negative affect pathway that characterizes these goals (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Research Paper 3, instead of further examining the consequences of self-image goals, shifted focus to whether compassionate goals to support others can improve people's emotional experience (less extreme affect in response to goal-related failure). In addition, Research Paper 3 examined whether compassionate goals buffer the negative affect associated with externally contingent self-worth, which itself produces shameful affect (Crocker, 2002; L. E. Park & Crocker, in press).

Self-Image Goals: Reflections

Findings that emerged in Research Papers 1 and 2 highlight some of the costs associated with pursuing goals that are meant to augment self-esteem, specifically as it relates to proving one's worth in the eyes of others. These findings contribute to an emerging body of research suggesting that self-image goals predict interpersonal and intrapersonal problems (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Crocker et al., in press). While self-

image goals may result in short-term gains and are sometimes necessary to receive social benefits including inclusion, acceptance, advancement, and status, and to avoid social harms including rejection and humiliation (Leary, 2007; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Miller, 2006; Pyszczynski et al., 2004; Schlenker, 2003), their pursuit as a long-term self-regulatory strategy appears misguided.

Thus, this research is generally consistent with theoretical perspectives that have questioned the value of self-esteem. Although some perspectives have posited essential functions for self-esteem, such as signaling belongingness (Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995) or protecting against existential anxiety (Greenberg et al., 1993; Pyszczynski et al., 2004), other perspectives have argued that the benefits of high self-esteem do not extend beyond positive emotion and heightened initiative (Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger, & Vohs, 2003). And even these emotional and self-regulatory benefits to the self may have concomitant costs to others. For example, previous research has shown that high self-esteem, not low self-esteem, breeds social problems such as crime, conflict, and violence, especially when people's inflated self-views are challenged (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998, 2002; Bushman et al., 2003).

Compassionate Goals: Reflections

Compassionate goals do not produce these same detrimental outcomes. These goals were associated with decreased hostility and unassociated with conflict (Research Paper 1); unassociated with alcohol-related problems (Research Paper 2); and unassociated with or negatively predicted shame in response to goal setbacks in academics and friendships, respectively. Other research has shown that compassionate

goals foster social support and trust (Crocker & Canevello, 2008), help create positive relationships (Canevello & Crocker, in press), enhance self-regulation (Moeller, Crocker, & Canevello, 2009) and reduce symptoms of anxiety and depression (Crocker et al., in press). This collective body of research suggests the importance of adopting compassionate goals in lieu of self-image goals (Crocker, Olivier et al., 2009). Doing so could help people create worthwhile, long-term relationships (Canevello & Crocker, in press; Crocker & Canevello, 2008).

General Limitations and Future Directions

The most general and prevailing weakness of these studies was their reliance on non-experimental methods. Still, these studies employed statistical and methodological remedies to limit this problem where possible. For example, because Research Paper 1 and Research Paper 3 employed longitudinal designs, we were able to establish prospective/temporal relations of entitlement with the goals and contingencies with the affect. Moreover, Research Paper 3 used a centering procedure that removes the influence of all individual differences, thereby reducing the number of alternative explanations for the observed effects. Finally, although Research Paper 2 was entirely correlational and cross-sectional, the use of path analysis suggests the plausibility of our hypothesized model based on the excellent model fit.

Nevertheless, no methodological toolbox can fully correct the problems of correlational data, and thus experimental manipulations of self-image and compassionate goals are clearly needed to move this research forward. A better understanding of the antecedents and consequences of these goals, aided in part by this doctoral research, has

generated some promising approaches. For example, we now have some preliminary evidence that self-affirmation manipulations (see McQueen & Klein, 2006; Sherman & Cohen, 2006; Steele, 1988, for reviews), in which participants affirm their own important value or the important value of someone else, seem to causally influence the goals; we already know that self-affirmation instills feelings of love that mirror those elicited by compassionate goals (Crocker, Niiya, & Mischkowski, 2008).

A second question pertains to what kinds of people chronically pursue these goals. Although self-image and compassionate goals change from day-to-day and week-to-week, people still tend to fluctuate around a chronic (mean) level. Research Paper 1 suggests that self-image goals are pursued by people with high entitlement. We have interpreted this association in accordance with process models of personality, in which personality traits shape goals, affect, and cognition to produce behavior (Mischel, 2004; Mischel & Shoda, 1995; Mischel & Shoda, 1998). In particular, the mediation findings in Research Paper 1, in which self-image goals accounted for the effects of entitlement on hostility and conflict, support this idea. Furthermore, although not reported here, some exploratory analyses were consistent with the hypothesis that self-image goals mediate associations between external contingencies and other behavioral/emotional outcomes (Crocker et al., 2010). When we included self-image goals and compassionate goals as simultaneous predictors of fearful and confused goal-related feelings, feeling powerful following academic progress, and feeling ashamed following academic setbacks, previously significant effects of academic contingencies all became nonsignificant; self-image goals, but not compassionate goals, significantly predicted each of these affective outcomes. Sobel tests of mediation reached significance for all three affective outcomes.

Similar mediation effects also emerged for stress (complete mediation) and loneliness (partial mediation) (Crocker et al., 2010). Taken together, chronic self-image goals may represent a stable self-regulatory strategy that arises from individual differences, though further research is needed.

A final question pertains to the mechanisms underlying the negative outcomes of self-image goals. One possibility involves evidence that self-image goals elicit negative affect surrounding goals; when people high in self-image goals are asked to think about their important academic and friendship goals, they report feeling afraid, confused, and ambivalent (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Metcalf and Mischel (1999) proposed that such *hot* affect (emotional, reflexive, and under stimulus control) undermines self-regulation. The hot system interferes with self-regulation because people want the desired stimulus immediately and prioritize it over long-term goals. When activated, the hot system makes long-term goals difficult to remember. When people are confronted with negative affect, attempts to regulate these affective states take precedence over other self-regulatory goals (Tesser, 1988; Tice & Bratslavsky, 2000; Tice et al., 2001). Attempting to suppress negative affect appears to be counterproductive as well, evidenced by research on ego depletion (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Baumeister, Vohs, & Tice, 2007; Muraven & Baumeister, 2000; Muraven, Tice, & Baumeister, 1998).

Final Thoughts

In conclusion, my doctoral research has examined some of the costs associated with pursing goals with the aim of constructing, maintaining, or enhancing desired self-images. However, goals that shift the focus to supporting others or contributing to something larger than the self may offer some protection against some of these costs. I

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would like to end this dissertation with two final points that I believe effectively capture the spirit of this research. First, I wish to highlight this research's seemingly paradoxical nature. This research suggests that attempts to get others to acknowledge or respect your positive qualities fail, if not backfire completely. On the other hand, when people relinquish their self-image concerns and instead try to support others, they improve their chances of success in the very domains that might bring them acknowledgement and respect. Second, I wish to highlight this research's implications for personal empowerment. By focusing on goals that are fundamentally changeable, this research suggests that the path to get what you want and avoid what you do not want ultimately lies in your own hands.

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