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Early Maladaptive Schemas as Predictors of Narcissism: The Mediating Role of Self-Esteem

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Abstract

Narcissism and its components remain up-to-date in academic studies as a topic that has been and continues to be the focus of attention of researchers. The aim of this study is to examine the predictive effect of early maladaptive schemas on narcissism and the mediating role of self-esteem in this effect. A total of 426 university students, 229 female and 197 male, participated in the study. In addition to the demographic information form, the Narcissistic Admiration and Competition Scale, Young Schema Questionnaire-Short Form 3 and Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory were used to collect data. In the analysis of the data, descriptive statistics, Pearson Product of Moments Correlation analysis, mediation analysis in line with the procedures recommended by Preacher and Hayes, and Bootstrapping method were used to evaluate the mediation effect. According to the results of the research; Schema domains of impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection, other-directedness, and impaired limits predict self-esteem. Schema domains of impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection, impaired limits as well as self-esteem, predict narcissism, while the schema domains of other-directedness do not predict narcissism. Self-esteem acts as a mediator in the relationship between impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection and impaired limits schema areas and narcissism.

Keywords: Narcissism, early maladaptive schemas, self-esteem, college students

Öz


Anahtar Kelimeler: Narsisizm, erken dönem uyumsuz şemalar, benlik saygısı, üniversite öğrencileri

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Introduction

Narcissism is defined as admiration and attachment to one's own physical and spiritual self. Narcissism is of great interest to behavioral scientists and the lay public. Research across the past 20 years has led to substantial progress in the conceptualization, measurement, and study of narcissism (Miller et al., 2021). According to Rozenblatt (2002), narcissism is defined in two different ways: normal and pathological. Normal narcissism is the state in which the self-worth and self-confidence of the individual is very high without any doubt and the power of criticism or positive/negative influences from others to negatively affect the self-confidence of the individual is minimized. Pathological narcissism is the individual's self-confidence and openness to be completely fed by the thoughts of others in the internal process by considering the thoughts of others as worthless and insignificant (Kernberg, 1975). In other words, the main feature of narcissism, which is a state of mind in which self-admiration, selfishness and the world are seen only as a mirror of the self, is the grandiosity observed or imagined in behaviors, the need to be liked and the inability to empathize (Demirici & Ekşi, 2017). Narcissistic personality disorder is a personality structure that has emerged with the individual's desire to be seen as extremely important, valuable and admired, as well as the lack of empathy (empathy) (Kohut, 1977).

Normal childhood and adulthood narcissism and pathological narcissism differ from each other in various aspects. Pathological self-love manifests itself with self-centeredness and constant self-talk. This condition is characterized by grandiose displays, exhibitionism, a sense of superiority, thoughtlessness and excessive ambition. In addition, people with narcissist tendencies may be overly dependent on others to admire themselves (Kernberg, 2004). The narcissistic admiration and competition model states that narcissism consists of two different but positively related dimensions. Narcissists use two different social strategies to maintain the glorified self, which is their main goal. One of them is self-promotion to ensure social admiration. The other is to defend themselves to prevent social failure. These two strategies are positively related to each other as they both contribute to the main goal of maintaining the glorified self (Back et al., 2013).

Kohut (1966), in contrast to Kernberg's theory, sees narcissism as part of the achievement of maturation and development, hence its remnants show traces throughout life. We never completely lose the traits of narcissism. This "basic narcissistic tension (tonus)" (Kohut, 1966), which pervades our whole personality, presents us throughout our lives with the need for a selfobject, that is, an other being who is at the service of the self or who ensures the sustainability of the self. We all need narcissistic satisfaction from the other or from activities and pursuits. This satisfaction reinforces self-esteem, confidence in one's well-being and confidence in satisfying object relations. It is also considered part of healthy self-development. Self-identity includes the individual's feelings and thoughts about his/her characteristics, how he/she sees himself/herself, i.e. the question 'what kind of character do I have? Self-esteem, on the other hand, includes the individual's evaluations of the self. Although self-esteem is generally seen as a very important part of the self-concept, it has been differentiated by researchers later (Burger, 2006). Self-esteem is the totality of personal feelings and thoughts about one's self-worth (Rosenberg, 1965). It includes feelings, beliefs, values and judgments about oneself that can range from very positive to very negative (Gecas, 1982; Rosenberg, 1965). High self-esteem indicates that the individual finds himself/herself valuable and respects himself/herself, while low self-esteem indicates that the individual is dissatisfied with himself/herself and sees himself/herself as worthless. People with high self-esteem are satisfied with themselves but do not necessarily see themselves as superior to others (Brummelman et al., 2016; Rosenberg 1965). Low or high self-esteem is an indicator of an individual's internal, emotional feedback about himself/herself. Although there are different definitions of self-esteem, the point where all definitions converge is that the concept involves a self-evaluation of the 'I', the subject, about the 'I', the object (Leary & Tangney, 2012). Although high self-esteem seems to be associated with happiness, feeling good about oneself, assertiveness or better self-expression in groups (Baumeister, 2013), studies have found that exaggerated and unbalanced increases in self-esteem can lead to narcissism (Baumeister et al., 2003). In studies examining the relationship between narcissism and self-esteem, narcissism and self-esteem are largely positively related. It is stated that self-esteem fully mediates the relationship between narcissism and well-being (Sedikides et al., 2004). Though various maintenance processes are proposed, all theories argue that narcissistic individuals are acutely attuned to potential threats to their ego and, thus, engage in strategies to protect or bolster their feelings of self-worth (Edershile et al., 2022).

It is accepted that the most important factor in the development of self-esteem is family and early childhood experiences. Studies have shown that the support shown to adolescents by their parents, (Önder & Gülay, 2007) parental attachment during adolescence, (Wilkinson, 2004) the type of authority used, (Erbil et al., 2006) whether the parents are alive or dead, (Rosenberg & Pearlin, 1978) educational level and occupation of the parents, (Demiriz & Öğretir, 2007) have significant effects on self-esteem, and it has also been shown that a perception of rejection by the parents is associated with both.
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depression and low self-esteem in adolescents (Robertson & Simons, 1989). Although high self-esteem seems to be associated with happiness, feeling good about oneself, assertiveness or better self-expression in groups (Baumeister, 2013), research has shown that exaggerated and unbalanced increases in self-esteem can lead to narcissism (Baumeister et al., 2003). Accordingly, the third hypothesis of the study: Self-esteem predicts narcissism.

Failure to form the bond that should be formed between the baby and the caregiver in the first years of life for healthy individual development and ignoring the needs of the baby leads the baby to be disappointed and prepares the ground for the baby to experience negative emotions (Mahler, 1968). Experiences in the first years of life are very effective in the formation of the individual's schemas. In many clinical studies, narcissistic individuals are defined as individuals who are not met empathically by their parents in their childhood experiences and try to fulfill these needs through their relationships in their adult lives (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Thus, after a developmental process, the infant makes the libidinal investment in himself/herself and prefers to live in his/her inner world instead of the outer world (Freud, 1955). Freud treats and explains narcissism as a condition, but Jung and other theorists treat narcissism as an ongoing phenomenon (Rapier, 2005). The narcissistic person has started to be alone and to be alone with this feeling, even in the first months of life. The person whose needs are not fulfilled and ignored experiences the need to try to fulfill their needs even in infancy (Ozan et al., 2008).

According to Kernberg, the context that causes this pathological merger of the ideal self and the ideal object with the real self is the difficulties and obstacles experienced by the parents in the early years of the individual's life. When we look at the parental figures of narcissistic individuals, we often encounter cold parents who behave aggressively, albeit implicitly. The common feature of Kernberg's own narcissist cases is that they have parents who seemingly function quite well but in reality are callous, indifferent and aggressive. It is the mother's narcissistic attitudes towards her child and her efforts to achieve narcissistic fulfillment that make the child special and drive him to seek greatness. Sometimes an important contribution is made to the family structure by attributing characteristics to the child such as being the only and genius child of the parents (Kernberg, 1975). Accordingly, the first hypothesis of the study: “Early maladaptive schemas predict self-esteem”; the second one is “Early maladaptive schemas predict narcissism”. Also, in the light of this literature, the study was designed considering that early maladaptive schemas would predict narcissism through self-esteem. Forth hypothesis of the study is "Self-esteem has a mediating role in the relationship between early maladaptive schemas and narcissism.” The hypothesis model of the study is presented in Figure 1.

**Figure 1.** Hypothesis model of the research.

**Method**

**Research model**

The aim of this study is to examine the predictive effect of early maladaptive schemas on narcissism and the mediating role of self-esteem in this effect. The research was conducted in the context of the relational survey model, which is one of the quantitative research designs that allows examining the relationships between two or more variables.
Participant
The university students studying in various departments, 229 female and 197 male, participated in the study (N= 426). Participants were reached through snowball sampling. The ages of the participants ranged between 18 and 26 and the average age was calculated as 21.3.

Measures

Young Schema Questionnaire-Short Form-3: The scale was developed by Young et al. (1991; 2003) to assess early maladaptive schemas. The scale was adapted into Turkish by Soygüt et al. (2009). According to the results of the validity and reliability analysis of the Turkish version of the scale, the scale consists of 14 factors and 5 schema domains. The test-retest reliability coefficient of the scale ranged between r= .66-.83 for schema domains. Cronbach Alpha internal consistency coefficients are in the range of α= .53-.81. The scale is valid and reliable in Turkish culture. For this study, Cronbach Alpha internal consistency coefficients are in the range of α= .58-.87.

Narcissistic Admiration and Rivalry Scale: The scale developed by Back et al. (2013) measures granddiagnostic narcissism with the interrelated dimensions of admiration (agency) and competition (hostility). The scale was adapted into Turkish by Demirci and Ekşi (2017). The scale has two forms, 18 items and 6 items. The scale is scored according to a 6-point Likert-type scale. The admiration dimension of the scale consists of grandiosity, uniqueness and attraction sub-dimensions. The competition dimension consists of aggression, superiority and devaluation dimensions. In the adaptation of the scale to Turkish culture, the fit values were found to be within the acceptable range (χ2 (128, N = 420)= 302.43, p < .001; CFI = .96; NFI = .94; NNFI = .96; SRMR = .052; RMSEA = .057). The internal consistency coefficient of the total score of the scale was calculated as .85. The internal consistency coefficient of the upper dimensions was .83 for Admiration and .82 for Competition. The internal consistency coefficients of the sub-dimensions were .62 for grandiosity, .61 for uniqueness, .64 for attraction, .63 for aggression, .79 for superiority, .60 for devaluation. The scale is valid and reliable in Turkish culture. For this study, the internal consistency coefficient of the total score of the scale was calculated as .88.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Short Form): The scale developing by Rosenberg (1965), which is frequently used in the literature to measure the self-worth of the participants, was adapted to Turkish culture by Çuhadaroğlu (1986). The 10-item scale is 4-point Likert type. The Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficient reported in the adaptation study was .76. The test-retest reliability coefficient was calculated as .71. After the reversed items were translated, the high score obtained from the scale indicates high self-esteem (Çuhadaroğlu, 1986). The scale is valid and reliable in Turkish culture. For this study, the internal consistency coefficient of the scale was calculated as .74.

Procedure
Before collecting the data, the researchers obtained the necessary legal permissions with the decision of Sivas Cumhuriyet University Educational Sciences Research Proposal Ethical Evaluation Board dated 30.03.2023 and numbered 280688. Data were collected online through Google Forms. In the process, the university students reached were asked to forward the form to their friends.

Data analysis
In the analysis of the data, descriptive statistics, Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis, mediation analyses were conducted in line with the procedures suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2008) and Bootstrapping method was used to evaluate the mediation effect. First, skewness and kurtosis coefficients of the data were calculated to examine whether the data met the assumption of normal distribution. Then, the relationship between the research variables was determined by correlation analysis. Finally, in this study, bootstrapping test with a resampling of 10,000 people was used to confirm the mediation effect. The fact that the 95% confidence intervals obtained from bootstrapping do not contain zero shows that the effects are significant (Hayes, 2013). The most frequent application of bootstrapping in research is the estimation of confidence intervals for indirect effects in mediation models. Data analysis was conducted through SPSS 26 and PROCESS v3.4.1. macro for SPSS. In the model, early maladaptive schemas are represented as x, narcissism as y and self-esteem as m.

Results
This section presents the findings of the data analysis. Descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients that provide information on whether the research variables meet the prerequisites for mediation analysis are presented in Table 1.
The skewness and kurtosis values of the variables were examined and it was found that all variables in the study met the normality assumptions. As can be seen in Table 1, significant relationships were found between narcissism impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection and impaired limits schema areas and self-esteem (r = -.43, r = .41, r = -.22, r = .54 and r = .37, respectively, p < .01). At the same time, there were significant relationships between self-esteem and impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection, other-directedness and impaired limits schema domains (r = -.34, r = -.45, r = -.37, r = -.44 and r = .41, respectively, p < .01). The findings regarding the mediating role of self-esteem in the relationship between early maladaptive schemas and narcissism are shown in Figure 2, 3, 4, 5.

According to the results of the analysis, impaired autonomy significantly predicts self esteem negatively (β = -.31 p < .01). Self esteem significantly predicts narcissism positively (β = .36, p < .01). As seen in Figure 1, the direct effect of impaired autonomy on narcissism was determined as β = -.39, p < .01. After the mediator variable was entered into the equation, the effect of impaired autonomy on narcissism decreased (from -.39 to -.17). Bootstrapping results (Bootstrap coefficient = .12, 95% CI = .08, .12) indicate that self esteem mediates the relationship between impaired autonomy and narcissism.
According to the results of the analysis, unrelenting standards significantly predicts self esteem negatively ($\beta = -0.37$, $p<0.01$). Self esteem significantly predicts narcissism positively ($\beta = 0.36$, $p<0.01$). As seen in Figure 2, the direct effect of unrelenting standards on narcissism was determined as $\beta = 0.32$, $p<0.01$. After the mediator variable was entered into the equation, the effect of unrelenting standards on narcissism decreased (from 0.32 to 0.22). Bootstrapping results (Bootstrap coefficient = 0.09, 95% CI = 0.072, 0.15) indicate that self esteem mediates the relationship between unrelenting standards and narcissism.

According to the results of the analysis, disconnection significantly predicts self esteem negatively ($\beta = -0.23$, $p<0.01$). Self esteem significantly predicts narcissism positively ($\beta = 0.36$, $p<0.01$). As seen in Figure 3, the direct effect of disconnection on narcissism was determined as $\beta = -0.19$, $p<0.01$. After the mediator variable was entered into the equation, the effect of disconnection on narcissism decreased (from -0.19 to -0.12). Bootstrapping results (Bootstrap coefficient = 0.06, 95% CI = 0.066, 0.18) indicate that self esteem mediates the relationship between disconnection and narcissism.

According to the results of the analysis, impaired limits significantly predicts self esteem positively ($\beta = 0.39$, $p<0.01$). Self esteem significantly predicts narcissism positively ($\beta = 0.36$, $p<0.01$). As seen in Figure 4, the direct effect of impaired limits on narcissism was determined as $\beta = 0.41$, $p<0.01$. After the mediator variable was entered into the equation, the effect of impaired limits on narcissism decreased (from 0.41 to 0.24). Bootstrapping results (Bootstrap coefficient = 0.19, 95% CI = 0.032, 0.11) indicate that self esteem mediates the relationship between impaired limits and narcissism.
Discussion and Conclusion

According to the results of the research; schema domains of impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection, other-directedness, and impaired limits predict self-esteem. Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. Schema domains of impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection, impaired limits as well as self-esteem, predict narcissism, while the schema domains of other-directedness do not predict narcissism. Hypothesis 2 is confirmed partially. Self-esteem predict narcissism. Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. Self-esteem acts as a mediator in the relationship between impaired autonomy, unrelenting standards, disconnection and impaired limits schema areas and narcissism. Finally, Hypothesis 4 is confirmed partially.

A significant relationship was found between pathological narcissism and early maladaptive schemas (Anlı et al., 2017) and childhood traumas (Aydin, 2022). According to Anlı et al. (2017), pathological narcissism statistically significantly predicts "insecurity/abuse" and "social isolation/alienation" schemas in the disconnection schema domain; "dependency/inadequacy" and "entanglement/under developed self" schemas in the impaired autonomy schema domain; "inadequate self-control" in the impaired limits schema domain and "suppression of emotions" in the unrelenting standards schema domain. Inadequate parenting paves the way for the development of pathological narcissistic structure. It is also known that inadequate parenting and childhood traumatic experiences play a role in the formation of early maladaptive schemas (Kohut 1966; Young et al., 2003). According to Kohut (1966), narcissistic development begins at birth. Aydin et al.'s (2017) study supports the view that narcissistic development is directly related to the formation of early maladaptive schemas that begin to emerge at almost the same time. According to Kernberg (2004), normal childhood and adulthood narcissism and pathological narcissism differ from each other in various ways. Pathological self-love is characterized by self-centeredness and constant self-talk. It is characterized by displays of grandiosity, exhibitionism, a sense of superiority, thoughtlessness and excessive ambition. Horney (1939) emphasizes that self-esteem and self-aggrandizement should be evaluated separately because narcissism is related to the unrealistic inflation of the self. For this reason, Horney emphasized that pathological narcissism and healthy self-esteem should be evaluated separately and the concept of narcissism should be limited to the unrealistic glorification of the self. (Levy et al., 2011). It is stated that non-pathological narcissism is related to self-esteem. Especially in studies examining the relationship between narcissism and self-esteem, narcissism and self-esteem are mostly positively related (Bosson & Weaver, 2011; Sedikides et al., 2004).

According to Young et al. (2003) the impaired autonomy schema domain includes the perception that the person is inadequate to be an individual, to act independently or to assert himself/herself successfully. The early family environment of people with schemas in this domain is overprotective, damages the child's self-confidence, and does not provide enough support for the child to show his/her abilities outside the family. Kernberg (1992, cited by Levy et al., 2011)) states that narcissism develops in a family environment where parental rejection, parents' inconsistent practices and parents use children to meet their own needs. Sometimes a parent neglects and belittles his/her children, while being attentive and even overly caring when it suits his/her own needs. Narcissism can serve a compensatory function as the child becomes defensive in the face of a cold and rejecting parent and glorifies his/her own self. Similarly Young et al. (2003) say, the domain of unrelenting standards develops in strict, demanding or punitive early family environments where the basic need for spontaneity and play is ignored. The person suppresses spontaneous feelings and desires, often at the expense of happiness, self-expression, relaxation, close relationships and health, and focuses excessively on meeting expectations about performance and moral behavior. There is a tendency to perfectionism, avoid making mistakes, follow rules and hide emotions. There is a general state of pessimism and a tendency to believe that if one is not constantly careful is accompanied by the worry that it will deteriorate. It is thought that the punitive attitude of the family and perfectionism may have decreased (Erdoğan U. & Odaci, 2019) narcissism through lowering self-esteem. The disconnection schema domain includes the expectation that one's needs such as safety, protection, stability, care, empathy, sharing of feelings, acceptance and respect will not be met. People with schemas in this area people's early family environments are disconnected, rejecting, cold, long separations, violent, abusive or abusive (Young et al., 2003). It can be said that not meeting some of the psychological needs of the individual, such as receiving care and acceptance and respect in the early period of the individual's life, may also decrease the level of narcissism by decreasing the individual's self-esteem. Kohut (1966) argues that idealization and devaluation are two basic attitudes towards others. The individual idealizes those who provide emotional support and devalues those who do not. The domain of impaired limits includes schemas related to internal limits, fulfillment of responsibilities towards others or deficiencies in orientation towards long-term goals. The schemas in this domain usually develop in cases where the early family environment is too permissive, where healthy boundaries are not set, where guidance is inadequate or a perception of superiority is instilled, and where there is inadequacy in areas such as cooperation and taking
responsibility and setting limits in achieving goals. Deficits in these areas lead to difficulties in adulthood in respecting the rights of others, cooperating, being true to one's word, setting realistic personal goals and showing patience in achieving them. In extreme cases, the person is unable to tolerate even a normal level of discomfort (Young et al., 2003). Inoculation of the perception of superiority in the family, egocentrism and insensitivity to the rights and needs of others may have led to an increase in the level of pathological narcissism. Grandiose narcissism, one of the forms of pathological narcissism, includes grandiosity, arrogance, aggression, dominance, exhibitionism, extraversion and high self-esteem (Miller et al., 2011). The scale used in the study aims to assess narcissistic admiration and rivalry, which are characteristics of grandiose narcissism. This schema domain and grandiose narcissism are positively correlated as expected.

The limitations of the study are that self-report scales were used in the study, the sample included only a certain age group and was not randomly selected. In addition, no exclusion criteria were included in the study. Accordingly, it is suggested that the study can be repeated with a more comprehensive and randomly selected sample or with different age groups. In addition, it is thought that pathological narcissism is still a subject whose components still need to be revealed and it is suggested that it can be studied with different variables. Considering the knowledge that schemas are formed by being influenced by relationships with parents in early periods, psychoeducation can be provided for parents about the kind of relationships that will cause the formation of maladaptive schemas in order to prevent the formation of pathological narcissism. Similarly, considering the results of this study, parents should be made aware that exaggerated self-esteem can lead to narcissism.

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