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# Narcissus, exhausted: Self-compassion mediates the relationship between narcissism and school burnout



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#### ABSTRACT

Previous research has linked narcissism with work-related burnout; however, no extant research has explored the relationship between narcissism and school-related burnout. From the standpoint of social mentality theory, narcissism may stem from an overactive threat system and a maladaptive self-soothing system. The purpose of this cross-sectional study was to investigate the relationship between narcissism, self-compassion, and school burnout in a large sample of U.S. college students. Narcissism was positively associated with school burnout. Narcissism had an indirect effect on school burnout through self-compassion, specifically through the over-identified and isolation components of self-compassion. Overall, the results are consistent with the notion that narcissism is associated with maladaptive threat and self-soothing systems and that these are associated with school burnout. © 2016 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

#### 1. Introduction

As many as 45% of U.S. college students fail to complete their degree within six years (Shapiro, Dundar, Yuan, Harrell, & Wakhungu, 2014). College dropout can be attributed to a wide array of factors, including poor academic performance and negative beliefs about earnings after college (Stinebrickner & Stinebrickner, 2014) as well as the availability of financial aid (Melguizo, Torres, & Jaime, 2011); however, college dropout has also been linked with school burnout (Adie & Wakefield, 2011; Bask & Salmela-Aro, 2013). Historically, the concept of burnout is associated with work-related contexts (Demerouti, Mostert, & Bakker, 2010: Innanen, Tolvanen, & Salmela-Aro, 2014: Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001; Schaufeli, Martinez, Marques-Pinto, Salanova, & Bakker, 2002). Because work and school can place similar pressures on an individual, burnout can also occur in an academic environment (Salmela-Aro, Kiuru, Leskinen, & Nurmi, 2009; Salmela-Aro & Upadyaya, 2014; Schaufeli et al., 2002; Walburg, 2014). While narcissism has been linked with work-related burnout (Farber, 1983), no extant research has explored the relationship between narcissism and school burnout. Both narcissism and school burnout can result in decreased well-being (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010; Salmela-Aro, Kiuru, et al., 2009; Salmela-Aro, Savolainen and Holopainen, 2009). Self-compassion, which involves a sensitivity and understanding of one's own suffering (Neff, 2003), has a positive relationship with well-being (Gilbert, 1989) and may remedy the ill

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effects of narcissism and burnout (Barnard & Curry, 2012). The purpose of this study was to investigate whether narcissism has an indirect effect on school burnout through self-compassion among a large sample of U.S. college students.

## 2. School burnout

School burnout may be defined as a response to a student's inability to cope with achievement pressures (Parker & Salmela-Aro, 2011). School burnout consists of three components: emotional exhaustion from academic pressures, cynicism towards school, and feelings of inadequacy as a student (Salmela-Aro, Kiuru, et al., 2009), Emotional exhaustion from academic pressures – which includes chronic fatigue, rumination, and strain (Salmela-Aro, Kiuru, et al., 2009; Schaufeli et al., 2002) - resembles symptoms of stress and anxiety (Bagley, 1992; Byrne, Davenport, & Mazanov, 2007; McNamara, 2000). Schoolrelated cynicism is characterized by lower interest in and more negative attitudes towards schoolwork (Salmela-Aro, Kiuru, et al., 2009; Schaufeli et al., 2002). Feelings of inadequacy as a student refer to a lack of efficacy and diminished sense of accomplishment in a school context. Bask and Salmela-Aro (2013) found that school burnout increases over time and that, of the three components of school burnout, cynicism towards school was the largest predictor of school dropout. School burnout can lead to a host of negative outcomes, such as decreased academic achievement, somatic complications, anxiety, and depressive symptoms (Murberg & Bru, 2007; Salmela-Aro, Savolainen, et al., 2009; Silvar, 2001; Vasalampi, Salmela-Aro, & Nurmi, 2009). Many risk factors for school burnout have been identified, including low self-esteem and emotion-oriented coping (Silvar, 2001). Women are at greater risk of school burnout compared to men, perhaps because of higher fear of academic failure (Kiuru, Aunola, Nurmi, Leskinen, & Salmela-Aro, 2008) or more stress and internalizing symptoms (Hoffmann, Powlishta, & White, 2004).

## 3. Narcissism

Narcissism may be understood as a category - e.g., Narcissistic Personality Disorder in the DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2013) – or a trait (Wright et al., 2013). In this study, narcissism was operationalized as a trait. Narcissism has normal and pathological components (Maxwell, Donnellan, Hopwood, & Ackerman, 2011). Both components are associated with feelings of arrogance, entitlement, and grandiosity (Millon, 1996; Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010). However, normal narcissism is positively correlated with self-esteem (Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2008), while pathological narcissism is associated with low self-esteem and maladaptive self-regulation (Maxwell et al., 2011). Because we were interested in the maladaptive aspects of narcissism in relation to burnout, the current study operationalized narcissism as pathological narcissism. Narcissism has also been associated with selfesteem instability (Kernis, Grannemann, & Barclay, 1989) and vulnerable self-concept (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Previous research has explored the relationship between narcissism and motivation. Morf, Weir, and Davidov (2000) concluded that narcissists were motivated to complete ego-boosting tasks and mastery-avoidant activities, which has been linked to burnout (Isoard-Gautheur, Guillet-Descas, & Duda, 2013; Retelsdorf, Butler, Streblow, & Schiefele, 2010). Additionally, pathological narcissists use maladaptive strategies when coping with disappointment and threats to their self-image (Kernberg, 1998; Pincus et al., 2009; Ronningstam, 2005). Previous investigations have found significant gender differences in narcissism, with men generally having higher levels of narcissism than women (Corry, Merritt, Mrug, & Pamp, 2008; Foster, Campbell, & Twenge, 2003; Grijalva et al., 2014; Tschanz, Morf, & Turner, 1998).

## 4. Self-compassion and social mentality theory

Self-compassion involves treating oneself warmly during times of hardship and having a positive relationship with oneself (Neff, 2003; Neff, Rude, & Kirkpatrick, 2007). Self-compassion allows individuals to have an accurate and unbiased view of themselves (Peterson, 2014), rather than an inflated self-assessment (Breines & Chen, 2012; Kim, Chiu, & Zou, 2010). Self-compassion is positively associated with selfimprovement motivation (Breines & Chen, 2012) and negatively associated with self-image preserving constructs, such as self-handicapping and sandbagging (Peterson, 2014). Self-compassion is also negatively correlated with self-criticism and rumination (Neff, 2003; Odou & Brinker, 2014), which may explain why college-aged women have lower levels of self-compassion than their male peers (Lockard, Hayes, Neff, & Locke, 2014; Neff, Hseih, & Dejitterat, 2005; Neff & McGehee, 2010), as women generally have higher levels of self-criticism and rumination (Leadbeater, Kuperminc, Blatt, & Hertzog, 1999; Nolen-Hoeksema, Larson, & Grayson, 1999).

Self-compassion is rooted in social mentality theory, which proposes that motivations for social relationships guide individuals' cognitive processes, emotions, and behavior (Liotti & Gilbert, 2011). Social mentality posits that there is a threat system, which includes feelings of insecurity and defensiveness, and a self-soothing system, which involves feelings of safety and secure attachment (Neff, Kirkpatrick, & Rude, 2007). Self-compassion promotes a sense of security and emotional calmness by deactivating the threat system and activating the self-soothing system (Gilbert, 2005; Neff, Kirkpatrick, et al., 2007). The theory posits that, by allowing an individual to self-sooth, self-compassion can contribute to an individual's well-being and their ability to successfully cope with the environment (Gilbert, 1989; Gilbert, 2005).

Narcissism can be conceptualized from the standpoint of social mentality theory. The vulnerability component of pathological narcissism encompasses feelings of low self-esteem and maladaptive response to perceived threats to self-image (Pincus et al., 2009) — akin to the threat system of social mentality theory. While negative feelings – such as anxiety, disgust, and anger - are normal responses to perceived threats (Gilbert, 2014), individuals with narcissistic vulnerability are particularly sensitive to threat and unable to regulate these negative emotions (Pincus, Cain, & Wright, 2014). Additionally, the threat system allows individuals to feel threatened by their negative affect, such as feelings of shame regarding intrusive fantasies (Gilbert, 2014). Again, this mirrors narcissistic vulnerability, which is characterized as feelings of shame regarding their grandiose fantasies (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010; Ronningstam, 2005). Narcissism has also been negatively associated with self-soothing (Steinberg & Shaw, 1997), which implies that pathological narcissists may have decreased functioning in their selfsoothing system. This is further evidenced by narcissists' inclination towards avoidant- and anxiety-attachment styles (Smolewska & Dion, 2005), rather than safe attachment, a feature of the self-soothing system (Neff, Kirkpatrick, et al., 2007). School burnout can be viewed in the same theoretical context. Burnout, like pathological narcissism, is negatively correlated with safe attachment (Pines, 2004; Simmons, Gooty, Nelson, & Little, 2009; Smolewska & Dion, 2005).

## 5. The current study

The purpose of this study was to investigate relationships between narcissism, self-compassion, and school burnout in a large sample of U.S. college students. Consistent with previous research showing relationships between narcissism and work-related burnout (Farber, 1983), it was hypothesized  $(H_1)$  that narcissism would be positively associated with school burnout. In terms of social mentality theory, narcissists may respond to perceived threat with maladaptive soothing, as functions of the threat- and soothing-systems (Gilbert, 2005; Neff. Kirkpatrick, et al., 2007). In accordance with this theory, it was hypothesized  $(H_2)$  that narcissism would have an indirect effect on school burnout through self-compassion. We hypothesized  $(H_3)$  that the over-identified and isolation components of self-compassion would mediate the relationship between narcissism and school burnout. The over-identified component relates to focusing on perceived threats to the self, and the isolation component encompasses feelings of being separated from others due to those perceived threats. Therefore, we hypothesized that narcissists, who are already vulnerable to perceived threat to the self, would be more likely to burnout if they dwelled on those feelings. Given that gender differences have been found on narcissism, self-compassion, and school burnout, we conducted exploratory analyses of gender differences on these variables as well as whether gender moderates any paths in the mediation models.

### 6. Methods

## 6.1. Participants

Participants consisted of undergraduate students age 18-30 (N=813; 71.30% female) enrolled in a psychology course at a large public university in the southern U.S. Participants were recruited through the department research website. Participant characteristics are displayed in Table 1.

## 6.2. Procedure

This study was approved by the university IRB. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. Participants completed a survey online (remotely) and received course credit for participation.

**Table 1** Demographic characteristics.

		N = 813	%
Gender			
Male		233	28.7
Female		580	71.3
Age			
M	20.56	-	-
SD	2.195	-	-
Range	18–30	=	-
Ethnicity			
White/Caucasian		429	52.8
Black/African American		134	16.5
Hispanic		160	19.7
Asian/Pacific Islander		65	8.0
Native American		2	.2
Other		23	2.8
Academic classification			
Freshman		219	26.9
Sophomore		178	21.9
Junior		236	29.0
Senior		175	21.5
Other		5	.6

#### 6.3. Measures

#### 6.3.1. Narcissism

The Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI; Pincus et al., 2009) is a self-report measure of pathological narcissism. The PNI consists of 52 items and utilizes a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = not at all like me to 6 = very much like me. It yields two subscales, each measuring overt and covert aspects of two components of pathological narcissism: narcissistic vulnerability and narcissistic grandiosity. Subscales for narcissistic vulnerability include contingent self-esteem ("It's hard for me to feel good about myself unless I know other people like me."), hiding the self ("When others get a glimpse of my needs, I feel anxious and ashamed."), and devaluing ("When others don't meet my expectations, I often feel ashamed about what I wanted."). Subscales for narcissistic grandiosity include entitlement rage ("It irritates me when people don't notice how good a person I am."), exploitativeness ("I can make anyone belief anything I want them to."), grandiose fantasy ("I often fantasize about being recognized for my accomplishments."), and selfsacrificing self-enhancement ("I try to show what a good person I am through my sacrifices"). In this study, the overall pathological narcissism score was used (sum of narcissistic vulnerability and narcissistic grandiosity). Higher overall scores reflect higher levels of pathological narcissism. In this study, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .96$ .

## 6.3.2. Self-compassion

The Self-Compassion Scale (SCS; Neff, 2003) is a self-report measure of self-compassion. The SCS consists of 26 items measuring 6 components of self-compassion: self-kindness ("I try to be loving towards myself when I'm feeling emotional pain."), self-judgment ("I'm disapproving and judgmental about my own flaws and inadequacies."), common humanity ("When things are going badly for me, I see the difficulties as part of life that everyone goes through."), isolation ("When I think about my own inadequacies, it tends to make me feel more separate and cut off from the rest of the world"), mindfulness ("When something upsets me I try to keep my emotions in balance."), and over-identified ("When I'm feeling down I tend to obsess and fixate on everything that's wrong."). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = almost never to 5 = almost always. The SCS assesses the three dimensions of self-compassion: self-kindness versus self judgment, common humanity versus isolation, and mindfulness versus over-identification. High scores on selfkindness, common humanity, and mindfulness reflect higher levels of self-compassion. Alternatively, higher levels on the self-judgment, isolation, and over-identified subscales indicate lower levels of self-compassion. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for each scale was: self-kindness ( $\alpha=.83$ ), self-judgment ( $\alpha=.81$ ), common humanity ( $\alpha=.77$ ), isolation ( $\alpha=.83$ ), mindfulness ( $\alpha=.75$ ), over-identified ( $\alpha=.82$ ), and overall self-compassion ( $\alpha=.89$ ).

## 6.3.3. School burnout

The School Burnout Inventory (SBI; Salmela-Aro, Kiuru, et al., 2009) is a self-report measure of school burnout. The SBI consists of nine items to which participants respond on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from  $1=completely\ disagree$  to  $6=completely\ agree$ . These items measure the three components of school burnout: exhaustion at schoolwork ("I feel overwhelmed by my schoolwork"), cynicism towards the meaning of school ("I feel a lack of motivation in my schoolwork and often think of giving up"), and sense of inadequacy at school ("I often have feelings of inadequacy in my schoolwork"). These subscales were totaled to form an overall school burnout score, with higher scores indicating a higher level of school burnout. In this study, Cronbach's  $\alpha=.91$ .

## 6.4. Data analysis

Data analysis involved three stages. First, preliminary analyses were conducted in order to ensure no violation of assumptions. Second, descriptive and correlational data were calculated for each of the study variables. Third, independent samples t-tests were used to explore gender differences on the variables of interest. Fourth, mediation models were conducted in SPSS on the standardized variables using the bootstrapping procedure of Preacher and Hayes (2008). 95% confidence intervals were used and 10,000 bootstrapping resampling procedures were run. Bootstrapping is a nonparametric procedure in which samples are taken multiple times from an existing dataset to create an empirical approximation of the sampling distribution. Confidence intervals are then generated based on this sampling distribution to test indirect effects associated with mediational models. If the computed confidence intervals do not include 0, this indicates that the variable is a significant mediator in the proposed model. For a detailed discussion, see Preacher and Hayes (2008).

## 7. Results

Preliminary analyses were conducted in order to ensure no violation of assumptions. Descriptive statistics for and bivariate correlations between all variables of interest are displayed in Table 2. An independent samples t-test was conducted to identify gender differences on all variables of interest. Males had higher levels self-compassion, t(811) = 2.49, p < .05, while females had higher levels of school burnout, t(811) = 2.70, p < .01. No significant gender difference was found for narcissism. Gender differences for these variables are shown in Table 3.

## 7.1. Single mediation model (total self-compassion)

In order to test the hypotheses that narcissism will be positively associated with school burnout and that  $(H_2)$  that narcissism will have an indirect effect on school burnout through self-compassion, a mediation model was conducted in which narcissism was the independent variable, self-compassion was the mediator, and school burnout was the dependent variable. Narcissism had a significant positive total effect on school burnout (path c:  $\beta = .50$ , SE = .03, t = 16.46, p < .001, 95% CI [.44, .56]). Narcissism had a significant negative effect on self-compassion (path a:  $\beta = -.44$ , SE = .03, t = -14.04, p < .001, 95% CI [-.51, -.38]). Self-compassion had a significant negative effect on school burnout (path b:  $\beta = -.26$ , SE = .03, t = -8.00, p < .001, 95% CI [-.32, -.20]). Narcissism had a significant positive direct effect on school burnout (path c:  $\beta = .39$ , SE = .03, t = 11.79, p < .001, 95% CI

 Table 2

 Descriptive statistics for and bivariate correlations between all variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	M (SD)
1. Narcissism	-	03	56***	.12**	61***	002	57***	44***	.50***	183.24 (39.62)
2. Self kindness		-	.20***	.56***	.23***	.68***	.20***	.70***	16 <sup>**</sup>	3.01 (.73)
3. Self judgment			_	12***	.79***	.01	.79***	.71***	46***	2.85 (.78)
4. Common humanity				-	03	.64***	03	.46***	.02	3.05 (.78)
5. Isolation					-	.12**	.78***	.76***	$50^{***}$	2.98 (.88)
6. Mindfulness						_	.16***	.60***	11**	3.22 (.71)
7. Over-identified							-	.76***	$50^{***}$	2.97 (.88)
8. Self compassion Total								_	43***	3.01 (.53)
9. School burnout									-	32.39 (10.04)

<sup>\*</sup> *p* < .05.

[.32, .45]) as well as a significant positive indirect effect on school burnout through compassion ( $\beta=.12$ , SE=.02, 95% CI [.08, .15]). The mediation model is shown in Fig. 1.

## 7.2. Multiple mediation model (facets of self-compassion)

In order to test the hypothesis  $(H_3)$  that the over-identified and isolation subscales of self-compassion would mediate the relationship between narcissism and school burnout, an exploratory multiple mediation analysis was conducted in which narcissism was the independent variable, the six facets of self-compassion were mediators (entered in parallel), and school burnout was the dependent variable. Narcissism had a significant positive total effect on school burnout (path c:  $\beta$  = .50, SE = .03, t = 16.46, p < .001, 95% CI [.44, .56]). Narcissism had a significant negative effect on self-judgment (path  $a_1$ :  $\beta = -.56$ , SE = .03, t = -19.35, p < .001, 95% CI [-.62, -.51]), isolation (path  $a_2$ :  $\beta = -.61$ , SE = .03, t = -21.77, p < .001, 95% CI [-.66, -.55]), and over-identified (path  $a_3$ :  $\beta = -.57$ , SE = .03, t = -19.97, p < .001, 95% CI [-.63, -.52]). Narcissism had a significant positive effect on common humanity (path  $a_4$ :  $\beta = .12$ , SE = .03, t = 3.31, p = .001, 95% CI [.05, .18]). Isolation (path  $b_1$ :  $\beta = -.13$ , SE = .05, t = -2.45, p = .01, 95% CI [-.24, -.03]), mindfulness (path  $b_2$ :  $\beta = -.11$ , SE = .05, t = -2.39, p = .02, 95% CI [-.20, [-.02]), and over-identified (path  $b_3$ :  $\beta = -.16$ , SE = .05, t = -3.01, p = .003, 95% CI [-.26, -.06]) had a significant negative effect on school burnout. Narcissism had a significant positive direct effect on school burnout (path c':  $\beta = .29$ , SE = .04, t = 7.57, p < .001, 95% CI [.21, .36]). Narcissism had a significant positive indirect effect on school burnout through isolation ( $\beta = .08$ , SE = .03, 95% CI [.02, .15]) and overidentified ( $\beta = .09$ , SE = .03, 95% CI [.03, .15]). The multiple mediation model is shown in Fig. 2.

In order to explore the role of gender in the relationships between narcissism, self-compassion, and school burnout, several exploratory analyses were conducted investigating the role of gender. Gender did not moderate any of the paths in the mediation models.

#### 8. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate relationships between narcissism, self-compassion, and school burnout. Results supported H<sub>1</sub> in that narcissism was positively associated with school burnout. These results are consistent with previous research that found narcissism was positively associated with work-related burnout (Farber, 1983). This suggests that narcissism is associated with burnout across different settings. Results also supported  $H_2$  in that overall selfcompassion mediated the relationship between narcissism and school burnout. Finally, results supported  $H_3$  in that the over-identified and isolation components of self-compassion were significant mediators. This suggests that narcissism may lead to over-identifying with personal shortcomings and a tendency to isolate from others, which in turn leads to school burnout. Consistent with previous studies, males had higher levels of self-compassion (Lockard et al., 2014; Neff et al., 2005; Neff & McGehee, 2010) and females had higher levels of burnout (Hoffmann et al., 2004; Kiuru et al., 2008). Inconsistent with some studies, no significant gender differences regarding narcissism were found; however, other studies have also found no gender differences in narcissism (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2008; Furnham, 2006; Jackson, Ervin, & Hodge, 1992). Gender did not moderate any paths in the mediation analyses.

These results can be explained in terms of social mentality theory, particularly the activation of the threat- and soothing-systems. Previous research has found that narcissists are vulnerable to perceived egothreats, which results in feelings of aggression and negative moods (Besser & Priel, 2010; Stucke & Sporer, 2002). This may be indicative of an overactive threat system. Furthermore, once threatened, narcissists may engage in maladaptive self-soothing (Steinberg & Shaw, 1997), which can be the result of a deficient soothing-system. These

**Table 3**Results of *t*-test for pathological narcissism, school burnout, and self-compassion by gender.

	Gender								
	Male			Female					
	M	SD	n	М	SD	n	95% CI	t	df
Pathological narcissism	180.98	36.65	233	184.14	40.75	580	- 9.20, 2.87	-1.03	811
School burnout	30.90	10.10	233	32.99	9.97	580	-3.62,57	-2.70**	811
Self-compassion total	3.08	.51	233	2.98	.54	580	.02, .18	2.49*	811
Self-kindness	2.99	.74	233	3.02	.73	580	14,.08	48	811
Self-judgment	2.98	.77	233	2.80	.78	580	.06, .30	3.01**	811
Common humanity	3.03	.75	233	3.01	.80	580	14,.10	39	811
Isolation	3.07	.87	233	2.95	.88	580	02, .25	1.68	811
Mindfulness	3.31	.68	233	3.18	.71	580	.02, .23	2.29*	811
Over-identified	3.15	.89	233	2.90	.86	580	.12, .39	3.79***	811

<sup>\*</sup> *p* < .05

<sup>\*\*</sup> *p* < .01.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> *p* < .001.

<sup>\*\*</sup> p < .01.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> p < .001.

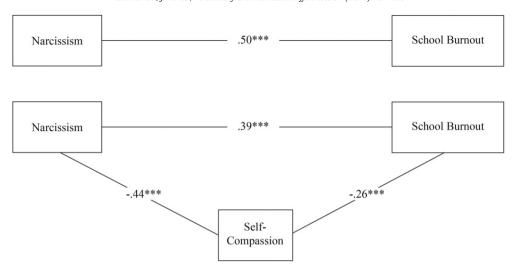


Fig. 1. Mediation model with standardized coefficients: narcissism (IV), self-compassion (mediator), school burnout (DV). \*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

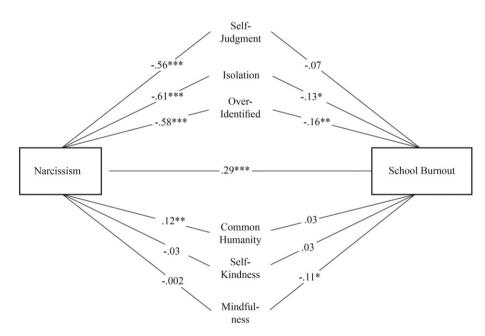


Fig. 2. Multiple mediation model: narcissism (IV), self-compassion isolation and over-identified (mediators), school burnout (DV). \*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

findings are consistent with previous research that has explored narcissists' reactions to perceived threat of achievement failure and interpersonal rejection (Besser & Priel, 2010). Maladaptive emotions in response to perceived achievement failure may correspond to a sense of inadequacy, a component of school burnout. Additionally, narcissists react negatively to perceived interpersonal rejection, which can correspond with the isolation component of self-compassion.

It should be noted that this study was limited in several ways. First, it utilized a convenience sample of undergraduate students, limiting the generalizability of results to other academic populations. Second, the data were cross-sectional in nature, limiting conclusions that can be drawn about causality and directionality of results. Despite these limitations, this study has implications for future research. While burnout has been extensively researched (Schaufeli et al., 2002), school burnout is still a relatively new concept. Future studies could employ experimental or longitudinal designs to answers questions about causality and directionality of results. Also, future research could explore other variables

that might mediate the relationship between narcissism and school burnout such as social support.

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