

endorsement rates in straight-take administrations. The low endorsement rates for such items permit room for manipulators to deliberately enhance impressions of their agency. Examples are "I am very brave" and "No one is more talented than I." Such items tend not to be claimed, even by narcissists, under anonymous conditions. But the endorsement rate is higher under agency-motivated conditions than under anonymous conditions (Lonnqvist, Verkasalo, & Bezmenova, 2007).

The impression management scales—Agentic and Communal Management—appear to be most useful in tapping response sets rather than response styles. They perform very well in capturing the degree of situational press to appear agentic or communal (Carey & Paulhus, 2008). Because scores are influenced strongly by context subtleties, these scales are not especially useful as individual difference measures. In private administrations, much of the individual-difference variance represents actual content differences in positive qualities.

Summary

The traditional concern in the social desirability literature is with self-presentation on questionnaires. Such concern led to the development of numerous SDR scales measuring the degree to which respondents exaggerate their assets or minimize their social deviance. The assumption is that high scores indicate dissimulation not only on the SDR scale, but on all other questionnaires in the same package.

A 50-year history of structural analyses of SDR scales repeatedly confirmed that multiple underlying concepts were being tapped. We have argued here that a clearer understanding of this extensive literature emerges from our two-level framework: audience (public vs. private) and personality image (agency vs. communal).

The SDR approach has been of special interest to personality psychologists because of their continuing reliance on self-report questionnaires (Paulhus & Vazire, 2007; Tracy & Robins, this volume). Nonetheless, there remains some difficulty with confirming the degree to which SDR scales tap exaggeration, that is, departure from reality.

SELF-ENHANCEMENT

Although the concept of self-enhancement overlaps conceptually with SDR, its historical origins are quite distinct. It began with an early study suggesting that positive self-biases are maladaptive (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1939). Forty years later, two methodologically superior papers provided evidence that positive self-biases may be more adaptive than accurate self-evaluations (Alloy & Abramson, 1979; Lewinsohn, Mischel, Chaplin, & Barton, 1980). Those studies contributed to Taylor and Brown's (1988) assertion that positive illusions are both common and adaptive.

Rather than SDR scales, this literature employs measures such as social comparison (e.g., better than average) or self-criterion discrepancies. Because a normative comparison is involved, such measures promised to do a better job than do SDR scales in distinguishing distortion from truth.

Most writers follow Taylor and Brown (1988) in defining self-enhancement as an overly positive self-evaluation. The qualification—*overly positive*—is of central importance, given our requirement of inaccuracy in defining self-presentation. There is little dispute about the fact that some people harbor overly positive self-evaluations, whereas others are more accurate. To date, minimal attention has been paid to underestimated evaluations (but see Zuckerman & Knee, 1996).³

Self-enhancement can be demonstrated even on anonymous self-descriptions (Baumeister, 1982; Brown, 1998). As such, the phenomenon corresponds to the private-audience version of SDR. Because of its association with illusions rather than purposeful dissimulation, little attention has been directed at the public-audience version of self-enhancement (see Figure 19.3). Because self-reports vary with degree and nature of the audience, scores on self-enhancement measures should vary to the same degree as do SDR measures (Carey & Paulhus, 2008). Nonetheless, that issue has attracted less interest, and the following focus is on distortion in private self-beliefs.

Three issues have dominated the self-enhancement literature: One is how to measure self-enhancement; a second addresses

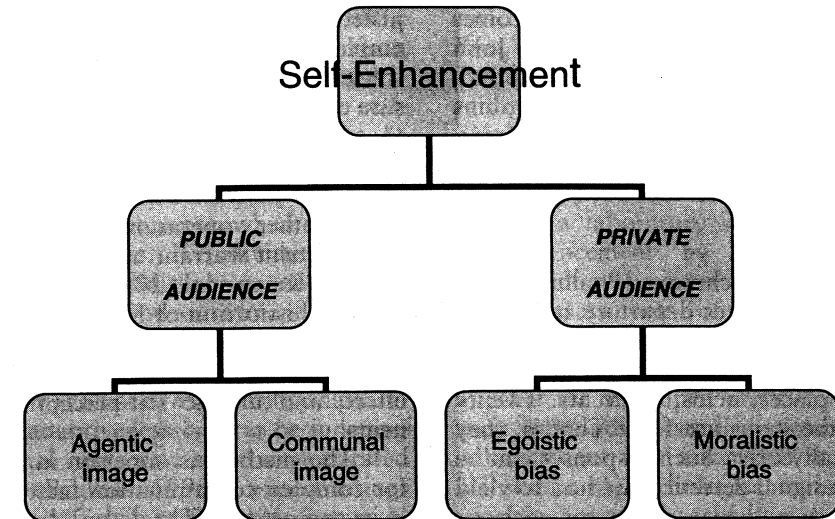


FIGURE 19.3. Hierarchy of self-enhancement.

the adaptiveness of self-enhancement; the third concerns the breadth and structure of self-enhancement.

Operationalizing Self-Enhancement

Although the concept might seem straightforward, much controversy has arisen over the choice of operationalization. Here we consider five types of operationalization that warrant special attention.

Social Comparison

The most popular choice has been to index self-enhancement as the tendency to view oneself more positively than one views others. Following Kwan, John, Kenny, Bond, and Robins (2004), we refer to this operationalization as *social comparison*. A well-replicated body of research indicates that a majority of people tend to rate themselves as above average on lists of evaluative traits (e.g., Alicke, 1985). If pervasive, this tendency certainly implies an illusion: After all, it is not possible for a large majority of people to actually be better than average.⁴

To index a general tendency, self-enhancement scores are typically aggregated across a wide set of evaluative traits. Respondents may be asked for separate ratings of self and others or, alternatively, a direct

comparison of themselves relative to the average other. A number of studies have confirmed that individuals scoring high on such indexes of self-enhancement tend to be well adjusted (Brown, 1986; Campbell, Rudich, & Sedikides, 2002; Kurt & Paulhus, 2008; Taylor, Lerner, Sherman, Sage, & McDowell, 2003).

Note, however, that this operationalization makes it difficult to distinguish self-enhancement from true differences in positive traits (Klar & Giladi, 1999; Robins & John, 1997b). After all, many people are actually above average, even across a large set of traits (Block & Colvin, 1994). In short, the social comparison operationalization lacks a reality criterion against which the validity of the self-descriptions can be evaluated.

Criterion Discrepancy

This limitation led a number of other researchers to operationalize self-enhancement as a *criterion discrepancy*, that is, the overestimation of one's positivity relative to a credible criterion. This category of measures includes both difference scores and residual scores. Rather than absolute values, higher numbers indicate the degree to which respondents' self-ratings exceed their criterion scores. Almost invariably, discrepancy measures of self-enhancement have shown negative asso-

ciations with long-term adjustment outcomes (e.g., Colvin, Block, & Funder, 1995; John & Robins, 1994; Kwan, John, Kenny, Bond, & Robins, 2004; Paulhus, 1998a; Robins & Beer, 2001; Shedler, Mayman, & Manis, 1993; but see Bonanno et al., 2002).

Overclaiming Technique

The overclaiming technique (Paulhus et al., 2003) also emphasizes departure from reality, but in a different fashion. Respondents are asked to rate their familiarity with a set of persons, places, items, or events. Twenty percent of the items are foils: That is, they do not actually exist. Such responses can be scored via a signal detection method to yield both accuracy and bias scores for each respondent.

Of great practical advantage is the fact that the departure-from-reality aspect is included in the questionnaire along with the self-ratings. It is represented here by the answer key distinguishing real ones from foils: That is, a familiarity rating is accurate to the extent that real items are claimed and foils are disclaimed.

The original overclaiming questionnaire comprised academic items such as philosophy, history, literature, and science. On these items, the accuracy index correlated substantially with IQ scores, whereas the bias index correlated moderately with trait self-enhancement measures such as narcissism (Paulhus et al., 2003). When the items concerned lay topics such as sports, music, films, etc., the bias link was subtler. Correlations with narcissism were significant only for topics that the respondent valued.

Krueger's Method

This method might be called the idiosyncratic weighting method (Krueger, 1998; Sinha & Krueger, 1998). Each participant's self-ratings are correlated with his or her desirability ratings of the same items. Effectively, the method weights each rating by the desirability as judged by the rater. Other methods assume implicitly that the social consensus regarding the social desirability of each item within a test is shared by all respondents.

The method also has the advantage of adaptability because the weights can be ad-

justed to address context differences. For example, judgments of social desirability differ substantially across home, school, and leisure contexts.

Kwan's Method

Three other operationalizations of self-enhancement warrant mention here. Kwan's method (Kwan et al., 2004) utilizes the statistical sophistication of Kenny's (1994) social relations model. The technique decomposes self-perception into perceiver effect, target effect, and unique self-perception components.

The method is superior in controlling for complex contamination factors inherent in its competitors. The downside of this technique is that it can be applied only to round-robin ratings: That is, all participants have to rate each other.

Adaptiveness of Self-Enhancement

Taylor and Brown's (1988) claim for the adaptiveness of self-enhancement ("positive illusions") was supported by research such as the Brown (1986) study: He showed that individuals who claimed to be above average across a wide variety of traits also scored high on a standard self-esteem scale. A number of subsequent studies have shown the same pattern of adaptive outcomes (e.g., Campbell et al., 2002; Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro, & Rusbult, 2004).

The Taylor-Brown proposition conflicted directly with traditional conceptions of mental health that emphasize the importance of perceiving oneself accurately (e.g., Allport, 1960; Jahoda, 1958). Critics of Taylor and Brown have tended to side with the more traditional view. In their comprehensive rebuttal, for example, Colvin and Block (1994) disputed both the logic and evidence presented for the adaptive value of self-enhancement. They acknowledged that positive illusions might be helpful in mood regulation and, therefore, might provide temporary relief from negative affect. Unacceptable to these critics was the notion that self-enhancement had sustained benefits.

To dispute the putative evidence, critics cited several specific faults with many of the

studies cited by Taylor and Brown (1988). First was their use of the social comparison operationalization, which lacks a reality criterion against which the validity of the self-descriptions can be evaluated (Robins & John, 1997b).

Critics also pointed to the problem of using self-report outcomes when studying self-report predictors. If individual differences in self-favorability bias contaminate both the predictor and outcome, this common method variance would induce an artifactual positive correlation (Colvin & Block, 1994). For that reason, many critics have insisted that adaptiveness criteria be independent external measures, such as peer-rated adjustment (Paulhus, 1998a), expert ratings of adjustment (Colvin et al., 1995; Robins & John, 1997b), or school grades (Gramzow, Elliot, Asher, & McGregor, 2003; Robins & Beer, 2001).

Finally, a combination of the above two problems introduces an artifactual association even when hard outcome measures are used. If self-enhancement is operationalized by self-report (e.g., the social comparison index), then high scores represent a composite of true positive traits. But positive traits are known to yield objectively better life outcomes, including good adjustment (Block, 2002; Colvin & Block, 1994).

Such criticism led many researchers to turn to the criterion-discrepancy operationalization of self-enhancement.⁵ When external criteria were used to evaluate outcomes, discrepancy measures of self-enhancement showed long-term maladaptive outcomes (e.g., Colvin et al., 1995; John & Robins, 1994; Paulhus, 1998a; Robins & Beer, 2001; Shedler et al., 1993). It is worth reviewing the key studies reported by critics.

Key Studies

The first empirical response to Taylor and Brown (1988) was the John and Robins (1994) study of performance in a group task. Each participant's self-rated performance was compared against two criterion measures: (1) others' ratings of the target's performance and (2) a concrete measure of success (money earned in the group exercise). The discrepancy between self-ratings and the two criterion measures provided

concrete indicators of self-enhancement. Results showed that higher scores on both indicators were negatively associated with ratings of adjustment by 11 trained psychologists.

Colvin and colleagues (1995) went further to conduct two longitudinal studies and a laboratory study. They assessed self-enhancement by comparing participants' self-evaluations with trained examiners' assessments of their personalities. Self-enhancement scores were then correlated with evaluations of adjustment from another set of trained observers. Results of their longitudinal studies showed that self-enhancement was associated with poor social skills and psychological maladjustment 5 years before and 5 years after the assessment of self-enhancement. The laboratory study showed that, in a confrontational situation, self-enhancers were rated negatively by both expert raters and peers.

Even with the discrepancy operationalization, however, the outcomes of self-enhancement are not uniformly negative. For example, Paulhus (1998a) investigated reactions to self-enhancers in two longitudinal studies where small groups met weekly for a total of 7 weeks. Results showed that, although high self-enhancers were initially perceived favorably, those perceptions became more and more negative over time. Paulhus concluded that self-enhancing tendencies were a "mixed blessing" (p. 1207).

This mixed blessing was also evident in later research reported by Robins and Beer (2001). In two studies, they showed that self-enhancing tendencies had short-term affective benefits. However, long-term damage was wrought to self-esteem and academic engagement as disconfirmation of overly positive self-assessments became evident. On objective indicators of academic performance, self-enhancement failed to predict higher academic performance or higher graduation rates. Gramzow and colleagues (2002) also used college grades as the outcome criterion. In two studies, higher discrepancies between reported and actual grade-point average (GPA) predicted poorer grades in the current course. Even with concrete behavioral criteria, then, the research seems to dispute claims that self-enhancement has any long-term adaptive outcomes.

Further Developments

Taylor and Brown (1994) responded to the critiques while holding fast to the original claim that self-enhancement is adaptive. Taylor and Armor (1996), however, clarified that position in two important ways. First, they explained that self-enhancement should be viewed not as a trait but as an adaptive strategy to be applied when needed. They also disputed the critique of using self-report self-esteem scales as criteria for adjustment: They argued that self-esteem is an inherent component of good psychological adjustment. Moreover, feeling good about oneself can only be measured via self-report.

In their most recent response, Taylor and her colleagues presented data indicating that (even) trait self-enhancement is adaptive (Taylor et al., 2003). That study was impressive in its breadth of operationalizations of self-enhancement—including the method favored by many critics, that is, self-criterion discrepancy. The criteria for adaptiveness included peer- and clinician-rated mental health. In support of the Taylor–Brown proposition, even the discrepancy operationalization seemed to show adaptive external correlates.

However, details of their method and results suggest that their conclusion should be regarded with some caution. Their discrepancy measure, for example, showed no significant associations with independently measured outcomes (e.g., clinician ratings and peer-judged mental health): All significant correlates were contaminated with self-report method variance. Moreover, the self-peer discrepancy measure employed a single peer rating, which is unlikely to be reliable. Other studies have used three or more raters (e.g., Colvin & Block, 1995; John & Robins, 1994; Paulhus, 1998a). In short, the measure that Taylor and colleagues treated as a discrepancy measure was ultimately another self-report of positive traits. Predictably, it showed adaptive external correlates—even when the latter were measured by valid external criteria.

However, support for the Taylor–Brown proposition can be found in research from other sources. In a field study of Bosnian war refugees, Bonanno and colleagues (2002) were able to measure discrepancy self-enhancement as well as clinician ratings

of adjustment. Self-enhancers were rated as better adjusted. The extreme adversity of the situation makes this study unique among those using a discrepancy measure of self-enhancement.

Direct Competition

Only two studies have provided a head-to-head comparison of the adaptive value of self-enhancement operationalizations. Kwan and her colleagues compared three operationalizations (Kwan et al., 2004). In addition to the social comparison and discrepancy methods, they used their new technique described earlier. Results indicated that both the discrepancy measure and their novel measure were negatively related to task performance—the only objective outcome included in the study. The social comparison measure failed to predict the outcome.

Another head-to-head comparison of the social comparison and criterion-discrepancy methods expanded the outcomes to include four different measures of psychological adjustment (Kurt & Paulhus, 2008). Results showed that, in the same sample, social comparison had positive associations, and discrepancy measures had negative associations with externally evaluated adjustment—except self-rated self-esteem.

In sum, the literature indicates that the criterion-discrepancy measure is more valid than the social comparison method for tapping chronic self-enhancement. Based on research with the more valid measure, we conclude that chronic self-enhancement is linked to maladaptive attributes. The jury is still out on the direction of causation.

Three exceptions are noteworthy. One is that chronic self-enhancement may promote intrapsychic forms of adjustment, for example, self-esteem and happiness. Second is that self-enhancement may promote short-term interpersonal adjustment in the sense of engagement with strangers. Third, self-enhancement may pay off in traumatized samples (e.g., refugee victims), where formidable self-confidence is required for psychological survival.

In sum, no simple conclusion can be drawn regarding the Taylor–Brown claim for the adaptiveness of self-enhancement. In retrospect, this complexity is not surprising: It simply reaffirms the inherent difficulty of de-

fining psychological adjustment (Asendorpf & Ostendorf, 1998; Paulhus, Fridhandler, & Hayes, 1997; Scott, 1968).

The Structure of Self-Enhancement

Although typically unspoken, the assumption in most research on self-enhancement is that the tendency generalizes across domains. It is assumed that respondents who self-enhance in one domain (e.g., their competence) also self-enhance in other domains. Paulhus and John (1998) challenged that assumption by asking “How many types of self-enhancement are there?”

Based on the evidence favoring the criterion-discrepancy method, Paulhus and John (1998) chose it as the unit of bias measurement. For each personality variable, a comparison was made between self-ratings and a more objective criterion, namely, ratings by knowledgeable peers (i.e., friends, family). In the case of intelligence, IQ scores were used as a criterion. Each self-rating was regressed on its corresponding peer rating to create a residual score representing the departure of the self-rating from reality. Factor analysis of a comprehensive set of personality variables was used to uncover the structure of self-enhancement.

Using the Big Five dimensions of personality plus intelligence to represent personality space, our factor analyses of residuals revealed a dimensionality smaller than the 5-D of either self- or peer ratings. The first two factors appeared as in Figure 19.4. Factor 1 was marked by the Extraversion and Openness residuals whereas Factor 2 was marked

by the Agreeableness and Dutifulness residuals.⁶ Clearly, the structure of bias bears little resemblance to the standard Big Five structure. Instead, self-enhancement is organized in terms of agency and communion.

Several replication studies have helped to clarify the meaning of the bias factors through the addition of a wide variety of marker measures. These included traditional measures of SDR (BIDR, Marlowe–Crowne scale) as well as related measures of self-enhancement (e.g., Narcissistic Personality Inventory). The additions allowed us to project a variety of bias and personality measures onto the two bias factors.

Results showed a striking match with the SDR factors detailed in the third section of this chapter. SDE and narcissism projected onto the Agentic factor. Projections onto the Communal factor were strong for the Impression Management and Denial scales but weaker for Eysenck’s Lie scale, the MMPI Lie scale, and the Marlowe–Crowne scale (Paulhus, 2002).

Another correspondence is informative: Positive Valence and Negative Valence (Benet-Martínez & Waller, 1997). Specifically, Positive Valence projected most clearly onto the Agentic factor, whereas Negative Valence projected onto the Communal factor. This correspondence adds to the construct validity of these two self-enhancement factors. Agentic self-enhancement concerns positive assets: People individuate by promoting their achievements. Communal self-enhancement concerns negative attributes: People submerge themselves in their groups by minimizing their social deviance.

Summary

Once again, our two-level framework has proved fruitful. The same Agentic and Communal self-presentation factors found in SDR have been recapitulated via the novel residual factoring method. This finding is noteworthy because the latter technique requires only personality content measures. In fact, there is no overlap whatsoever in the two methodologies. The convergence of results across the two techniques adds substantial credibility to both methods of factoring self-presentation. The interpretation of the self-enhancement factors becomes clearer,⁷ and SDR factors gain more credibility as in-

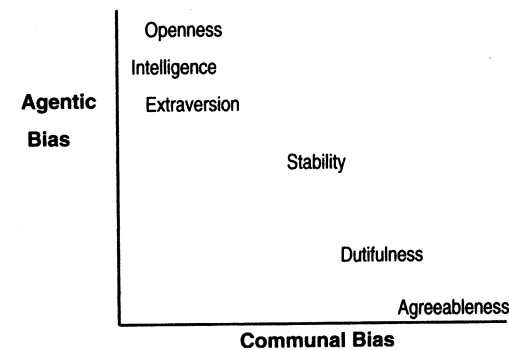


FIGURE 19.4. Structure of personality residuals.

dicators of departure from reality. That is, high scores on both factors involve overly positive self-descriptions.

Since publication of the Paulhus and John (1998) paper, attention to agentic and communal aspects of self-presentation has burgeoned. For example, Campbell and colleague (2002) utilized the distinction to clarify the difference between self-esteem and narcissism. Others have applied it to examining cultural differences in the structure of self-enhancement (Church et al., 2006; Kurman, 2001; Yik, Bond, & Paulhus, 1998). In search of a mechanism, Dijikic, Peterson, and Zelano (2005) found that memory distortion is greater for agentic than for communal self-enhancers. A variety of other self-enhancement behaviors have been shown to depend on the agency-communion distinction (Lonnqvist et al., 2007; Pauls & Stemmler, 2003).

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The vast research on self-presentation is scattered across the literatures on social, clinical, and industrial-organizational psychology as well as personality, per se. Even within the latter, the literature is enormous and disconnected. In this chapter, we have tried to integrate the disconnected units within a two-level model. The first facet turns on the nature of the audience: public versus private. The second facet concerns the content of the image presented: People tend to offer images consistent with some combination of agentic qualities (strong, competent, clever) and communal qualities (cooperative, warm, dutiful).

That two-level model allowed us to organize three domains of research on self-presentation: socially desirable responding, self-enhancement, and, to a lesser extent, underlying cognitive processes. Resonating throughout the chapter is the historical failure of researchers to recognize the complex nature of positivity. Individuals motivated to self-present do not all behave the same way because the definition of positivity has (at least) two interpretations, and different audiences may differentially value those two forms of positivity.

NOTES

1. Abbreviating the term further to "social desirability" leads to misleading characterizations such as "high in social desirability." That terminology should be reserved for labeling individuals who possess desirable attributes.
2. Unfortunately confusion has ensued from the fact that Digman (1997) referred to similar factors as Alpha and Beta.
3. Part of the problem is where to draw the line. The same self-evaluation can be viewed as overestimated, underestimated, or accurate, depending on the choice of observer (Campbell & Fehr, 1990).
4. Although impossible if everyone were referring to the same dimension, individuals tend to define evaluative traits (e.g., intelligence) in idiosyncratic fashion to ensure that they score high (Dunning, 2005). In that sense, everyone can legitimately report being above average.
5. We use the term "discrepancy" to subsume difference scores and residual scores. Rather than an absolute values, we refer to directional values, with higher numbers indicating a self-rating greater than the criterion rating.
6. This result emerged when Conscientiousness was measured as Dutifulness rather than Ambition (Jackson, Paunonen, Fraboni, & Goffin, 1996). Dutifulness is most faithful, conceptually and empirically, to the Communal factor (Wiggins & Trapnell, 1990).
7. This convergence also helps to address allegations that discrepancy methods may be entirely misguided (Griffin, Murray, & Gonzalez, 1999; Zuckerman & Knee, 1996).

REFERENCES

- Abel, A. E., & Wojiscke, B. (2007). Agency and communion from the perspective of self versus others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 751-763.
- Alicke, M. D. (1985). Global self-evaluation as determined by the desirability and controllability of trait adjectives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49*, 1621-1630.
- Alloy, L. B., & Abramson, L. Y. (1979). Judgment of contingency in depressed and nondepressed students: Sadder but wiser? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 108*, 441-485.
- Allport, G. W. (1960). *Personality and social encounter*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Arkin, R. M. (1981). Self-presentational styles. In J. T. Tedeschi (Ed.), *Impression management theory and social psychological research* (pp. 311-333). New York: Academic Press.
- Asendorpf, J. B., & Ostendorf, F. (1998). Is self-

- enhancement healthy?: Conceptual, psychometric, and empirical analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 955-966.
- Baer, R. A., Rinaldo, J. C., & Berry, D. T. R. (2003). Response distortions in self-report assessment. In Rocio Fernández-Ballesteros (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychological assessment* (pp. 319-321). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Baer, R. A., Wetter, M. W., & Berry, D. T. (1992). Detection of underreporting of psychopathology on the MMPI: A meta-analysis. *Clinical Psychology Review, 12*, 509-525.
- Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence: Isolation and communion in Western man*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bauer, J. J., & McAdams, D. P. (2004). Personal growth in adults' stories of life transitions. *Journal of Personality, 72*, 573-602.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1982). A self-presentational view of social phenomena. *Psychological Bulletin, 91*, 3-26.
- Baumeister, R. F., Dale, K., & Sommer, K. L. (1998). Freudian defense mechanisms and empirical findings in modern social psychology: Reaction formation, projection, displacement, undoing, isolation, sublimation, and denial. *Journal of Personality, 66*, 1081-1124.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*, 165-172.
- Benet-Martinez, V., & Waller, N. G. (1997). Further evidence for the cross-cultural generality of the "Big Seven" model: Imported and indigenous Spanish personality constructs. *Journal of Personality, 65*, 567-598.
- Berry, C. M., Page, R. C., & Sackett, P. R. (2007). Effects of self-deceptive enhancement on personality-job performance relationships. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 15*, 94-109.
- Block, J. (1965). *The challenge of response sets*. New York: Century.
- Block, J. (2002). *Personality as an affect-processing system: Toward an integrative theory*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Block, J., & Colvin, R. D. (1994). Do positive illusions foster mental health? Separating fiction from fact. *Psychological Bulletin, 116*, 28.
- Bolino, M. C., & Turnley, W. H. (1999). Measuring impression management in organizations: A scale development based on the Jones and Pittman taxonomy. *Organizational Research Methods, 2*, 187-206.
- Bonanno, G. A., Field, N. P., Kovacevic, A., & Kaltman, S. (2002). Self-enhancement as a buffer against extreme adversity: Civil war in Bosnia and traumatic loss in the United States. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 184-196.
- Borkenau, P. (1990). Traits as ideal-based and goal-derived social categories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 381-396.
- Briggs, S. R., & Cheek, J. M. (1988). On the nature of self-monitoring: Problems with assessment, problems with validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*, 663-678.
- Brown, J. D. (1986). Evaluations of self and others: Self-enhancement biases in social judgments. *Social Cognition, 4*, 353-376.
- Brown, J. D. (1998). *The self*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Buss, A. H. (1980). *Self-consciousness and social anxiety*. San Francisco: Freeman.
- Byrne, D. (1961). The Repression-Sensitization Scale: Rationale, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Personality, 29*, 334-349.
- Campbell, K. W., Rudich, E. A., & Sedikides, C. (2002). Narcissism, self-esteem, and the positivity of self-views: Two portraits of self-love. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 358-365.
- Campbell, J. D., & Fehr, B. A. (1990). Self-esteem and perceptions of conveyed impressions: Is negative affectivity associated with greater realism? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 122-133.
- Cantor, N., & Kihlstrom, J. F. (1987). *Personality and social intelligence*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Carey, J., & Paulhus, D. L. (2008, August). *The structure of self-presentation scales*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Boston.
- Carson, R. C. (1969). *Interaction concepts of personality*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Christie, R., & Geis, F. L. (1970). *Studies in Machiavellianism*. New York: Academic Press.
- Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., del Prado, A. M., Valdez-Medina, J. L., Miramontes, L. G., & Ortiz, F. A. (2006). A cross-cultural study of trait self-enhancement, explanatory variables, and adjustment. *Journal of Research in Personality, 40*, 1169-1201.
- Colvin, C. R., & Block, J. (1994). Do positive illusions foster mental health? An examination of the Taylor and Brown formulation. *Psychological Bulletin, 116*, 3-20.
- Colvin, C. R., Block, J., & Funder, D. C. (1995). Overly positive self-evaluations and personality: Negative implications for mental health. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 1152-1162.
- Costa, P. T., Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (1989). *Manual for the NEO Personality Inventory: Five Factor Inventory/NEO-FFI*. Odessa, FL: PAR.
- Costa, P. T., Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (1992). Four ways five factors are basic. *Personality and Individual Differences, 13*, 653-665.

- Crowne, D. P. (1979). *The experimental study of personality*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1964). *The approval motive*. New York: Wiley.
- De Raad, B., & Van Oudenhoven, J.P. (2008). Factors of values in the Dutch Language and their relationship to factors of personality. *European Journal of Personality*, 22, 81–108.
- DeYoung, C. G., Peterson, Jordan B., & Higgins, D. M. (2002). Higher-order factors of the Big Five predict conformity: Are there neuroses of health? *Personality and Individual Differences*, 33, 533–552.
- Digman, J. M. (1997). Higher-order factors of the Big Five. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 1246–1256.
- Dijkic, M., Peterson, J. B., & Zelazo, P. D. (2005). Attentional biases and memory distortions in self-enhancers. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 38, 559–568.
- Dunning, D. (2005). *Self-insight: Roadblocks and detours on the road to knowing thyself*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Duval, T. S., & Wicklund, R. A. (1972). *A theory of objective self-awareness*. New York: Academic Press.
- Edwards, A. L. (1957). *The social desirability variable in personality assessment and research*. Fort Worth, TX: Dryden Press.
- Edwards, A. L. (1970). *The measurement of personality traits by scales and inventories*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Eysenck, S. B. G., & Eysenck, H. J. (1964). *Manual of the Eysenck Personality Inventory*. London: Stodder & Houghton.
- Fenigstein, A., Scheier, M. F., & Buss, A. H. (1975). Public and private self-consciousness: Assessment and theory. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 43, 522–527.
- Frenkel-Brunswik, E. (1939). Mechanisms of self-deception. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10, 409–420.
- Furnham, A., & Henderson, M. (1982). The good, the bad, and the mad: Response bias in self-report measures. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 3, 311–320.
- Gailliot, M. T., Baumeister, R. F., de Waal, C. N., Maner, J. K., Plant, E. A., Tice, D. M., et al. (2007). Self-control relies on glucose as a limited energy source: Willpower is more than a metaphor. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 325–336.
- Gangestad, S. W., & Snyder, M. (2000). Self-monitoring: Appraisal and reappraisal. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126, 530–555.
- Gilbert, D. T., Pelham, B. W., & Krull, D. S. (1988). On cognitive busyness: When person perceivers meet persons perceived. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 733–739.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Godfrey, D., Jones, E. E., & Lord, C. G. (1986). Self-promotion is not ingratiating. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 106–115.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.
- Gough, H. G. (1957). *Manual for the California Psychological Inventory*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Gramzow, R. H., Elliot, A. J., Asher, E., & McGregor, H. A. (2002). Self-evaluation bias and academic performance: Some ways and some reasons why. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 37, 41–61.
- Griffin, D., Murray, S., & Gonzalez, R. (1999). Difference score correlations in relationship research: A conceptual primer. *Personal Relationships*, 6, 505–518.
- Gur, R. C., & Sackeim, H. A. (1979). Self-deception: A concept in search of a phenomenon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 147–169.
- Hartshorne, H., & May, M. A. (1928). *Studies in deceit*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hathaway, S. R., & McKinley, J. C. (1951). *MMPI manual*. New York: Psychological Corporation.
- Helgeson, V. S., & Fritz, H. L. (1999). Unmitigated agency and unmitigated communion: Distinctions from agency and communion. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 33, 131–158.
- Hinz, A., Brähler, E., Schmidt, P., & Albani, C. (2005). Investigating the circumplex structure of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). *Journal of Individual Differences*, 26, 185–193.
- Hogan, R. (1983). A socioanalytic theory of personality. In M. M. Page (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Vol. 30, pp. 55–89). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Holden, R. R. (2007). Socially desirable responding does moderate personality scale validity both in experimental and nonexperimental contexts. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 39, 184–201.
- Holden, R. R., & Evoy, R. A. (2005). Personality inventory faking: A four-dimensional simulation of dissimulation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 39, 1307–1318.
- Holden, R. R., & Fekken, G. C. (1989). Three common social desirability scales: Friends, acquaintances, or strangers? *Journal of Research in Personality*, 23, 180–191.
- Hoorens, V. (1995). Self-favoring biases, self-presentation, and the self–other asymmetry in social comparison. *Journal of Personality*, 63, 793–817.
- Horowitz, L. M., Wilson, K. R., Turan, B., Zolotsev, P., Constantino, M. J., & Henderson, L. (2006). How interpersonal motives clarify the meaning of interpersonal behavior: A revised circumplex model. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10, 67–86.
- Jackson, D. N., & Messick, S. (1962). Response styles and the measurement of psychopathology. *Psychological Bulletin*, 55, 243–252.
- Jackson, D. N., Paunonen, S. V., Fraboni, M., & Goffin, R. D. (1996). A five-factor versus six-factor model of personality structure. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 20, 33–45.
- Jahoda, M. (1958). *Current concepts of positive mental health*. Oxford, UK: Basic Books.
- John, O. P., Cheek, J. M., & Klohnen, E. C. (1996). On the nature of self-monitoring: Construct explication with Q-sort ratings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 763–776.
- John, O. P., & Robins, R. W. (1994). Accuracy and bias in self-perception: Individual differences in self-enhancement and the role of narcissism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 206–219.
- John, O. P., & Srivastava, S. (1999). The Big Five trait taxonomy: History, measurement, and theoretical perspectives. In L. A. Pervin & O. P. John (Eds.), *Handbook of personality psychology* (pp. 102–139). New York: Guilford Press.
- Johnson, E. A. (1995). Self-deceptive responses to threat: Adaptive only in ambiguous circumstances. *Journal of Personality*, 63, 759–791.
- Johnson, J. A., & Hogan, R. (1981). Moral judgments and self-presentations. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 15, 57–63.
- Jones, E. E., & Pittman, T. S. (1982). Toward a theory of strategic self-presentation. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on the self* (pp. 231–262). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Judd, C. M., James-Hawkins, L., Yzerbyt, V., & Kashima, Y. (2005). Fundamental dimensions of social judgment: Understanding the relations between judgments of competence and warmth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 988–913.
- Kasser, T., Cohn, S., Kanner, A. D., & Ryan, R. M. (2007). Some costs of American corporate capitalism: A psychological exploration of value and goal conflicts. *Psychological Inquiry*, 18, 1–22.
- Kenny, D. A. (1994). *Interpersonal perception: A social relations analysis*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Kiesler, D. J., & Auerbach, S. M. (2003). Integrating measurement of control and affiliation in studies of physician–patient interaction: The interpersonal circumplex. *Social Science and Medicine*, 57(9), 1707–1722.
- Klar, Y., & Giladi, E. E. (1997). “No one in my group can be below the group’s average”: A robust positivity bias in favor of anonymous peers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 885–901.
- Krueger, J. (1998). Enhancement bias in descriptions of self and others. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 505–516.
- Kurman, J. (2001). Self-enhancement: Is it restricted to individualistic cultures? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 1705–1716.
- Kurt, A., & Paulhus, D. L. (2008). Moderators of the adaptive value of self-enhancement: Operationalization, motivational domain, adjustment type, and evaluator. *Journal of Research in Personality*.
- Kwan, V. S. Y., Barrios, V., Ganis, G., Gorman, J., Lange, C., Kumar, M., et al. (2007). Assessing the neural correlates of self-enhancement bias: A transcranial magnetic stimulation study. *Experimental Brain Research*, 182, 379–385.
- Kwan, V. S. Y., John, O. P., Kenny, D. A., Bond, M. H., & Robins, R. W. (2004). Reconceptualizing individual differences in self-enhancement bias: An interpersonal approach. *Psychological Review*, 111, 94–110.
- Laforge, R., Leary, T. F., Naboisek, H., Coffey, H. S., & Freedman, M. B. (1954). The interpersonal dimension of personality: II. An objective study of repression. *Journal of Personality*, 23, 129–153.
- Leary, M. R. (1995). *Self-presentation: Impression management and interpersonal behavior*. Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark.
- Leary, M. R. (2007). Motivational and emotional aspects of the self. *Annual Review*, 58, 317–344.
- Leary, M. R., & Kowalski, R. M. (1990). Impression management: A literature review and two-component model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107, 34–47.
- Leary, M. R., Tchividjian, L. R., & Kraxberger, B. E. (1999). Self-presentation can be hazardous to your health: Impression management and health risk. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *The self in social psychology* (pp. 182–194). New York: Psychology Press.
- Leary, T. (1957). *Interpersonal diagnosis of personality: A functional theory and methodology for personality evaluation*. Oxford, UK: Ronald Press.
- Lee, S.-J., Quigley, B. M., Nesler, M. S., Corbet, A. B., & Tedeschi, J. T. (1999). Development of a self-presentation tactics scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 26, 701–722.
- Lennox, R. D., & Wolfe, R. N. (1984). Revision of the self-monitoring scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 1349–1364.

- Lewinsohn, P. M., Mischel, W., Chaplin, W., & Barton, R. (1980). Social competence and depression: The role of illusory self-perceptions. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 89*, 201-212.
- Locke, K. D. (2000). Circumplex scales of interpersonal values: Reliability, validity, and applicability to interpersonal problems and personality disorders. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 75*, 249-267.
- Lonnqvist, J. E., Verkasalo, M., & Bezmenova, I. (2007). Agentic and communal bias in socially desirable responding. *European Journal of Personality, 21*, 853-868.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*, 224-253.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Culture, self, and the reality of the social. *Psychological Inquiry, 14*, 277-283.
- McAdams, D. P., Hoffman, B. J., Mansfield, E. D., & Day, R. (1996). Themes of agency and communion in significant autobiographical scenes. *Journal of Personality, 64*, 339-377.
- McCrae, R. R. (1994). New goals for trait psychology. *Psychological Inquiry, 5*, 48-153.
- McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T., Jr. (1983). Social desirability scales: More substance than style. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 51*, 882-888.
- McCrae, R. R., Jang, K. L., Livesley, W. J., Riemann, R., & Angleitner, A. (2001). Sources of structure: Genetic, environmental, and artifactual influences on the covariation of personality traits. *Journal of Personality, 69*, 511-535.
- McMullen, L. M., & Conway, J. B. (1997). Dominance and nurturance in the narratives told by clients in psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy Research, 7*, 83-99.
- Messick, S. (1960). Dimensions of social desirability. *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 24*, 279-287.
- Milholland, J. E. (1964). Theory and techniques of assessment. *Annual Review of Psychology, 15*, 311-346.
- Millham, J. (1974). Two components of need for approval score and their relationship to cheating following success and failure. *Journal of Research in Personality, 8*, 378-392.
- Millham, J., & Jacobson, L. I. (1978). The need for approval. In H. London & J. E. Exner (Eds.), *Dimensions of personality* (pp. 365-390). New York: Wiley.
- Morf, C. C., & Rhodewalt, F. (2001). Unraveling the paradoxes of narcissism: A dynamic self-regulatory processing model. *Psychological Inquiry, 12*, 177-196.
- Moskowitz, D. S., & Zuroff, D. C. (2004). Flux, pulse, and spin: Dynamic additions to the personality lexicon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86*, 880-893.
- Nichols, D. S., & Greene, R. L. (1997). Dimensions of deception in personality assessment: The example of the MMPI-2. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 68*, 251-266.
- Otter, Z., & Egan, V. (2007). The evolutionary role of self-deceptive enhancement as a protective factor against antisocial cognitions. *Personality and Individual Differences, 43*, 2258-2269.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1984). Two-component models of socially desirable responding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46*, 598-609.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1986). Self-deception and impression management in test responses. In A. Angleitner & J. S. Wiggins (Eds.), *Personality assessment via questionnaire* (pp. 143-165). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1991). Measurement and control of response bias. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes* (pp. 17-60). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1994, August). *The multiplicity of meanings of social desirability*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1995). Bypassing the will: The automatization of affirmations. In D. W. Wegner & J. W. Pennebaker (Eds.), *Handbook of mental control* (pp. 573-587). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1998a). Interpersonal and intrapsychic adaptiveness of trait self-enhancement: A mixed blessing? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1197-1208.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1998b). *Manual for Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR-7)*. Toronto: Multi-Health Systems.
- Paulhus, D. L. (2002). Socially desirable responding: The evolution of a construct. In H. Braun, D. N. Jackson, & D. E. Wiley (Eds.), *The role of constructs in psychological and educational measurement* (pp. 67-88). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Paulhus, D. L. (2005, August). *The Comprehensive Inventory of Desirable Responding*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Memphis, TN.
- Paulhus, D. L., Bruce, M. N., & Trapnell, P. D. (1995). Effects of self-presentation strategies on personality profiles and structure. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21*, 100-108.
- Paulhus, D. L., Fridhandler, B., & Hayes, S. (1997). Psychological defense: Contemporary theory and research. In R. Hogan, J. A. Johnson, & S. R. Briggs (Eds.), *Handbook of personality psychology* (pp. 543-579). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Paulhus, D. L., Graf, P., & Van Selst, M. (1989). Attentional load increases the positivity of self-presentation. *Social Cognition, 7*, 389-400.
- Paulhus, D. L., Harms, P. D., Bruce, M. N., & Lysy, D. C. (2003). The over-claiming technique: Measuring self-enhancement independent of ability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 681-693.
- Paulhus, D. L., & John, O. P. (1998). Egoistic and moralistic biases in self-perception: The interplay of self-deceptive styles with basic traits and motives. *Journal of Personality, 66*, 1025-1060.
- Paulhus, D. L., & Levitt, K. (1987). Desirable responding triggered by affect: Automatic egotism? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52*, 245-259.
- Paulhus, D. L., & Martin, C. L. (1988). Functional flexibility: A new conception of interpersonal flexibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55*, 88-101.
- Paulhus, D. L., Nathanson, C., & Lau, K. (2006). *Cheating on practice tests: A matter of self-deception?* Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Paulhus, D. L., & Reid, D. B. (1991). Enhancement and denial in social desirable responding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60*, 307-317.
- Paulhus, D. L., Tanchuk, T., & Wehr, P. (1999, August). *Value-based faking on personality questionnaires: Agency and communion rule*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Boston.
- Paulhus, D. L., & Vazire, S. (2007). The self-report method. In R. W. Robins, R. C. Fraley, & R. F. Krueger (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in personality psychology* (pp. 224-239). New York: Guilford Press.
- Paulhus, D. L., & Williams, K. M. (2002). The dark triad of personality: Narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy. *Journal of Research in Personality, 36*, 556-563.
- Pauls, C. A., & Stemmler, G. (2003). Substance and bias in social desirability responding. *Personality and Individual Differences, 35*, 263-275.
- Peabody, D. (1984). Personality dimensions through trait inferences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46*, 384-403.
- Pervin, L. A. (1994). A critical analysis of current trait theory. *Psychological Inquiry, 5*, 103-113.
- Phalet, K., & Poppe, E. (1997). Competence and morality dimensions of national and ethnic stereotypes: A study in six Eastern-European countries. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 27*, 703-723.
- Pincus, A. L., Gurtman, M. B., & Ruiz, M. A. (1998). Structural analysis of social behavior (SASB): Circumplex analyses and structural relations with the interpersonal circle and the five-factor model of personality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1629-1645.
- Quattrone, G. A., & Tversky, A. (1984). Causal versus diagnostic contingencies: On self-deception and on the voter's illusion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46*(2), 237-248.
- Read, S. J., Jones, D. K., & Miller, L. C. (1990). Traits as goal-based categories: The importance of goals in the coherence of dispositional categories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 1048-1061.
- Richman, W. L., Weisband, S., Kiesler, S., & Drasgow, F. (1999). A meta-analytic study of social desirability response distortion in computer-administered and traditional questionnaires and interviews. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 84*, 754-775.
- Roberts, B. W., & Robins, R. W. (2000). Broad dispositions, broad aspirations: The intersection of personality traits and life goals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*, 1284-1296.
- Robins, R. W., & Beer, J. S. (2001). Positive illusions about the self: Short-term benefits and long-term costs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80*, 340-352.
- Robins, R. W., & John, O. P. (1997a). Effects of visual perspective and narcissism on self-perception: Is seeing believing? *Psychological Science, 8*, 37-42.
- Robins, R. W., & John, O. P. (1997b). The quest for self-insight: Theory and research on the accuracy of self-perceptions. In R. Hogan, J. Johnson, & S. R. Briggs (Eds.), *Handbook of personality psychology* (pp. 649-679). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Rogers, T. B. (1974). An analysis of two central stages underlying responding to personality items: The self-referent decision and response selection. *Journal of Research in Personality, 8*, 128-138.
- Rosenfeld, P., Giacalone, R. A., & Riordan, C. A. (1995). *Impression management in organizations: Theory, measurement, practice*. London: Routledge.
- Rosse, J. G., Stecher, M. D., Miller, J. L., & Levin, R. A. (1998). The impact of response distortion on preemployment personality testing and hiring decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 83*, 634-644.
- Rowatt, W. C., Cunningham, M. R., & Druen, P. B. (1998). Deception to get a date. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24*, 1228-1242.
- Sackeim, H. A., & Gur, R. C. (1978). Self-deception, self-confrontation, and conscious-

- ness. In G. E. Schwartz & D. Shapiro (Eds.), *Consciousness and self-regulation: Advances in research* (Vol. 2, pp. 139–197). New York: Plenum Press.
- Saucier, G. (1994). Separating description and evaluation in the structure of personality attributes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 141–154.
- Saucier, G., & Goldberg, L. R. (2001). Lexical studies of indigenous personality factors: Premises, products, and prospects. *Journal of Personality*, 69, 847–879.
- Schlenker, B. R. (1980). *Impression management: The self-concept, social identity, and interpersonal relationships*. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.
- Schlenker, B. R., Britt, T. W., & Pennington, J. W. (1996). Impression regulation and management: A theory of self-identification. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Vol. 3. The interpersonal context* (pp. 118–147). New York: Guilford Press.
- Schlenker, B. R., & Weigold, M. F. (1990). Self-consciousness and self-presentation: Being autonomous versus appearing autonomous. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 820–828.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1–66). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Scott, W. A. (1968). Concepts of normality. In E. F. Borgatta & W. W. Lambert (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*. Chicago: Rand-McNally.
- Sedikides, C., Rudich, E. A., Gregg, A. P., Kumashiro, M., & Rusbul, C. (2004). Are normal narcissists psychologically healthy?: Self-esteem matters. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 400–416.
- Sedikides, C., & Strube, M. J. (1997). Self-evaluation: To thine own self be good, to thine own self be sure, to thine own self be true, and to thine own self be better. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 29, pp. 209–269). New York: Academic Press.
- Shedler, J., Mayman, M., & Manis, M. (1993). The illusion of mental health. *American Psychologist*, 48, 1117–1131.
- Shepperd, J. A., & Kwavnick, K. D. (1999). Maladaptive image maintenance. In R. M. Kowalski & M. R. Leary (Eds.), *The social psychology of emotional and behavioral problems: Interfaces of social and clinical psychology* (pp. 249–277). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Sherry, S. B., Hewitt, P. L., Flett, G. L., Lee-Bagley, D. L., & Hall, P. A. (2007). Trait perfectionism and perfectionistic self-presentation in personality pathology. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 42, 477–490.
- Sinha, R. R., & Krueger, J. (1998). Idiographic self-evaluation and bias. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 32, 131–155.
- Snyder, M. (1974). Self-monitoring of expressive behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 30, 526–537.
- Spence, J. T. (1984). Masculinity, femininity, and gender-related traits: A conceptual analysis and critique of current research. *Progress in Experimental Personality Research*, 13, 1–97.
- Sullivan, H. S. (1953). *The interpersonal theory of psychiatry*. New York: Norton.
- Swann, W. B. J. (1990). To be adored or to be known? The interplay of self-enhancement and self-verification. In E. T. Higgins & R. M. Sorrentino (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (Vol. 2, pp. 408–448). New York: Guilford Press.
- Taylor, S. E., & Armor, D. A. (1996). Positive illusions and coping with adversity. *Journal of Personality*, 64, 873–898.
- Taylor, S. E., & Brown, J. D. (1988). Illusion and well-being: A social psychological perspective on mental health. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103, 193–210.
- Taylor, S. E., & Brown, J. D. (1994). Positive illusions and well-being revisited: Separating fact from fiction. *Psychological Bulletin*, 116, 21–27.
- Taylor, S. E., Lerner, J. S., Sherman, D. K., Sage, R. M., & McDowell, N. K. (2003). Portrait of the self-enhancer: Well adjusted and well liked or maladjusted and friendless? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 165–176.
- Tice, D. M., Butler, J. L., Muraven, M. B., & Stillwell, A. M. (1995). When modesty prevails: Differential favorability of self-presentation to friends and stranger. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 1120–1138.
- Trapnell, P. D., & Paulhus, D. L. (in press). Agentic and communal values: Their scope and measurement. *Journal of Personality Assessment*.
- Trapnell, P. D., & Wiggins, J. S. (1990). Extension of the Interpersonal Adjective Scales to include the Big Five dimensions of personality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 781–790.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, 96, 506–520.
- Vazire, S. (2006). Informant reports: A cheap, fast, and easy method for personality assessment. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 40, 472–481.
- Vohs, K. D., Baumeister, R. F., & Ciarocco, N. J. (2005). Self-regulation and self-presentation: Regulatory resource depletion impairs impression management and effortful self-presentation depletes regulatory resources. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 632–657.
- Watson, D., & Friend, R. (1969). Measurement of social-evaluative anxiety. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 33, 448–457.
- Weinberger, J., & Silverman, L. H. (1990). Testability and empirical verification of psychoanalytic dynamic propositions through subliminal activation. *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, 7, 299–339.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1959). Interrelationships among MMPI measures of dissimulation under standard and social desirability instructions. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 23, 419–427.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1964). Convergence among stylistic response measures from objective personality tests. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 24, 551–562.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1991). Agency and communion as conceptual coordinates for the understanding and measurement of interpersonal behavior. In D. Cicchetti & W. M. Grove (Eds.), *Thinking clearly about psychology: Essays in honor of Paul E. Meehl, Vol. 2. Personality and psychopathology* (pp. 89–113). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wiggins, J. S., & Holzmuller, A. (1978). Psychological androgyny and interpersonal behavior. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 46, 40–52.
- Wiggins, J. S., & Trapnell, P. D. (1996). A dyadic-interactional perspective on the five-factor model. In J. S. Wiggins (Ed.), *The five-factor model of personality* (pp. 88–162). New York: Guilford Press.
- Winter, D. G., John, O. P., Stewart, A. J., Klohnen, E. C., & Duncan, L. E. (1998). Traits and motives: Toward an integration of two traditions in personality research. *Psychological Review*, 105, 230–250.
- Woike, B. A., Gershkovich, I., Piorkowski, R., & Polo, M. (1999). The role of motives in the content and structure of autobiographical memory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76, 600–612.
- Yik, M. S. M., Bond, M. H., & Paulhus, D. L. (1998). Do Chinese self-enhance or self-efface? It's a matter of domain. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 399–406.
- Zuckerman, M., & Knee, C. R. (1996). A comment on Colvin, Block, and Funder (1995). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 1250–1251.