

CREATIVE AND ENTITLED: HOW THE CREATIVE IDENTITY ENTITLES
DISHONEST BEHAVIORS

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CREATIVE AND ENTITLED:
HOW THE CREATIVE IDENTITY ENTITLES DISHONEST BEHAVIORS

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This dissertation demonstrates how a salient self-concept as a creative individual promotes dishonest behavior. Specifically, I show that the creative identity increases a sense of entitlement, which, in turn, increases dishonesty. In study 1, participants primed with a creative identity compared to a logical identity reported higher levels of psychological entitlement. In study 2, participants primed with a creative identity engaged in greater dishonesty than participants primed with a logical identity. This effect and the association with psychological entitlement became stronger when participants were more self-aware. Self-awareness also increased individuals with creative identities' sense of entitlement. Study 3 directly examined entitlement as a potential mechanism that may explain the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty. A sense of entitlement was manipulated directly, and the results indicated that creative identity did not increase dishonesty when entitlement was low, suggesting that the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty functions through psychological entitlement. In study 4, rebelliousness was tested as an alternative mechanism; however, the results indicated that rebelliousness is not the mechanism for the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty. Finally,

in study 5, how other individuals perceive individuals with a creative identity is explored. The results indicate that individuals expect individuals with a creative identity to be entitled, rebellious, and less moral; however, despite these negative associations, evaluators are more lenient on individuals with a creative identity after a dishonest behavior. Therefore, the costs of the creative identity are two-fold. First, individuals with a creative identity are more dishonest. However, the second more insidious cost is that other individuals are more accepting of that dishonesty. Understanding this connection may allow organizations to receive the benefits associated with the creative identity without incurring the costs of increased dishonesty.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lynne C. Vincent is a candidate for Doctor of Philosophy degree in Organizational Behavior at the Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations. She has completed her Bachelor of Science in Industrial and Labor Relations and Master of Science in Organizational Behavior at the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Her research explores the relationships among creativity, morality, and ethics. Her research has been published in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General and Psychological Science*.

For Jami, my husband, and Cate and Jim, my parents.

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CHAPTER 1
HOW THE CREATIVE IDENTITY ENTITLES DISHONESTY

We (creative individuals) have “different rights, different values than do normal, ordinary people because we have different needs which put us — it has to be said and you must believe it — above their moral standards.”

– Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920)

The Dark Side of the Creative Identity

As work becomes increasingly central in peoples’ lives, work identities are becoming an important source of meaning and self-definition (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Carlsen, 2008; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). The importance of the work identity is apparent in common small talk when individuals meet. After asking for a name and a “how are you,” one of the most common questions is “So, what do you do?” In this way, what we do at work is an important definition for the self even in social encounters outside of work. A positive work identity can provide individuals with the emotional and mental resources to handle stress and other difficulties (Hobfoll, 1989), can increase learning (Ely & Thomas, 2001), and can increase willingness and ability to adapt to new work environments (Beyer & Hannah, 2002). An employee’s work identity can even motivate helping behaviors that support the organization’s success, which, in turn, can promote employee job satisfaction and experienced meaningfulness at work (Wrzesniewski, Dutton, & Debebe, 2003).

Given the power of work identities for shaping performance outcomes, it is not

surprising that recent research has begun to explore the possibility that work identities can also motivate creative behavior. Organizations operate in an increasingly uncertain and changing world. Competition on the domestic and international fronts is intense, and organizations must create new products, strategies, services, and methods for maneuvering the changing environment. As a result, organizations are recognizing the value of employees' creativity as a way to innovate and maintain a competitive advantage (Thompson, 2003).

The creative identity (Farmer, Tierney, & Kung-McIntyre, 2003; Jaussi et al., 2007) is the overall importance a person places on being creative as part of his or her self-definition (Jaussi et al., 2007). Consistent with other important social or personal identities (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000), the creative identity can contribute to a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby individuals who see themselves as creative are motivated to engage in behaviors that support that positive self-concept as a creative individual (Petkus, 1996). Interestingly, these behaviors may include objectively creative behaviors such as generating new ideas (Jaussi et al., 2007) but they may also include behavior that the individual may associate with creativity but may not always facilitate creative performance (Petkus, 1996; Wells, 1978). It is the latter possibility that is the focus of this dissertation.

In this dissertation, I delve into the dark side of the creative identity. Although there is emerging evidence that a creative identity can motivate creative achievement, I argue that identifying oneself as creative might also cause individuals to develop an exaggerated sense of entitlement stemming from that fact that creativity is typically viewed as a rare and valuable attribute (Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, &

Bushman, 2004). The consequences of entitlement may be wide ranging and potentially damaging. Here I focus specifically on dishonesty and argue that a strong sense of entitlement will lead to dishonest behavior because individuals feel that they justly deserve more than others and are willing to engage in unethical behaviors to gain those rewards. Given the increasing importance of creativity within organizations and the costs of dishonesty for organizations, understanding why individuals with creative identities are prone to dishonesty could be crucial for organizations that desire creative performance. By understanding the psychological consequences of a creative identity, both positive and negative, managers may be able to strengthen employees' creative identities without incurring the costs.

The Creativity Identity: Antecedents and Consequences

Existing research has viewed creativity primarily as a cognitive ability or a personality trait (see Hennessy & Amabile, 2010 for a review). Creativity as a self-concept is a newer construct that only has emerged recently. As such, the creative identity holds a great deal of promise, but it is not yet well understood.

In general, a salient identity provides an individual with a frame of reference that allows them to evaluate how their actions fit with social expectations (Wells, 1978). For example, in a study on bicultural Asian Americans, the saliency of different roles or aspects of their identities caused individuals' behaviors to change (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet- Martínez, 2000). When Asian Americans' Asian identity was activated (through exposure to Asian primes), individuals exhibited characteristically Western behaviors when primed with Western cultural cues (e.g., making more personal than situational attributions) and characteristically East Asian behaviors when

primed with East Asian cues (e.g., making more situational than personal attributions; Hong et al., 2000). Thus, when a particular identity is salient, individuals will enact what they perceived to be the behavioral expectations they believe are consistent with the role. This psychological process may extend beyond culture to a wide range of roles such as a teacher, doctor, leader, or friend (Burke, 1991; Burke & Tully, 1977; McCall & Simmons, 1966; Stryker, 1968).

Individuals are motivated to align their behavior with role expectations as a way of protecting a positive self view and projecting that view to others. Role consistent behaviors serve to verify, support and validate that individual's perceived role identity (McCall & Simmons, 1966; Riley & Burke, 1995). This is particularly true of valued identities (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Farmer et al., 2003). Thus when a role identity is no longer positive, role consistent behaviors will be avoided so as to maintain a positive self-image (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Farmer et al., 2003). In other words, individuals maintain a valued identity by actively engaging in behaviors that support and maintain it (Petkus, 1996). In this way, identity motivates action.

In theory, the creative identity should operate through a similar process. Individuals may derive considerable positive meaning and value from a salient self view as a creative person (Lemons, 2010; Petkus, 1996). Therefore, individuals with creative identities will engage in behaviors that they view as creative (Petkus, 1996) in order to maintain and protect this highly positive self view (Fisher, 1997; Petkus, 1996). For these individuals, creativity represents a central part of "who they are" (Farmer et al., 2003).

Like other identities, the creative identity may be more salient in some

situations than in others (Farmer et al., 2003). Creativity relevant norms (Ford, 1996), supervisors' expectations (Scott & Bruce, 1994), and coworker support and interaction (Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby, & Herron, 1996; Zhou & George, 2001) can cause an individual's creative identity to move to the fore. An identity provides a set of internalized expectations for behaviors. As normative expectations of important "social others" are a major source of an individual's self-concept through reflexivity, or seeing oneself through such expectations, others' expectations can cause an identity to develop (e.g., Callero, Howard, & Piliavin, 1987) and cause individuals to engage in behaviors that support that identity (Ford, 1996). For example, in a study of Taiwanese employees, Farmer and colleagues (2003) demonstrated that when employees perceived that coworkers expected them to be creative, their role identities as creative employees were stronger. Similar to the way other valued role identities are maintained, individuals may engage in behaviors that they perceive as creative in order to preserve and affirm a positive self-image as a creative individual (Farmer et al., 2003; Jaussi et al., 2007; Lemons, 2010; Petkus, 1996)

What is particularly intriguing, however, is the way in which a creative identity differs from creative ability. That is, merely having a creative identity does not necessarily guarantee that an individual is objectively more creative than others (Lemons, 2010). An individual can have a creative identity without having pronounced creative ability. Rather, the creative identity merely provides the motivation to engage in behaviors that are viewed as creative (Petkus, 1996). As such, individuals with creative identities are more likely to engage in creative behaviors at work (Jaussi et al., 2007). Jaussi and colleagues argue that the creative identity

motivates individuals to consistently engage in creative behaviors because creativity is fundamental to his or her self-definition. Those individuals want to be creative and will engage in behaviors to support that positive self-image. While individuals with creative identities tend to have some creative ability (Lemons, 2010) and believe that they can be effectively creative (Jaussi et al., 2007), possessing a creative identity helps to explain why individuals seek out opportunities to be creative beyond creative ability and creative self-efficacy (Jaussi et al., 2007).

There is a great deal of room for error, however, if the creative identity includes behaviors that are stereotypically associated with creative individuals but do not necessarily contribute to creative performance. Indeed there is the rather perverse possibility that individuals may attempt to support a creative identity by enacting behaviors that may in fact impede the creative process or even have unintended negative consequences for other performance outcomes. I consider this intriguing possibility in the next section.

The Creative Identity and Psychological Entitlement

Building and strengthening a creative personal identity is a promising avenue through which organizations can stimulate creative performance (Farmer et al, 2003). The logic behind this assertion is that because the creative identity is valuable, people will be motivated to maintain this self-image by actively seeking out opportunities to demonstrate creative achievement (Jaussi et al., 2007; Petkus, 1996). It may be premature to adopt this optimistic view, however, before we have a comprehensive understanding of the repertoire of behaviors that people may associate with the creative identity. The characteristics associated with creative people range from social

desirable to social negative and may include the tendency to be self-interested, independent, non-conforming and unconventional (Gough, 1979; Feist, 1998). Creative people are expected to be confident risk takers that defy the status quo to move the group in a new direction. Thus, they may be viewed as exceptional and given wide latitude to deviate from expectations. It is telling that a recent national survey of CEOs conducted in the United States showed that creativity is the most desired trait in an effective leader (Mueller, Goncalo & Kamdar, 2010). In many organizations, creative ideas are viewed as an important source of competitive advantage, and in society more generally, creativity is heralded as an engine of progress. Creative individuals are rewarded with resources, status and recognition while their less creative counterparts work in their shadows (Audia & Goncalo, 2007).

Individuals who are seen as creative can receive more freedom because of this reputation (Baucus, Norton, Baucus, & Human, 2008). For example, technological innovator Steve Jobs had a habit of parking his Mercedes in handicap parking spots and driving his Mercedes without a license plate (Isaacson, 2011). His biographer Isaacson noted that “I think he felt the normal rules just shouldn't apply to him” (Messick, 2011). By the virtue of their creativity, creative individuals are allowed to transgress society's norms, and, at times, they are lauded for it. This leniency is commonly seen in organizations that value creativity. Baucus, Norton, Baucus and Human (2008) reviewed the four most common prescriptions of how organizations promote creativity, which include: (1) breaking the rules or avoiding standard approaches to problems; (2) challenging authority and avoiding traditions; (3) welcoming conflict; and (4) taking risks. Such leniency may inadvertently signal that

creative people are unique and deserve special treatment.

The extreme value placed on creative achievement may shape the way people experience and enact the creative identity. Viewing oneself as a creative individual may, in addition to fueling a sense of uniqueness, also generate a heightened sense of entitlement based on the belief that, as a creative individual, one is contributing something of great value and importance (Goncalo, Flynn, & Kim, 2010).

***Hypothesis 1:** Individuals with creative identities will report having a greater sense of entitlement than individuals with non-creative identities.*

How the Creative Identity Entitles Dishonesty

In the last section, I argued that a salient creative identity could trigger a sense of entitlement which may be particularly strong in contexts that value creative ideas. It is true that individuals may be fairly entitled to a certain outcome based on their contributions. However, psychological entitlement refers to a person who believes that they are consistently owed more than others who have made similar contributions. In other words, it is a belief that one deserves special, preferential treatment. Entitled individuals “prefer being treated as special or unique in social settings” (Snow, Kern, & Curlette, 2001: 104) and expect outcomes and events to “go their way” (p. 106).

Psychological entitlement is associated with a grandiose and inflated sense of self (Levine, 2005), selfishness (Harvey & Martinko, 2009), and a sense of being special (Emmons, 1984; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Psychological entitlement can also increase selfishness and reduce helping behaviors (Zitek, Jordan, Monin, & Leach, 2010). For instance, individuals who scored higher on the Psychological Entitlement Scale took more candy from a bowl that was to be shared with sick children in

hospitals, said they deserved higher salaries than other workers, acted more selfishly in a commons dilemma game, and treated their romantic partners in a more selfish manner (Campbell et al., 2004). A sense of entitlement is also associated with selfish behaviors such as abdicating the opportunity to help and allocating money selfishly (Zitek et al., 2010). Similarly, higher scores on the Exploitativeness/ Entitlement dimension of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1979) predict less social responsibility (Watson & Morris, 1991). Entitled individuals take offense more easily (McCullough, Emmons, Kilpatrick, & Mooney, 2003; Witte, Callahan, & Perez-Lopez, 2002) and blame others (Campbell, Reeder, Sedikides, & Elliot, 2000). Entitled individuals may take action to claim additional compensation even if they do not deserve it, and they are more likely to take revenge in response to perceived slights (Bishop & Lane, 2002). Moreover, a sense of entitlement can cause individuals to maximize their own self-interests with little to no regard for the welfare of others. Entitled individuals often want to receive more output for the same level of input as others (Huseman, Hatfield, & Miles, 1987). They are most content when their own output-input ratio is greater than others. In order to achieve this beneficial ratio, they will seek out or create situations where they are receiving more than average (Huseman et al., 1987).

In sum, a creative identity may make people feel entitled to more than they truly deserve. Here, I take this logic one step further to suggest that a salient creative identity may not only make people feel entitled to more but they may also feel entitled to steal in order to tip the scale in their favor. Because entitled individuals feel as if they justly deserve more than others, a sense of entitlement allows individuals to

rationalize or reframe dishonest behaviors (Mazar & Ariely, 2006) through moral disengagement (Bandura, 1999). For instance, an entitled individual may view theft as merely claiming what they justly deserve. Because the creative identity causes individuals to feel special and entitled; they feel that they deserve more. This exaggerated feeling of entitlement provides them with an excuse to be steal with impunity.

Therefore, I predict the following:

***Hypothesis 2:** Individuals with creative identities are more likely to engage in dishonest behaviors than individuals with non-creative identities.*

***Hypothesis 3:** Individuals with creative identities may have an exaggerated sense of entitlement, which, in turn, will cause the individuals to behave dishonestly.*

It is important to note how my argument relating the creativity identity to dishonesty differs from related work. For instance, the personality traits associated with creative achievement may also predict dishonesty (Gino & Ariely, 2012; Gough, 1979; Silvia, Kaufman, Reiter-Palmon, & Wigert, 2011). For example, Gough (1979) developed the Creative Personality Scale that identified 30 words that are predictive of creativity. Within this scale, “Honesty” was negatively associated with having a creative personality.

More recently, Gino and Ariely (2012) conducted a series of experiments showing that individuals with higher scores on the Gough Creative Personality Scale (Gough, 1979) were more likely than individuals with lower scores to cheat on a task. To explain this effect, Gino and Ariely argued that individuals with creative personalities are cognitively flexible and are better able to justify or rationalize their

dishonest behaviors. For example, participants with more creative personalities reported higher rolls of a die (higher numbers were associated with higher amounts of compensation) than participants with less creative personalities, which is suggestive of dishonesty. Research has also shown that positive affect can promote dishonesty, by making people more cognitively flexible and thus more adept at justifying and rationalizing their behavior (Vincent, Emich & Goncalo, 2013). In sum, existing research has focused on creative ability to argue that cognitive flexibility may lead to moral flexibility. Thus, existing research linking creativity to dishonesty implicates the unintended negative consequences of creative thought. In contrast, I argue that the creative identity (as opposed to creative personality) can also facilitate dishonesty, not because the creativity identity confers the ability to think more flexibly but because it entitles people to take more than they deserve.

Reducing Dishonesty: The Perils of Self Awareness

Dishonesty such as lying, cheating, or stealing is a common and costly issue for organizations. Ninety-five percent of all companies have reported experiencing difficulties regarding dishonest behaviors within their organizations (Henle, Giacalone, & Jurkiewicz, 2005). These difficulties are not the results of the misdeeds of a few employees, the proverbial “bad apples.” Rather, the majority of employees tend to be dishonest to some extent. Up to 75 percent of employees have engaged in some form of theft, fraud, embezzlement, vandalism, sabotage, or unexcused absenteeism (Harper, 1990; U.S. Mutual Association, 1998). More than half of these employees will engage in theft repeatedly (U.S. Mutual Association, 1998). The small misdeeds of many employees have staggering costs for organizations. A typical

organization loses approximately 5% of its revenue to fraud annually, resulting in a global loss of 2.9 trillion dollars (Association of Certified Fraud Examiners, 2010). Estimates indicate that employees are responsible for nine times the amount of theft than are shoplifters (Trendwatch, 1998).

Given the significant costs of dishonesty, researchers have investigated methods of reducing dishonesty in organizations. However, this has proved to be very difficult. One of the most consistent and robust findings in this area demonstrates that increasing self-awareness increases honesty by enhancing conformity to salient rules and norms, which generally includes norms of morality (Carver, 2003). According to objective self-awareness theory, self-awareness directs an individual's focus inward thus making the individual more aware of him/herself as an entity in the world (Duval & Wicklund, 1972). This inward focus increases self-evaluation in relation to the salient internal standard (Silvia & Duval, 2001). If discrepancies between oneself and the standard are detected, the self-aware person will either alter their behaviors to conform to the salient internal standards of behavior or alter the components of the standard (e.g., Carver, 1974, 2003; Scheier, Fenigstein, & Buss, 1974). Duval and Wicklund (1972) proposed that any stimulus that reminds a person of oneself can cause heightened self-awareness. Therefore, situations in which individualization is increased (e.g. by standing in front of a mirror or by calling an individual by their name) can increase self-awareness (Buss & Scheier, 1976; Carver, 1974).

By increasing one's self-awareness, dishonesty is often reduced (Carver, 2003). For instance, children trick-or-treating on Halloween were more likely to follow the rules and less likely to steal (i.e. take only one piece of candy) when the

standard of taking one piece of candy was made salient and when the children were individualized by being asked their names and addresses or when a mirror was placed directly behind the candy bowl (Beaman, Klentz, Diener, & Svanum, 1979). Similarly, college students were less likely to cheat on a task when they performed the task in front of a mirror (Diener & Wallbom, 1976). The presence of the mirror increased self-awareness by focusing the individuals' attention to themselves and the salient standard, which, in this case, was to be honest (e.g. by taking one piece of candy or by not cheating on a task). Retail stores use a similar logic when using surveillance cameras to decrease rates of theft. The presence of the surveillance cameras reminds individuals of the norm to be honest and also of the consequences of being caught performing the dishonest acts. Upon being reminded, most individuals will conform to the standard.

Yet, for individuals with creative identities, increasing self-awareness may act in a counterintuitive way. As the foregoing review would suggest, for individuals with a creative identity, feeling entitled, unique, and special may be the more likely self view to be enhanced when they are made to be self-aware. In other words, for individuals with a creative identity, self-awareness could activate the very feelings of entitlement that I theorize will lead to dishonest behavior. Self-awareness affects narcissists in a similar manner by enhancing a salient standard. Similar to entitled individuals, narcissists tend to have an inflated sense of self-importance and to self-enhance their own performance (Westen, 1990). When performing tasks in front of a mirror to increase self-awareness, narcissists' tendency to self-enhance increased, their self-confidence increased, and they over-estimated their contribution to a group

project (Robins & John, 1997). However, the opposite effect occurred for non-narcissists. Non-narcissists reduced their tendencies to self-enhance and reported lower self-confidence (Robins & John, 1997). As self-awareness increases narcissists' tendency to self-enhance, self-awareness could enhance a sense of entitlement for individuals with a creative identity. Thus, the creative identity provides a behavioral standard that may cause individuals to feel even more entitled, which may cause them to engage in dishonesty. Therefore, contrary to previous findings regarding self-awareness, heightened self-awareness for individuals with creative identities may increase rather than decrease the tendency for those individuals to engage in dishonest behaviors by increasing the sense of entitlement.

***Hypothesis 4:** Self-awareness will moderate the relationship between creative identity and dishonesty, such that high self-awareness will increase the tendency to be dishonest for individuals with creative salient identities. Conversely, among individuals without a salient creative identity, self-awareness will decrease the tendency to be dishonest.*

An Alternate Mechanism: Rebelliousness

The creative identity may trigger characteristics other than entitlement. Creativity is often associated with independence (Crutchfield, 1962; Dellas & Gaier, 1970) and may benefit from differentiating oneself from others (Goncalo & Krause, 2010). Both of these attributes connect being creative with being different from others or unique. This dissertation focuses on psychological entitlement as a component of the creative identity that individualizes and differentiates the individual from others. However, the creative identity may include other aspects that emphasize a sense of

uniqueness and independence. For instance, individuals with creative identities may differentiate themselves from others by rebelling from social norms or expectations. Apter (1989) argues that rebelliousness is the key to the genius that drives creativity. In this way, the creative identity may be marked by a sense of rebelliousness.

The creative individual is commonly described as being rebellious and does not conform to expectations is fairly standard. The common stereotype of the prototypical creative person suggests that the creative individual “makes up the rules as he or she goes along,” “is impulsive,” and “is a nonconformist” (Westby & Dawson, 1995). Highly creative individuals are often described as “impulsive,” “individualistic,” “nonconformist,” and “progressive” while less creative individuals are characterized as responsible and dependable (Gough, 1979; MacKinnon, 1963). Creative individuals are guided by internal rather than externally imposed goals and standards (Houtz, Jambor, Cifone, & Lewis, 1989). Observers rated creative female mathematicians as more rebellious and non-conforming than less female mathematicians (Helson, 1971).

However, the empirical connection between rebelliousness and actual creative ability is questionable. Redmond, Mumford, and Teach (1993) demonstrated that employee creativity is enhanced when leaders accept and exhibit an appreciation for nonconformity, which has been associated with rebelliousness (Apter, 1989). However, rebelliousness was found to be a poor predictor of creativity particularly when compared with openness to experiences (Griffin & McDermott, 1998). Despite this, the stereotype of creative people and rebelliousness remains (Rothenberg, 1993). If individuals with creative identities associate rebelliousness with the creative

identity, they may engage in rebellious behaviors in order to enact and promote their creative identity.

These rebellious behaviors may include dishonest behaviors as honesty represents a common and salient norm. By rebelling against this norm of honesty, the individual with the creative identity can support their creative identity. However, this potential link between rebelliousness and dishonesty is less clear than the link between entitlement and dishonesty. From a theoretical perspective, entitlement provides an acquisition motive (i.e. an individual feels that they deserve more, so the individual takes more), which could directly lead an individual to be dishonest. While rebelliousness may cause a motive to rebel against the rules, individuals have a range of norms and rules that may be more salient for them than honesty. Rebellious individuals can break rules and norms without engaging in dishonesty. From an empirical perspective, the link between rebelliousness and dishonesty is not demonstrated. Research has demonstrated, however, that entitlement can cause individuals to engage in selfish behaviors (Campbell et al., 2004; Zitek et al., 2010), thus making the empirical link to entitlement and dishonesty clearer.

I will examine the relationships among the creative identity, rebelliousness, and dishonesty in order to rule rebelliousness out as a potential mediator between the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty.

Implications for Others' Evaluations of the Creative Identity

Thus far, I have focused on how individuals with creative identities perceive themselves and behave. However, how will other individuals perceive individuals with creative identities, and will those perceptions then alter how those other individuals

behave?

Research has demonstrated that people tend to judge and evaluate people based on assumptions regarding the groups to which they belong (e.g. engineers, cheerleader, or professor) or certain characteristics (e.g. gender or ethnicity) (Brigham, 1971; Devine, 1989; McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980). These stereotypes affect how we judge people (Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991). For instance, when estimating the heights of a male and a female target, participants consistently judged male targets to be taller than female targets (Nelson, Biernat, & Manis, 1990). The effects of these stereotypes are powerful. Even when individuals were informed that the male and female targets were the same height, individuals still rated the male target as being significantly taller (Nelson et al., 1990). Individuals relied on their own preconceived stereotypes rather than adjust their perceptions to incorporate new information. Moreover, individuals are affected by how individuals perceive them. Individuals become socialized and inculcated with the social stereotypes, and, eventually, the stereotypes become internalized as part of the individual's self-concept (Steele, 1997).

The stereotype of who is and who is not creative exists, and people use this stereotype to infer creative ability and potential (Kasof, 1995). A widely held conception of the creative individual is that the creative individual is impulsive, rebellious, unconventional, and non-conforming (Runco & Bahleda, 1986; Sternberg, 1985). This stereotype creates an expectation of how a creative person should behave. Therefore, if individuals identify themselves as creative, other individuals may expect them to behave in certain ways (e.g. to be rebellious, unconventional, or impulsive).

A similar mechanism that causes individuals with creative identities to feel

entitled may cause other individuals to expect creative individuals to be entitled to more than less creative individuals. Creativity is a rare event (Kasof, 1995), and many organizations value creativity. Leaders at IBM, for instance, recently reported that creativity is the most important attribute for leaders and employees to have eclipsing traditionally selected attributes such as integrity, dedication, humility, and fairness (IBM, 2010). By promoting employees' creativity, an organization is more likely to be able to develop creative and innovative products, services, or processes, which has become increasingly crucial to an organization's longevity, success, and competitive advantage (George & Zhou, 2001; Lev, 2004; Sternberg & Lubart, 1999). Creativity is recognized in organizations with resources, status, and recognition (Audia & Goncalo, 2007). Creative individuals are given leniencies that less creative individuals are not (Baucus et al., 2008).

Earlier, I argued that this perception of value and special treatment will cause individuals with creative identities to believe that they are entitled. I now argue that this same perception will cause other people to believe that individuals with creative identities do deserve more than others and can break the rules when other people cannot.

Therefore, I argue that:

Hypothesis 5: Individuals with creative identities will be rated as more entitled than individuals with non-creative identities.

Hypothesis 6: Individuals with creative identities will be rated as more rebellious than individuals with non-creative identities.

The effect of the stereotype of who is creative could be even more insidious.

As a consequence of perception that creative people provide special value to the organization through their creativity and that they deserve special treatment and leniency, individuals may be more lenient with their judgments of individuals who identify as creative. Since creative individuals add value that other people do not, individuals may tolerate behaviors such as dishonesty from individuals who identify as creative that they would not tolerate from other people. Due to the unique value provided by creative individuals, other individuals may be willing to tolerate or excuse dishonest behaviors as an inherent cost to the value provided.

Furthermore, when individuals behave in an expected way (i.e. congruent with the salient stereotype), they are evaluated in a more positive manner (Bartol & Butterfield, 1976; Rojahn & Willemsen, 1994) while individuals who do not behave in an expected way are often punished with social rejection and negative evaluations (Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, Marecek & Pascale, 1975). Therefore, if creative individuals are expected to be more entitled or rebellious, even negative behaviors that are congruent with these expectations such as dishonesty may be tolerated.

Therefore, I argue that:

***Hypothesis 7:** Evaluators will judge individuals with creative identities more leniently after dishonesty than individuals with non-creative identities.*

Overview of Current Research

To test these predictions, I conducted five laboratory experiments to investigate the connection between the creative identity and dishonesty. These studies investigated the relationship between psychological entitlement, rebelliousness, and the creative identity (Study 1). The first study seeks to determine which attributes are

triggered by the creative identity and questions the current overly optimistic view of the creative identity. Study 2 then investigates whether having a creative identity increases dishonesty and how that relationship is affected by self-awareness of the creative identity (Study 2). Studies 3 and 4 directly investigate two potential mechanisms of the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty by manipulating psychological entitlement and rebelliousness respectively. Finally, Study 5 examines how others view individuals with creative identity to see if others expect individuals with creative identities to be more entitled and rebellious and how those expectations change their perceptions of the individual.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1: THE CREATIVE IDENTITY, PSYCHOLOGICAL ENTITLEMENT, AND REBELLIOUSNESS

Study 1

Material and methods

Participants

139 students from a large university in the United States ($M_{\text{age}}=19.45$ years, $SD=3.01$; 73 female) participated in the study in exchange for course credit.

Participants were randomly selected into one of the two conditions (Identity: logical vs. creative).

Procedure

Identity Manipulation.

Upon arriving at the lab, participants were seated at individual cubicles. Participants then had ten minutes to complete a questionnaire, which manipulated the salient aspect of their identity as creative or logical. In the creative identity condition, participants were requested to briefly describe three problems in their lives which they had solved creatively. In the non-creative condition, participants were asked to describe three problems in their lives which they had solved logically, which served as a contrast condition to creative. This procedure was previously used by Sassenberg and Moskowitz (2005) to induce a creative identity using “thoughtfulness” as the alternate prime to creativity. For the purposes of this study, I was concerned that the

term “thoughtfulness” was too conceptually close to morality or kindness. To avoid any potential unintended effects, the alternate prime of “logical” was chosen to represent an alternate positive prime that is not generally connected to creativity or morality. In a pilot study, participants rated being described as logical to be as positively as an individual described as creative.¹

Following this manipulation, participants completed a series of surveys that measured psychological entitlement and rebelliousness.

Dependent Variables

Psychological Entitlement

Participants completed the nine item Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell et al. 2004; $\alpha = .81$), a measure of generalized sense of entitlement. Participants responded to each item on a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree). A sample item is “I honestly feel I’m just more deserving than others.”

Rebelliousness

Participants completed the five item Rebelliousness Scale (Comrey, 2008; $\alpha = .65$), a measure of generalized sense of rebelliousness. Participants responded to each item on a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree). A sample item is “I ignore what my neighbors think of me.”

Manipulation Check

Creative Identity

¹ Participants rated their agreement to three statements regarding how much they would like to be described as logical and also as creative on a seven point Likert-type scale (1=Strongly Disagree to 7= Strongly Agree). Analyses indicated that the ratings between logical ($M= 5.94$, $SD= 0.80$) and creative ($M= 6.10$, $SD= 0.71$) were not significantly different, $t(139)= .005$.

The creative identity measure was adapted from the creative role-identity scale used by Farmer, Tierney, and McIntyre (2003; $\alpha = .86$). The original scale focused on creative identity in the capacity of one's role at work. The questions were modified to focus on a creative identity in general as opposed to a creative role identity by replacing the word "employee" with the word "person." The questions included, "I often think about being creative," "I do not have any clear concept of myself as a creative person" (reverse-coded), and "To be a creative person is an important part of my identity." Participants were instructed to rate their agreement to each statement on a seven point Likert-type-type scale (1= a great deal to 7= not at all).

Results

Manipulation check

Consistent with the manipulation, participants in the creative identity condition reported having stronger creative identities ($M= 4.86$, $SD= .83$) than participants in the logical identity condition ($M= 3.31$, $SD= .91$), $t(137)= 10.49$, $p<.001$.

Dependent Variable

Psychological Entitlement

Responses from the Psychological Entitlement Scale were averaged to form the measure. Participants in the creative identity condition reported significantly higher feelings of psychological entitlement ($M= 4.06$, $SD= 1.12$) than participants in the logical identity condition ($M= 3.25$, $SD= .91$), $t(137)= 4.66$, $F(1, 137)= 21.79$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.14$, providing support for hypothesis 1.

Rebelliousness

Responses from the Rebelliousness Scale were averaged to form a measure of

rebelliousness for each participant. Participants in the creative identity condition reported significantly higher feelings of rebelliousness ($M= 4.23, SD= .91$) than participants in the logical identity condition ($M= 3.61, SD= .91$), $F(1, 137)= 16.31$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.11$.

Discussion

The results of the study indicate that individuals with creative identities reported significantly higher on the measures of psychological entitlement and rebelliousness than individuals with logical identities, suggesting that the creative identity causes individuals to feel rebellious and entitled. These findings support the hypotheses that the creative identity is associated with heightened senses of entitlement and rebellious. These findings dovetail with previous findings that demonstrate that creative individuals are less modest and more arrogant than less creative individuals (Silvia et al., 2011) and tend to be independent and self-focused (Crutchfield, 1962; Dellas & Gaier, 1970; Feist, 1998) by emphasizing a focus on the self and over-valuation of the self. However, the current study expands on previous findings first by focusing on the creative identity rather than creative ability or personality and by specifically connecting the creative identity to heightened senses of entitlement and rebelliousness.

In Study 2, I examine if the creative identity can cause an individual to engage in dishonest behaviors and how self-awareness interacts with the creative identity.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2: THE MODERATING EFFECT OF SELF-AWARENESS

Study 2

Methods and materials

Participants and design

89 undergraduates at a large university in the United States ($M_{age}=20$ years, $SD=1.16$, 54 females) participated in the study in exchange for course credit. The study had a 2 (Identity: creative salient vs. non-creative salient) by 2 (Identity Strength: high self-awareness vs. low self-awareness) design. Participants were randomly selected into one of the four conditions. Participants were told that they were taking part in a study on how individual mind-sets affect task performance.

Procedure

Manipulations

Self-awareness Manipulation. First, following the procedures used by Dijksterhuis and Van Knippenberg (2000), I manipulated self-awareness by asking participants to sit at a cubicle either with a mirror or a cubicle without a mirror. The mirror was situated such that the participants' torso and face were visible to the participants. Participants randomly assigned to sit at the cubicle with the mirror were in the high self-awareness condition whereas the participants seated at the cubicles without the mirror were in the low self-awareness condition.²

Identity Manipulation. Participants completed the identity manipulation from

² During the procedure of the study and the debriefing, no participant expressed suspicion regarding the presence of the mirror.

Study 1.

Dependent Variables

Psychological Entitlement. Participants completed the nine item Psychological Entitlement Scale described in Study 1 (Campbell et al. 2004; $\alpha = .92$).

Dishonesty. After the identity manipulation, participants performed a number search task in which they had the opportunity to be dishonest by stealing (i.e. taking more money than they earned) (Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008; Mead, Baumeister, Gino, Schweitzer, & Ariely, 2009). The participants' task was to find the two numbers in a group of numbers that added up to 10 for as many of the 20 problems as possible in five minutes. For each correct answer, they earned \$0.50 for a maximum of \$10. Participants received a worksheet with 20 matrices, each with a set of 12 three-digit numbers (e.g., 4.78; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008) and a red pencil to use while completing the task. After distributing the materials, the researcher left the room.

After five minutes has passed, the researcher returned to the room, collected the red pencils, and distributed a performance report form, pens, an answer key, and an envelope containing \$10 (9 \$1 bills and 4 quarters). The purpose of providing the red pencil for the task but replacing the pencil with a pen after the task is to disallow participants from altering the number of problems solved on their number search form after the five minutes. After distributing the materials, the researcher again left the room. The participants were asked to correct their own answers, report the number of problems that they correctly solved on the report form, compensate themselves, and then place all of their materials in a large box.

No identifying information (e.g. name, participant number) was apparent on

any of the forms or the envelope. During the task, the participants were not supervised. Therefore, as the participants' actions appear to be untraceable, the participants had the opportunity to engage in dishonesty by over-reporting their performance or taking more money than they had earned. However, a system of identifying numbers written in invisible ink allowed the researcher to calculate the difference between how much money each individual earned and how much money they took from the envelope (i.e. theft), thus allowing for an accurate behavioral measure of dishonesty. The difference between the amount of money taken from the envelope and the amount of money earned was calculated for each participant. Positive differences indicate that participants were dishonest by stealing money that they did not legitimately earn.

Creativity. Following the number search task, participants were given seven minutes to complete seven Remote Associate Test (RAT) problems (Isen, Daubman & Nowicki, 1987). This task asks participants to find a word that connects three seemingly unrelated words together (e.g., man, glue, and star) (the correct answer is “super”). As it requires both associative and divergent thinking (Mednick, 1968; Kaufman, Plucker & Baer, 2008; Miron-Spektor, E., Gino, F. & Argote, L., 2011), the RAT has been used effectively to measure creativity in previous studies (Isen et al., 1987; Kray, Galinsky & Wong, 2006). Less creative individuals perform worse because they are biased toward high-frequency (common, but incorrect) responses (Gupta, Jang, Mednick & Huber, 2012). The RAT is a useful measure because the correct solution meets both definitional criteria of creativity, namely, novelty and appropriateness (Mednick, 1968; Kaufman et al., 2008).

The creativity measure was included for two reasons. The first reason is to determine if the creative identity manipulation is merely priming creativity rather than priming the creative identity. In contrast to priming creativity which activates general concepts of creativity, priming the creative identity should affect how salient and important creativity is to an individual's self-concept. As the creative identity increases an individual's motivation to engage in behaviors that they associate with creativity (Petkus, 1996), the creative identity manipulation should increase creative ability (Sassenberg & Moskowitz, 2005). However, the self-awareness manipulation should interact with the creative identity but not with creative ability. The self-awareness manipulation causes an awareness of the self rather than a change in cognitive ability. Therefore, participants who are primed with merely the concept of creativity rather than a self-concept as creative should not be affected by self-awareness. The second reason is to differentiate the effects of the creative identity from creative ability. While creative ability can allow individuals to engage in dishonest behaviors through the increased ability to rationalize dishonesty (Gino & Ariely, 2013), the creative identity alters an individual's self-concept rather than cognitive ability. Therefore, the creative identity may also lead to dishonest behaviors but through a different mechanism.

Following the completion of the creativity task, participants completed several surveys and were individually debriefed.

Measures

Manipulation Checks

Creative Identity. Participants completed the creative identity measure from

Study 1 ($\alpha = .82$).

Self-awareness. Self-awareness was measured using the Self-Awareness Scale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975; $\alpha = .71$), which measures both private and public self-awareness in order to capture how self-aware of one's own feelings and thoughts and self-awareness of how one appears to external audiences. Sample questions include "I generally pay attention to my inner feelings" and "I generally pay attention to my behavior." Participants rated their agreement to each statement on a seven point Likert-type scale (1= a great deal to 7= not at all). Note that higher self-awareness will be associated with lower scores on this scale.

Results

Manipulation checks

Creative identity

A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Identity strength: high self-awareness vs. low self-awareness) ANOVA on creative identity survey revealed only a significant main effect for identity, $F(1, 85) = 27.43, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24$. The main effect of self-awareness, $F(1, 85) = 0.84, n.s., \eta^2 = .01$, and the interaction of self-awareness and identity, $F(1, 85) = 0.14, n.s., \eta^2 = .00$, were insignificant. Participants in the creative identity condition reported having stronger creative identities ($M = 5.28, SD = .95$) than participants in the logical condition ($M = 4.12, SD = 1.12$), $t(88) = 5.28, p < .001$.

Self-awareness

A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Identity strength: high self-awareness vs. low self-awareness) ANOVA on self-awareness indicated a significant main effect

of self-awareness, $F(1, 85) = 8.87, p < .01, \eta^2 = .10$, and insignificant effects for identity, $F(1, 85) = 0.43, n.s., \eta^2 = .01$ and the interaction of self-awareness and identity, $F(1, 85) = 0.003, n.s., \eta^2 = .00$. Participants in the high self-awareness condition reported having higher self-awareness ($M = 2.47, SD = 0.53$) than participants in the low self-awareness condition ($M = 2.92, SD = 0.84$), $t(88) = 3.01, p < .01$.

Dependent Variables

Psychological Entitlement

A two-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of identity, $F(1, 85) = 19.15, p < .01, \eta^2 = .17$, a non-significant main effect of self-awareness, $F(1, 85) = 3.10, n.s., \eta^2 = .03$, and a non-significant interaction of identity and self-awareness on participants' scores of psychological entitlement, $F(1, 85) = 3.33, n.s., \eta^2 = .03$.

Consistent with Study 1, individuals primed with a creative identity reported higher levels of psychological entitlement ($M = 3.96, SD = 1.26$) than individuals primed with a logical identity ($M = 2.93, SD = 0.98$), $F(1, 85) = 18.55, p < .01, \eta^2 = .18$. Furthermore, individuals primed with a creative identity reported higher levels of psychological entitlement in the high self-awareness condition ($M = 4.37, SD = 1.42$) than in the low self-awareness condition ($M = 3.53, SD = 0.92$), $F(1, 43) = 5.47, p < .05, \eta^2 = .11$. However, this effect did not occur in the logical identity condition.

Individuals primed with a logical identity did not report higher levels of psychological entitlement in the self-awareness condition ($M = 2.92, SD = 1.02$) than in the low self-awareness condition ($M = 2.93, SD = 0.97$), $F(1, 42) = 0.01, n.s., \eta^2 = .00$.

Rebelliousness

A two-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of identity, $F(1, 85) =$

4.33, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .05$, a non-significant main effect of self-awareness, $F(1, 85) = 1.72$, $n.s.$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and a non-significant interaction of identity and self-awareness on participants' scores of rebelliousness, $F(1, 85) = 1.34$, $n.s.$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Individuals primed with a creative identity reported higher levels of rebelliousness ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 0.88$) than individuals primed with a logical identity ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.79$), $t(85) = 1.98$, $p < .05$.

Unlike entitlement, self-awareness did not increase the sense of rebelliousness for the logical or for the creative identity conditions. In the creative identity condition, the levels of rebelliousness reported by individuals in the high self-awareness condition ($M = 4.02$, $SD = .78$) was not significantly different from the levels of rebelliousness reported by individuals in the low self-awareness condition ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 0.94$), $t(43) = 1.69$, $n.s.$ In the logical identity conditions, individuals in the high self-awareness condition ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 0.71$) did not differ significantly from individuals in the low self-awareness condition ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 0.88$), $t(42) = .11$, $n.s.$

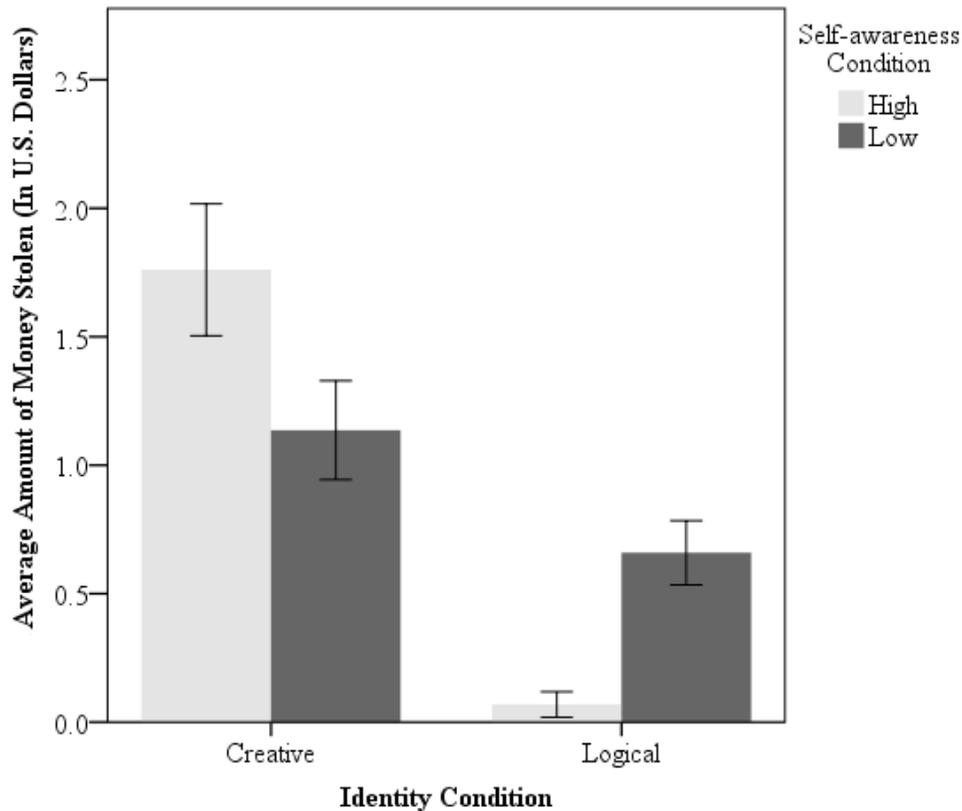
Dishonesty

A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Self-awareness: high vs. low) analysis of variance indicated no significant main effect for self awareness on the amount of theft in which participants engaged, $F(1, 85) = 0.01$, $n.s.$, $\eta^2 = .00$. However, there was a significant main effect for identity condition on the amount of theft in which participants engaged, $F(1, 85) = 37.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .28$. Individuals with a creative identity engaged in significantly more theft ($M = \$1.46$, $SD = 1.12$) than individuals with logical identity ($M = \$0.36$, $SD = 0.53$). Additionally, there was a significant interaction between the self-awareness condition and the identity condition, $F(1, 85) = 11.86$,

$p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$, which supports hypothesis 4. I explored this interaction first by examining the effect of self-awareness among individuals who had a creative identity and then among individuals who had a logical identity. The results indicated that individuals who were highly aware of their creative identities stole significantly more money ($M = \$1.84$, $SD = 1.20$) than individuals who were less aware of their creative identities ($M = \$1.14$, $SD = 0.90$), $t(43) = 2.20$, $p < .05$. Conversely, individuals with logical identities who were highly aware of their identity stole significantly less money ($M = \$0.07$, $SD = 0.23$) than the individuals with logical identities who were less aware of their identity ($M = \$0.66$, $SD = 0.59$), $t(42) = 4.40$, $p < .001$ (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

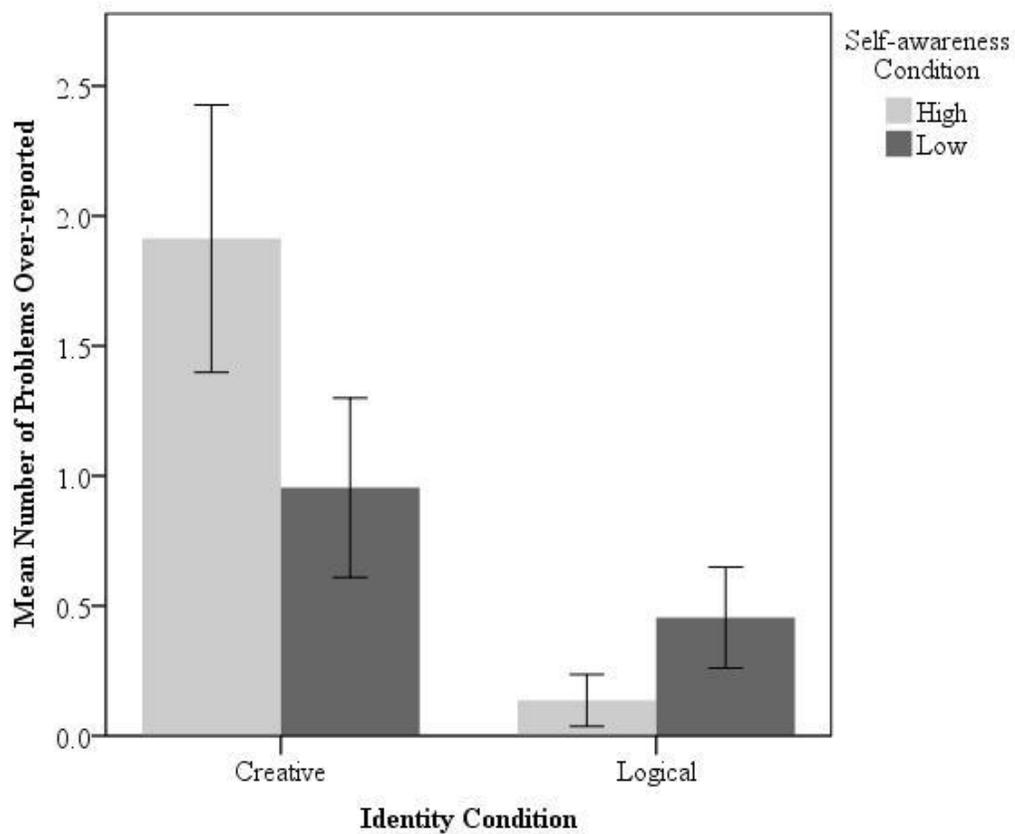
Average amount of theft by Identity (Creative vs. Logical) and Identity Strength (High Self-awareness vs. Low Self-awareness). Study 2. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



Consistent with the results for theft, a significant main effect emerged for identity on the amount of lying in which participants engaged, $F(1, 85) = 12.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Individuals in the creative conditions lied significantly more ($M = 1.48$, $SD = 2.14$) than individuals in the logical conditions ($M = 0.30$, $SD = .73$). However, the main effect for self-awareness was not significant, $F(1, 85) = 1.18$, $n.s.$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Additionally, the analysis indicated a significant interaction between self-awareness and identity, $F(1, 85) = 4.15$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Figure 2 illustrates the differences across the conditions.

Figure 2.

Average amount of lying by Identity (Creative vs. Logical) and Identity Strength (High Self-awareness vs. Low Self-awareness). Study 2. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



The mediating role of psychological entitlement

The results demonstrate that dishonest behavior was highest among individuals who were experiencing both creative identity and high self-awareness. I argued that this relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty occurs through psychological entitlement. To test this prediction that psychological entitlement mediated this effect between the interaction of self-awareness and the

creative identity and dishonesty, I used bootstrapping procedures, which establish a confidence interval for the indirect effect; mediation is established when the confidence interval does not include zero (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007; Shrout & Bolger, 2002). A bootstrap analysis with 5,000 iterations showed that the 95% bias-corrected confidence interval for the size of the indirect effect excluded zero [-.2545, -0.0315] for stealing and [-.4065, -0.0540] for lying, which suggests that there was a significant indirect effect of psychological entitlement on dishonesty (MacKinnon et al., 2007; Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

Creativity

I examined the effects of creative ability in two ways. First, I examined if the creative identity manipulation and the self-awareness manipulation affected creative ability. Second, I examined the relationships among creative identity, self-awareness, and dishonesty while controlling for creative ability.

As expected, a significant main effect emerged for identity on the number of correctly solved RAT problems, $F(1, 85) = 7.23, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$. Individuals in the creative conditions solved significantly more RAT problems ($M = 1.93, SD = 1.39$) than individuals in the logical conditions ($M = 1.18, SD = 1.23$). However, the main effect for self-awareness was not significant, $F(1, 85) = 0.0084, n.s., \eta^2 = .00$. This finding suggests that self-awareness while the creative identity is salient does increase the awareness of the creative identity, it does not significantly increase creative ability. This finding suggests that priming the creative identity does function differently than priming creative ability or creativity in general. Additionally, the interaction between self-awareness and identity was not significant, $F(1, 85) = 0.31, n.s., \eta^2 = .00$.

I then investigated the relationships among the creative identity, self-awareness, and dishonesty while controlling for creative ability. While the effect for the number of correctly solved RAT problems on theft was insignificant, $F(1, 84) = 1.80$, *n.s.*, $\eta^2=.01$, the main effect for identity, $F(1, 84) = 30.87$, $p<.0001$, $\eta^2=.23$, and the interaction between identity and self-awareness, $F(1, 84) = 12.49$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.09$, were significant. However, the main effect for self-awareness was not significant, $F(1, 84) = 0.007$, *n.s.*, $\eta^2=.00$. Similarly, the effect for the number of correctly solved RAT problems on lying was insignificant, $F(1, 84) = 1.20$, *n.s.*, $\eta^2=.01$. When controlling for the number of correctly solved RAT problems, the main effect for identity was significant, $F(1, 84) = 8.83$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.09$, and the interaction between identity and self-awareness was marginally significant, $F(1, 84) = 3.91$, $p=.051$, $\eta^2=.04$. The main effect for the self-awareness condition was not significant, $F(1, 84) = 0.9005$, *n.s.*, $\eta^2=.01$.

Additional Analyses

I investigated the effect of number of problems correctly solved on dishonesty. However, the number of problems correctly solved did not significantly affect the engagement in dishonesty, $F(1, 84)= .07$, *n.s.*, $\eta^2=.00$, while the relationships among principal variables remained consistent with a insignificant effect for self-awareness, $F(1, 84)= .02$, *n.s.*, $\eta^2=.00$, a significant effect for identity condition, $F(1, 84)= 37.46$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.28$, and a significant interaction between identity and self-awareness, $F(1, 84)= 11.71$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.09$.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 demonstrated that the creative identity increases

dishonesty. When individuals' creative identity is salient, they are more likely to engage in dishonest behaviors compared to individuals with a salient logical identity. Furthermore, while increased self-awareness generally increases honest behaviors, increasing self-awareness when the creative identity is salient actually increases dishonest behaviors and a sense of entitlement. Self-awareness increases one's awareness of the salient identity. While increasing self-awareness while the logical identity is salient did not affect individuals' sense of psychological entitlement, increasing self-awareness while creative identity is salient increased individuals' sense of psychological entitlement. However, while an increased sense of rebelliousness was associated with a creative identity in Study 1, increasing self-awareness of the creative identity did not significantly increase a sense of rebelliousness in Study 2.

Furthermore, the relationships between self-awareness, creative identity, and dishonesty remained when controlling for creative ability. While creative ability may allow individuals to engage in dishonest behaviors by increasing the ability to rationalize dishonest behaviors (Gino & Ariely, 2012), the creative identity can also cause dishonesty through a distinct and different mechanism.

The results from this study demonstrate a potential flaw in organizational interventions of dishonesty. While increasing self-awareness may generally increase honesty, increasing self-awareness while the creative identity is salient increases dishonesty. Therefore, to reduce the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty, organizations may need to intervene by directly addressing the mechanism that causes the dishonesty.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3: REDUCING ENTITLEMENT TO REMOVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CREATIVE IDENTITY AND DISHONESTY

Study 3

For Study 3, the effects of entitlement on the creative identity were studied by directly manipulating entitlement (Entitled vs. Less entitled) as well as identity content (Creative vs. Logical). The study was a 2 (Entitlement: entitled vs. less entitled) by 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) factorial design. Participants were randomly selected into one of the four conditions.

Method and Materials

Participants

131 students from a large university in the United States (71 female; $M_{\text{age}}=19.41$ years, $SD=3.11$) participated in the study in exchange for course credit.

Procedure

Manipulations

Entitlement Manipulation. Upon arrival at the lab, participants were escorted to individual cubicles to increase a sense of privacy. After consenting to participate, participants began the entitlement manipulation, which was introduced as a survey to determine how they view themselves in relation to other people. While individuals generally respond to surveys based upon their own beliefs, this method is useful for temporarily inducing certain attitudes and beliefs (see Salancik & Conway, 1975; Goncalo & Staw, 2006). For this study, the content of the prime was generated using

statements from the Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell et al. 2004).

Participants were given ten minutes to write at least three statements in response to each prompt. Participants in the entitled condition were asked to respond to the following prompts:

A. Write three statements about why you think that you should demand the best in life.

B. Write three statements about why you think you are more deserving than other people.

C. Write three statements explaining why you should get your way in life.

In contrast, the less entitled condition was intended to create a sense that individuals are not necessarily entitled or more deserving than other individuals rather than being automatically or always entitled. The goal of this condition was not to make participants feel that they did not deserve anything but, rather, that they did not deserve everything. Participants in the less entitled condition responded to the following three prompts:

A. Write three statements about why you think that you should not always demand the best in life.

B. Write three statements about why you think that you are not necessarily more deserving than other people.

C. Write three statements explaining why you don't expect to get your own way in life.

Identity Manipulation. Participants also completed the identity content manipulation from Study 1 to prime a creative or logical identity.

Dependent Variable

Dishonesty. Participants completed the Number Search Task described in Study 2.

Manipulation Checks

Creative Identity. Participants completed the creative identity measure used in Studies 1 and 2 ($\alpha = .92$).

Psychological Entitlement. To verify the effectiveness of the entitlement manipulation, participants completed the Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell et al., 2004) ($\alpha = .79$).

Results

Manipulation Checks

Creative Identity. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Entitlement: entitled vs. less entitled) ANOVA on the creative identity survey indicated a significant main effect for identity, $F(1, 127) = 29.84, p < .001$, and insignificant effects for entitlement, $F(1, 127) = 1.23, n.s.$, and the interaction of entitlement and identity, $F(1, 127) = 0.02, n.s.$ Consistent with the manipulation, participants in the creative identity condition reported having stronger creative identities ($M = 5.42, SD = 1.18$) than participants in the logical condition ($M = 4.11, SD = 1.50$), $t(129) = 5.47, p < .001$.

Psychological Entitlement. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Entitlement: entitled vs. less entitled) ANOVA on psychological entitlement revealed only a significant main effect for entitlement, $F(1, 127) = 51.20, p < .001$. Participants in the entitled condition reported having increased sense of psychological entitlement ($M = 4.50, SD = 1.25$) than participants in the less entitled condition ($M = 3.15, SD =$

1.04), $t(129) = 6.70, p < .001$, thus suggesting that the manipulation was successful. The main effect of identity, $F(1, 127) = 3.85, n.s.$, and the interaction of entitlement and identity, $F(1, 127) = 3.20, n.s.$, were insignificant.

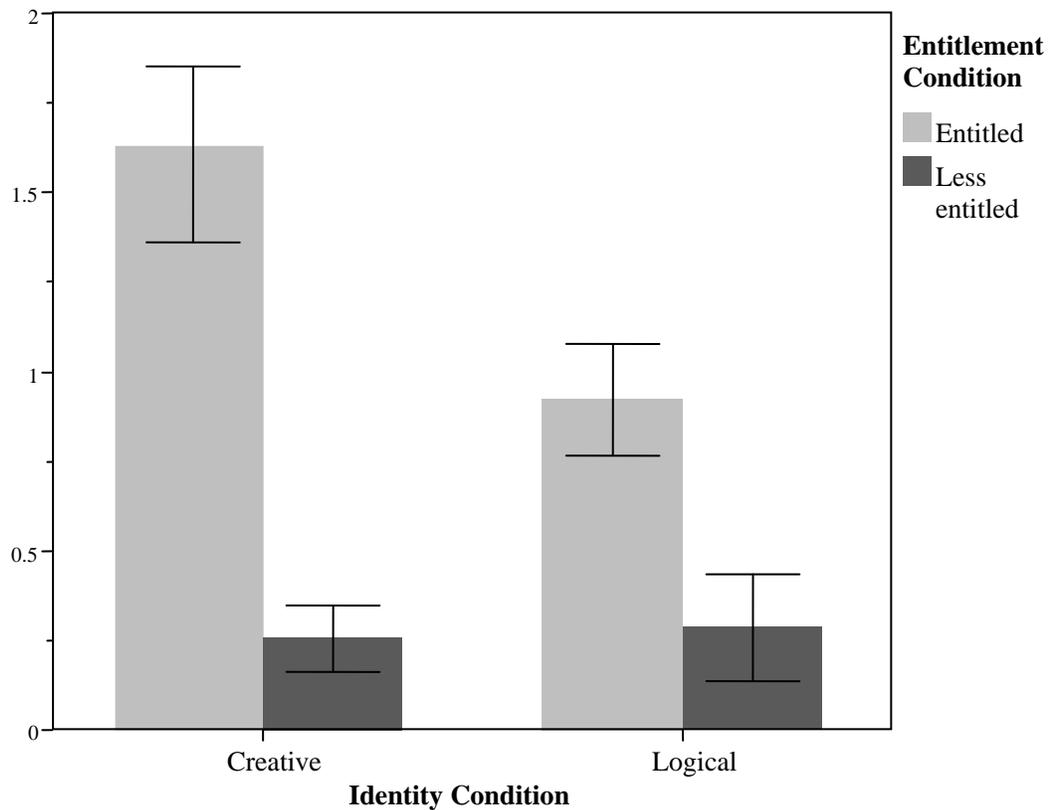
Dependent Variable

Dishonesty. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Entitlement: entitled vs. less entitled) analysis of variance using theft (i.e. the difference between the money taken from the envelope and the money earned) as the outcome variable indicated a marginally significant main effect for identity on the amount of theft in which participants engaged, $F(1, 127) = 3.77, p = .054, \eta^2 = .02$. However, there was a significant main effect for entitlement on the amount of theft in which participants engaged, $F(1, 127) = 34.79, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$. Individuals in the entitlement conditions engaged in significantly more theft ($M = \$1.26, SD = 1.21$) than individuals in the less entitled conditions ($M = \$0.27, SD = 0.71$), regardless of identity content.

Additionally, the analysis indicated a significant interaction between entitlement and identity, $F(1, 127) = 4.50, p < .05, \eta^2 = .25$. I explored this interaction first by examining the effect of entitlement among individuals who had a creative identity and then among individuals who had a logical identity. The results indicated that individuals with creative identities in the entitled condition stole significantly more money ($M = \$1.61, SD = 1.39$) than individuals with creative identities in the less entitled condition ($M = \$0.26, SD = 0.53$), $t(64) = 5.21, p < .001$. This pattern was also seen in the logical identity condition with individuals in the entitled condition engaging in greater amounts of theft ($M = \$0.92, SD = 0.90$) than individuals in the less entitled condition ($M = \$0.29, SD = .86$), $t(65) = 2.95, p < .01$ (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Average amount of theft by Identity (Creative vs. Logical) and Entitlement (Entitled vs. Less Entitled). Study 3. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



I then examined the effects of identity within the entitlement conditions.

Consistent with hypothesis 2, for individuals in the entitled condition, individuals with creative identities ($M=\$ 1.61$, $SD= 1.39$), engaged in significantly more theft than individuals with logical identities ($M=\$0.92$, $SD= .90$), $t(63)= 2.37$, $p<.05$. However, for individuals in the less entitled condition, there were no significant differences in the amount of theft for individuals with creative identities ($M=\$0.26$, $SD= 0.53$), and

individuals with logical identities ($M=0.29$, $SD= .86$), $t(64)= .17$, *n.s.* This finding suggests that when individuals with creative identities feel less entitled, the positive effect of creative identity on dishonesty is removed, thus providing support for hypothesis 3. These results suggest that the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty is mediated by psychological entitlement. When individuals with creative identities felt entitled, they engaged in significantly more dishonesty than individuals with logical identities who also felt entitled. However, when individuals with creative identities also felt less entitled, they engaged in as much dishonesty as individuals with logical identities who also felt less entitled.

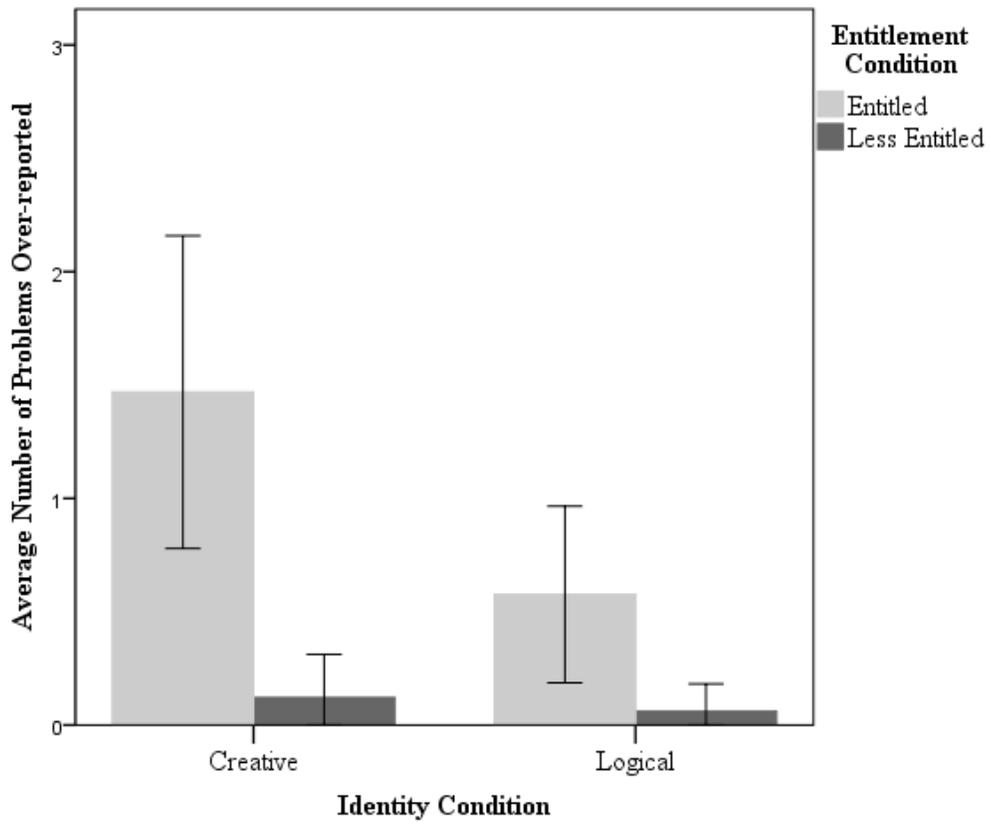
To further explore the connection between dishonesty and the creative identity, the number of problems that were over-reported as correctly solved was also analyzed as a measure of lying. A similar pattern emerged. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Entitlement: entitled vs. less entitled) analysis of variance using lying as the outcome variable indicated a significant main effect for identity on the amount of lying in which participants engaged, $F(1, 127) = 5.51$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. This main effect is likely driven by the entitled and creative identity condition. A 3 to 1 contrast analysis indicated that individuals in the creative identity and entitled condition lied significantly more than the other three conditions, $F(1, 127) = 26.50$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with the results for theft, a significant main effect emerged for entitlement on the amount of lying in which participants engaged, $F(1, 127) = 21.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .13$. Individuals in the entitlement conditions lied significantly more ($M=1.02$, $SD=1.63$) than individuals in the less entitled conditions ($M=0.09$, $SD=.45$). Additionally, the analysis indicated a significant interaction between entitlement and

identity, $F(1, 127) = 4.20, p < .05, \eta^2 = .19$. Figure 4 illustrates the differences across the conditions.

Figure 4

Average amount of lying by Identity (Creative vs. Logical) and Entitlement (Entitled vs. Less Entitled). Study 3. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



Additional Analyses

Given the design of the number search task, if an individual performs well on the task, the opportunity to be dishonest is reduced as the number of problems correctly solved impacts the amount of money available for potential theft. Therefore,

I investigated the effect of number of problems correctly solved on dishonesty by condition. There were no significant effects for identity, entitlement, or the interaction between identity and entitlement on the number of problems solved on the number search task, all $F_s > 0$, *n.s.*

Discussion

The results of the study indicate the creative identity can cause individuals to engage in dishonest behaviors such as lying and stealing. This relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty is driven by psychological entitlement. When individuals with creative identities do not feel entitled, the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty is removed. Therefore, organizations that wish to promote a creative identity among their employees without incurring the costs of increased dishonesty should intervene directly on the entitlement variable. By reducing the feeling of entitlement, organizations can receive the benefits of the creative identity without increasing dishonesty.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 4: TESTING REBELLIOUSNESS AS AN ALTERNATIVE MECHANISM

Study 4

Study 3 tested the effects of entitlement on the creative identity directly. By removing the feeling of entitlement, the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty was removed. However, there is a second mechanism to test: rebelliousness. Study 1 indicated that the creative identity triggered a sense of rebelliousness. Study 2 confirmed that individuals with a creative identity reported higher senses of rebelliousness; however, this sense of rebelliousness was not increased by self-awareness whereas entitlement was increased. This finding suggests that entitlement is more salient than rebelliousness within the creative identity. However, to test rebelliousness as a potential mechanism, in Study 4, I directly manipulated rebelliousness (Rebellious vs. Conforming) and identity content (Creative vs. Logical) to examine the relationships among rebelliousness, creative identity, and dishonesty. The study was a 2 (Rebelliousness: rebellious vs. conforming) by 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) factorial design. Participants were randomly selected into one of the four conditions.

Method and Materials

Participants

103 students from a large university in the United States (62 female; $M_{\text{age}}=20.16$ years, $SD=2.43$) participated in the study in exchange for course credit.

Procedure

Manipulations

Rebelliousness Manipulation. As participants arrived at the lab, they were escorted to individual cubicles. After consenting to participate, participants began the rebelliousness manipulation, which was introduced as a survey to determine how they view themselves in relation to other people. The survey asked participants to provide three responses to three different prompts. The content of the prime was generated using statements from the Rebelliousness/Conformity Scale (Comrey, 2008). Participants were given ten minutes to write at least three statements in response to each prompt. Participants in the rebellious condition were asked to respond to the following prompts:

- A. Write three statements about why people should not always obey authority.*
- B. Write three statements about why laws that are unjust should be disobeyed.*
- C. Write three statements describing the advantages to defying a crowd.*

In contrast, participants in the conforming condition responded to the following three prompts:

- A. Write three statements explaining why people should obey authority.*
- B. Write three statements about why the laws of society should be obeyed.*
- C. Write three statements describing the advantages to conforming to the crowd.*

Identity Manipulation. Participants also completed the identity content manipulation from Studies 1, 2, and 3 to prime a creative or logical identity.

Dependent Variable

Dishonesty. Participants completed the Number Search Task described in

Study 2.

Manipulation Checks

Creative Identity. Participants completed the creative identity measure used in Studies 1, 2, and 3 ($\alpha = .85$).

Rebelliousness. To verify the effectiveness of the rebelliousness manipulation, participants completed the Rebelliousness/Conformity Scale (Comrey, 2008) ($\alpha = .56$).

Results

Manipulation Checks

Creative Identity. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Rebelliousness: rebellious vs. conforming) ANOVA on the creative identity survey indicated a significant main effect for identity, $F(1, 98) = 5.74, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, for rebelliousness, $F(1, 98) = 1.23, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$ and for the interaction of rebelliousness and identity, $F(1, 98) = 4.45, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. Consistent with the manipulation, participants in the creative identity condition reported having stronger creative identities ($M = 4.83, SD = 1.31$) than participants in the logical condition ($M = 4.06, SD = 1.42$), $t(101) = 2.87, p < .01$.

Rebelliousness. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Rebelliousness: rebellious vs. conforming) ANOVA on rebelliousness survey revealed only a significant main effect for rebelliousness, $F(1, 98) = 11.08, p < .01, \eta^2 = .10$. Participants in the rebellious condition reported having increased sense of rebelliousness ($M = 4.28, SD = 0.76$) than participants in the conforming condition ($M = 3.65, SD = 0.97$), $t(101) = 3.69, p < .001$, thus suggesting that the manipulation was successful. The main effect of

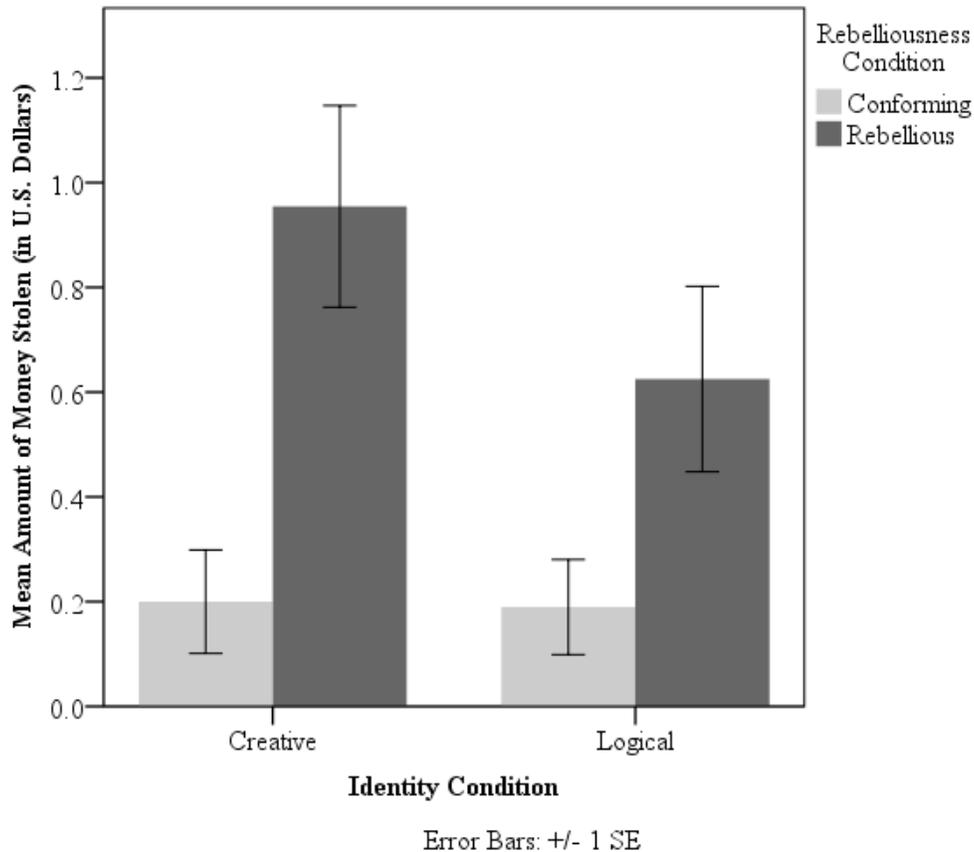
identity, $F(1, 98) = 2.76, n.s., \eta^2 = .02$ and the interaction of entitlement and identity, $F(1, 98) = 1.84, n.s., \eta^2 = .02$, were insignificant.

Dependent Variable

Dishonesty. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Rebelliousness: rebellious vs. conforming) analysis of variance using theft as the outcome variable indicated an insignificant main effect for identity on the amount of theft in which participants engaged, $F(1, 98) = 1.12, n.s., \eta^2 = .01$, and an insignificant interaction between identity and rebelliousness, $F(1, 98) = 0.99, n.s., \eta^2 = .01$ (see Figure 5). However, there was a significant main effect for rebelliousness on the amount of theft in which participants engaged, $F(1, 98) = 13.69, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$. Individuals in the rebellious conditions engaged in significantly more theft ($M = \$0.83, SD = 1.00$) than individuals in the conforming conditions ($M = \$0.19, SD = 0.46$), regardless of identity content, $t(101) = 4.05, p < .001$.

Figure 5

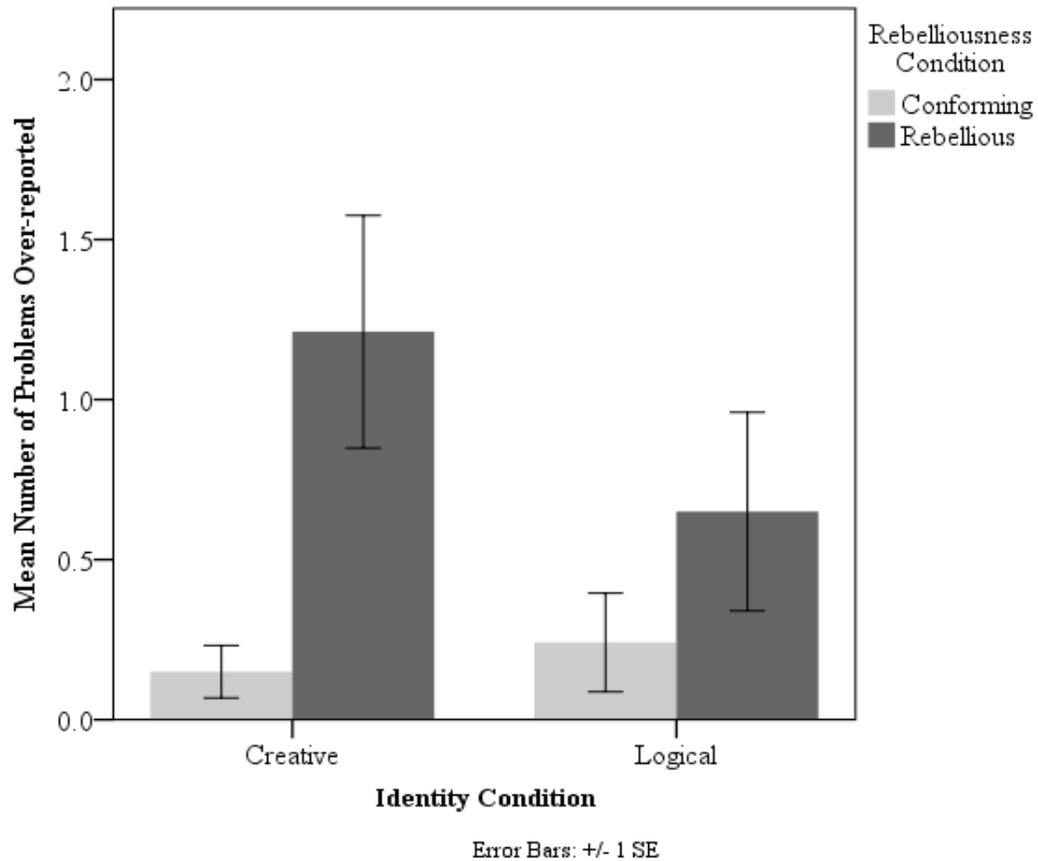
Average amount of theft by Identity (Creative vs. Logical) and Rebelliousness (Rebellious vs. Conforming). Study 4. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



The number of problems that were over-reported as correctly solved was also analyzed as a measure of lying. A 2 (Identity: creative vs. logical) by 2 (Rebelliousness: rebellious vs. conforming) analysis of variance using lying as the outcome variable indicated a significant main effect for rebelliousness on lying, $F(1, 98) = 6.49, p < .05, \eta^2 = .06$. Individuals in the rebellious conditions lied significantly more ($M = 1.00, SD = 1.86$) than individuals in the conforming conditions ($M = 0.20, SD = .67$), $t(101) = 2.83, p < .01$. However, consistent with the results for theft, the main effect for identity, $F(1, 98) = 0.67, n.s., \eta^2 = .01$, and the interaction of identity and rebelliousness $F(1, 98) = 1.20, n.s., \eta^2 = .01$, were insignificant. Figure 6 illustrates the differences across the conditions.

Figure 6

Average amount of lying by Identity (Creative vs. Logical) and Rebelliousness (Rebellious vs. Conforming). Study 4. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



Discussion

Study 4 tested rebelliousness as a potential mechanism. While feeling rebellious did cause individuals to engage in more theft and lying, rebelliousness failed to interact with the creative identity to effectively reduce dishonesty. While Study 1 indicates that a sense of rebelliousness is caused by having a salient creative identity, Studies 2 and 4 question if rebelliousness is the driving mechanism between

the creative identity and dishonesty. While it does appear that individuals with the creative identity feel more rebellious, the data suggest that this sense of rebelliousness does not then cause individuals to engage in dishonest behaviors.

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 5: EXAMINING HOW INDIVIDUALS WITH CREATIVE IDENTITIES ARE EVALUATED

Study 5

To investigate how other individuals evaluate individuals with creative identities, I conducted a 3 (Identity: creative vs. logical vs. neutral) by 3 (Behavior: honest vs. stole \$100 vs. \$1,000) experiment. For this study, participants were asked to assess job candidates on a series of traits and then, after receiving information regarding a behavior by the candidate that was either honest or dishonest, decide if they would hire the candidate.

Methods and materials

Participants and design

182 undergraduates at a large university in the United States ($M_{age}=23$ years, $SD=8.67$, 106 females) participated in the study in exchange for course credit. The study had a 3 (Identity: creative vs. logical vs. neutral) by 3 (Behavior: honest vs. stole \$100 vs. \$1,000) design. Participants were randomly selected into one of the nine conditions. Upon arrival at the lab, participants were told that they were taking part in a study on how individuals evaluate job candidates. The study had two phases. In the first phase, participants received information regarding a company (Lancom, Inc.) and the open position. Then participants received the resume of a job candidate named Lee Perry. After reading the resume, participants were asked a series of questions as an initial assessment of the job candidate. In the second phase, participants were given

additional information regarding the behavior of the job candidate. This behavior was either honest or dishonest. After receiving this information, participants answered a second series of questions assessing the job candidate. The final three questions asked the participant to indicate if he/she would hire the job candidate.

Procedure

Manipulations

Identity Manipulation. After receiving information regarding the company and the open position, participants received one of three resumes. The content of each resume was identical except for the career objective. In the Creative Identity condition, the career objective stated, “I identify myself as a highly creative individual. I am seeking a position where I can demonstrate creativity.” In contrast, the Logical Identity condition, the statement read “I identify myself as a highly logical individual. I am seeking a position where I can demonstrate logical reasoning.” A third condition, the Neutral Identity condition, did not include this statement. The neutral identity condition was included to offer a base assessment of the resume against which to compare the Logical and Creative Identity resumes. After reading the resume, participants were asked to assess the job candidate on a series of characteristics including entitlement, rebelliousness, and morality.

Behavior Manipulation. Participants then received information regarding a behavior in which the job candidate had engaged. In the Honest condition, participants received the following message:

“While checking Lee’s references, you hear the following story about Lee.

While Lee was working for Newport Financial Inc., Lee was asked to manage

the purchasing of office supplies. To perform this task, Lee was given access to a bank account and cash in order to purchase the supplies. After Lee left the company, it was discovered that Lee had accurately reported the expenses and inventory.”

In the Stole \$100 condition, participants received the following message:

“While checking Lee’s references, you hear the following story about Lee.

While Lee was working for Newport Financial Inc., Lee was asked to manage the purchasing of office supplies. To perform this task, Lee was given access to a bank account and cash in order to purchase the supplies. After Lee left the company, it was discovered that Lee had stolen \$100 from this fund.”

Finally, in the Stole \$1,000 condition, participants received the same message as the Stole \$100 condition except the amount was increased to \$1,000. The two dishonest conditions (Stole \$100 and Stole \$1,000) were designed to assess the limitations of any potential leniency for individuals with creative identities. It is possible that individuals are willing to forgive smaller dishonest behaviors such as stealing \$100 more easily than larger dishonest behaviors such as stealing \$1,000. After receiving the information regarding the candidate’s behavior, participants were asked to answer a series of questions assessing the job candidate. The final three questions asked the participants to assess how likely it would be that they would hire the job candidate.

Dependent Variables

Entitlement. Participants responded to three questions assessing if the participants thought that the job candidate felt entitled ($\alpha = .65$). The items asked if the

job candidate “had a high sense of entitlement,” “felt that they deserved more than other,” and “would demand the best in life.” Participants responded to each item on a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree).

Rebelliousness. Participants also responded to three questions assessing if the participants thought that the job candidate was rebellious ($\alpha = .60$). On a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree), participants rated if the job candidate was “rebellious” and “independent” and “would resist conforming to the rules.”

Expectation of Morality. Participants responded to three questions assessing if the participants thought that the job candidate was a moral and ethical person ($\alpha = .80$). On a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree), participants rated if the job candidate was “honest,” “moral,” and “ethical.”

Hiring Assessment. After receiving the anecdote regarding the candidate’s behavior, participants responded to three questions evaluating if the participant would hire the individual ($\alpha = .98$). On a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree), participants rated their level of agreement to the statements “Lancom, Inc. should hire this candidate,” “I would recommend hiring this applicant,” “This applicant would be an asset to the organization.”

Results

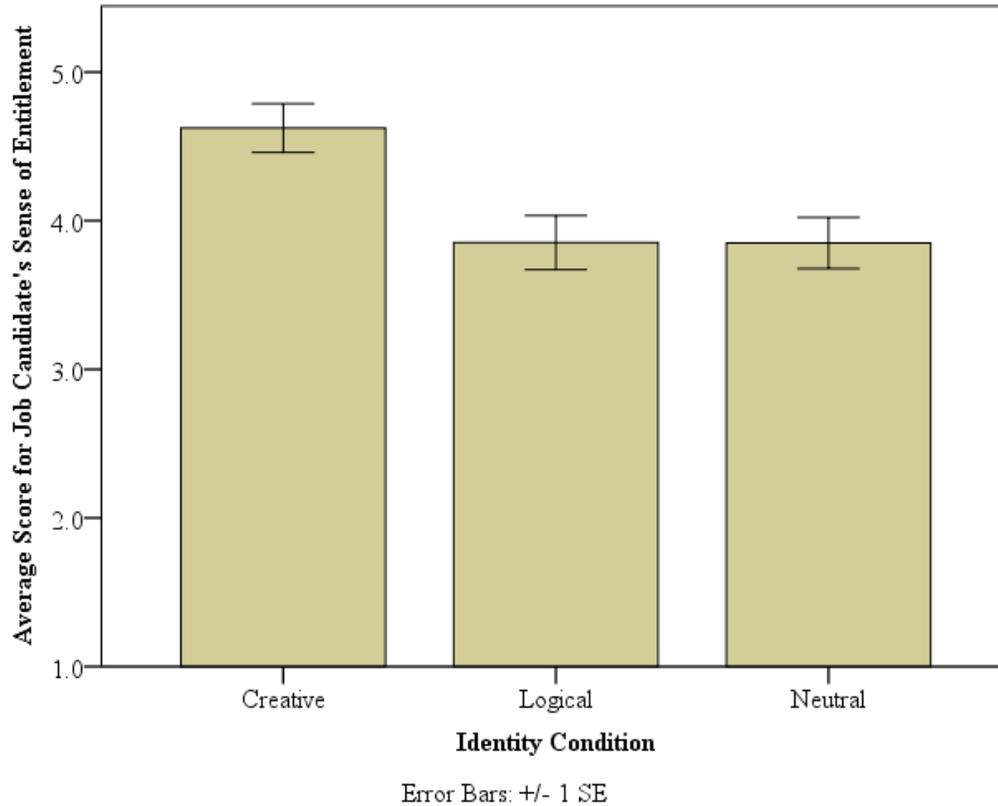
Dependent Variables

Entitlement. A one-way ANOVA on Identity: creative vs. logical vs. neutral) with entitlement as the outcome variable indicated a significant main effect for identity on the average score of job candidate’s entitlement, $F(2, 179) = 6.64, p < .01$,

$\eta^2=.07$. Figure 7 illustrates the differences in average score among the conditions. The neutral identity ($M=3.85$, $SD=1.34$) and the logical identity condition ($M=3.85$, $SD=1.42$) were not significantly different, $t(179)=0.01$, *n.s.* However, the creative identity condition ($M=4.62$, $SD=1.28$) was significantly different from the logical identity condition, $t(179) = 3.15$, $p<.01$, and the neutral identity condition, $t(179) = 3.15$, $p<.01$. The findings suggest that a sense of entitlement is a common expectation for individuals with creative identities. Individuals believe that individuals with creative identities will have a heightened sense of entitlement.

Figure 7

Average score for perceived job candidate's sense of entitlement by Identity (Creative vs. Logical vs. Neutral). Study 5. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.

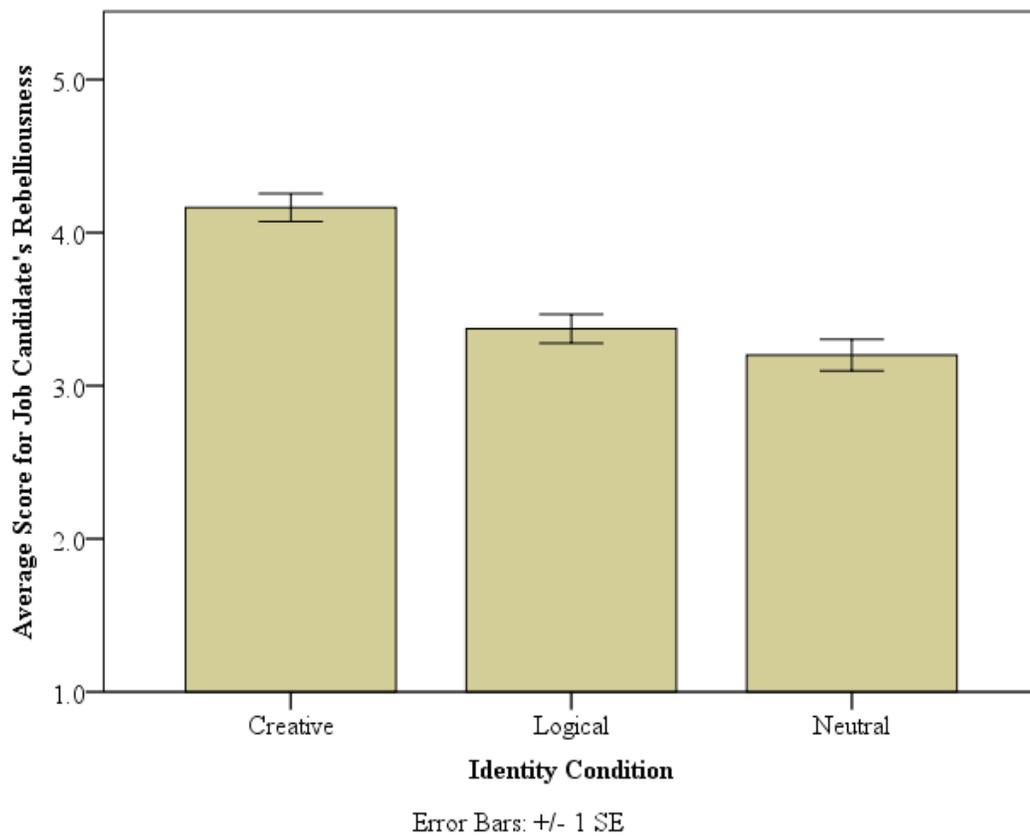


Rebelliousness. The patterns that emerged among the identity conditions and entitlement continued with rebelliousness. A one-way ANOVA on Identity: creative vs. logical vs. neutral) with rebelliousness as the outcome variable indicated a significant main effect for identity on the average score of job candidate's rebelliousness, $F(2, 179) = 28.56, p < .0001, \eta^2 = .24$. Figure 8 illustrates the differences in average score among the conditions. Consistent with entitlement, the neutral identity ($M=3.20, SD=0.80$) and the logical identity condition ($M=3.37, SD= 0.74$) were not significantly different, $t(179)=1.26, n.s$. However, the creative identity condition ($M=4.16, SD= 0.80$) was significantly different from the logical identity condition, $t(179) = 5.84, p < .0001$, and also the neutral identity condition, $t(179) = 7.07, p < .0001$. Therefore, compared with individuals with a neutral identity or with a

logical identity, individuals with creative identities are perceived as being significantly more rebelliousness, independent, and resistant to conforming to the rules. This finding aligns with previous findings regarding the creative stereotype of creative people being nonconformist and individualistic (Gough, 1979; MacKinnon, 1963; Westby & Dawson, 1995).

Figure 8

Average score for perceived job candidate's rebelliousness by Identity (Creative vs. Logical vs. Neutral). Study 5. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.

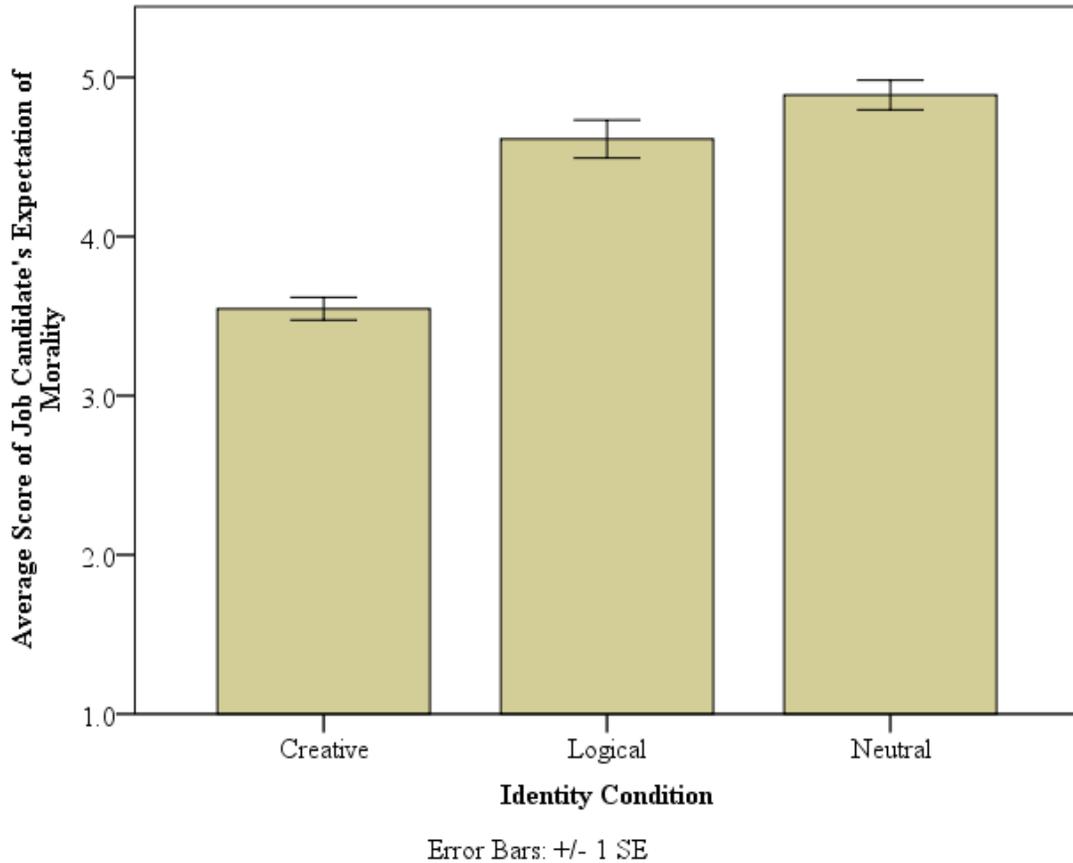


Expectation of Morality. The main effect for identity on job candidate's

expectation of morality was significant, $F(2, 179) = 53.65, p < .0001, \eta^2 = .38$. Figure 9 illustrates the differences in average scores among the conditions. Significant differences emerged between the conditions. The job candidate with the neutral identity ($M=4.89, SD=0.72$) was rated as being significantly more moral than the job candidate with the logical identity ($M= 4.61, SD= 0.93$), $t(179)=2.02, p < .05$. Moreover, the job candidate with the creative identity ($M=3.55, SD= 0.56$) was evaluated as being significantly less moral than both the job candidate with the logical identity, $t(179) = 7.80, p < .0001$, and the job candidate with the neutral identity, $t(179) = 9.79, p < .0001$.

Figure 9

Average score for perceived job candidate's expectation of morality by Identity (Creative vs. Logical vs. Neutral). Study 5. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



Hiring Assessment.

A 3 (Identity: creative vs. logical vs. neutral) by 2 (Behavior: honest vs. stole \$100 vs. stole \$1,000) analysis of variance using hiring assessment as the outcome variable indicated a significant main effect for behavior, $F(2, 173) = 247.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .68$. The job candidate who had behaved honestly received significantly higher scores on the hiring assessment ($M = 5.55, SD = 0.99$) than the job candidate who stole \$100 ($M = 2.37, SD = 1.27, t(173) = 17.89, p < .0001$), or the job candidate who stole \$1,000 ($M = 1.96, SD = 1.06, t(173) = 20.45, p < .001$). It is unsurprising that evaluators overwhelmingly preferred the honest job candidates to dishonest candidates. However, differences emerged within the dishonest conditions. The job candidate who stole

\$1,000 was significantly less likely to be hired than the job candidate who stole \$100, $t(173) = 2.41, p < .05$. This finding suggests that individuals appear to recognize that dishonesty varies in intensity and consequently rate dishonesty on a scale in which some dishonesty is worse or more reprehensible than other dishonesty.

A significant main effect for identity also emerged, $F(2, 173) = 15.10, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$. While the neutral condition ($M=2.91, SD= 2.11$) was not significantly different from the logical identity condition ($M=3.10, SD= 1.99$), $t(173) = 1.25, p = n.s.$, the creative identity condition ($M=3.83, SD= 1.62$) received significantly higher hire assessments than the neutral identity condition, $t(173) = 5.25, p < .001$, and the logical identity condition, $t(173) = 4.02, p < .001$. This finding seems to conflict with previous research that demonstrates that while many organizations will claim to want creative ideas, creative ideas may be dismissed in favor of more practical solutions (Staw, 1995; Mueller, Melwani & Goncalo, 2012). However, I argue that this main effect is driven by the significant interaction in which individuals with creative identities receive higher scores after engaging in dishonesty than individuals with neutral or logical identities. I will explain this interaction below.

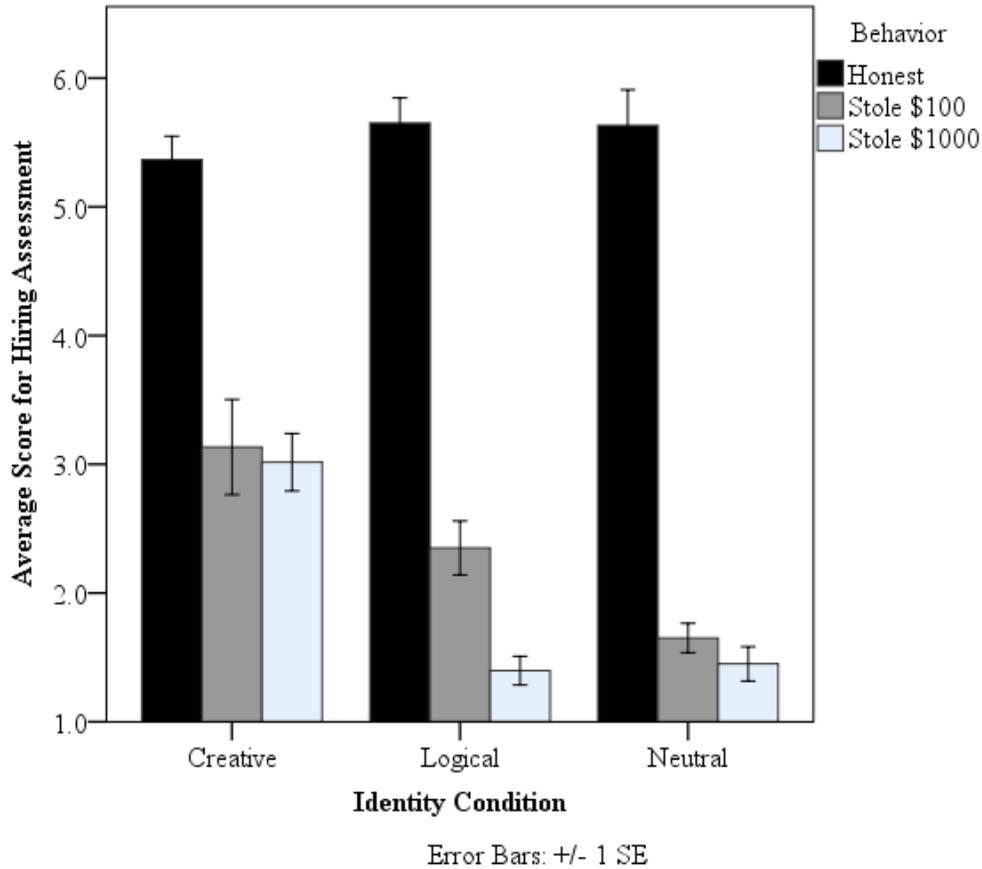
A significant interaction between identity and behavior emerged, $F(4, 173) = 7.72, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$. Figure 10 illustrates the differences in average scores among the conditions. Within the honest condition, the neutral identity condition ($M=5.63, SD=1.24$) was not significantly different from the logical identity condition ($M=5.65, SD=0.88$), $t(173) = 0.05, p = n.s.$ Similarly, the creative identity condition ($M=5.63, SD=1.24$) was not significantly different from logical identity condition, $t(173) = 0.92, p = n.s.$, or the neutral identity condition, $t(173) = 0.87, p = n.s.$

However, within the dishonest conditions, interesting differences emerged. Within the Stole \$100 condition, the neutral identity condition ($M=1.65$, $SD=0.51$) was significantly different from the logical identity condition ($M=2.35$, $SD=0.94$), $t(173)= 2.28$, $p<.05$, suggesting that describing oneself as logical may cause others to be slightly lenient when evaluating the individual. This leniency was even greater in the creative identity condition. The creative identity condition ($M=3.13$, $SD=1.66$) was significantly different from logical identity condition, $t(173)= 2.55$, $p<.05$, and the neutral identity condition, $t(173)= 4.83$, $p<.001$.

Within the Stole \$1,000 conditions, the leniency for the logical identity condition was removed. The neutral identity condition ($M=1.40$, $SD=0.51$) was not significantly different from the logical identity condition ($M=1.45$, $SD=0.60$), $t(173)= 0.18$, $p=n.s.$ However, the leniency remained for the creative identity. As in the Stole \$100 condition, the creative identity condition ($M=3.02$, $SD=1.02$) was significantly different from logical identity condition, $t(173)= 5.40$, $p<.001$, and the neutral identity condition, $t(173)= 5.16$, $p<.001$. Furthermore, within the creative identity condition, the Stole \$100 was not significantly different from the Stole \$1,000, $t(173)= 0.38$, $p=n.s.$ The finding suggests that evaluators are more willing to be lenient in their assessments of individuals with a creative identity compared to individuals with logical or neutral identities.

Figure 10.

Average score for hiring assessment by Identity (Creative vs. Logical vs. Neutral) and Behavior (Honest vs. Stole \$100 vs. \$1,000). Study 5. Each error bar is constructed using 1 standard error from the mean.



Discussion

This study investigated how other individuals evaluate individuals with a creative identity and how those evaluations affect evaluators' decisions to hire those individuals. Despite expecting individuals with creative identities to be entitled, rebellious, and less moral, evaluators were still willing to hire individuals with creative identities. Furthermore, upon receiving information that the individual was indeed dishonest, evaluators were more lenient on individuals with creative identities than individuals with logical and neutral identities.

This finding represents a dual cost to organizations. Individuals with creative identities are more dishonest, and other individuals are more lenient on that dishonesty

thus creating conditions that allow the individuals with creative identities to be dishonest. This finding dovetails with Baucus and colleagues' (2008) arguments that the very conditions that support creativity may also support dishonesty. Individuals who are seen as creative can receive more freedom or leniency because of their reputation for being creative (Baucus et al., 2008). The study extends that argument by demonstrating that individuals are even tolerant of dishonest behaviors from individuals with creative identities that are viewed as unacceptable from other individuals.

However, the findings of this study should not be taken to suggest that individuals with creative identities are given free range and completely forgiven for their dishonest transgressions. In this study, the hiring evaluations for the individuals with the creative identities were still below the midpoint of the hiring assessment scale. While these evaluations were still significantly higher than the evaluations for other individuals with non-creative identities, the evaluations for all individuals were significantly affected by the dishonest behaviors regardless of identity content. Therefore, while individuals with creative identities were given more leniency than other individuals, they were not given carte-blanche to behave how they wish.

CHAPTER 7

GENERAL DISCUSSION

While it cannot be denied that creativity can lead to very positive and beneficial outcomes for organizations, society, and individuals, recent research has cast a shadow on this positive perspective by highlighting the dark side of creativity (Gino & Ariely, 2012; Silvia et al., 2011). The current paper demonstrates that having a self-concept as a creative person can increase individuals' engagement in dishonest behaviors and how a sense of entitlement causes the connection between the creative identity and dishonesty. I argued that the creative identity is associated with psychological entitlement- that individuals who see themselves as creative may also see themselves as more deserving, unique, and special compared to other people. Consistent with this prediction, in Study 1, individuals who were primed to think of themselves as creative scored higher on the Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell et al., 2004) than individuals who were primed to think of themselves as logical.

In Study 2, I investigated the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty by exploring how self-awareness moderates the relationship. Contrary to traditional effect of self-awareness of reducing dishonesty, I found that self-awareness can increase dishonesty for individuals primed with creative identities (i.e. have a creative identity). Moreover, increasing self-awareness also increased psychological entitlement for individuals with creative identities but not for individuals with logical

identities whereas self-awareness did not increase a sense of rebelliousness for individuals with a creative identity.

In Study 3, I extended my investigation to the behavioral effects of that heightened sense of entitlement by exploring how entitlement may affect individuals' engagement in dishonest behaviors such as theft and lying. Due to the increased focus on the self, an over-valuation of the self, and the increased sense of deserving, a sense of entitlement may cause individuals to engage in deceptive behaviors in order to gain what they believe they deserve. The results of Study 3 demonstrated that psychological entitlement is associated with increased dishonesty but also mediated the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty. Individuals with creative identities who also felt entitled engaged in more dishonesty than individuals with logical identities who felt entitled. However, this relationship became insignificant when individuals with creative identities felt less entitled, and individuals with creative identities engaged in as much dishonesty as individuals with logical identities who also felt less entitled.

Study 4 builds on the findings of Studies 1 and 2 to demonstrate that while having a creative identity can cause an individual to feel rebellious, that sense of rebelliousness does not cause individuals to engage in dishonesty.

Study 5 examines the effects of the creative identity from a different perspective: how do others evaluate individuals who identify themselves as creative and how do those evaluations alter how the individual with the creative identity is evaluated? The data demonstrate that the negative consequences of the creative identity are not limited to the individual with the creative identity. Individuals with

creative identities are expected to be more entitled and rebellious, and despite these expectations, other individuals are more lenient on the individuals with the creative identities after discovering that the individual was dishonest. A vicious cycle could emerge. Individuals with creative identities feel more entitled and thus feel justified in being dishonest. Other individuals allow this dishonesty to occur thus reinforcing the individuals with creative identities' perceptions that they are unique and special and allowed to do what others cannot.

CHAPTER 8

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The present research builds upon existing research in several important ways. First, it expands the understanding of the creative identity, a newer and, as of yet, under-analyzed construct. While the majority of research examines creativity as a cognitive ability or a personality trait, the creative identity is a self-perception and will influence an individual's behavior in a different way from a personality trait or a cognitive ability. Similar to other identities, the creative identity can cause individuals to behave in ways that support or preserve the positive nature of the identity. By understanding the content of the creative identity, researchers may better predict the effects of that identity on individuals' behaviors. While creative individuals are often seen as independent and self-focused (Kirton, 1976; Drevdahl, 1964) and can also be immodest and arrogant (Silvia et al., 2011), the current research expands the portrait of the creative identity by demonstrating that the creative identity is associated with a sense of entitlement and rebelliousness.

The present research also contributes to the recent interest by researchers on the dark side of creative thinking. Recent work demonstrates that creativity can lead to dishonesty due to the enhanced ability of creative thinkers to rationalize their dishonest behaviors (Gino & Ariely, 2012). While all individuals have the ability to rationalize their dishonest behaviors to make them morally palatable (e.g. "It's okay for me to take office supplies home because I sometimes do work at home"), creative people appear to be more adept at creating these rationalizations due to their cognitive

flexibility. The current research expands on this finding by demonstrating that the connection between creativity and dishonesty extends beyond the cognitive ability to rationalize dishonest behaviors to a general self-perception. Individuals with creative identities see themselves as more deserving and more unique, and, therefore, they may engage in dishonesty to claim what they perceive as being justly and fairly theirs by the right of their creativity. In this way, the sense of entitlement serves as a justification for dishonest behaviors. Individuals with creative identities can rationalize that they deserve more than others due to their creativity and unique, valuable contributions to the organization and thus see dishonesty as a method of claiming what is rightfully owed to them. However, when that perception of being more deserving than others is removed, the inclination for dishonesty is also removed. This finding is consistent with studies highlighting the importance of a sense of self-interest as a motivation for dishonesty (Mazar & Ariely, 2006) as a sense of entitlement increases selfish and self-focused behaviors and reduces consideration of others' needs (Zitek et al., 2010; Campbell et al., 2004).

Finally, the present research contributes to the literature on psychological entitlement. The research expanded the nomological network of entitlement by demonstrating associations with both the creative identity and dishonesty. Previous research has highlighted the association between psychological entitlement and selfishness (Harvey & Martinko, 2009, Zitek et al., 2011). The current research expands that research by demonstrating that feeling entitled can lead to not only selfish but dishonest behaviors.

This finding is related to recent research that finds that individuals from higher

social classes engage in more unethical behaviors than individuals from lower social classes (Piff, Stancato, Côté, Mendoza-Denton, & Keltner, 2012). Piff and colleagues (2012) argue that the greater resources, freedom, and independence from others of the upper class creates a self-focus that causes individuals to prioritize their own self-interest over others' welfare and perceive greed as positive and beneficial, which, in turn, causes increased unethical behavior. Indeed, they find that greed mediates the relationship between class and unethical behaviors, suggesting that individuals of higher social classes engage in unethical behaviors because they view greed in a more positive light. Like entitlement, greed is a self-focused trait that can cause individuals to focus on their needs and desires over others' needs. The current research and the research by Piff et al. (2012) suggest that an increased self-focus in various manifestations such as greed or entitlement allows individuals to forsake moral concerns for the sake of personal gains even if achieving those gains requires misdeeds.

CHAPTER 9

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE WORK

This research explored the content of the creative identity and how an enhanced sense of psychological entitlement can promote dishonest behaviors. Future research could continue to expand this portrait of the creative identity.

In addition to a relationship with dishonesty, the relationship between the creative identity and psychological entitlement may cause additional behavioral consequences. Entitlement is characterized by a salient self-focus. An entitled individual is concerned with their own outcomes and feels that one is more deserving than others (Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bushman, 2004). They believe they are special and, as such, deserve special treatment and rewards (Zitek et al., 2010) regardless of the effort that they put into earning those rewards (Twenge & Campbell, 2009).

If entitled individuals believe that they deserve special treatment, what occurs when they do not receive this treatment? In organizations, employees may not receive the recognition or the resources that they feel that they deserve. For instance, a person may not receive an expected raise or bonus. One employee may arrogate credit for a successful project rather than acknowledge other employees' work. An employee may feel that his/her work was unfairly criticized. Many individuals may be upset over such a situation; however, for an entitled individual, the reaction could be significantly more negative, aggressive, and severe. Research suggests that entitled narcissists are easily offended (McCullough, Emmons, Kilpatrick, & Mooney, 2003; Witte, Callahan,

& Perez-Lopez, 2002) and are more likely to respond negatively to a message from a competitor (Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell, & Finkel, 2004). Moreover, entitled individuals are less likely to forgive but are more likely to insist on repayment for an offense (Bishop & Lane, 2002; Exline et al., 2004). Furthermore, feeling victimized can trigger a sense of entitlement (Zitek et al., 2010), so feeling victimized or offended may cause the entitled individual's negative reaction to the perceived offense or slight to be exacerbated.

Beyond being less likely to forgive, entitled individuals are also more likely to be aggressive after being criticized. Campbell and colleagues (2004) found that entitled individuals who had been criticized behaved aggressively against their criticizer. After receiving a negative evaluation on a short essay that they had written, entitled individuals chose a longer and more severe punishment for their criticizer. Campbell and colleagues (2004) argue that criticism contradicts entitled individuals' feelings of deservingness. When this self-concept as special and unique is threatened, the entitled individual can become more aggressive. Moreover, as entitlement causes a focus on the self and a neglect of the concerns of others, entitled individuals perceive that aggression toward the criticizer is a reasonable response (Campbell et al., 2004).

Given a relationship between entitlement and the creative identity, similar interpersonal behaviors could be associated with the creative identity. For instance, when the creative identity is salient, individuals may more easily be offended and react more negatively to criticisms regarding their work. In particular, if their identity as creative is criticized, the entitled individuals may react negatively and potentially aggressively against the criticizer.

An additional concern is that entitled individuals may perceive time differently. Time is a valuable resource for every person. However, as the entitled individual believes that they are more valuable than other people and should receive special treatment, they might think that their time is more valuable than other people's time. While everyone must complete some dull or tedious tasks at work, entitled individuals may perceive these tasks as a waste of their valuable time (O'Brien, Anastasio, & Bushman, 2011). Moreover, during dull tasks, entitled individuals believe that more time has passed (O'Brien, et al., 2011). In other words, time drags on when entitled individuals are not having fun.

As a result, entitled individuals may become bored more easily, dissatisfied with their job, or even resentful of having to complete these tasks. Entitled individuals may react to this frustration in several ways. First, they may be insulted that they were even asked to complete the task. They then may become aggressive toward the individual or individuals that they associate with these tasks. They may engage in dishonest behaviors as a way to get revenge against the organization that is causing them to suffer. Second, they may not complete the tasks at all and choose to spend their time in other ways. While they may be productive in those chosen tasks, not completing the dull tasks could cause difficulties for the organization or other employees. Third, the individual may become so dissatisfied with the situation that they remove themselves from the situation causing organizations to incur the costs of replacing the employee.

Individuals with creative identities may be particularly affected by dull tasks or tasks that do not promote their creative identity. As the creative identity may represent

a core component of their self-concept, those individuals may be particularly sensitive to tasks that do not require or allow them to be creative. Moreover, they may feel that these tasks are wastes of their time. As such, individuals with creative identities may require more sensation or variation in tasks in order to remain satisfied with a job and focused on a task.

The connection between the creative identity and psychological entitlement also might suggest a relationship to psychological distance. If the creative identity and psychological entitlement are associated with a heightened focus on and over-valuation of the self, conversely, feeling less entitled may remind individuals of their connections to others and to social norms. While feeling entitled may increase the psychological distance between the self and others by causing a focus on the self, feeling less entitled may reduce that distance. The increased psychological distance between the self and others caused by an increased sense of entitlement may allow individuals to be dishonest. This suggests an interesting implication for organizations. For organizations that want to promote employees' creativity, the increased dishonesty of creative individuals could be a significant detriment to the benefits received due to increased creativity. However, by reducing the psychological distance between the individual and the organization and by focusing employees' attention on their connections to the organization, dishonesty may be reduced. This type of intervention that highlights the employees' connection to the organizational identity may be particularly useful if the organization itself has a creative identity. Organizations such as Apple have developed a strong identity based on nonconformity, innovation, and creativity, and this identity can motivate creative idea generation in individuals

unconnected to the organizations (Fitzsimons et al., 2008). Through the promotion of an organizational identity that highlights creativity, organizations may be able to encourage creativity without encouraging dishonesty.

This research may be related to work on moral credentialing theory, which argues that when individuals become aware of their own moral deeds, they are more likely to act immorally on subsequent endeavors because they earned “moral credits” (Monin & Miller, 2001). It is possible that feeling entitled allows individuals to focus on their own virtues and greatness, which may license them to be dishonest. However, when feeling less entitled, their sense of their own greatness and virtues is removed thus reducing the leniency for immoral behaviors.

To extend the external validity of this study, this research could be extended into a field setting for further validation. It may be particularly interesting to test the study’s hypotheses in an organizational setting that has different departments that either emphasizes creativity or emphasizes a different trait or ability. The current investigation of the effects of the creative identity on dishonesty in a controlled laboratory setting allows us to clearly examine the psychological underpinnings of the relationship. The correlation between the effect sizes obtained in the field and those obtained in the lab are generally high (Anderson, Lindsay, & Bushman, 1999) particularly for industrial and organizational psychology studies (Mitchell, 2012). Therefore, I expect a field investigation to strengthen the generalizability of the results of the current research and identify additional moderators or boundary conditions for the relationships identified in this paper.

It is also possible that some individuals may be more affected by the creative

identity than others. For instance, individuals who have a creative personality or are creative thinkers (Gino & Ariely, 2012) may be more vulnerable to the saliency of the creative identity. Additionally, individuals who are intrinsically motivated to engage in creative behaviors may also be more affected by the creative identity and more likely to engage in dishonest behaviors due to the strong, positive association between themselves and creativity that these individuals have. Research investigating the personal, motivational and situational factors that may affect the creative identity may uncover important insights into our understanding of the role of the creative identity in organizations and the creative identity's affect on individuals' behaviors.

As more organizations are developing a creative identity among employees, understanding the creative identity becomes important. As the creative identity is still a new construct, examining the nomological network will be useful for theorists and practitioners. In building this nomological network, it will be useful to examine the behavioral consequences of psychological entitlement as individuals with creative identities may also engage in behaviors associated with psychological entitlement. Given the increased sense of entitlement, individuals with creative identities may be more difficult to manage in organizations thus increasing the cost of creativity for organizations. However, by increasing our understanding of the creative identity and its correlates, future work may be able to reduce the costs and increase the benefits of the creative identity.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

While creativity can lead to many positive outcomes, this research contributes to the growing research regarding the connection between creativity and dishonesty. The connection between creativity and dishonesty extends beyond the creative personality and the creative ability to be morally flexible. This research demonstrates that the mere self-perception as creative is sufficient to motivate dishonesty. While creative ability allows individuals to justify their dishonest deeds, the relationship between creative identity and dishonesty does not appear to function through moral flexibility. Rather, this research has shown that the creative identity includes a sense of entitlement and that people who perceive themselves as creative are more likely to engage in dishonest behaviors when they feel entitled compared to people who have a salient logical identity. However, when individuals who perceive themselves as creative feel less entitled, the individuals are as likely to engage in as much dishonesty as individuals who have a salient logical identity. This finding indicates that the relationship between the creative identity and dishonesty may be affected by situational cues regarding the content of the identity. By contributing to the general understanding of the creative identity and the connection between creativity and dishonesty, this research demonstrates why and when perceiving oneself as creative can lead to dishonesty. This research may allow organizations to achieve the notable and significant benefits of creativity while reducing the unintended but potentially

significant costs of employee dishonesty.

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