

1 Running Head: NARCISSISM AND PERFORMANCE UNDER PRESSURE

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6 **I am great, but only when I also want to dominate: Maladaptive narcissism moderates**

7 **the relationship between adaptive narcissism and performance under pressure**

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21 **Abstract**

22 Narcissism-performance research has focused on grandiose narcissism but has not  
23 examined the interaction between its so-called *adaptive* (reflecting over-confidence) and  
24 *maladaptive* (reflecting a domineering orientation) components. In this research, we tested  
25 interactions between adaptive and maladaptive narcissism using two motor tasks (basketball  
26 and golf in Experiments 1-2, respectively) and a cognitive task (letter transformation;  
27 Experiment 3). Across all experiments, adaptive narcissism predicted performance under  
28 pressure only when maladaptive narcissism was high. In the presence of maladaptive  
29 narcissism, adaptive narcissism also predicted decreased pre-putt time in Experiment 2 and  
30 an adaptive psychophysiological response in Experiment 3, reflecting better processing  
31 efficiency. Findings suggest that individuals high in both aspects of narcissism perform better  
32 under pressure thanks to superior task processing. In performance contexts, the terms  
33 “adaptive” and “maladaptive” – adopted from social psychology – are over-simplistic and  
34 inaccurate. We believe that *self-inflated narcissism* and *dominant narcissism* are better  
35 monikers for these constructs.

36 **Keywords:** grandiose narcissism, self-inflated narcissism, dominant narcissism, self-  
37 enhancement, processing efficiency

## 38 Introduction

39 Performing to a high standard is important in sport and in many facets of life. One's  
40 desire to perform well under high pressure typically evokes performance anxiety that often  
41 harms performance (Woodman & Hardy, 2001). Conversely, while performance pressure may  
42 be detrimental to those who are worried about the uncertainty of success (Eysenck,  
43 Derakshan, Santos, & Calvo, 2007), it may be beneficial for individuals who seek glory and  
44 pursue admiration from performance success. In the context of performing under pressure,  
45 one relevant personality trait is narcissism, especially in its grandiose form (see Roberts,  
46 Woodman, & Sedikides, 2018).

47 Here we conceptualize narcissism as a non-clinical personality trait that can be  
48 assessed on a continuous scale. We adopt the definition of narcissism as a self-centered, self-  
49 aggrandizing, entitled, dominant, and manipulative interpersonal orientation (Morf &  
50 Rhodewalt, 2001). Such a conceptualization focuses on grandiose narcissism from an agentic  
51 perspective and does not include communal narcissism (Gebauer, Sedikides, Verplanken, &  
52 Maio, 2012). Further, our conceptualization of grandiose narcissism does not consider  
53 vulnerable aspects of narcissism (e.g., Miller et al., 2011). From this point forward, when we  
54 use the term *narcissism* we refer to grandiose narcissism.

### 55 Narcissism and performance: An overview

56 Individuals high in narcissism are thought to have the ability to perform well because  
57 they possess attributes that are essential for performance success, such as confidence  
58 (Campbell, Goodie, & Foster, 2004), optimistic expectations (Farwell & Wohlwend-Lloyd,  
59 1998), and a strong desire for dominance (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Indeed, narcissists  
60 believe they are superior to others and consider themselves as exceptional performers  
61 (Gabriel, Critelli, & Ee, 1994). This grandiose belief is unfounded, however, as evidenced by  
62 research revealing no effect of narcissism on performance. For example, although narcissists

63 typically view their work performance as outstanding, this inflated self-view is not matched  
64 by supervisor ratings (Judge, LePine, & Rich, 2006). These findings support the view that  
65 narcissists have substantial performance self-evaluation upward bias.

66         Although some research suggests that the performance of narcissists is unexceptional,  
67 an emerging body of research demonstrates a more nuanced position. Specifically, there  
68 appear to be two context-specific factors that moderate narcissists' performance. The first  
69 moderating factor is the self-enhancement opportunity afforded by the particular performance  
70 setting. Individuals high in narcissism are highly motivated by self-enhancement and so are  
71 keenly aware that different performance contexts vary in the opportunity for them to gain  
72 glory (Roberts, Woodman, et al., 2018). In a series of studies, for example, Wallace and  
73 Baumeister (2002) found that individuals high in narcissism improved performance more  
74 than those low in narcissism only when perceived self-enhancement was high. Support for  
75 this work is consistent in field (e.g., Roberts, Woodman, Hardy, Davis, & Wallace, 2013) and  
76 laboratory settings (e.g., Woodman, Roberts, Hardy, Callow, & Rogers, 2011).

77         The second factor that moderates the influence of narcissism on performance is ego  
78 threat. Narcissists attempt to eliminate the sources of threats and to re-establish dominance in  
79 social contexts through violence and aggression (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996), but  
80 they can adopt an alternative threat-elimination approach in the performance domain.  
81 Specifically, performance contexts provide narcissists with an opportunity to eliminate threat  
82 and to re-establish dominance by beating the competition. As such, one would expect  
83 individuals high in narcissism to perform well following ego threats. Supporting this position,  
84 Nevicka, Baas, and Ten Velden (2016) provided evidence that narcissism predicted not only a  
85 greater willingness to perform challenging tasks but also greater performance when ego  
86 threats emerged (see also Roberts, Woodman, Lofthouse, & Williams, 2015).

87 **The distinction between adaptive and maladaptive components of narcissism**

88 Overall, narcissism-performance research converges on narcissists' performance  
89 improving as the level of *glory opportunity* and *ego threat* increase. However, our current  
90 knowledge of narcissism in the performance domain is incomplete. One major limitation of  
91 this work is that, to date, narcissism-performance research has focused solely on global  
92 grandiose narcissism, without consideration of its multidimensional nature (see Roberts,  
93 Woodman, et al., 2018). Indeed, the original conceptualization of grandiose narcissism, based  
94 on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979) comprises seven sub-  
95 dimensions: authority, self-sufficiency, exhibitionism, entitlement, exploitativeness,  
96 superiority, and vanity. Although this seven-factor structure has been difficult to replicate  
97 (e.g., Emmons, 1984), the distinction between so-called *adaptive* and *maladaptive* narcissism  
98 has been supported. Specifically, adaptive narcissism (*authority* and *self-sufficiency* on the  
99 NPI) is related to extraversion, self-esteem, and captures personal qualities such as  
100 confidence and self-awareness (Ackerman et al., 2011). By contrast, maladaptive narcissism  
101 (*exhibitionism*, *entitlement*, and *exploitativeness* on the NPI) is related to neuroticism, low  
102 empathy, and captures personal qualities such as a dominating orientation (Cai & Luo, 2018).

103 Substantial evidence supporting the distinction between adaptive and maladaptive  
104 narcissism shows that adaptive narcissism is more socially desirable than maladaptive  
105 narcissism. Specifically, maladaptive narcissism predicts increased conduct problems (Barry,  
106 Frick, & Killian, 2003), prolonged delinquency (Barry, Frick, Adler, & Grafeman, 2007), and  
107 aggression (Washburn et al., 2004). In contrast, adaptive narcissism predicts reduced problem  
108 behaviors and greater relationship satisfaction (Barry et al., 2010).

109 The use of such presupposed labelling, however, is a concern. Indeed, the terms,  
110 *adaptive* and *maladaptive* reveal the social/interpersonal outcomes to which they are related  
111 rather than their psychological features or attributes *per se* (Cai & Luo, 2018). We thus  
112 recommend using these labels with caution to reduce the likelihood of making misleading

113 prejudgments (e.g., that one should encourage adaptive narcissism and discourage  
114 maladaptive narcissism). Equally, as there are no widely accepted alternative terms, we have  
115 retained the use of *adaptive* and *maladaptive* narcissism in this research<sup>1</sup>. In the next section,  
116 we focus more on the psychological attributes of these different components of narcissism  
117 rather than their presupposed outcomes. We then propose our theoretical position regarding  
118 how these components of narcissism may influence performance under pressure.

### 119 **Adaptive and maladaptive narcissism and performance under pressure**

120         Despite a plethora of work in the social domain, researchers have yet to consider the  
121 adaptive/maladaptive narcissism distinction in the context of performance. Equally, although  
122 both adaptive and maladaptive narcissism are relevant to performance (Roberts, Woodman, et  
123 al., 2018), these components may not necessarily predict performance under pressure.  
124 Typically, adaptive narcissism reflects high levels of confidence (Emmons, 1984), and  
125 confidence is commonly linked to better performance under pressure (Woodman & Hardy,  
126 2001). Conversely, excess confidence can be detrimental to performance, as individuals may  
127 be overly assured of their potential and thus fail to allocate appropriate resources to facilitate  
128 performance (e.g., Beattie, Dempsey, Roberts, Woodman, & Cooke, 2017). As such, adaptive  
129 narcissism on its own is unlikely simply to lead to optimal performance.

130         Similarly, maladaptive narcissism, which reflects a strong sense of personal control  
131 and a willingness to dominate (e.g., Washburn et al., 2004), may not yield clear performance  
132 effects. Indeed, although maladaptive narcissism is linked to internalizing symptoms (e.g.,  
133 anxiety; Cai & Luo, 2018) that are typically detrimental to performance under pressure  
134 (Zhang, Woodman, & Roberts, 2018), the willingness to dominate also serves an important  
135 motivational function (Nevicka et al., 2016). Studies of serial high achievers in the  
136 performance domain highlight the importance of such willingness to dominate in attaining  
137 the highest levels of excellence (e.g., Hardy et al., 2017). These contrasting viewpoints make

138 it unlikely that there exists a simple relationship between maladaptive narcissism and  
139 performance under pressure.

140         Rather than exploring in parallel the performance effects of adaptive and maladaptive  
141 narcissism, we propose a more nuanced position; that the influence of adaptive narcissism on  
142 performance under pressure depends on the relative degree of maladaptive narcissism. Given  
143 that overconfidence can be detrimental to performance (e.g., Beattie et al., 2017), performers  
144 who hold an inflated self-view (i.e., high in adaptive narcissism) may only perform well  
145 when they also have the willingness to dominate (i.e., high in maladaptive narcissism). As  
146 such, we hypothesized that adaptive narcissism, reflecting (over)confidence, would not  
147 predict performance under pressure when maladaptive narcissism was low. However, when  
148 maladaptive narcissism is high, reflecting a strong willingness to dominate and have control  
149 over situations, we expected adaptive narcissism to predict performance because of the  
150 precise combination of confidence and willingness to dominate. We tested such an  
151 overarching hypothesis across three different experimental settings.

### 152 **Mechanisms underlying narcissism and performance**

153         Beyond examining the hypothesized interaction between adaptive and maladaptive  
154 narcissism on performance under pressure (Experiments 1-3), we also explored the  
155 mechanisms that might underlie this performance effect (Experiments 2-3). Recent research  
156 offers two accounts for why narcissists perform better in some situations than in others (see  
157 Roberts, Woodman, et al., 2018); one where narcissists improve performance as a result of  
158 investing greater effort for self-enhancement (hereafter *trying harder*), and one where  
159 narcissists improve as a result of a more efficient allocation of resources (hereafter *trying*  
160 *smarter*). The *trying harder* position rests on a prediction of Processing Efficiency Theory  
161 (Eysenck & Calvo, 1992); that performers can maintain or even improve performance under  
162 pressure if they invest substantial amounts of effort (at a cost to processing *efficiency*). Such a

163 position, that effort can aid performance under pressure, has received considerable empirical  
164 support in the sport domain (e.g., Wilson, 2008). The *trying smarter* position is based on  
165 tenets of Attentional Control Theory (Eysenck et al., 2007); that performers can maintain or  
166 improve their performance under pressure via excellent regulation of processing resources  
167 within the capacity-limited working memory system (improved processing efficiency; see  
168 Wilson, 2008 for an overview of research investigating the effects of Attentional Control  
169 Theory in the context of sport).

170       Embracing the *trying harder* hypothesis, Wallace and Baumeister (2002) argued that a  
171 greater opportunity for glory drives narcissists to invest extra effort to perform. Providing  
172 evidence for this position, in a dart throwing task and a muscular endurance task, Roberts,  
173 Cooke, et al. (2018) found that effort invested on the task mediated the influence of  
174 narcissism on performance. The finding indicates that narcissists perform better when there is  
175 a self-enhancement opportunity (e.g., in a competition) because they try harder.

176       While the *trying harder* position has received some attention, the *trying smarter*  
177 position has yet to receive empirical support. Nonetheless, the *trying smarter* position is  
178 promising in explaining why narcissists perform better especially under high performance  
179 pressure. Eysenck et al. (2007) suggest that performance pressure impairs the goal-directed  
180 system and overly activates the stimulus-driven system, which disrupts task processing via  
181 shifting attention to task-irrelevant thoughts (e.g., worry) and impairs performance. However,  
182 narcissists' greater focus on success as opposed to failure make them more likely to remain  
183 goal-driven and less likely to be overwhelmed by task irrelevant thoughts (Elliot &  
184 Covington, 2001). Such an achievement orientation would ensure superior attentional control,  
185 enabling narcissists to perform well under pressure.

186       Although promising, these conceptualizations of the *trying harder* and the *trying*  
187 *smarter* positions are too simplistic as they fail to consider the potential adaptive ×



188 maladaptive narcissism interaction. Taking an interactionist perspective, one would expect  
189 that whether narcissists exert increased effort to perform under high pressure or not depends  
190 on the combination of adaptive and maladaptive narcissism. More specifically, the overly  
191 inflated self (associated with adaptive narcissism), in the absence of maladaptive narcissism,  
192 is unlikely to yield greater effort (cf. Woodman et al., 2011). Instead, high levels of  
193 maladaptive narcissism may drive the inflated self to strive for desirable states because of the  
194 willingness to dominate. Consequently, based on the *trying harder* position, adaptive  
195 narcissism will predict effort during task processing when maladaptive narcissism is high.

196 Equally, while narcissists may have the potential to achieve superior attentional  
197 control under pressure, adaptive narcissism in the absence of maladaptive narcissism may  
198 prevent this potential being realized. This is because narcissistic individuals believe their  
199 attentional control is already excellent. As maladaptive narcissism provides a strong desire to  
200 dominate, however, the link between adaptive narcissism and attentional control will likely  
201 strengthen. As such, the *trying smarter* position suggests that adaptive narcissism will predict  
202 better efficiency during task processing when maladaptive narcissism is high.

### 203 **Present research**

204 In sum, our theoretical stance suggests that maladaptive narcissism will moderate the  
205 relationship between adaptive narcissism and performance under pressure, and increases in  
206 effort and/or more effective task processing will help to explain such performance benefits.  
207 We tested these predictions across three laboratory experiments. In Experiment 1, we used a  
208 basketball free throw task to test the interaction between adaptive and maladaptive narcissism  
209 on performance under pressure. In Experiment 2, we used a golf-putting task to examine the  
210 replicability of the Experiment 1 results and employed self-report and behavioral measures to  
211 test both the *trying harder* and the *trying smarter* positions. In Experiment 3, we used a letter  
212 transformation task to test the generalizability of the results from the first two experiments.

213 Letter transformation relies on the storage and processing functions of working memory  
214 (Hamilton, Hockey, & Rejman, 1977), which are known to play a vital role in sport  
215 performance (Furley & Memmert, 2010). We employed psychophysiological measures to test  
216 further the two mechanistic perspectives. Across all experiments, we used a wide range of  
217 stimuli to create high-pressure experimental conditions.

## 218 **Experiment 1**

### 219 **Method**

#### 220 *Participants*

221 Based on the effect sizes (ranging from .11 to .25) of Wallace and Baumeister's  
222 (2002) work examining the narcissism  $\times$  pressure interaction on performance<sup>2</sup>, we needed a  
223 minimum sample of 74 participants to have adequate power (.80) to detect a small-to-  
224 medium interaction effect, i.e., Cohen's  $f^2 = .11$ , at .05 alpha level (G\*Power 3; Faul,  
225 Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). We recruited 80 male recreational basketball players  
226 ( $M_{\text{age}} = 22.29$ ,  $SD = 2.37$ ;  $M_{\text{years' experience}} = 7.66$ ;  $SD = 2.14$ ).

#### 227 *Task*

228 We used a basketball free throw task. Participants completed the free throw task (see  
229 *Experimental conditions* section) using a regulation basketball (24.60cm in diameter) from  
230 the free throw line, 4.33m from the basket (45.00cm in diameter) at a regulation height of  
231 3.05m. We assessed performance using Hardy and Parfitt's (1991) point system designed for  
232 this task. Participants scored "5" for a "clean" basket shot, "4" for rim and in, "3" for  
233 backboard and in, "2" for rim and out, "1" for backboard and out, and "0" for a complete  
234 miss. We summed participants' scores.

#### 235 *Design*

236 We used a within-group design to reduce sampling error and to allow a better  
237 understanding of how performers respond to high-pressure environments. Participants

238 completed the same experimental procedures in groups of ten. All participants completed  
239 experimental tasks under two conditions: low pressure (i.e., individual session) and high  
240 pressure (i.e., competition in front of audience, opportunity for monetary reward, public  
241 recognition). The individual session took place seven days before the competition.

#### 242 *Experimental conditions*

243 *Low-pressure condition.* This condition consisted of twenty non-recorded warm-up  
244 throws and five recorded testing throws (Hardy & Parfitt, 1991). Each participant attended an  
245 individual session in an indoor sports hall. We introduced the scoring system and instructed  
246 participants to perform at their normal pace.

247 *High-pressure condition.* This condition consisted of twenty non-recorded warm-up  
248 free throws followed by five recorded free throws performed in front of an audience as part  
249 of a competition. We informed participants that the top three performers would receive cash  
250 prizes of £30, £20, and £10, and that we would place a congratulatory poster on the sports  
251 hall news wall, highlighting the winning participants. We also asked participants to watch  
252 other participants when they were not performing the task. We asked our 'audience'  
253 participants to stay in a pre-set audience zone that surrounded the free throw area and  
254 provided them with whistles and inflatable sticks to make similar noises to those during  
255 basketball matches. Before starting the free throws, we asked participants to perform the free  
256 throws at their normal pace.

#### 257 *Measures*

258 *Narcissism.* We assessed narcissism using the Narcissistic Personality Inventory–16  
259 (NPI-16; Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006). NPI-based measures of narcissism are considered  
260 the most appropriate assessments of the grandiose form of narcissism (Miller, Price, &  
261 Campbell, 2012). The NPI-16 manifests identical nomological networks to the most widely  
262 used measure of narcissism (i.e., NPI-40; Raskin & Hall, 1979), especially in relation to

263 personality indices (e.g., the Big 5), intrapersonal outcomes, and interpersonal behaviors  
264 (Ames et al., 2006). It also demonstrates good test-retest reliability ( $r = .85$ ). Given its  
265 reliability and convenience, the NPI-16 has been well used in sport narcissism research (e.g.,  
266 Beattie et al., 2017). The NPI-16 contains sixteen forced-choice items from the NPI-40 and  
267 asks participants to choose between one narcissistic and one non-narcissistic statement (e.g.,  
268 "I will be a success" vs "I am not too concerned about success"). Following Barry et al.'s  
269 (2003) recommendation, we generated an *adaptive* (five items;  $M = 2.58$ ,  $SD = 1.80$ ,  $\alpha = .78$ )  
270 and a *maladaptive* (eight items;  $M = 4.80$ ,  $SD = 2.39$ ,  $\alpha = .77$ ) narcissism score.

271 **Cognitive anxiety.** We used the cognitive anxiety subscale of the Revised Competitive  
272 State Anxiety Inventory–2 (CSAI-2R; Cox, Martens, & Russell, 2003), which contains five  
273 items (e.g., "I am concerned that I may not do as well in this competition as I could") rated  
274 from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very much so*). Cronbach's alpha was .90 in the current experiment.

### 275 **Procedure**

276 With institutional ethical approval, we recruited participants from a university  
277 basketball club. With the agreement from the club manager, we provided study information  
278 sheets to club members in a briefing session after a weekly club meeting. After the briefing  
279 session, club members who decided to participate provided consent, signed up for their  
280 sessions, and completed the NPI-16. On the day of the individual session, participants  
281 completed the CSAI-2R before starting their free throws. On completion of the throws, we  
282 thanked participants and reminded them of the group competition a week later. On the  
283 competition day, following the instructions (see *High-pressure condition* section) participants  
284 drew lots to decide the order of performance. They completed the CSAI-2R immediately  
285 before their individual performance. After the competition, we thanked and debriefed  
286 participants, and awarded prize money to winners.

### 287 **Results**

288 ***Preliminary analyses***

289           There were no missing data. A paired *t* test revealed a significant increase in cognitive  
290 anxiety from low- ( $M = 8.93, SD = 3.13$ ) to high-pressure conditions ( $M = 11.39, SD = 4.19$ ),  
291  $t(79) = 5.30, p = .001, 95\% CI [1.54, 3.39]$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.59$ . According to Cohen's (1977)  
292 guidelines for effect sizes, the effect size we demonstrated reflects a medium (0.50) to large  
293 (0.80) effect in the pressure manipulation. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics and  
294 correlations between study variables.

295 ***Main analyses***

296           To create a performance variable for analysis, we regressed the high-pressure  
297 performance on the low-pressure performance, with higher residual scores reflecting better  
298 performance under pressure. This residualized approach (see Castro-Schilo & Grimm, 2018)  
299 allowed us to account for participants' performance capacity in low-pressure situations when  
300 considering their performance under pressure. Hereafter, we use the term *performance* to  
301 denote residualized performance.

302           To test our hypothesis that adaptive and maladaptive narcissism would interactively  
303 predict performance, we performed moderated hierarchical regression with 5,000 bootstraps  
304 and reported unstandardized regression coefficients and the  $\Delta R^2$  for each step of the  
305 hierarchical regression. Lower and upper bound 95% confidence intervals (CI) that do not  
306 encompass zero indicate significance at .05 for all effects. We probed significant interactions  
307 using both the 'pick-a-point' (or simple slope) approach (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken,  
308 2003) and the Johnson-Neyman (J-N) technique (Bauer & Curran, 2005). We analyzed and  
309 plotted simple slopes at  $Mean \pm 1SD$  to offer a straightforward comparison of the influence of  
310 the focal predictor on the outcome variable at high and low levels of the moderator. However,  
311 as the choice of simple slopes is somewhat arbitrary, we used the J-N technique to estimate  
312 the regions of significance to indicate the range of the moderator at which the effect of the

313 independent variable was significant.

314       Following Jaccard and Turrisi's (2003) recommendation, we standardized variables  
315 using  $z$ -score transformation before the moderated regression analyses. Such an approach  
316 helps mitigate the potential collinearity issue in moderation analyses (Hayes, 2013) and is  
317 useful to check for univariate extreme values (i.e., three standard deviations from the mean).  
318 Further, we used Cook's distance (Cook & Weisberg, 1982) and leverage (Stevens, 2002) to  
319 screen multivariate outliers. We used the recommended cut-off value of greater than 1 Cook's  
320 distance and larger than  $3*(k+1)/n$  leverage (where  $k$  is the number of predictors in the  
321 model and  $n$  is the sample size) as the criterion for multivariate outliers. We found no case  
322 with undue influence. Further, we calculated Cohen's  $f^2$  (Cohen, 1977) as an effect size index  
323 for the interaction, with .02, .15, .35 reflecting small, medium, and large effects, respectively.  
324 The regression models satisfied the normality and homoscedasticity assumptions.

325       **Performance.** The overall model accounted for 41.6% variance in performance,  $F(3,$   
326  $76) = 18.03, p = .001$ . Step 1 of the analysis revealed that adaptive narcissism significantly  
327 predicted performance,  $R^2 = .30, F(1, 78) = 34.15, B = .45, p < .001, CI [.21, .70]$ . In Step 2,  
328 maladaptive narcissism was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .01, \Delta F(1, 77) = 1.39, B = .15, p = .241,$   
329  $95\% CI [-.10, .39]$ . Importantly, the interaction between adaptive and maladaptive narcissism  
330 was significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .10, \Delta F(1, 76) = 12.86, B = .35, p = .001, 95\% CI [.16, .55]$ , Cohen's  
331  $f^2 = .16$ . Simple slopes indicated that adaptive narcissism was significantly associated with  
332 performance under pressure when maladaptive narcissism was high ( $B = .79, p < .001, 95\%$   
333  $CI [.50, 1.10]$ ), not when maladaptive narcissism was low ( $B = .09, p = .550, 95\% CI$   
334  $[-.22, .41]$ ). Regions of significance revealed that the conditional effect of adaptive narcissism  
335 on performance was significant and positive only when maladaptive narcissism was *Mean*  
336  $+ .52 SD$  or over. Figure 1 (top) displays this interaction.

337

## Experiment 2

**338 Method****339 *Participants***

340 Based on the effect size in Experiment 1 (i.e., Cohen's  $f^2 = .16$ ), power analysis  
341 indicated that we needed a minimum sample of 52 participants to have adequate power (.80)  
342 to detect our hypothesized interaction effect at .05 alpha level. We recruited 64 right-handed  
343 medium-handicap golfers ( $M_{\text{age}} = 45.67$ ,  $SD = 18.83$ ;  $M_{\text{handicap}} = 15.88$ ;  $SD = 2.26$ ; 48 men).  
344 We chose medium-handicap golfers because they are particularly sensitive to pressure  
345 manipulations (Mullen & Hardy, 2000). All participants reported that they had played  
346 competitions on a weekly basis over the previous 12 months (unless weather or illness/injury  
347 prevented participation).

**348 *Task and Apparatus***

349 Participants performed a putting task on a  $4.5 \times 1.6$ -meter indoor putting green. We  
350 provided a standard (90cm) steel-shafted blade style putter and competition white golf balls  
351 (4.27cm diameter). We used a half-size target hole (5.5cm diameter) to increase the accuracy  
352 demands. We disguised a digital camera in a box at the end of the putting green, facing  
353 directly toward participants. The camera had a 10mm diameter lens and a shutter speed of  
354 1/2000 second. We used the digital camera to measure pre-putt time and introduced the  
355 camera to participants as an additional source of pressure (see *High-pressure condition*).

**356 *Performance***

357 We used an automated measuring system for putting performance, which we  
358 conceptualized as the distance between the center of the golf ball and the center of the hole.  
359 We took the mean distance of the balls from the target hole (in mm) to generate the mean  
360 radial error (MRE), with lower MRE representing higher accuracy. We recorded each  
361 successful holed putt as 0mm.

**362 *Design***

363 Participants performed the task under practice, low pressure, and high pressure. Each  
364 participant attended an individual session to complete all experimental conditions.

365 ***Experimental conditions***

366 ***Practice.*** This condition consisted of five blocks of nine putts (i.e., 45 putts in total) to  
367 familiarize participants with the task. Participants received the standardized instruction that  
368 the objective of the experiment was to examine the effect of using different putting positions  
369 in golf putting skills training and that they had been randomly assigned to the group that  
370 would follow a specific putting sequence. In reality, all participants followed the same  
371 randomized sequence of the three starting points within each putting block – 1.6, 2.2, 2.8, 2.8,  
372 2.2, 1.6, 1.6, 2.2, and 2.8m from the target. The purpose of this training-related instruction  
373 was to blind participants from the real objectives of this experiment and to help achieve  
374 experimental manipulation. Before each putting block, we instructed participants to "relax  
375 and take your time to perform the putt as you want; try to acclimatize yourself with the task  
376 and get the ball ideally holed or make it as close to the hole as possible."

377 ***Low-pressure condition.*** This condition consisted of a single block of nine putts, with  
378 the same putting sequence as in practice. To minimize pressure, we reminded our participants  
379 of the experimental purpose we provided at practice. Prior to putting, we asked participants to  
380 "relax and take your time to perform the putt as you want; try to get the ball ideally holed or  
381 make it as close to the hole as possible".

382 ***High-pressure condition.*** This condition consisted of a final block of nine putts, using  
383 a putting sequence different from the previous blocks. To start, we informed participants that  
384 based on their putting performance in previous blocks they were to receive prize money of  
385 £5. However, to secure the £5, participants needed to achieve a "reasonable level of  
386 performance", which in reality was participants' MRE in the low-pressure condition minus a  
387 half standard deviation. We informed participants that they would lose the £5 if they failed to



388 meet the basic standard. Moreover, we informed participants that they would receive £15  
389 extra prize money if they achieved a “superior” performance standard, which in reality was  
390 their respective MRE in the low-pressure condition minus one standard deviation.

391 Furthermore, we informed participants that they would compete against each other in  
392 the final block. We asked participants to draw one of twelve task cards from an envelope we  
393 prepared. We explained that different task cards provided different levels of task difficulty.  
394 For example, repeating nine putts from the same starting point represents an easy task;  
395 completing three mini-blocks of three putts whilst repeating the same starting point in each  
396 mini-block represents a medium-level task; putting from a randomized sequence of the three  
397 different starting points represents a difficult task. We reminded participants that regardless of  
398 the level of difficulty, the participant who improved most from the previous block to the final  
399 block would win £50 and be recognized in congratulatory posters posted on the news boards  
400 in the golf club of which they were members. Additionally, we informed participants that we  
401 would release the top-ten and the bottom-ten rankings to all participants through emails based  
402 on their performance change from the previous block to the final block.

403 Despite instructing participants that different task cards provided different putting  
404 sequences, in reality, everyone completed the same task order: 2.2, 1.6, 2.8, 2.8, 2.2, 1.6, 2.2,  
405 2.8, and 1.6m. After drawing the task card, we checked a pre-printed document in front of  
406 participants to provide a fake historical record revealing the likelihood of obtaining a prize.  
407 We told participants that about 50% of people had secured £5 and about 10% of people had  
408 earned the £15 extra prize, but that nobody had gained any prize when putting the same  
409 sequence as them.

410 Finally, we made participants aware of the video camera we had disguised. We  
411 informed participants that the recorded video materials would be assessed by an external  
412 expert, and selected records would be edited and used for promotional and educational

413 purposes. We further reminded participants that they were free to withdraw from completing  
414 the final block if they were unhappy with anything. After participants confirmed their  
415 willingness to participate, we instructed them to "take your time, concentrate on the task in  
416 hand, try to get the ball ideally holed or as close as possible to the target to win a prize."

#### 417 *Measures*

418 *Narcissism.* While the NPI-16 used in the Experiment 1 is a valid, reliable, and  
419 convenient measure of narcissism (Ames et al., 2006), due to its length, it may not capture all  
420 aspects of narcissism. Indeed, researchers recommend that the NPI-16 is a good alternative  
421 for the NPI-40 when the use of the longer measure is impractical but should not substitute the  
422 use of the NPI-40 in all situations. As such, in Experiment 2, we used the NPI-40 to ensure a  
423 more complete assessment of narcissistic personality traits. As in Experiment 1, we generated  
424 a score for adaptive narcissism (14 items;  $M = 5.84$ ,  $SD = 2.92$ ,  $\alpha = .76$ ) and maladaptive  
425 narcissism (18 items;  $M = 5.12$ ,  $SD = 3.85$ ,  $\alpha = .75$ ).

426 *Cognitive anxiety.* We used the Mental Readiness Form-L (MRF-L, Krane, 1994).  
427 The cognitive anxiety item asks participants to determine to what extent their thoughts are  
428 *worried* on a bipolar 11-point Likert scale from 1 (*calm*) to 11 (*worried*). The single-item  
429 format is less intrusive and thus more convenient to measure anxiety as close as possible to  
430 both the manipulative instructions and the subsequent performance.

431 *Mental effort.* We used the Rating Scale for Mental Effort (RSME, Zijlstra, 1993) to  
432 examine the *trying harder* position. The RSME is a vertical axis scale that asks participants to  
433 rate their mental effort from 0 to 150, with increments of 10 displayed on the left side of the  
434 scale and nine descriptive indicators from 3 (*no mental effort at all*) to 114 (*extreme mental*  
435 *effort*). The RSME is an effective measure of mental effort during the performance of various  
436 tasks, with a test-retest reliability of .78-.88 (Zijlstra, 1993).

437 *Pre-putt time.* We measured pre-putt time as a behavioral indicator of processing

438 efficiency, in order to examine the *trying smarter* position. This approach was recommended  
439 by Eysenck and Calvo (1992) and has been adopted in performance-related research (see  
440 Zhang et al., 2018). Although longer pre-putt time was previously interpreted as greater  
441 effort, the relationship between pre-putt time and effort is not evidenced (Wilson et al., 2007).  
442 Also, according to the distraction theories of anxiety and performance (Eysenck & Calvo,  
443 1992; Eysenck et al., 2007), anxiety in the form of worry distracts performance attention  
444 from task-relevant to task-irrelevant thoughts, occupying the cognitive resources that are  
445 essential to task processing. Such an adverse influence increases task processing time and  
446 impairs performance efficiency, which is not necessarily a sign of investing greater effort  
447 (Eysenck et al., 2007). Instead, reduced pre-putt time indicates a smooth execution for  
448 movement planning and motor response programming, likely due to an excellent regulation  
449 of attentional control and a superior management of processing recourses within the capacity-  
450 limited working memory system (Miyake et al., 2000). As such, reduced pre-putt time  
451 reflects better efficiency (e.g., Walters-Symons, Wilson, Klostermann, & Vine, 2018). We  
452 counted video frames (50Hz field rate) from the moment that participants prepared for the  
453 putting posture to the moment that participants initiated a “real” putt with the putter touching  
454 the golf ball. We transformed these video frames into pre-putt-time (in seconds).

#### 455 ***Procedure***

456 The experiment took place in a golf-putting laboratory. With institutional ethical  
457 approval, we advertised the study in local golf clubs and recruited club members given their  
458 informed consent. After welcoming participants to the laboratory, we asked participants to  
459 provide consent and to complete the NPI-40. Next, participants completed the experimental  
460 conditions of five blocks of practice, one block of low-pressure putts, and one final block of  
461 high-pressure putts. We asked participants to complete the MRF-L after our manipulations in  
462 the low- and high-pressure conditions and the RSME on completion of each condition. At the

463 end of the experimental session, we fully debriefed participants about the details of the  
464 experiment, thanked all participants, and paid their prize money (if applicable).

## 465 **Results**

### 466 *Preliminary analyses*

467 There were no missing data. A paired  $t$  test revealed a significant increase in cognitive  
468 anxiety from the low ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = 1.97$ ) to high anxiety condition ( $M = 4.61$ ,  $SD = 2.53$ ),  
469  $t(63) = 7.96$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.98, 1.64], Cohen's  $d = .99$ . Table 2 provides descriptive  
470 statistics and correlations between study variables.

### 471 *Main Analyses*

472 As with Experiment 1, we generated the residualized scores for all of our outcome  
473 variables including performance (MRE), mental effort, and pre-putting time (hereafter we use  
474 the variable name to refer to the residualized scores, e.g., "performance" refers to  
475 residualized performance). We performed moderated regression analyses as in Experiment 1.  
476 There were no univariate or multivariate outliers. All assumptions for regression were met.

477 **Performance.** The overall model accounted for 17.5% variance in performance,  $F(3,$   
478  $63) = 4.23$ ,  $p = .010$ . Step 1 of the regression analysis revealed that adaptive narcissism did  
479 not account for a significant proportion of variance in performance,  $R^2 = .01$ ,  $F(1, 62) =$   
480  $0.35$ ,  $B = -.07$ ,  $p = .555$ , 95% CI [-.32, .18]. In Step 2, maladaptive narcissism was also not  
481 significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 61) = 1.33$ ,  $B = -.15$ ,  $p = .253$ , 95% CI [-.41, .11]. In Step 3, the  
482 adaptive  $\times$  maladaptive narcissism interaction was significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .17$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 60) = 10.74$ ,  
483  $B = -.43$ ,  $p = .002$ , 95% CI [-.69, -.17], Cohen's  $f^2 = .22$ . Adaptive narcissism was associated  
484 with better performance (i.e., reduced MRE) when maladaptive narcissism was high ( $B =$   
485  $-.42$ ,  $p = .010$ , 95% CI [-.73, -.11]) but was related to impaired performance (i.e., increased  
486 MRE) when maladaptive narcissism was low ( $B = .53$ ,  $p = .008$ , 95% CI [.14, .92]). Adaptive  
487 narcissism was associated with significantly better performance when maladaptive narcissism

488 was *Mean* + .67 *SD* or over but with worse performance when maladaptive narcissism was  
 489 *Mean* - .50 *SD* or below. Figure 1 (middle) displays this interaction.

490 **Effort.** The overall model accounted for 11.6% variance in effort,  $F(3, 63) = 2.63, p$   
 491  $= .058$ . Step 1 revealed that adaptive narcissism was not significant,  $R^2 < .01, F(1, 62) =$   
 492  $0.01, B = -.01, p = .931, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.26, .24]$ . In Step 2, maladaptive narcissism accounted for  
 493 a significant proportion of effort variance,  $\Delta R^2 = .11, \Delta F(1, 61) = 7.63, B = .33, p = .008,$   
 494  $95\% \text{ CI } [.10, .59]$ . In Step 3, the adaptive  $\times$  maladaptive narcissism interaction was not  
 495 significant,  $\Delta R^2 < .01, \Delta F(1, 60) = 0.34, B = .08, p = .512, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.14, .36]$ .

496 **Pre-putt time.** The overall model accounted for 9.3% variance in pre-putt time,  $F(3,$   
 497  $63) = 2.05, p = .117$ . Step 1 of the analysis revealed that adaptive narcissism did not account  
 498 for a significant proportion of variance in performance,  $R^2 = .01, F(1, 62) = 0.74, B = -.11, p$   
 499  $= .423, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.38, .14]$ . In Step 2, maladaptive narcissism was also not significant,  $\Delta R^2$   
 500  $= .01, \Delta F(1, 61) = 0.46, B = .09, p = .645, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.19, .56]$ . In Step 3, the adaptive  $\times$   
 501 maladaptive narcissism interaction was significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .07, \Delta F(1, 60) = 4.88, B = -.31, p$   
 502  $= .031, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.58, -.03]$ , Cohen's  $f^2 = .09$ . Adaptive narcissism predicted significantly  
 503 reduced pre-putt time, reflecting better efficiency, when maladaptive narcissism was high ( $B$   
 504  $= -.38, p = .028, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.72, -.04]$ ) but was not when maladaptive narcissism was low ( $B$   
 505  $= .24, p = .261, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.19, .67]$ ). The conditional effect of adaptive narcissism on pre-putt  
 506 time became significant only when maladaptive narcissism was *Mean* + .71 *SD* or over.  
 507 Figure 1 (bottom) displays this interaction.

## 508 Discussion

509 Experiments 1 and 2 consistently demonstrated that increased adaptive narcissism was  
 510 related to better performance under pressure only when maladaptive narcissism was high.  
 511 The data from Experiment 2 did not support the *trying harder* hypothesis because adaptive  
 512 narcissism failed to predict effort regardless of the levels of maladaptive narcissism. Results

513 offer support, however, for the *trying smarter* hypothesis. Adaptive narcissism predicted  
514 improved efficiency and performance only when maladaptive narcissism was high.

515 In Experiment 3, we employed a letter transformation task to examine the  
516 generalizability of findings from Experiments 1 and 2. This task requires participants to  
517 transform a random letter a given distance to obtain another letter under low- and high-  
518 pressure conditions. For example, the instruction ‘A + 4’ requires participants to transform  
519 the letter A to E. This process directly tests the functions of working memory (Hamilton et  
520 al., 1977), which is known to play a vital role in motor execution and performance under  
521 pressure (see Furley & Memmert, 2010). Another advantage of this task is that it permits  
522 recording of psychophysiological indices of processing efficiency such as heart rate  
523 variability. More specifically, r-MSSD (a time domain measure of heart rate variability)  
524 provides an index of cardiac vagal control (Achten & Jeukendrup, 2003), which is positively  
525 associated with affective regulation, attentional control, and goal-directed executive function  
526 (Thayer & Brosschot, 2005). We therefore employed r-MSSD as a measure of processing  
527 efficiency in Experiment 3.

528 In the interests of parsimony, we report much of Experiment 3 (i.e., method, analyses,  
529 tables) in the online supplement. We encourage readers who are interested in this innovative  
530 pressure manipulation (via a computerized testing program) to scrutinize those materials. We  
531 report the results below to evidence the replicability of the performance effect and to provide  
532 additional support for the underlying mechanism using psychophysiological data.

### 533 **Experiment 3**

#### 534 **Results**

535 **Performance.** The overall model accounted for 18% of the variance in performance  
536 (i.e., the time taken),  $F(5, 111) = 4.87, p < .001$ . Step 1 of the analysis revealed that adaptive  
537 narcissism was significantly related to better performance (reduced time taken),  $\Delta R^2 = .05, F$

538 (1, 113) = 6.16,  $B = -.23$ ,  $p = .015$ , 95% CI [-.41, -.05]. In Step 2, maladaptive narcissism was  
 539 not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 112) = 3.03$ ,  $B = -.19$ ,  $p = .084$ , 95% CI [-.40, .03].  
 540 Importantly, in Step 3, the adaptive  $\times$  maladaptive narcissism interaction was significant,  $\Delta R^2$   
 541 = .05,  $\Delta F(1, 111) = 6.05$ ,  $B = -.20$ ,  $p = .015$ , 95% CI [-.36, -.04], Cohen's  $f^2 = .05$ . Adaptive  
 542 narcissism predicted performance (lower time taken) when maladaptive narcissism was high  
 543 ( $B = -.30$ ,  $p = .014$ , 95% CI [-.53, -.06]) rather than low ( $B = .11$ ,  $p = .464$ , 95% CI  
 544 [-.18, .39]). Adaptive narcissism predicted performance only when maladaptive narcissism  
 545 was *Mean + .56 SD* or over. Figure 2 (top) displays this interaction.

546 **Effort.** The overall model accounted for 4.3% variance in mental effort,  $F(5, 110) =$   
 547 1.00,  $p = .424$ . The analysis revealed that adaptive narcissism was not significantly related to  
 548 effort,  $\Delta R^2 < .01$ ,  $F(1, 112) < 0.01$ ,  $B = -.01$ ,  $p = .971$ , 95% CI [-.18, .18]. Maladaptive  
 549 narcissism was also not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 111) = 1.98$ ,  $B = .15$ ,  $p = .163$ , 95% CI  
 550 [-.06, .63]. The adaptive  $\times$  maladaptive narcissism interaction was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  
 551  $\Delta F(1, 110) = 1.51$ ,  $B = .10$ ,  $p = .222$ , 95% CI [-.06, .26].

552 **Efficiency.** The overall model accounted for 10.1% variance in the  
 553 psychophysiological measure of mental efficiency (i.e., r-MSSD),  $F(5, 101) = 2.26$ ,  $p = .054$ .  
 554 The analysis revealed that adaptive narcissism was not significantly related to efficiency,  $\Delta R^2$   
 555  $< .01$ ,  $F(1, 103) = 0.66$ ,  $B = -.07$ ,  $p = .420$ , 95% CI [-.24, .10]. Maladaptive narcissism was  
 556 also not significant,  $\Delta R^2 < .01$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 102) = 0.25$ ,  $B = .05$ ,  $p = .617$ , 95% CI [-.15, .26]. Of  
 557 more interest, the adaptive  $\times$  maladaptive narcissism interaction was significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  
 558  $\Delta F(1, 101) = 4.49$ ,  $B = .17$ ,  $p = .037$ , 95% CI [.01, .33], Cohen's  $f^2 = .05$ . Adaptive  
 559 narcissism was not related to efficiency when maladaptive narcissism was high ( $B = .05$ ,  $p$   
 560 = .655, 95% CI [-.18, .29]) but predicted reduced r-MSSD (an anxiety-induced reduction in  
 561 efficiency) when maladaptive narcissism was low ( $B = -.28$ ,  $p = .036$ , 95% CI [-.54, -.02]).  
 562 Regions of significance confirmed that this effect was significant only when maladaptive

563 narcissism was *Mean - .71 SD* or below. Figure 2 (bottom) displays the nature of the  
564 interaction.

## 565 **Discussion**

566 Consistent with Experiments 1 and 2, adaptive narcissism was only associated with  
567 improved performance under pressure when maladaptive narcissism was high. In accord with  
568 Experiment 2, the effort data did not support the *trying harder* hypothesis. The r-MSSD data  
569 from the letter transformation task provide further support for the trying smarter hypothesis,  
570 as adaptive narcissism protected processing efficiency and predicted improved performance  
571 only when maladaptive narcissism was high.

## 572 **General discussion**

573 Although global grandiose narcissism as measured by the NPI has been the main  
574 focus of the narcissism-performance research, the performance effects of its so-called  
575 adaptive and maladaptive components had previously been unexplored. In the present  
576 research we examined the adaptive × maladaptive narcissism interaction on performance  
577 under pressure and tested potential mechanisms to explain these performance effects.

578 Across two motor tasks and one cognitive task, we provide the first evidence that  
579 adaptive narcissism is beneficial to performance under pressure only in the presence of  
580 maladaptive narcissism. The findings demonstrate that a one-dimensional conceptualization  
581 of grandiose narcissism is inadequate to explain the effects of narcissism on performance. We  
582 also investigated the mechanisms underlying these findings and provide the first support for  
583 the *trying smarter* proposition over the *trying harder* viewpoint (see Roberts, Woodman, et  
584 al., 2018). In the golf-putting and letter transformation tasks (Experiments 2 and 3), results  
585 consistently demonstrated that adaptive narcissism was unrelated to *effort* regardless of the  
586 levels of maladaptive narcissism. Conversely, adaptive narcissism predicted better *efficiency*  
587 and *performance* only when maladaptive narcissism was high. These findings suggested that



588 adaptive narcissism in the presence of maladaptive narcissism is beneficial to performance  
589 because of the efficient task processing.

### 590 **Trying harder vs Trying smarter**

591 While evidence for the *trying harder* hypothesis has emerged in the existing  
592 narcissism-performance research (e.g., Roberts, Cooke, et al., 2018), our data add new  
593 insights to support the *trying smarter* hypothesis. Roberts, Cooke, et al. (2018) demonstrated  
594 that effort during a dart-throwing and a muscular endurance task mediated the narcissism-  
595 performance relationship. Three reasons may explain the different findings in our and  
596 Roberts, Cooke, et al.'s work. First, while Roberts, Cooke, et al. focused on grandiose  
597 narcissism (i.e., NPI total score), we focused on the interaction between adaptive and  
598 maladaptive aspects of grandiose narcissism. Since a high NPI score may reflect high levels  
599 of either or both adaptive and maladaptive narcissism, any effect observed in NPI total score  
600 is not equivalent to the effect of the precise combination of high adaptive and high  
601 maladaptive narcissism.

602 Second, Roberts, Cooke, et al.'s (2018) tasks used novice players (i.e., in dart  
603 throwing) and imposed high levels of physical demand (i.e., the muscular endurance task).  
604 However, our tasks involved participants with higher levels of task-related expertise (i.e.,  
605 basketball players and skilled golfers) and imposed mental (i.e., letter transformation) rather  
606 than physical demand. Indeed, skilled performance requires less mental control (Masters &  
607 Maxwell, 2008), and cognitive compared to muscular endurance tasks are less physically  
608 demanding. Therefore, effort quantity plays a less critical role in our tasks compared to  
609 Roberts, Cooke, et al.'s tasks. Finally, the pressure manipulation in our tasks also offers an  
610 explanation for the difference in findings across studies. Roberts, Cooke, et al. used a  
611 performance climate to manipulate experimental conditions, but a performance climate does  
612 not necessarily create high pressure. Conversely, our tasks combined a range of stimuli to

613 induce pressure during task performance. According to distraction theories of anxiety and  
614 performance (Eysenck & Calvo, 1992; Eysenck et al., 2007), additional effort is less likely to  
615 compensate for performance as performance pressure increases. As such, it is possible that  
616 *trying harder* could help achieve desired performance under relatively low levels of pressure  
617 and that *trying smarter* could optimize performance when pressure is higher. Such a position  
618 is worthy of consideration.

### 619 **Theoretical and applied implications**

620         The findings have several important implications. First, in performance contexts, it  
621 appears that *maladaptive narcissism* is sometimes *adaptive* because it can contribute to better  
622 performance under pressure. Given that adaptive narcissism was beneficial to performance  
623 under pressure only in the presence of maladaptive narcissism, the so-called *adaptive* and  
624 *maladaptive* monikers of the corresponding components in the NPI are misleading. We  
625 recommend the use of different terms to describe these aspects of narcissism and suggest  
626 using *self-inflated narcissism* and *dominant narcissism* instead. These alternative terms better  
627 tackle the psychological attributes of the so-called adaptive and maladaptive narcissism. Such  
628 denominations also minimize any presupposed effects on the dependent variables of interest.  
629 At the very least, researchers should not conceptualize adaptive narcissism as always being  
630 adaptive, and maladaptive narcissism as always being problematic.

631         Second, it is the precise interactive combination of adaptive and maladaptive  
632 narcissism that benefits performance under pressure. Such findings advance our current  
633 knowledge of a simple and positive relationship between global-level grandiose narcissism  
634 and performance. More generally, the interaction between different narcissism dimensions is  
635 worthy of consideration when attempting to understand the influence of narcissism in  
636 different contexts.

637         The finding that maladaptive narcissism plays an *adaptive* role in performance

638 settings has ramifications for researchers and practitioners with an interest in personality.  
639 Indeed, performance environments operate within an intrapersonal and interpersonal context  
640 such that one would explore the potential benefits of maladaptive narcissism to best effect  
641 beyond the performance setting in isolation. For example, if narcissists behave aggressively  
642 and violently in a social environment because they do not recognize any alternative ways to  
643 eliminate any ego-threats and re-establish dominance (Baumeister et al., 1996), creating  
644 performance environments and fostering performance goals are likely to be particularly  
645 beneficial for those high in maladaptive narcissism. Although such a position requires  
646 empirical support, it provides an alternative route for alleviating the potential adverse  
647 influences of narcissism in social and interpersonal settings.

648         Additionally, the present data offer an insight into the mechanism that underlies  
649 optimization of narcissists' performance under pressure. Specifically, individuals high in both  
650 adaptive and maladaptive narcissism performed better under pressure thanks to their superior  
651 regulation of task processing rather than simply by investing greater effort during task  
652 performance. As such, we recommend that performance-focused practitioners consider  
653 interventions to enhance performers' regulation of task processing. Furthermore, considering  
654 the adaptive  $\times$  maladaptive narcissism interaction on performance under pressure, it appears  
655 that high levels of confidence and performance motivation are equally important for  
656 achieving optimal performance.

### 657 **Limitations**

658         Although the findings are clear and offer important implications, we note several  
659 limitations that warrant attention. First, although our sample estimations aimed to provide  
660 sufficient power for detecting performance effects, they may have been imprecise for  
661 examining the underlying mechanisms of the performance effects. Indeed, some of our  
662 analyses, especially the examination of the *trying harder* hypothesis in Experiments 2 and 3

663 were subject to low statistical power. This is because the effect sizes in mental effort was  
664 smaller than our a priori estimations. However, the analyses on efficiency (i.e., pre-putt time,  
665 r-MSSD) achieved sufficient power and demonstrated larger effect sizes. As such, the *trying*  
666 *smarter* perspective likely plays a more vital role in performance under pressure over the  
667 *trying harder* perspective for those high in both adaptive and maladaptive narcissism, at least  
668 in tasks that require fine motor control (e.g., golf-putting) and working memory (e.g., letter  
669 transformation). Second, the cognitive task used in Experiment 3 might invite concern about  
670 the generalizability of the findings to sport contexts. However, such a concern is less of an  
671 issue because we used a letter transformation task that relies on the functions of working  
672 memory, which play a vital role in sport performance (see Furley & Memmert, 2010). As  
673 such, Experiment 3 findings have relevant performance implications for sport settings.

#### 674 **Suggestions for future research**

675         The current research offers fruitful future research directions. For example, although  
676 the *trying harder* and *trying smarter* positions rest on the Processing Efficiency Theory  
677 (Eysenck & Calvo, 1992) and Attentional Control Theory (Eysenck et al., 2007), competing  
678 theories such as the Theory of Reinvestment (Masters & Maxwell, 2008) also provide  
679 important insight for future research. The Theory of Reinvestment states that performers  
680 under high pressure tend to reinvest attention to task processing through the use of explicit  
681 task-relevant knowledge (e.g., Mullen & Hardy, 2000) or step-by-step monitoring (e.g.,  
682 Beilock & Carr, 2001) to avoid undesired performance. However, such reinvestment will  
683 regress effortless skilled performance to a de-automatized and more effortful form of control  
684 which results in performance failure (Masters & Maxwell, 2008). From a reinvestment  
685 perspective, since individuals high in narcissism are confident in their ability and seek to  
686 approach rather than to avoid performance settings (Zhang et al., 2018), they likely see  
687 themselves as so capable as to have no need for reinvestment to ensure good performance.

688 Therefore, narcissism likely protects against the reinvestment effects that commonly occur  
689 when performing in high-pressure environments. Our data support this position, especially  
690 that adaptive narcissism in the presence of maladaptive narcissism predicted reduced pre-  
691 putting time in golf-putting and less of a decrease in r-MSSD in letter transformation, which  
692 indicates automated task execution and lower levels of interference (see also Lam et al.,  
693 2010). This position clearly warrants further research attention.

## 694 **Conclusions**

695         The current research demonstrated that adaptive narcissism (reflecting assurance and  
696 over confidence) was related to better performance under pressure only when maladaptive  
697 narcissism (reflecting a strong willingness to dominate) was high. In the specific context of  
698 high-pressure performance, there is thus nothing *maladaptive* about maladaptive narcissism –  
699 quite the contrary. We thus urge researchers to abandon the use of *adaptive* and *maladaptive*  
700 narcissism in favor of *self-inflated* and *dominant* narcissism, respectively. The findings  
701 further support that the precise combination of adaptive and maladaptive narcissism  
702 contributes to the efficient use of processing resources such that individuals high in both  
703 components of narcissism perform well under pressure because they try smarter rather than  
704 try harder. Future research would do well to examine different forms of narcissism in  
705 performance settings, and beyond.

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861 Note

- 862 1. Based on the data reported in this paper, we suggest in the General Discussion that  
863 adaptive narcissism would be better labeled *self-inflated narcissism* and that  
864 maladaptive narcissism would be better labeled *dominant narcissism*. We believe  
865 these alternative monikers better describe the psychological attributes of the so-called  
866 adaptive and maladaptive components of narcissism, at least in the contexts of sport  
867 and performance.
- 868 2. This research is the first to examine the effect of adaptive and maladaptive narcissism  
869 interaction and thus no previous studies provide possible effect size of such an  
870 interaction. However, as we were interested in examining the effects of these aspects  
871 of narcissism on performance under pressure, we used the effect sizes for the  
872 previously reported interaction between narcissism and pressure on performance for  
873 the power analysis.
- 874

Table 1

*Descriptive statistics and correlations between study variables in the basketball set shot (n = 80)*

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(1) Age	–	.49**	-.17	-.12	-.16	-.07	-.17	-.11	-.17
(2) Experience		–	-.01	-.14	.04	-.02	.02	.05	.01
(3) NPI-16			–	.85**	.92**	.29**	.24	.27*	.57**
(4) AN-5				–	.65**	.23*	.22	.07	.46**
(5) MN-8					–	.29*	.19	.27*	.51**
(6) Anxiety (LP)						–	.39**	.12	.31**
(7) Anxiety (HP)							–	.35**	.33**
(8) Performance (LP)								–	.65**
(9) Performance (HP)									–
Mean	22.41	7.61	8.05	2.58	4.80	8.93	11.40	16.16	16.58
SD	2.30	2.14	4.55	1.80	2.39	3.13	4.19	4.11	4.63

*Note.* Experience = Years of Experience; NPI-16 = 16-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (range: 0-16); AN-5 = Adaptive Narcissism (range: 0-5); MN-8 = Maladaptive Narcissism (range: 0-8); LP = Low Pressure; HP = High Pressure; Range of Performance Scores: 0-25.

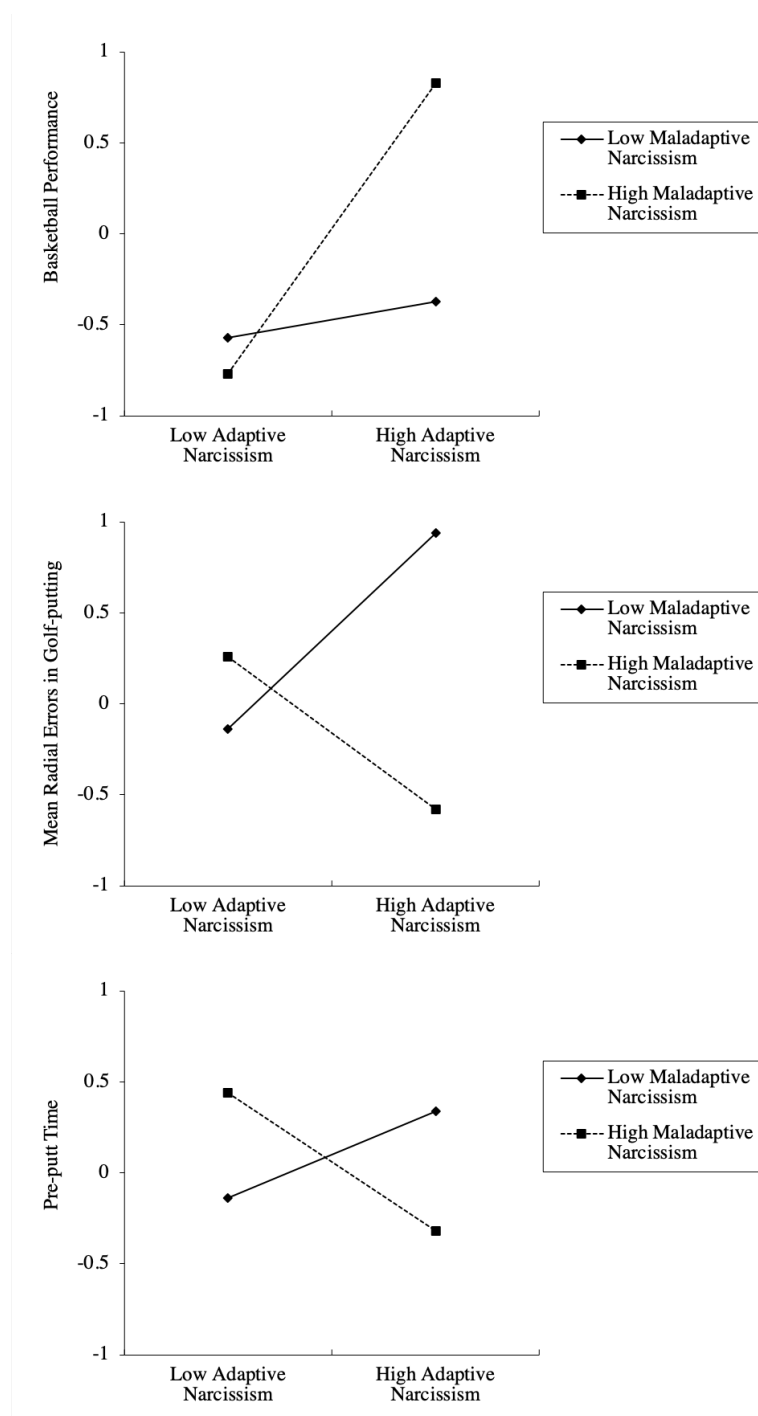
\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$

Table 2

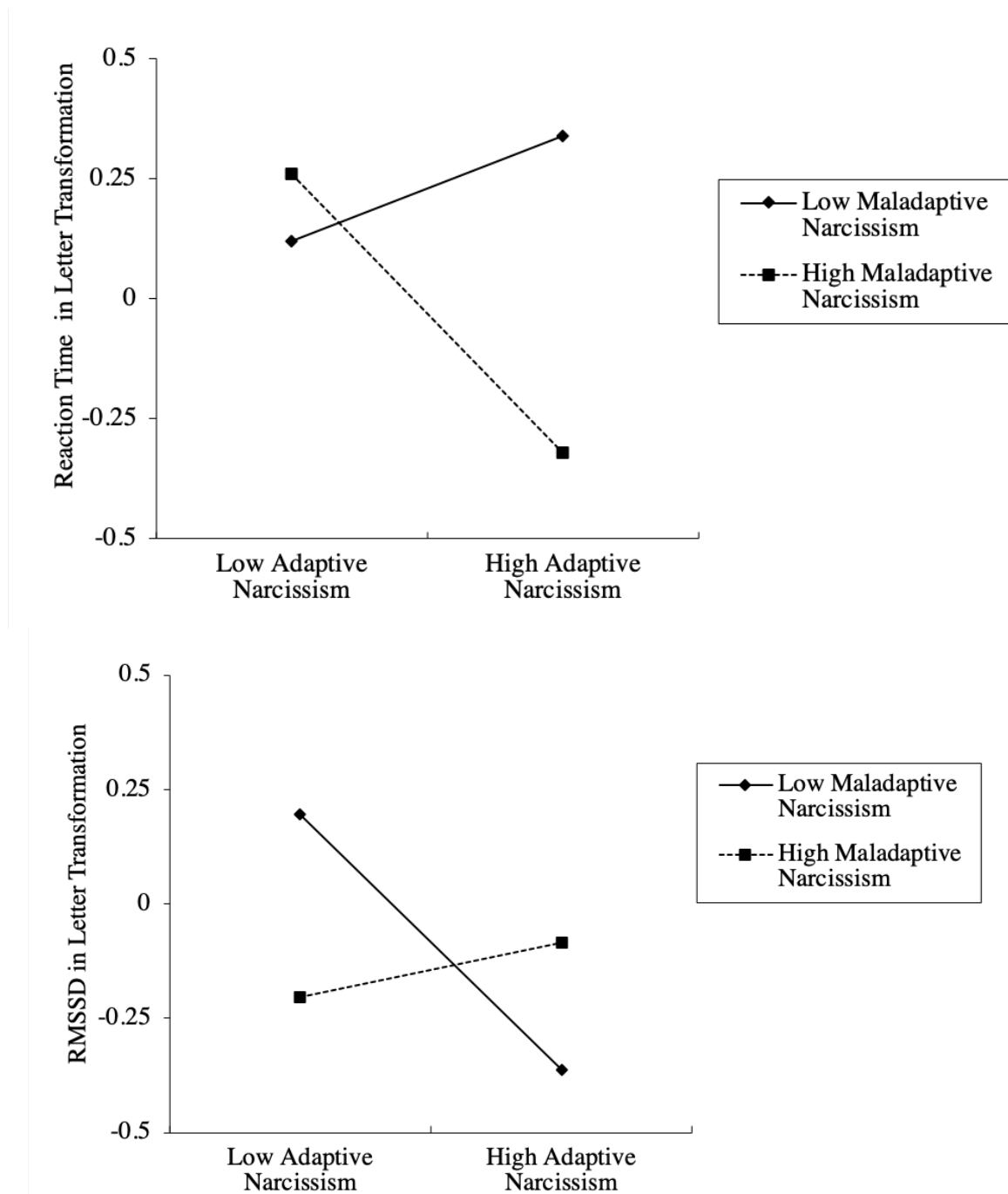
*Descriptive statistics and correlations between study variables in the golf-putting task (n = 64)*

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
(1) Age	–	.05	-.22	-.12	-.20	-.27*	-.29*	-.08	-.15	.09	-.01	.01	.03
(2) Handicap		–	.10	.09	.05	.04	.12	-.02	-.01	.01	.03	.41**	.46**
(3) NPI-40			–	.70**	.82**	-.04	-.04	-.08	-.02	-.02	.02	.34**	.11
(4) AN-14				–	.25*	.06	-.04	-.01	-.01	-.10	-.11	.26*	.15
(5) MN-18					–	-.05	.02	-.06	.04	.04	.11	.25*	-.01
(6) Anxiety (LP)						–	.86**	.12	.24	.02	-.02	-.03	-.04
(7) Anxiety (HP)							–	.12	.24	-.03	.01	.12	.06
(8) ME (LP)								–	.96**	.20	.23	-.01	-.12
(9) ME (HP)									–	.24	.31*	.02	-.13
(10) PrePT (LP)										–	.70**	-.02	-.10
(11) PrePT (HP)											–	.03	-.01
(12) MRE (LP)												–	.40**
(13) MRE (HP)													–
Mean	45.67	15.88	13.58	6.02	4.98	3.30	4.61	100.56	108.39	7.68	9.09	276.05	262.97
SD	18.82	4.25	7.08	3.24	3.74	1.97	2.53	34.95	35.58	3.04	4.37	73.45	75.69

*Note.* NPI-40 = 40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (range: 0-40); AN-14 = Adaptive Narcissism (range: 0-14); MN-18 = Maladaptive Narcissism (range: 0-18); LP = Low Pressure; HP = High Pressure; ME = Mental Effort; PrePT = Pre-putting Time (in second); MRE = Mean Radial Errors (in millimeter). \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$



*Figure 1.* The interaction between adaptive and maladaptive narcissism on performance scores in basketball free throw (top) and mean radial errors (middle) and pre-putt time (bottom) in golf-putting. Regression slopes were derived from one standard deviation below the mean (low) and one standard deviation above the mean (high). All variables were standardized.



*Figure 2.* The interaction between adaptive and maladaptive narcissism on time taken in the letter transformation (top) and the r-MSSD during the letter transformation (bottom). Regression slopes were derived from one standard deviation below the mean (low) and one standard deviation above the mean (high). All variables were standardized.