

Etiologija patološkog narcizma

/ Etiology of Pathological Narcissism

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U ovom preglednom radu iznose se aktualne definicije i suvremena saznanja o etiologiji narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti. Obuhvaćanjem literature bazirane na subkliničkim, kao i one koja se temelji na kliničkim manifestacijama narcizma ovaj rad nastoji pružiti cjelovitu sliku narcizma kao dimenzije individualnih razlika u široj populaciji čije razvojne putanje mogu rezultirati ekstremnim ponašajnim obrascima službeno prepoznatima dijagnozom narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti. Glavna svojstva narcizma predstavljena su u okviru strukturnih i procesnih konceptualizacija, uz poseban naglasak na distinkciju između njegovih grandioznih i vulnerabilnih aspekata, te njihovu paradoksalnu simultanu ekspresiju kod kliničkih slučajeva. Razmatranja multifaktorske etiologije narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti, koja se najbolje može razumjeti unutar šireg konteksta razvoja ličnosti, organizirana su prema dijateza-stres modelu po kojemu maladaptivna socijalizacijska iskustva aktiviraju latentne genetičke i temperamentalne predispozicije za razvoj narcističkih crta.

/ This review article presents the current definitions and contemporary knowledge with regard to the etiology of narcissistic personality disorder. By encompassing literature based both on subclinical and clinical manifestations of narcissism, the aim of this article is to provide a comprehensive overview of narcissism as a dimension of individual differences within the wider population, the developmental paths of which can result in extreme behavioral patterns officially recognized as a diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder. The main characteristics of narcissism are presented within the framework of structural and process conceptualizations, with special emphasis on the distinction between its grandiose and vulnerable aspects, as well as their paradoxical simultaneous expression in clinical cases. Considerations of multifactorial etiology of narcissistic personality disorder, which can be best understood within the wider context of personality development, are organized according to the diathesis-stress model in which the maladaptive socialization experiences activate the latent genetic and temperamental predispositions for the development of narcissistic traits.

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Poimanje narcizma u javnom prostoru obično se oslanja na primjere hvalisavih, samodopadnih i arogantnih egocentrika, pretjerano osjetljivih na kritiku, a neosjetljivih na osjećaje, želje i potrebe drugih ljudi. Za današnju raširenost i značenje pojma “narcizam” zaslužan je Have-lock Ellis, koji se poslužio Ovidijevim (43 p.n.e. – 17/18 n.e.) mitom o Narcisu kako bi ilustrirao fenomen divljenja i seksualne preokupiranosti čovjeka samim sobom (1). Prema mitu, Narcisova iznimna ljepota i prateći joj ponos činili su ga nedodirljivim mnogim udvaračicama koje je bešćutno odbijao, sve dok jedna od njih nije zamolila bogove da Narcisu uskrate osobu koju *on* zavoli. Na molitvu se odazvala Nemeza, božica koja kažnjava aroganciju. Jednoga dana Echo, gorska nimfa kletvom osuđena na oponašanje i ponavljanje tuđih riječi, opazi Narcisa u lovu i odmah se zaljubi, no zbog straha od Narcisove reakcije na njenu manu, odluči ostati sakrivena i reagirati tek kada on prozbori. Kada Narcis nakon nekoliko razigranih verbalnih razmjena pozove Echo da se otkrije, ona pohrli zagrliti ga, no on ostane vjeran sebi i grubo je odbije. Umoran od lova Narcis zatim naiđe na besprijekoran, neokaljani izvor vode. Sagnuvši se kako bi utažio žeđ ugleda svoj odraz, i toliko se zaljubi da zaplače jer ne može zagrliti i poljubiti svoju vlastitu sliku. Isprva ni ne shvati da je riječ o njemu samome, ali onda uvidi da je opčinjen samim sobom. Unatoč spoznaji, pred svojom slikom ostane zarobljen u očaju do smrti. Nakon dva milenija te mnogih umjetničkih, literarnih i znanstvenih rekapitulacija Narcis i Echo su se ipak ujedinili u našem suvremenom shvaćanju narcizma: arogancija i taština u kombinaciji s izrazitom potrebom za tuđim priznanjem (2).

Od Ellisovog uvođenja, preko razrade unutar okvira psihoanalitičkih teorija 20. stoljeća, zatim formaliziranja i uvođenja dijagnoze “narcistički poremećaj ličnosti” (NPL) u treće izdanje Dijagnostičkog i statističkog priručnika za duševne poremećaje (DSM; 3) do recen-

The notion of narcissism in the public sphere generally refers to boastful, self-centered and arrogant egocentric individuals who are overly sensitive to criticism, but at the same time are insensitive to the feelings, desires and needs of others. The term “narcissism”, in the sense in which we use it today, was popularized by Have-lock Ellis, who used Ovid’s (43 BC - 17/18 AD) myth of Narcissus in order to illustrate the phenomenon of admiration and sexual preoccupation with oneself (1). According to the myth, due to his exceptional beauty and its accompanying pride Narcissus became out of reach to the many admirers whom he ruthlessly rejected, until one of them asked the gods to deny him the one person *he* will love. Nemesis, the goddess who punished arrogance, answered this prayer. One day, Echo, a mountain nymph cursed to only be able to imitate and repeat the words of others, spotted Narcissus during his hunt and immediately fell in love with him. However, due to the fear of his reaction to her curse, she decided to remain hidden and react only when he speaks. After a brief playful conversation, he invited Echo to reveal herself, to which she hurried to hug him, but he remained true to himself and rudely rejected her. Tired after the hunt, Narcissus then found a pristine, clean spring. When he bent down to have a drink, he saw his reflection and fell so madly in love that he cried because he was not able to hug and kiss his own image. At first, he was not aware that he was looking at his own reflection, but he soon realized that he was, in fact, mesmerized by himself. Despite this realization, he remained desperately captured by his own image until he died. After two millennia and numerous artistic, literary and scientific recapitulations, Narcissus and Echo have reunited in our modern interpretation of narcissism: arrogance and vanity in combination with a strong need to be recognized by others (2).

Ever since Ellis introduced the term, through its ensuing elaboration within the framework of psychoanalytic theories of the 20th century, its formalization and introduction of the diagnosis of “narcissistic personality disorder” (NPD) into

tnih rasprava o njegovoj srži i strukturi, interes kliničara i istraživača za narcizam u stalnom je porastu (4). Tijekom proteklog desetljeća istraživanja narcizma popularnija su nego ikad, ali debate oko temeljnih pitanja vezanih za konstrukt i dalje traju (2,5,6). Štoviše, neusklađene i višestruke definicije samog termina "narcizam", znatno preklapanje dijagnostičkih kriterija s onima za druge poremećaje ličnosti, prepoznavanje simultanog postojanja zdravih i nezdravih aspekata narcizma u svakom pojedincu te izrazito raznolika manifestacija narcističke patologije umalo su doveli do isključenja narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti (NPL-a) iz petog izdanja DSM-a (7,8). Međutim, slijedom prigovora iz kliničkih krugova zbog njegovog praktičnog značenja (npr. 9), NPL je ipak uključen u DSM-ovu Sekciju II (dijagnostički kriteriji) te Sekciju III, koja poremećaje ličnosti obrađuje sa stajališta alternativnog hibridnog dimenzionalno-kategorijskog modela (10).

Porast pažnje koju znanstvena zajednica obraća narcizmu pozitivan je trend, pogotovo ako uzmemo u obzir nekoliko činjenica. U prvom redu zapadnjačko, ali i istočnjačko društvo sustižu efekti dugogodišnjeg kultiviranja individualističkih vrijednosti te popratni porast narcističkih sklonosti (11, 12, 13). Nadalje, NPL je zapravo jedan od poremećaja ličnosti kojemu je posvećeno najmanje empirijskih istraživanja (6,14,15). Konačno, narcizam je uspio privući pažnju raznolikih subdisciplina psihologije, od socijalne i kliničke do razvojne i organizacijske, pružajući plodnu platformu za interdisciplinarnu razmjenu i integraciju ideja (12).

Iz prije navedenih razloga, a prije nego što se otvori naslovna tema ovog rada, uputno je osvrnuti se na suvremenu konceptualizaciju poremećaja ličnosti općenito, i NPL-a specifično. Ličnost možemo opisati kao organizirani skup relativno trajnih psihičkih osobina i mehanizama unutar pojedinca, koji utječe na njegovu interakciju i prilagodbu svijetu (16). Sve je veća suglasnost oko ideje da poremećaj

the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Third Edition (DSM; 3) to the more recent discussions on its core and structure, the interest of clinicians and researchers in narcissism has been constantly increasing (4). Over the past decade, narcissism research has become more popular than ever, however debates over the fundamental questions relating to the construct are still present. (2, 5, 6). Furthermore, the inconsistent and multiple definitions of the very term "narcissism", the significant overlap of diagnostic criteria with those associated with other personality disorders, the recognition of simultaneous presence of healthy and unhealthy aspects of narcissism in each individual, as well as the particularly diverse manifestation of narcissistic pathology have almost led to the exclusion of narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) from the fifth edition of DSM (7, 8). However, after objections from the clinical circle due to its practical meaning (e.g. 9), NPD was eventually included into DSM, i.e. in Section II (Diagnostic Criteria and Codes) and Section III, which covers personality disorders from the viewpoint of an alternative hybrid categorical-dimensional model (10).

The increased attention paid to narcissism by the scientific community has been a positive trend, especially if we take into account several facts. First and foremost, the Western, but also the Eastern societies, have been affected by the long-term cultivation of individualistic values, along with the corresponding increase in narcissistic tendencies (11, 12, 13). Furthermore, NPD is among the personality disorders which have been least empirically studied (6, 14, 15). Finally, narcissism has managed to become subject of various sub-disciplines of psychology, from social and clinical to developmental and organizational psychology, providing a productive platform for interdisciplinary exchange and integration of ideas (12).

Due to the aforementioned reasons, and before engaging in the title topic of this article, the modern conceptualization of personality disorders in general, and NPD in particular, should be addressed. Personality can be described as an organized set of relatively permanent psychological traits and

ličnosti onda podrazumijeva nekakvu *nepri-lagođenu* varijaciju ili kombinaciju temeljnih osobina i mehanizama: motiva, emocija i kognicija (17,18). Sukladno tome sve je veći broj dokaza, pa i teorija, koje patološki oblik narcizma oslikavaju kao ekstremnu formu crte narcizma koju većina ljudi posjeduje u manjoj ili većoj mjeri, tj. kao prepoznatljivu dimenziju po kojoj se šira populacija može razlikovati (19-21). Primjerice, analiza latentne strukture narcizma odmjerenog Inventarom narcističke ličnosti (22,23) nije pokazala jasno razgraničenje između subkličnog i kliničkog narcizma, već su podatci razotkrili kontinuum koji ukazuje na strukturu sličnu drugim dimenzijama ličnosti (24). Osim toga, pokazalo se da uglavnom nema razlike između narcizma kao osobine i NPL-a u pogledu obrazaca povezanosti s raznim korelatima, te da postoji snažna korelacija između crte narcizma i NPL-a ustanovljenog putem intervjua (15). S obzirom na navedeno, istraživanja subkličnog oblika narcizma često se uzimaju u obzir pri razmatranju njegove patološke strane (npr. 25), pa ću se stoga razradi ove teme služiti i literaturom koja se prvenstveno bavi narcizmom kao subkličnom pojavom.

DEFINICIJA

DSM-5

Trenutna službena dijagnostička definicija, prema sekciji II DSM-5, NPL opisuje kao sveprožimajući obrazac ponašanja sačinjen od grandioznosti (u fantaziji ili ponašanju), stalne potrebe za tuđim divljenjem, osjećaja povlaštenosti te manjka empatije, a koji se pojavljuje do rane odrasle dobi te se manifestira u raznolikim kontekstima (26). Konkretno, kod osobe mora biti prisutno 5 od 9 sljedećih kriterija: 1. grandiozni osjećaj vlastite važnosti (npr. osoba preuveličava vlastita dostignuća i talente te očekuje da ju se smatra superiornom

mechanisms within an individual, which affects their interaction and adjustment to the surrounding world (16). There is a growing consensus around the idea that a personality disorder implies some sort of *unadapted* variation or combination of fundamental characteristics and mechanisms: motives, emotions and cognitions (17, 18). Accordingly, there is a growing number of evidence, as well as theories, that portray the pathological form of narcissism as an extreme form of a narcissistic trait present in most people to a greater or lesser extent, i.e. as a recognizable dimension by which the wider population can be distinguished (19-21). For example, an analysis of the latent structure of narcissism as measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (22, 23) did not show a clear distinction between subclinical and clinical narcissism, but the data have revealed that there is a continuum indicating a structure similar to other personality dimensions (24). In addition, it has been determined that there is generally no difference between narcissism as a trait and NPD in terms of patterns of association with various correlates, and that there is a strong correlation between a narcissistic trait and NPD diagnosed by means of an interview (15). In light of the above, studies concerning the subclinical form of narcissism are often taken into account when considering its pathological side (e.g. 25), therefore literature primarily dealing with narcissism as a subclinical occurrence will be used for the purposes of elaborating this subject.

DEFINITION

DSM-5

According to the current official diagnostic definition in DSM-5 Section II, NPD is defined as a pervasive behavioral pattern of grandiosity (in fantasy or behavior), constant need for admiration from others, sense of privilege and lack of empathy, which manifests by early adulthood and in a variety of contexts (26). Specifically, a person must display 5 out of the following 9 criteria: 1. a grandiose sense of self-importance (e.g. a person exaggerates their own achievements and talents, and expects to be

bez primjerenog pokrića), 2. preokupacija fantazijama beskrajnog uspjeha, moći, ljepote ili idealne ljubavi, 3. uvjerenje osobe da je posebna i jedinstvena te da ju mogu razumjeti ili da bi se trebala asociirati jedino s drugim posebnim ili visokostatusnim ljudima ili institucijama, 4. potreba za tuđim prekomjernim divljenjem, 5. osjećaj povlaštenosti tj. nerazumno očekivanje posebnog tretmana ili automatskog udovoljavanja vlastitim očekivanjima, 6. međuljudsko izrabljujuće ponašanje, 7. manjak empatije, 8. zavist ili uvjerenje osobe da joj drugi zavide, 9. pokazivanje arogantnih i oholih ponašanja ili stavova.

Osim toga, u sekciju III DSM-5 tentativno je dodan alternativni model poremećaja ličnosti kako bi se zajednicu potaknulo na dodatna istraživanja i kako bi se doskočilo manjkavostima prijašnjeg klasifikacijskog pristupa (26). Prema ovom modelu, dva glavna kriterija za dijagnozu poremećaja ličnosti su 1. umjerene ili veće smetnje u *funkcioniranju* ličnosti te 2. prisutnost patoloških *crta* ličnosti. Prvi kriterij – smetnje u *funkcioniranju* ličnosti – jezgra su poremećaja ličnosti općenito te se manifestiraju u domenama *samopoimanja* i *međuljudskog funkcioniranja*. Deficiti *samopoimanja* očituju se u potpodručjima *identiteta* i *samousmjerenosti*, dok se deficiti u međuljudskim odnosima očituju u potpodručjima *empatije* i *intimnosti*.

Konkretno, kod NPL-a bismo ispitivanjem identiteta mogli pronaći prekomjerno referiranje na druge pri definiranju sebe ili pri regulaciji samopoštovanja, kao i neodgovarajućoj samoevaluaciji. Procjenom *samousmjerenosti* mogli bismo pronaći želju za pohvalama u podlozi postavljanja ciljeva te nerazumne standarde. Kada govorimo o međuljudskim odnosima, deficiti empatije pokazuju se u obliku smanjene mogućnosti prepoznavanja ili identificiranja s osjećajima i potrebama drugih, ali i u obliku pretjerane osjetljivosti na tuđe povratne informacije (no samo ako su osobno relevantne) ili neodgovarajuće procjene učinka vlastitog po-

recognized as superior without basis for such treatment), 2. a preoccupation with fantasies of unlimited success, power, beauty or perfect love, 3. a belief that they are special and unique and can only be understood by, or should associate with, other special or high-status people or institutions, 4. a need for excessive admiration from others, 5. a sense of entitlement i.e. unreasonable expectation of favorable treatment or automatic compliance with their expectations, 6. interpersonally exploitive behavior, 7. lack of empathy, 8. envy of others or a belief that others are envious of them, 9. a demonstration of arrogant and haughty behaviors or attitudes.

Moreover, an alternative personality disorder model was tentatively added to DSM-5 Section III in order to encourage the community to conduct further studies, as well as to make up for the shortcomings of the previous classification approach (26). According to this model, the two main criteria for diagnosing a personality disorder are 1. moderate or severe impairments in personality *functioning* and 2. the presence of pathological personality *traits*. The first criterion - impairments in personality functioning - represent the core of personality disorders in general, and are manifested within the domains of *self-perception* and *interpersonal functioning*. Deficits in self-perception are evident in the subareas of *identity* and *self-direction*, while deficits in interpersonal functioning are evident in the subareas of *empathy* and *intimacy*.

Specifically, as regards NPD, by conducting an assessment of identity we could encounter excessive reference to others for the purpose of self-definition and self-esteem regulation, as well as inadequate self-evaluation. In an assessment of self-direction, we could encounter a desire for praise from others underlying an individual's goal-setting, as well as unreasonable standards. In reference to interpersonal functioning, a deficit of empathy is manifested in the form of impaired ability to recognize or identify the feelings and needs of others, but also in the form of excessive sensitivity to the reactions of others (however, only if they are personally relevant) or an inadequate assessment of the effects of own behavior on others. Finally, relationships with others could be charac-

našanja na druge. Konačno, odnosi s drugim ljudima mogli bi se okarakterizirati kao površni, pri čemu je njihova glavna svrha regulacija vlastitog samopoštovanja. Uz to, nedostatak iskrenog interesa za tuđe iskustvo glavni je pokazatelj manjka intimnosti.

Način ekspresije prije navedenih smetnji u funkcioniranju ličnosti opisuje se prisutnošću patoloških crta ličnosti, operacionalizacijom izraženošću jedne ili više od ukupno 25 specifičnih crta, ili 5 domena po kojima su crte organizirane (negativna afektivnost, odvojenost, antagonizam, dezinhibicija i psihoticizam). Kada govorimo o NPL-u, ovdje je riječ o *grandioznosti* – otvorenim ili prikrivenim osjećajima povlaštenosti i superiornosti – i *traženju pažnje* – prekomjernim pokušajima dovođenja sebe u fokus tuđe pažnje.

Kratki pregled empirijskih nalaza

Pregled gore navedenih kriterija odaje dojam da je otvoreno grandiozno ponašanje lajtmotiv života osobe koja ispunjava uvjete za dijagnozu. S druge strane, klinički opisi te istraživanja u području socijalne psihologije i psihologije ličnosti dosljedno otkrivaju dva lica narcizma: *grandiozno* i *vulnerabilno* (4,27-30). Grandiozni narcizam karakteriziraju visoko samopoštovanje, samouzdanje, bešćutnost, asertivnost i ekshibicionizam, dok vulnerabilni obično uključuje nisko samopoštovanje, pretjeranu usmjerenost na uvrede, povučенost, i negativnu emocionalnost. Primjerice, Pincus i sur. primjerima slučajeva iz psihoterapijskog konteksta razlažu suvremeni klinički model patološkog narcizma koji poznatu grandioznu simptomatologiju uparuje s regulatornim deficitima u obliku srdžbe, zavisti, agresije, bespomoćnosti, osjećaja praznine, niskog samopoštovanja, srama, socijalnog izbjegavanja, pa čak i suicidalnosti (29). Elementi grandioznosti i vulnerabilnosti naizgled djeluju nekompatibilno, pa se narcizam katkada opisuje kao “paradoks” (31), no

terized as superficial, whereby their main purpose is to regulate one’s own self-esteem. Moreover, a lack of genuine interest in the experiences of others is the main indicator of a lack of intimacy.

The manner of expressing the above mentioned impairments in personality functioning is described through the presence of pathological personality traits, operationalization, manifestation of one or several of the 25 specific traits, or 5 domains according to which these traits are organized (negative affectivity, detachment, antagonism, disinhibition and psychoticism). In terms of NPD, this refers to *grandiosity* - overt or covert feelings of entitlement and superiority - and *attention-seeking* - excessive attempts to become the focus of attention of others.

A brief overview of empirical findings

An overview of the criteria listed above gives the impression that openly grandiose behavior is the leitmotif of the life of an individual who meets the criteria for such diagnosis. On the other hand, clinical descriptions and studies in the field of social psychology and personality psychology consistently reveal the two sides of narcissism: *grandiose* and *vulnerable* (4, 27-30). Grandiose narcissism is characterized by high self-esteem, self-enhancement, insensitivity, assertiveness and exhibitionism, while vulnerable narcissism generally includes low self-esteem, excessive focus on insults, seclusion and negative emotionality. For example, Pincus et al. presented cases from the psychotherapeutic context in order to analyze the modern clinical model of pathological narcissism which pairs the familiar grandiose symptomatology with regulatory deficits such as anger, envy, aggression, helplessness, feeling of emptiness, low self-esteem, shame, social avoidance and even suicidality (29). The elements of grandiosity and vulnerability are seemingly incompatible, resulting in narcissism sometimes being described as “paradoxical” (31), however it has been observed that both presentations have common traits from the domain of antagonism (28).

uočeno je da obje prezentacije dijele crte iz domene antagonizma (28).

Prototipni narcis smatra da je poseban, jedinstven i izvanredan, i u središte svojih fantazija stavlja moć, uspjeh i slavu, a iz njih izostavlja teme ljubavi i bliskosti (32,33). On žudi za pažnjom i divljenjem, a intenzitet motivacije u narcisa odražava se u njegovoj autokratskoj i asertivnosti (34), hvalisavosti (35), sklonosti da dominira razgovorima (36) te u pretjeranom korištenju socijalnih medija u samo-promocijske svrhe (37,38). Pokazalo se da narcisi zapravo nisu natprosječno učinkoviti ili kompetentni koliko tvrde da jesu, iako to valja potkrijepiti dodatnim dokazima (20). S druge strane, kada prime negativnu povratnu informaciju, okrivljuju i napadaju druge (39,40). Oni derogiraju uspješnije konkurente (41), ali i općenito derogiraju druge, čak i one koje smatraju prijateljima, bez obzira na to jesu li primili neku negativnu povratnu informaciju (42). Slično tome Lamkin i sur. su pokazali da su i grandioznost i ranjivost povezane s negativnom percepcijom vlastite socijalne mreže (obitelji i najbližih prijatelja) te su to pripisali središnjoj ulozi antagonizma, tj. niske ugodnosti u narcizmu (43).

Narcisi su skloniji isticati vlastite superiorne sposobnosti nego društvene vrline kao što su ljubaznost i susretljivost (44,45; ali vidi 46), što je možda podržano manjkom motivacije i/ili kapaciteta za empatiju (47-51). Njihov doživljaj vlastite superiornosti proteže se i na odnos s partnerom (44, 52). Štoviše, oni će prije odabrati partnera koji im se divi, nego onog koji im nudi intimnost (53), a bit će mu i manje predani (54). Njihova samouvjerenost i šarm (55), uparena sa željom za usponom u društvenoj hijerarhiji često ih dovodi do rukovoditeljskih pozicija (56), no većina dokaza opet ukazuje da narcisi nisu učinkovitiji vođe (12,57). Koliko brzo ih šarm dovede do vrha, toliko brzo im nepoželjni aspekti njihovog karaktera oduzmu tu poziciju (58, 59).

A prototypical narcissist views himself/herself as special, unique and extraordinary, and places power, success and fame at the center of their own fantasies, all the while omitting love and closeness (32, 33). They crave attention and admiration, and the intensity of a narcissist's motivation is reflected in their autocracy and assertiveness (34), boastfulness (35), tendency to dominate conversations (36) and excessive use of social media for self-promotion (37, 38). In fact, it has been observed that narcissists are not above-average efficient or competent as they claim to be, although this should be supported by additional evidence (20). On the other hand, if they receive negative feedback, they tend to blame and attack others (39, 40). They derogate more successful competitors (41), but derogate others in general as well, even the individuals they view as friends, regardless of whether they received any type of negative feedback (42). Similarly, Lamkin et al. observed that grandiosity and vulnerability are associated with a negative perception of one's own social network (family and close friends), attributing this to the central role of antagonism, i.e. low agreeableness in narcissism (43).

Narcissists are more likely to emphasize their own superior capabilities than social skills such as pleasantness and kindness (44, 45; also see 46), which could be supported by a lack of motivation and/or capacity for empathy (47-51). Their perception of own superiority also extends to the relationship with their partner (44, 52). Moreover, they are more likely to select a partner who admires them, than one who offers intimacy (53), and will be less devoted to them as well (54). Their confidence and charm (55), paired with the desire to move up in the social hierarchy, often lead them to managerial positions (56), however most evidence indicates that narcissists are not more efficient leaders (12, 57). As quickly as their charm leads them to the top, so quickly do the undesirable aspects of their characters cause them to lose these positions (58, 59).

Understanding the narcissistic point of view and their behavior can be facilitated by understanding the relationship between narcissism and perfec-

Razumijevanje narcističkog doživljavanja i ponašanja može biti facilitirano razumijevanjem veze između narcizma i perfekcionizma. Millon i sur. zamjećuju da je život narcisa vrlo težak jer oni sebi samima ne dozvoljavaju ništa manje od savršenstva (60), što Morf i Rhodewalt tumače kao metodu samoobrane (31). U skladu s time, meta-analiza Smitha i sur. pokazala je vezu između grandioznosti i perfekcionistačke samo-promocije te očekivanja savršenstva od sebe i drugih, a vulnerabilnosti sa skrivanjem nesavršenstava te s percepcijom osobe da drugi od nje očekuju savršenstvo (61). Dakle, imidž je grandioznim i ranjivim narcisima jednako važan, no za razliku od prvih, potonji imaju obrambeni stav i nesigurnu preokupaciju nesavršenstvom. Grandiozni narcisi drugima beskompromisno nameću perfekcionistačke standarde istovremeno osjećajući trajno nezadovoljstvo tuđim nesavršenostima, dok sami neumoljivo teže savršenstvu i sebe besramno prikazuju savršenima (7,61). Ranjivi narcisi pak očekuju kritiku i osuđivanje. U tom su smjeru pristrani pri tumačenju nejednoznačnih poruka, te svijet vide kao prijeteće mjesto gdje su drugi zlonamjerni (62-64).

Objedinjujući ove nalaze Marčinko i sur. su pokazali da je narcistička vulnerabilnost znatno jače povezana sa simptomima depresije od grandioznosti, te da je upravo perfekcionizam značajan medijator tog odnosa (65). U nešto recentnijem istraživanju, Jakšić i sur. pokazali su da su doživljavanje srama i suicidalnost znatno jače povezani s vulnerabilnosti nego s grandioznosti, te da specifično sram vezan za vlastiti karakter i onaj vezan za vlastito tijelo imaju ulogu medijatora u odnosu vulnerabilnosti i suicidalnosti (66).

Dijagnostičke nejasnoće

Unatoč inicijalnim psihoanalitičkim viđenjima koja su ju opisivala kao kompenzatorni mehanizam koji brani osobu od duboke nesigurno-

tionism. Millon et al. noted that narcissists lead very difficult lives because they allow themselves nothing less than perfection (60), which Morf and Rhodewalt interpreted as a self-defense method (31). Accordingly, a meta-analysis conducted by Smith et al. showed that there is a link between grandiosity and perfectionist self-promotion, and the expectations of perfection from oneself and others, while vulnerability is linked with the hiding of imperfections and the perception of a person in such manner that others expect perfection from them (61). Image is, therefore, of equal importance both to grandiose and vulnerable narcissists, however as opposed to the grandiose ones, the latter have a defensive attitude and an insecure preoccupation with imperfection. Grandiose narcissists uncompromisingly impose perfectionist standards on others, at the same time feeling permanently dissatisfied with the imperfections of others while aiming for perfection for themselves and shamelessly presenting themselves as perfect (7, 61). Vulnerable narcissists, on the other hand, expect criticism and judgment. In that sense, they are biased when it comes to the interpretation of ambiguous messages, and view the world as a threatening place where all the others are malicious (62-64).

By combining these findings, Marčinko et al. showed that there is a significantly stronger link between narcissistic vulnerability and symptoms of depression, as opposed to the grandiose one, and perfectionism was proved to be a significant mediator in this connection (65). In a more recent study conducted by Jakšić et al., it was presented that the perception of embarrassment and suicidality are much more associated with vulnerability than with grandiosity, and embarrassment specifically relating to one's own character, as well as the one relating to one's body, plays a mediating role in the connection between vulnerability and suicidality (66).

Diagnostic uncertainties

Despite the initial psychoanalytic views describing the narcissistic phenomenology as a compensatory mechanism protecting an individual

sti (67, 68) te kasnijim radovima koji su isticali vulnerabilni aspekt narcističke fenomenologije (30,31,69-72), DSM-ovo naglašavanje grandioznosti te zanemarivanje složene psihološke strukture u podlozi narcizma desetljećima nakon uvođenja dijagnoze NPL-a bitno je doprinijelo produžetku rasprave o definiciji narcizma kao i o slaboj kliničkoj upotrebljivosti dijagnoze (7,73). Nadalje, Inventar narcističke ličnosti, koji je proizašao iz DSM-ove definicije i za kojeg se glavina autora slaže da je ponajviše mjera njegovog grandioznog aspekta (6) donedavno je bio predominantno korišteni instrument u istraživanjima narcizma (5), što je dodatno odvlačilo pažnju znanstvene zajednice od njegovog ranjivog naličja. Ipak, objava istaknutih preglednih radova (27,28) te razvoj Pet-faktorskog inventara narcizma (74) i Inventara patološkog narcizma (63), koji je preveden na hrvatski jezik te čijom je primjenom na hrvatskom uzorku replicirana originalna latentna struktura i ustanovljena adekvatna kriterijska valjanost (75), označili su prekretnicu i početak desetljeća u kojemu je uravnotežen odnos istraživanja posvećenih dvama licima narcizma.

Dapače, zbog dugog vijeka takve definicije narcizma kakvu se danas smatra selektivnom u odnosu na suvremenu sliku, neki su autori opravdano slutili da su se slučajevi poremećaja ličnosti koje bi se danas smatralo vulnerabilnim ekspresijama narcizma vjerojatno često ili previdali, ili dijagnosticirali kao neki drugi poremećaj ličnosti. U prvoj studiji koja se bavila diferencijalnom dijagnostikom subtipova narcizma Dickinson i Pincus istražili su valjanost konstrukata grandioznog i vulnerabilnog narcizma putem analize dijagnostičkih kriterija za poremećaje ličnosti, interpersonalne smetnje te stilove privrženosti (62). U njihovom istraživanju, uvježbani ispitivači primijenili su Intervju Poremećaja Ličnosti-IV (engl. *Personality Disorder Interview-IV*; 76) na subkliničkom uzorku sudionika podijeljenih u tri grupe: grandiozne narcističke ličnosti, vulnerabilne narci-

from deep insecurities (67, 68), as well as later works emphasizing its vulnerable aspect (30, 31, 69-72), the emphasis on grandiosity presented in DSM and a neglect of the complex psychological structure underlying narcissism decades after the introduction of NPD diagnosis have significantly contributed to the prolonged discussion regarding the definition of narcissism, as well as the poor clinical usability of the diagnosis (7, 73). Furthermore, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory which originated from the DSM definition and for which the majority of authors agree that it mainly represents its grandiose aspect (6), was until recently the most predominantly used instrument in narcissism research (5), thus further distracting the scientific community from its vulnerable side. Nevertheless, publication of prominent review articles (27, 28) as well as the development of the Five-Factor Narcissism Inventory (74) and the Pathological Narcissism Inventory (63), which has been translated into Croatian and the Croatian application of which replicated the original latent structure and established an adequate criterion validity (75), have marked a turning point and the beginning of a decade in which a balanced relationship was created in terms of research dedicated to the two sides of narcissism.

Indeed, due to the longevity of such definition of narcissism, which is nowadays considered selective compared to the modern understanding, some authors justifiably suspected that cases of personality disorders which would today be considered as vulnerable expressions of narcissism, were previously probably often either overlooked or diagnosed as some other personality disorder. In the first study addressing the differential diagnosis of narcissism subtypes, Dickinson and Pincus explored the validity of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism constructs by analyzing the diagnostic criteria for personality disorders, interpersonal disturbances and attachment styles (62). In their study, trained researchers applied the Personality Disorder Interview-IV (76) to evaluate a subclinical sample of participants divided in three groups: grandiose narcissistic personality, vulnerable narcissistic personality and

stičke ličnosti, i kontrolnu skupinu. Pokazalo se da je od 30 sudionika (23 žena i 7 muškaraca) iz skupine vulnerabilnih narcističkih ličnosti 11 uredno zadovoljilo kriterije za dijagnozu izbjegavajućeg poremećaja ličnosti iz četvrtog izdanja DSM-a, dok je od 30 sudionika (13 žena i 17 muškaraca) iz skupine grandioznih narcističkih ličnosti 10 zadovoljilo kriterije za narcistički poremećaj ličnosti. Općenito su za pojedince klasificirane kao grandiozne ispitivači u prosjeku označili da zadovoljavaju više kriterija za antisocijalni, histrionski i narcistički poremećaj ličnosti u odnosu na one iz drugih dviju skupina. S druge strane, skupina vulnerabilnih narcisa u prosjeku je zadovoljila više kriterija za izbjegavajući poremećaj ličnosti od drugih dviju skupina.

Ovi nalazi u skladu su s očekivanjima proizašlima iz teorijskih razmatranja i dotadašnjih istraživanja. Trajni osjećaj povlaštenosti koji je, kako ćemo uskoro vidjeti, prema suvremenom shvaćanju jedna od središnjih komponenti narcizma općenito, uparen s kroničnom hipersenzibilnosti dovodi do razvoja ličnosti koja na van prezentira sramežljivost, oprez i anksioznost, no u odnosima s vremenom pokazuje i sklonosti izrabljivanju. Takva konstelacija crta može potaknuti vulnerabilne narcise na socijalno povlačenje i izbjegavanje zbog nemogućnosti samouzdanja (kojim se grandiozni narcisi uspješnije služe), manjka samopouzdanja u vlastite sposobnosti iniciranja i održavanja društvenih odnosa, te straha od razočarenja i srama vezanog za vlastite potrebe u odnosima. U tom smislu Dickinson i Pincus predlažu identificiranje potreba i strahova u podlozi izbjegavajućeg ponašanja kako bi se razlikovalo vulnerabilnu manifestaciju narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti od izbjegavajućeg poremećaja ličnosti (62). Specifično, ključ je u očekivanjima koja pojedinac ima od sebe i od drugih. Osoba s izbjegavajućim poremećajem ima potrebu svidjeti se i biti prihvaćena, ali strahuje da to neće biti. S druge strane, u podlozi izbjegavanja kod ranjivog nar-

control group. The results showed that out of the 30 participants (23 women and 7 men) from the vulnerable narcissistic personality group, 11 of them met the criteria for the diagnosis of avoidant personality disorder as presented in the fourth edition of DSM, while out of the 30 participants (13 women and 17 men) from the grandiose narcissistic personality group, 10 of them met the criteria for narcissistic personality disorder. In general, the individuals classified as grandiose were on average rated by the researchers as meeting more criteria for antisocial, histrionic and narcissistic personality disorders, as opposed to those from the other two groups. On the other hand, when compared to the other two groups, the individuals from the vulnerable narcissistic group on average met more criteria for the avoidant personality disorder.

These findings are in line with the expectations derived from theoretical considerations and previous research. When paired with chronic hypersensibility, the lasting sense of entitlement which, as will soon be presented, according to the modern understanding of narcissism generally represents one of its central components, leads to the development of a personality that on the outside appears as shy, cautious and anxious, but over time shows a tendency to exploit. Such a constellation of traits can promote social withdrawal and avoidance in vulnerable narcissistic individuals due to the inability to self-enhance (which is a trait better used by grandiose narcissists), lack of confidence in their own abilities to initiate and maintain social relations, and a fear of disappointment and shame when it comes to their needs in relationships. In this respect, Dickinson and Pincus propose an identification of needs and fears underlying avoidant behavior, in order to distinguish the vulnerable manifestation of narcissistic personality disorder from the avoidant personality disorder (62). More precisely, the key lies in the expectations of the individual, both with regard to themselves and to others. An individual suffering from avoidant personality disorder feels the need to be liked and accepted, but is afraid they will not accomplish that. On the

cisa je strah od nemogućnosti toleriranja razočarenja zbog vlastitih nerealnih očekivanja, a to je očekivanje *divljenja* bez obzira na to kako se on ponaša.

Iako su Dickinson i Pincus predvidjeli i rezultate koji bi upućivali na dijagnostičko preklapanje narcističke ličnosti, i to posebice vulnerabilne narcističke ličnosti, s graničnom ličnosti, rezultati, premda su bili u smjeru očekivanih, nisu ostvarili statističku značajnost, što su autori pripisali provedbi istraživanja na nekliničkom uzorku. Fokusiranje kliničara na očiglednu emocionalnu labilnost, uz popratno previđanje kognitivnih i socio-emocionalnih iskustava koja ju prate, može dovesti do pogrešne dijagnostike. Na tom tragu Fossati i sur. su, provedši psihometrijsku analizu Ljestvice hipersenzibilnog narcizma (engl. *Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale*; 71) na kliničkom uzorku, pokazali da je rezultat na toj ljestvici statistički značajan pozitivan prediktor izbjegavajućeg i graničnog poremećaja ličnosti, ali i nekih drugih poremećaja ličnosti (npr. paranoidnog i shizotipnog; 77). S druge strane, ukupni rezultat na Inventaru narcističke ličnosti bio je negativan prediktor izbjegavajućeg, a pozitivan prediktor histrionskog, kao i samog narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti za koji je bio bitno prediktivniji od rezultata na Ljestvici hipersenzibilnog narcizma. Ovi rezultati dodatno upućuju na mogućnost da zanemarivanje ranjivog naličja narcizma može završiti dijagnozom koja možda i ne bi bila najprikladnija kada bi se u obzir uzela cjelokupna prezentacija simptoma.

Strukturni modeli

Recentne psihometrijske analize i teorijske razrade uspjele su iznjedriti obećavajući integrativni strukturalni model narcizma (5,19,78). Pokazalo se, naime, da grandiozna i vulnerabilna prezentacija narcizma dijele interpersonalno antagonističke crte kao što su osjećaj povlaštenosti, egotizam i nesuradljivost (npr. 5,79).

other hand, the basis of avoidance in vulnerable narcissists is the fear of not being able to tolerate disappointment due to their own unrealistic expectations, specifically the expectation to be *admired* regardless of their behavior.

Dickinson and Pincus also predicted results that would indicate a diagnostic overlap of narcissistic personalities, particularly vulnerable narcissistic personality and borderline personality, and although in line with the expectations, the final results did not achieve a statistical significance. The authors attributed this to the study being conducted on a non-clinical sample. Focusing on the obvious emotional instability, along with additional predictions of cognitive and socio-emotional experiences accompanying it, may lead clinicians to false diagnoses. With such considerations in mind, having conducted a psychometric analysis of the Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale (71) on a clinical sample, Fossati et al. showed that the results on this scale represent a statistically significant positive predictor of avoidant and borderline personality disorders, as well as some other personality disorders (e.g. paranoid or schizotypal; 77). On the other hand, the total result in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory proved to be a negative predictor for avoidant disorder, but a positive predictor for histrionic disorder, as well as narcissistic personality disorder for which it was significantly more predictive than the result obtained on the Hypersensitive Narcissism Scale. These results additionally point to the possibility that neglecting the vulnerable side of narcissism can lead to a diagnosis which would not necessarily be the most suitable if all of the presented symptoms were taken into consideration.

Structural models

Recent psychometric analyses and theoretical elaborations have managed to produce a promising integrative structural model of narcissism (5, 19, 78). In fact, it has been observed that grandiose and vulnerable presentations of narcissism share interpersonally antagonistic traits such as a sense of entitlement, egotism and noncompli-

U skladu s time, Krizan i Herlache narcizam u najširem smislu riječi definiraju kao povlaštenu samovažnost (engl. *entitled self-importance*), tj. *aroganciju* ili *egotizam* (19). Prema njihovom modelu spektra narcizma, poimanje sebe i vlastitih potreba kao važnijih i posebnijih od tuđih može se smatrati psihološkom srži narcizma. Ova srž zajednička je svim ekspresijama narcizma, dok čitav spektar osobina ličnosti koje u različitoj mjeri odražavaju vulnerabilnost i grandioznost proizlazi iz različitih obrazaca utjecaja dvaju funkcionalnih orijentacija: jedne usmjerene na izbjegavanje (vulnerabilnost) i druge usmjerene na približavanje (grandioznost). Miller i sur. su, pošavši od pet-faktorskog modela ličnosti, došli do sličnog rješenja, stavljajući u središte narcizma *interpersonalni antagonizam*, a dvije prominentne prezentacije simptoma objašnjavajući putem moderirajućih učinaka ekstraverzije (grandioznost) i neuroticizma (ranjivost; 5).

Analizirajući faktorsku strukturu više od 300 čestica iz 12 instrumenata namijenjenih mjerenju narcizma, među ostalima i iz Inventara narcističke ličnosti, Inventara patološkog narcizma te Pet-faktorskog inventara narcizma, Crowe i sur. su dobili rezultate koji su dodatno poduprli gore spomenute modele: središnji faktor – egotistični antagonizam – obuhvaća čestice vezane za antagonizam i za osjećaj povlaštenosti, dok su *djelatna ekstraverzija* (engl. *agentic extraversion*; npr. asertivnost) i *narcistički neuroticizam* (npr. emocionalna vulnerabilnost) crte specifične za određenu konfiguraciju narcizma (78). Dodatno su istaknuli podreprezentiranost u ljestvicama narcizma komponente nepovjerljivosti, koju znanstvenici (80), kliničari (81), a i laici drže karakterističnom za NPD (12).

Među istraživačima narcizma, dakle, postoji određeni stupanj konsenzusa oko toga da su njegova definirajuća obilježja prekomjerni osjećaj vlastite važnosti, antagonizam, i preokupiranost zadovoljavanjem vlastitih potreba nauštrb tuđih. Distinkcija koja postoji izme-

ance (e.g. 5, 79). Accordingly, Krizan and Herlache defined narcissism, in the broadest sense of the word, as entitled self-importance, i.e. arrogance or egotism (19). According to their Narcissism Spectrum Model, viewing oneself and one's own needs as being more important and significant than those of others can be considered the psychological core of narcissism. This core is common to all expressions of narcissism, while the entire spectrum of personality characteristics which to varying degrees reflect vulnerability and grandiosity derives from different influential patterns of two functional orientations: one oriented towards avoidance (vulnerability) and the other oriented towards approach (grandiosity). Starting with the five-factor personality model, Miller et al. reached a similar conclusion by placing *interpersonal antagonism* at the center of narcissism, while explaining the two prominent symptom presentations through the moderating effects of extraversion (grandiosity) and neuroticism (vulnerability; 5).

By analyzing the factor structure of over 300 items from 12 instruments utilized for the measurement of narcissism, among others from the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, the Pathological Narcissism Inventory and the Five-Factor Narcissism Inventory, Crowe et al. obtained results which additionally supported the above-mentioned models: the central factor - egotistical antagonism - includes items relating to antagonism and the sense of entitlement, while *agentic extraversion* (e.g. assertiveness) and *narcissistic neuroticism* (e.g. emotional vulnerability) are traits specific to a certain configuration of narcissism (78). They additionally emphasized the underrepresentation of the distrust component in narcissism scales, which both scientists (80), clinicians (81) and laymen consider to be characteristic of NPD (12).

There is, therefore, a certain degree of consensus among narcissism researchers regarding the fact that its defining characteristics include an excessive sense of self-importance, antagonism and preoccupation with meeting one's own needs at the expense of the needs of others. The distinction that exists between the grandiose and vulnerable expressions of narcissism is, nev-

đu grandiozne i vulnerabilne ekspresije je pak izvor rasprava o dodatnim faktorima koji bi se trebali inkorporirati u poimanje narcizma. Ranjivi narcizam karakterizira dominantnija internalizirajuća simptomatologija i psihološke teškoće, dok je grandiozni jače povezan s eksternaliziranjem, posebice reakcijama ljutnje i agresije na percipirane provokacije ili prijeteće egu. Međutim, tradicionalno gledano, mjerenje narcizma uglavnom se oslanjalo na globalne samoizvještaje koji pokušavaju zahvatiti individualne razlike u procesima ličnosti (34,46,63,71,74, 82,83). Iako ove domene individualnih razlika mogu dati uvid u njegove komponente, one ne omogućuju detaljno razumijevanje kompleksnog dinamičkog sustava koji zovemo „narcizam“. Ne umanjujući njihovu vrijednost vezanu za pouzdanost i ekonomičnost, dominantno korišteni mjerni instrumenti namijenjeni su procjeni nečije *tipične* razine narcizma, a to znači da smanjuju rezoluciju koja je potrebna za analizu intrapsihičke dinamike koja ga definira. Iako imaju važnu prediktivnu snagu, crte ličnosti ne mogu dati uvid u detaljnu vremensku dinamiku stanja unutar pojedinca, pa su one tek početni, deskriptivni korak u objašnjavanju i razumijevanju neke kliničke pojave. Potpuna teorija narcizma zato treba povezati dispozicije na razini crta ličnosti s ponašajnim manifestacijama na razini stanja preciziranjem procesa unutar osobe koji u konačnici dovode do individualnih razlika u prosječnim ponašajnim sklonostima.

Procesni modeli

Gledano iz procesno-orijentirane perspektive, crte ličnosti su dosljedni i relativno stabilni obrasci aktivacije regulatornih procesa (84, 85). Općenito postoji konsenzus da bihevioralnu i afektivnu disregulaciju koja karakterizira poremećaje ličnosti podržavaju neprikladne mentalne reprezentacije sebe i drugih (86). Suvremeni procesni modeli narcizam opisuju upravo pomoću raznih intra- i interpersonalnih

ertheless, a source of debate when it comes to the additional factors which should be incorporated into the notion of narcissism. Vulnerable narcissism is characterized by a more dominant internalizing symptomatology and psychological distress, while grandiose narcissism is more associated with externalization, particularly reactions of anger and aggression towards perceived provocations or threats to the ego. However, traditionally speaking, the measurement of narcissism has mostly relied on global self-reports in an attempt to encompass the individual differences in personality processes (34, 46, 63, 71, 74, 82, 83). Although these domains of individual differences may provide an insight into its components, they do not provide a detailed understanding of the complex dynamic system we call “narcissism”. Without detracting from their value in terms of reliability and cost-effectiveness, the measuring instruments dominantly used are intended for the evaluation of an individual’s *typical* narcissism level, which means that they reduce the resolution necessary for an analysis of the intrapsychic dynamics which defines it. Despite having a significant predictive influence, personality traits cannot provide an insight into the detailed temporal dynamics of the internal state of an individual, therefore they represent only the initial, descriptive step in the explanation and understanding of a clinical phenomenon. A complete theory of narcissism should, therefore, connect the dispositions at the personality trait level with the behavioral manifestations at the state level by specifying the processes occurring within an individual that ultimately lead to individual differences in the average behavioral tendencies.

Process models

Viewed from a process-oriented perspective, personality traits are consistent and relatively stable patterns of regulatory processes activation (84, 85). There is a general consensus that behavioral and affective dysregulations which characterize personality disorders are supported by inappropriate mental representations of oneself and

regulatornih procesa, a kojima je svrha stvaranje i održavanje grandioznog samopoimanja, tj. takvih mentalnih reprezentacija sebe i drugih koje osobu prikazuju superiornom i posebnom (31,87,88). Generalno, ljudi obično teže pozitivnom viđenju sebe samih (89), jer pozitivno samopoimanje izaziva ugodu, dok negativno izaziva neugodu (90), no ponašanje osobe s NPL-om toliko je fokusirano na ostvarenje i održavanje pozitivnog viđenja sebe da je u literaturi narcistički obrazac ponašanja okarakteriziran i kao *ovisnost*, i to ovisnost o poštovanju (91).

Zašto se narcisi ponašaju tako? Zašto su toliko preokupirani samouzdanjem? Ova pitanja dovode nas do veze između narcizma i samopoštovanja. Narcisi silno žele imati pozitivnu sliku o sebi i osjećaju se jako loše kada u tome ne uspijevaju. Primjerice, Thomaes i sur. su pronašli da su djeca koja pokazuju narcističke obrasce ponašanja sklona emocionalnim ekstremima pokazujući visoke razine i ugodnih (npr. euforija, ponos) i neugodnih (npr. sram, srdžba) emocija u svakodnevi (92). Nadalje, rezultati eksperimenta Thomaesa i sur. sugerirali su da se patološka reaktivnost narcisa najvjerojatnije iskazuje zbog događaja koje osoba tumači prijetećima za ego (93). U tom eksperimentu samopoštovanje djece s povećanim rezultatima na ljestvici grandioznog narcizma naglo je palo zbog negativne povratne informacije vršnjaka. Slične rezultate dobili su i Thomaes i sur. eksperimentalno manipulirajući stupnjem ego-prijetnje koji je imao negativni ishod namještene kompetitivne igre (94). Naime, u ego-prijetećoj situaciji je sudionicima, mladim adolescentima dobi između 10 i 13 godina, prije početka igre rečeno da imaju sreće nadmetati se s jednim od najgorih igrača, a nakon namještenog gubitka pokazana im je rang lista s njihovim imenom na dnu. U kontrolnoj situaciji su sudionici također tobože izgubili, ali prije igre im nije rečeno da im je suparnik loš i nije im pokazana rang lista. Rezultat na ljestvici dječjeg narcizma (92)

*others (86). Contemporary process models describe narcissism precisely by means of various intra- and interpersonal regulatory processes, the purpose of which is the creation and maintenance of grandiose self-perception, i.e. mental representations of oneself and of others that perceive the individual as superior and special (31, 87, 88). People generally tend to view themselves in a positive manner (89) because positive self-perception produces comfort, while negative perception causes discomfort (90). However, the behavior of an individual with NPD is focused on the achievement and maintenance of a positive self-perception to such extent that the narcissistic behavior pattern is defined in literature as *addiction*, specifically addiction to esteem (91).*

Why do narcissists behave in such manner? Why are they so preoccupied with self-enhancement? These questions lead us to the connection between narcissism and self-esteem. Narcissists desperately want to create a positive image of themselves and feel very bad when they do not succeed in doing so. For example, Thomaes et al. discovered that children who display narcissistic behavior patterns are prone to emotional extremes, displaying high levels of pleasant (e.g. euphoria, pride) and unpleasant (e.g. embarrassment, anger) emotions in their daily lives (92). Furthermore, the results of the experiment conducted by Thomaes et al. suggested that pathological reactivity of narcissists is most likely caused by events interpreted by the individual as threatening to the ego (93). In this experiment, the self-esteem of children with higher scores on the grandiose narcissism scale plummeted after negative feedback from their peers. Thomaes et al. obtained similar results by experimentally manipulating the degree of the threat to the ego caused by a negative outcome of a rigged competitive game (94). More precisely, in an ego-threatening situation, the participants, younger adolescents between 10 and 13 years of age, were told before the game that they were lucky to compete with one of the worst players, and after the rigged loss they were presented with the ranking list with their name at the bottom. The participants

je bio u pozitivnoj korelaciji s razinom srdžbe o kojoj su sudionici izvijestili nakon pregleda rang liste, ali samo u situaciji ego-prijetnje. U drugoj skupini nije bilo razlike ovisno o razini narcizma.

Povijesno gledano, termini “narcizam” i “visoko samopoštovanje” često su se zamjenjivali (95). Jedan od mogućih razloga zbog kojih se narcizam asocirao sa psihološkim zdravljem je taj što su mnoge čestice Inventara narcističke ličnosti, donedavno najčešće korištenog instrumenta za mjerenje narcizma, zapravo bolji indikatori konstrukta samopoštovanja (96), no danas se narcizam smatra različitim od samopoštovanja (97). Temelj te razlike pronalazi se u oprečnim uvjerenjima o sebi koja karakteriziraju narcise s jedne i osobe visokog samopoštovanja s druge strane (2). Narcisi vjeruju, i to često neutemeljeno, da su superiorni drugima, koje pak obezvrijeđuju, dok osobe zdravog visokog samopoštovanja uvjerenje o vlastitoj vrijednosti crpe iz realnih dokaza, a uvažavaju intrinzičnu vrijednost drugih ljudi. Ne čudi stoga da, iako empirijska korelacija između ova dva konstrukta postoji, ona u najboljem slučaju ima nisku vrijednost ($r = .28$; 97).

U svom preglednom radu Sedikides opisuje povijesnu putanju razmatranja odnosa narcizma i samopoštovanja (2). Prve ideje razvile su se početkom 20. stoljeća unutar okvira psihodinamske škole mišljenja, koja je s vremenom iznjedrila i dandanas živuće konceptualizacije obuhvaćene *modelom maske* (98). Pojednostavljeno, prema ovom modelu, grandioznost je maska koja krije ranjivu unutrašnjost, tj. ona je kompenzacija koja štiti osobu od dubokih osjećaja manje vrijednosti i nesigurnosti. Ova konfiguracija samopoimanja po kojoj narcizam definira visoko eksplicitno i nisko implicitno samopoštovanje u fokusu je Morfova i Rhodewaltova *modela dinamične samoregulatorne obrade*, prema kojemu su procesi ličnosti narcisa organizirani oko cilja uspostavljanja grandioznog samopoimanja (31). Njihov mo-

supposedly lost the game in the control situation as well, but they were told before the game that their opponent was a bad player and they were not presented with the ranking list. There was a positive correlation between the score on the Childhood Narcissism Scale (92) and the level of anger reported by the participants after viewing the ranking list, but only in the ego-threatening situation. There were no differences depending on the narcissism levels in the other group.

Historically, the terms “narcissism” and “high self-esteem” were often used interchangeably (95). One of the possible reasons due to which narcissism was associated with psychological health was that many items in the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, the instrument most widely used to measure narcissism until recently, actually represent better indicators for the self-esteem construct (96). Nowadays, however, narcissism is considered to be distinct from self-esteem (97). The basis for such difference lies in the conflicting beliefs about oneself which characterize narcissists on the one hand and individuals with high self-esteem on the other hand (2). Narcissists, often unjustifiably, believe that they are superior to others and consequently belittle them, while individuals with healthy high self-esteem base the belief in their own value from actual evidence and appreciate the intrinsic value of other people. It is, therefore, no surprise that even though an empirical correlation between these two constructs exists, it has a low value at best ($r = .28$; 97).

In his review article, Sedikides describes the historical path of exploring the relationship between narcissism and self-esteem (2). The first ideas were developed in the early 20th century within the framework of the psychodynamic school of thought which, over time, produced conceptualizations encompassed in the *mask model*, which remain recognized to this day (98). In simplified terms, according to this model, grandiosity is a mask that hides a vulnerable interior, i.e. it is a compensation that protects the individual from deep feelings of inferiority and insecurity. This configuration of self-perception in which narcissism is defined by high explicit and low implicit

del, informiran kliničkom literaturom i istraživanjima iz socijalne psihologije te psihologije ličnosti, opisuje ciklus regulacije samopoštovanja koji počiva na krhkom samopoimanju, koje zahtijeva izvanjsku validaciju vlastite grandioznosti. Međutim, upravo zbog toga što odnose doživljavaju samo kao sredstvo za regulaciju vlastitog samopoimanja, narcisi sami sebe eventualno kompromitiraju, što stvara proverbijalni začarani krug traženja validacije, primanja kritike ili odbijanja, te ponovnog traženja validacije. Dugoročna stabilnost takvog sustava regulatornih procesa kojima je cilj održavanje grandioznog samopoimanja eventualno se manifestira u individualnim razlikama u crtama poput arogancije, hostilnosti i osjećaja povlaštenosti.

Ipak, akumulirani empirijski nalazi (5, 99,100) uglavnom su diskreditirali operacionalizaciju narcizma kao diskrepancije između visokog eksplicitnog i niskog implicitnog samopoštovanja. Pregled dotadašnjih empirijskih nalaza Millera i sur. (5) nagovijestio je recentnije rezultate Mota i sur. (100) koji su testirajući meta-analizom razne formacije povezanosti narcizma s eksplicitnim i implicitnim samopoštovanjem jedino pronašli dosljednu, robusnu vezu između eksplicitnog samopoštovanja i specifičnih prezentacija narcizma: vulnerabilni narcizam je u negativnoj, a grandiozni u pozitivnoj korelaciji s eksplicitnim samopoštovanjem. Njihove nalaze ipak valja tumačiti imajući na umu dvojbena psihometrijska svojstva mjera implicitnog samopoštovanja (101), kao i činjenicu da nisu testirali sve konceptualizacije modela maske, jedna od kojih veže narcizam uz krhko, a ne visoko samopoštovanje (102). Sukladno gore opisanim rezultatima eksperimenata Thomaesa i sur. (92-94), danas najviše podrške ima hipoteza *kontingentnog samopoštovanja*, koja tvrdi da je samopoštovanje narcisa izrazito krhko jer je prekomjerno vezano za eksternalnu validaciju (3, 97), no relevantnost izvora validacije ovisi o prezentaciji narcizma:

self-esteem is also the focus of Morf and Rhodewalt's *dynamic self-regulatory processing model*, according to which the processes of narcissistic personality are organized around the goal of creating a grandiose self-view (31). Their model, informed by clinical literature and research derived from social psychology and personality psychology, describes a self-esteem regulation cycle based on a fragile self-view, which requires external validation of one's own grandiosity. However, precisely because they perceive relationships only as a means of regulation of their own self-views, over time narcissists compromise themselves, which creates the proverbial vicious cycle of seeking validation, receiving criticism or rejection, as well as seeking revalidation. Long-term stability of such regulatory process systems in which the goal is to maintain a grandiose self-view eventually manifests itself in individual differences of traits such as arrogance, hostility and a sense of entitlement.

The accumulated empirical evidence (5, 99, 100), however, has mostly discredited the operationalization of narcissism as a discrepancy between high explicit and low implicit self-esteem. A review of empirical evidence collected by Miller et al. (5) up to that moment pointed to the more recent results proposed by Mota et al. (100), who, by using meta-analysis to examine the various formations of the connection between narcissism and explicit and implicit self-esteem encountered only a consistent, robust correlation between explicit self-esteem and specific presentations of narcissism: vulnerable narcissism has a negative correlation, while grandiose narcissism has a positive correlation with explicit self-esteem. Their findings should, nevertheless, be interpreted by keeping in mind the questionable psychometric properties of implicit self-esteem measures (101), as well as the fact that not all the conceptualizations of the mask model were examined, one of which associates narcissism with fragile, instead of high self-esteem (102). In accordance with the results of the experiments conducted by Thomaes et al. described above, (92-94), the hypothesis most widely supported nowadays is the hypothesis of *contingent self-esteem* which describes the self-esteem of narcissists as

ranjivi narcizam vezan je za relativno globalni oblik kontingentnog samopoštovanja, dok je grandiozni vezan za ishode u domenama koje nude priliku za demonstraciju superiornosti i statusa (npr. 103).

Pitanje ovisnosti o eksternalnoj validaciji dovođa nas do narcisove silne želje za poštovanjem (91) ili potrebe za divljenjem (31,82), čime se u priču neizravno upliće motiv za statusom (33), koji su mnogi teoretičari koristili za objašnjavaenje narcističkog ponašanja. Gore navedeni, a i mnogi drugi nalazi upućuju na to da za grandiozne narcise nisu sve domene iskustva jednako relevantne, već da oni imaju relativno snažniji motiv za moći i statusom u odnosu na motiv za afilijacijom. Oni snažnije, rigidnije i nauštrb ostalih vlastitih temeljnih motiva teže ostvarenju statusa. Istraživanja implicitne motivacije (104,105) pokazala su da oni često konstruiraju projektivne narative koji odaju motivaciju za moći, tj. potrebu da utječu na druge. Također, oni veću važnost pripisuju stjecanju rukovoditeljskih pozicija, slave i bogatstva (106). I djeca i odrasli s narcističkim crtama skloni su postavljati statusno relevantne ciljeve kao što su povećanje društvenog ranga, stjecanje poštovanja, zaštita reputacije, i utjecanje na druge (92,107,108). Ova saznanja inkorporirana su u većinu suvremenih procesnih modela narcizma (20,33,88,109).

Primjerice, Grapsas i sur. tvrde da “u srži grandioznog narcizma leži hijerarhijska i komparativna perspektiva koja karakterizira statusne hijerarhije: vidjeti sebe superiornim implicira vidjeti druge inferiornima; sebe držati povlaštenim implicira da drugi nisu” (87, str. 151). Ovaj hijerarhijski pogled na sebe i druge je upravo ono što razlikuje narcizam od samopoštovanja. Samopoštovanje je nehijerarhijsko vrednovanje sebe: ono proizlazi iz procjene vlastite adekvatnosti i vrijednosti, a ne superiornosti (95,110). Za Grapsasa i sur., intrapsihički motiv ostvarenja grandiozne slike o sebi ultimativno služi socijalnom motivu višeg reda

very fragile due to its excessive dependence on external validation (3, 97), however the relevance of validation sources depends on the presentation of narcissism: vulnerable narcissism is associated with a relatively global form of contingent self-esteem, while grandiose narcissism relates to the outcomes in the domains offering an opportunity to demonstrate superiority and status (e.g. 103).

The issue of dependence on external validation leads us to the narcissists' strong desire for respect (91) or the need for admiration (31,82), thus also indirectly involving motivation for status (33) which has been used by many theorists for the purpose of explaining narcissistic behavior. The findings listed above, as well as many other findings, indicate that not all domains of experience are equally relevant to grandiose narcissists, meaning that their motive for power and status is relatively stronger than the motive for affiliation. They strive for the achievement of status more intensely, more rigidly and at the expense of their own other fundamental motives. Studies on implicit motivation (104, 105) have shown that they often construct projective narratives indicative of power motivation, i.e. the need to influence others. Furthermore, they attribute greater importance to acquiring managerial positions, fame and wealth (106). Both children and adults with narcissistic traits tend to set status-relevant goals, such as increasing in social rank, gaining respect, protecting their reputation, and influencing others (92, 107, 108). These findings have been incorporated into the majority of the modern narcissistic process models (20, 33, 88, 109).

For example, Grapsas et al. argue that “at the core of grandiose narcissism lies the hierarchical and comparative perspective that is characteristic of status hierarchies: viewing oneself as superior implies viewing others as inferior; viewing oneself as entitled to special privileges implies viewing others as not.” (87, p. 151). This hierarchical view of oneself and of the others is what differentiates narcissism from self-esteem. Self-esteem represents nonhierarchical self-evaluation: it emerges from the assessment of one's own adequacy and worth, as opposed to superiority (95,

(87). Prema njima, narcizam zapravo odražava individualne razlike u slijedu samoregulatorskih procesa namijenjenih stjecanju *društvenog statusa*. Ti procesi su situacijska selekcija, pažnja, procjena te izvršni procesi (npr. 84, 111-113). Njihov model narcise opisuje kao sklonije *biranju* situacija koje doživljavaju kao priliku za uspon u društvenoj hijerarhiji te sklonije obraćanju *pozornosti* na znakove koji signaliziraju njihov vlastiti i tuđi status, a *procjena* tih signala daje narcisima uvid u smjer njihovog kretanja u društvenoj hijerarhiji, kao i u načine ostvarivanja statusa, što u konačnici informira *izvršne procese* vođene statusnim ciljevima. Opetovano aktiviranje tih regulatornih procesa stvara naviku, što tijekom vremena pak dovodi do oblikovanja stabilnog i održivog sustava ponašanja, tj. crte ličnosti, koja se iskazuje u raznim domenama transakcija osobe i okoline.

Ipak, samouzdanje samo po sebi nije definirajuće svojstvo narcističke disfunkcije već je to relativno oštećena samoregulacija, gdje patološki narcizam uključuje “značajne regulatorne deficite i maladaptivne strategije suočavanja s razočaranjima i prijetnjama pozitivnoj predodžbi o sebi” (4, str. 426). Patološki narcizam se stoga često opisuje kao relativna distorzija u identitetu i regulaciji predodžbe o sebi (8). Klinički teoretičari dugo su primjećivali da narcistički samoregulatorni problemi obuhvaćaju puno više od samouzdanja istaknutog u DSM-ovim kriterijima za NPL (4,8,27,67,68,114). Dapače, literatura o narcizmu obilno se referira na krhke samoreprezentacije, osjećaje bezvrijednosti, te otvoreno izbjegavajuće i bespomoćno ponašanje (27,29,115). Ukratko, patološki narcizam definira narušena samoregulacija i samopoštovanje, popraćeni samozaštitnom reaktivnošću i emocionalnom disregulacijom, a grandiozna i samouzdižuća ponašanja mogu se shvatiti kao pokušaji popravljivanja deficitarnog pojma o sebi i dio su samoregulatornog spektra NPL-a (116). Mada su se grandioznost i vulnerabilnost znale tumačiti kao podtipovi narcizma (114, 117), i

110). For Grapsas et al., the intrapsychic motive to establish a grandiose self-image ultimately serves a social motive of higher order (87). According to them, narcissism actually expresses individual differences in a sequence of self-regulation processes aimed at the attainment of *social status*. These processes are situation selection, vigilance, appraisal and response execution (e.g. 84, 111-113). Their model describes narcissists as prone to *selecting* situations they perceive as an opportunity to move up in the social hierarchy, and prone to *vigilance* when it comes to the cues signaling their own or the others' status, while the *appraisal* of these cues provides narcissists with an insight into the direction of their movement in the social hierarchy and the methods for achieving status, which ultimately forms the *response execution* guided by status goals. Repeated activation of these regulatory processes creates a habit, which over time leads to the formation of a stable and sustainable behavior system, i.e. personality trait, which is manifested in various person-environment transactions domains.

Nevertheless, self-enhancement alone is not a defining property of narcissistic dysfunction, but represents relatively damaged self-regulation where pathological narcissism involves “significant regulatory deficits and maladaptive strategies to cope with disappointments and threats to a positive self-image” (4, p. 426). Pathological narcissism is, therefore, often described as a relative distortion in the identity and regulation of self-image (8). Clinical theorists have long noticed that narcissistic self-regulatory issues encompass much more than self-enhancement presented in DSM criteria for NPD (4, 8, 27, 67, 68, 114). Moreover, literature focusing on narcissism includes numerous references to fragile self-presentation, feelings of worthlessness and openly avoidant and helpless behavior (27, 29, 115). In short, pathological narcissism is defined by impaired self-regulation and self-esteem, accompanied by self-protective reactivity and emotional dysregulation, while grandiose and self-serving behaviors may be understood as attempts to enhance a depleted sense of self and are part of a self-regulatory spectrum of NPD (116).

unatoč tome što istraživači ličnosti često naglašavaju razlike između tih dviju dimenzija, klinički teoretičari skloniji su vidjeti zajedničke aspekte ovih prezentacija te ih češće smatraju ne-ortogonalnima, pri čemu jedna od njih može biti izraženija kod nekih pacijenata (6,8,118). Klinički dokazi sugeriraju da pacijenti s NPL-om pokazuju istovremena ili oscilirajuća stanja grandioznosti i vulnerabilnosti (4, 29), a nedavna sustavna istraživanja potvrđuju da je to posebice slučaj kada govorimo o pojedincima koji su identificirani kao grandiozni narcisi, a koji imaju prepoznatljive epizode ranjivosti (119). Stoga, moguće je da specifična ekspresija narcizma više nalikuje stanju nego crti. Istovremeno, vidljiva ponašanja narcisa mogu se bitno razlikovati od njihovog subjektivnog iskustva, gdje ili grandioznost može prekrivati unutarnji osjećaj nemoći, srama i neadekvatnosti, ili vidljiva povučenost i sramežljivost mogu balansirati unutarnji osjećaj pretjerane samovažnosti (29), što dodaje još jedan sloj kompleksnosti u već poprilično složeni sustav.

O tranziciji iz zdravog u nezdravi oblik narcizma zna se relativno malo (4), ali kada je o subkliničkim uzorcima riječ, korelacija između mjera grandioznog i vulnerabilnog narcizma izostaje (5,78,120). Naizgled proturječno rezoniranje istraživača ličnosti i kliničara vjerojatno je barem dijelom posljedica različitih populacija koje su uključivane u istraživanja. Rezultati nedavnih istraživanja Jauka i suradnika ukazuju da razina grandioznosti možda moderira njenu vezu s ranjivosti (121, 122). Pretpostavivši da visok rezultat na odgovarajućim mjernim instrumentima može ukazati na klinički relevantnu razinu izraženosti crte pokazali su da se korelacija između dva aspekta narcizma značajno povećava pri gornjem rubu distribucije grandioznog narcizma, a čitavu zajedničku varijancu grandioznosti i vulnerabilnosti pri višim razinama grandioznosti statistički su uspjeli objasniti pomoću antagonizma. Ovaj rezultat ide u prilog shvaćanju NPL-a kao stanja deficitarne

Although grandiosity and vulnerability were sometimes interpreted as subtypes of narcissism (114, 117), and despite the fact that personality researchers often emphasize the differences between these two dimensions, clinical theorists tend to observe the common aspects of these presentations and more commonly consider them non-orthogonal, whereby it can occur that one of them is more pronounced in some patients (6, 8, 118). Clinical evidence suggests that patients with NPD display concurrent or oscillating states of grandiosity and vulnerability (4, 29), and recent systematic studies have confirmed that this is particularly the case in individuals who are identified as grandiose narcissists, and yet display recognizable episodes of vulnerability (119). It is, therefore, possible that a specific expression of narcissism bears more resemblance to a condition than a trait. At the same time, visible narcissistic behaviors may differ heavily from their subjective experience, where either grandiosity can cover an internal feeling of helplessness, shame and inadequacy, or visible withdrawal and shyness can balance the internal feeling of excessive self-importance (29), which adds yet another layer of complexity to an already complex system.

There is relatively little information on the transition from the healthy form of narcissism to its unhealthy form (4), and when it comes to subclinical samples, the correlation between the measures of grandiose and vulnerable narcissism is missing (5, 78, 120). The seemingly contradictory reasoning presented by personality researchers and clinicians is most likely at least partly a consequence of the different populations included in the studies. The results of recent studies conducted by Jauk et al. indicate that the level of grandiosity might moderate its connection with vulnerability (121, 122). With the assumption that high scores on the corresponding measuring instruments could indicate clinically relevant levels of trait prominence, they have shown that the correlation between two aspects of narcissism increases significantly at the upper border of grandiose narcissism distribution, and they have managed to statistically explain the entire common variance

samoregulacije gdje se međusobno izmjenjuju epizode grandioznosti i vulnerabilnosti.

Etiologija

Nasuprot stoljeću teorijskih spekulacija o faktorima koji doprinose razvoju NPL-a stoji dojmljiv manjak empirijskih istraživanja. Literatura o etiologiji narcizma uglavnom potječe iz psihoanalitičke i psihodinamske tradicije, ali svoj doprinos dali su i teorija socijalnog učenja te istraživanja privrženosti. Hipoteze su uglavnom bile informirane kliničkim iskustvom, a provjeravalo ih se poglavito korelacijskim istraživanjima s retrospektivnim samoizvještajima kao glavnim izvorom podataka zbog čega njihove nalaze valja tumačiti s oprezom. Postojeća istraživanja ukazuju na multifaktorsku etiologiju NPL-a, a rezultati upućuju na značajne utjecaje nasljeđa (npr. 123), temperamenta (npr. 124), psihološke traume (npr. 125,126) kao i izvršavanja dobno neprikladnih uloga (127). U svrhu što jasnije sistematizacije relevantnih čimbenika kao polazišnu točku ću uzeti dijateza-stres model Thomaesa i sur. prema kojemu maladaptivna socijalizacijska i/ili sociokulturalna iskustva (stres) aktiviraju latentne genetičke i temperamentne predispozicije (dijateza) za razvoj narcističkih crta (21,128). Za početak ću se osvrnuti na aktualna razmatranja evolucijskog podrijetla dijateze.

Evolucija dijateze NPL-a

Tradicionalno u psihologiji prevladavaju proksimalna, mehanicistička objašnjenja psiholoških fenomena, no sve je učestalije razmatranje psihičkih sklonosti i funkcija u kontekstu njihovog evolucijskog, adaptivnog značenja. Gledano iz filogenetske perspektive, ljudski ponašajni repertoar oblikovali su procesi evolucije favorizirajući ona ponašanja koja su povećavala vjerojatnost preživljavanja i reprodukcije i mada narcizam obično ima negativne konotacije, moguće je da neko njegovo svojstvo

between grandiosity and vulnerability at higher levels of grandiosity by means of antagonisms. This result supports the perception of NPD as a state of deficient self-regulation with alternating episodes of grandiosity and vulnerability.

Etiology

Despite a century of theoretical speculations with regard to the factors contributing to the development of NPD, there is a noticeable lack of empirical research. Literature on the etiology of narcissism mainly originates from psychoanalytic and psychodynamic tradition, with contributions from the social learning theory and attachment research. Hypotheses were generally formed through clinical experience, and were mainly verified in correlation studies with retrospective self-reports as the main source of data, which is why such findings should be interpreted with caution. The existing studies indicate a multifactorial etiology of NPD, and the results point to a significant influence of inheritance (e.g. 123), temperament (e.g. 124), psychological trauma (e.g. 125, 126) and performing age-inappropriate roles (127). In order to systematize the relevant factors as clearly as possible, as a starting point I will use the diathesis-stress model created by Thomaes et al., according to which maladaptive socialization and/or sociocultural experiences (stress) activate the latent genetic and temperamental predispositions (diathesis) for the development of narcissistic traits (21, 128). As a start, I will address the current observations on the evolutionary origins of diathesis.

Evolution of NPD diathesis

Psychology has traditionally been dominated by proximal, mechanistic explanations of psychological phenomena, however it is becoming more and more common to consider psychological tendencies and functions in the context of their evolutionary, adaptive meaning. From a phylogenetic perspective, human behavioral repertoire has been shaped by evolutionary processes favoring those behaviors that increased the likelihood of survival and reproduction, and although nar-

ima relevantne adaptivne prednosti (129). Primjerice, evucijski modeli i istraživanja narcističkih karakteristika pokazuju da grandiozna slika o sebi može povećati socijalnu dobit kroz sposobnost uvjeravanja drugih u vlastite superiorne vještine (130-133).

Logika u podlozi rezoniranja o evolucijskoj podlozi narcizma temelji se na dvije pretpostavke. Prva je da postoje geni koji utječu na fenotip koji vežemo uz narcizam, a druga je da je taj fenotip vezan za neku reproduktivnu funkciju koja utječe na propagiranje gena generacijama (129). Najsnažniji dokaz u korist prve pretpostavke bio bi pronalazak specifičnih gena koji bi objasnili varijabilitet u narcizmu u populaciji (129). Oni još nisu pronađeni, ali relativno nedavno je antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti povezan s jasno određenim genima (134). Kako je on u relativno visokoj korelaciji s narcizmom postoji mogućnost da ova dva fenotipa dijele genetski supstrat. Bihevioralno genetičke studije narcizma nešto su slabiji oslonac za evolucijsku hipotezu jer na procjene heritabilnosti posredno utječe i okolina putem interakcijskog efekta okoline i gena, a osim toga nenulta heritabilnost ne jamči genetsku podlogu (129). Imajući navedeno na umu, kada govorimo o heritabilnosti, prema Holtzmanu i Donnelanu (135) tri su glavna smjera razmišljanja, koji nisu međusobno isključivi: 1. genetski faktori možda utječu na fizičke karakteristike koje doprinose razvoju narcističkih karakteristika, 2. određeni genetski uvjetovani atributi u interakciji s okolinskim faktorima proizvode narcističke karakteristike (interakcija gena i okoline) i 3. mnogobrojni se geni aditivno i interaktivno kombiniraju i tako proizvode narcističke karakteristike (interakcija gena).

Temelj prvog smjera razmišljanja je ideja da organizam, ovisno o vlastitim fizičkim karakteristikama, bira različite interpersonalne strategije. Primjerice, Buss je, navodeći nalaze da su fizički veća djeca od 3 godine u dobi od 11 godina sklonija agresivnijem ponašanju, predložio da

cissism usually has negative connotations, it is possible that some of its traits represent relevant adaptive advantages (129). For example, evolutionary models and studies of narcissistic characteristics indicate that a grandiose self-image can increase social benefits through the ability to convince others of one's superior skills (130-133).

The logic behind the reasoning about the evolutionary basis of narcissism is based on two assumptions. The first assumption promotes the existence of genes which affect the phenotype we associate with narcissism, while the other states that this phenotype relates to a reproductive function which affects the propagation of genes through generations (129). The strongest proof in favor of the first assumption would be to discover the specific genes that would explain the variability of narcissism in the population (129). They have not been discovered yet, however the antisocial personality disorder has recently been associated with clearly defined genes (134), and since it shares a relatively strong correlation with narcissism, there is a possibility that these two phenotypes share a genetic substrate. Behavioral genetic studies of narcissism provide a somewhat weaker proof of evolutionary hypothesis since heritability estimates are also indirectly influenced by the environment through the interaction effect of the environment and genes, and in addition, non-zero heritability does not guarantee a genetic basis (129). In light of the above, in terms of heritability, Holtzman and Donnelan (135) propose the following three main lines of thought which are not mutually exclusive: 1. genetic factors may influence the physical characteristics which contribute to the development of narcissistic characteristics, 2. particular genetically-influenced attributes interact with environmental factors and produce narcissistic characteristics (interaction of genes and the environment) and 3. numerous genes combine additively and interactively so as to produce narcissistic characteristics (interactions between genes).

The idea that organisms select different kinds of interpersonal strategies based on their own physical features is the basis of the first line of thought. For example, when presenting the find-

je agresivna međuljudska strategija isplativija fizički razvijenijoj djeci (136). Djeca relativno rano nauče što im njihov specifični fenotip “dovoljava”, što u kasnijem razvoju elaboriraju u složenije strukture ličnosti. Ovakav obrazac razvoja svojstava, gdje fizičke karakteristike omogućavaju i ograničavaju razvoj karakteristika ličnosti naziva se *reaktivna heritabilnost* (137).

Prema ovom slijedu razmišljanja narcizam je možda profil ličnosti koji se razvija zbog određenih fizičkih atributa (138). Naime, opaženo je da narcisi doista jesu fizički jaki (139), da njihovi pokreti sugeriraju da su sportski aktivni (55), te da imaju specifične crte lica (138). Najmanje dva razvojna procesa mogu povezati naslijeđena fizička svojstva i individualne razlike u narcizmu. Prvo, osoba može uočavanjem veze između vlastitih fizičkih svojstava i onoga što joj ona omogućuju steći određenu sliku o sebi. Drugo, određeni fizički atributi osobe mogu u drugima stvoriti očekivanja koja su više ili manje neovisna o tome kako se ona ponaša (140,141). Primjerice, od fizički jake osobe možda se češće očekuje da preuzme ulogu vođe neovisno o njenim preferencijama. Stoga, fizičke karakteristike, dijelom oblikovane procesima evolucije (npr. 142), možda moderiraju samoreflektivne i socijalne procese, utječući tako na razvoj ličnosti općenito i narcizam specifično.

Druga hipoteza o evolucijskom podrijetlu narcizma je da genetski determinirane sklonosti i okolinski faktori međusobnom interakcijom proizvode varijacije u ličnosti (143) uključujući attribute vezane za narcizam. Prema ovoj perspektivi, varijacije u genotipu stvaraju varijacije u potencijalu za razvoj narcizma čija realizacija zatim ovisi o okolinskim faktorima u razvojnom procesu. Preliminarni nalazi sugeriraju da razlike u temperamentu kod djece u dobi od 3 do 4 godine ukazuju na različite sklonosti narcizmu te da se te sklonosti realiziraju ovisno o roditeljskom stilu (144). Temperament bi, na temelju procjene heritabilnosti

ings which stated that physically larger children aged between 3 and 11 are more prone to aggressive behavior, Buss suggested that an aggressive interpersonal strategy may be more successful in case of physically more formidable children (136). Children learn what their specific phenotype “allows” them to do relatively early, which they elaborate to more complex personality attributes in their later development. Such pattern of attributes development, where physical characteristics enable and limit the development of personality characteristics are called *reactive heritability* (137).

According to this line of thought, narcissism might be a personality profile that develops due to certain physical attributes (138). Specifically, it has been observed that narcissists indeed tend to be physically strong (139), their movements are indicative of athleticism (55), and they have specific facial features (138). There are at least two developmental processes that can link heritable physical features and individual differences in narcissism. First, an individual may notice a connection between their own physical features and what they enable them to do, and thus form a certain opinion about themselves. Second, certain physical attributes in an individual may generate expectations in others that are more or less independent of their behavior (140, 141). For example, physically strong individuals may be expected to take a leadership role more frequently, regardless of their preferences. Physical characteristics partially shaped by evolutionary processes (e.g. 142) may, therefore, moderate the self-reflective and social processes, thus influencing personality development in general and narcissism in particular.

The second hypothesis on the evolutionary origin of narcissism is that genetically determined tendencies and environmental factors may interact to produce variations in personality (143), including attributes associated with narcissism. According to this perspective, variations in genotypes create variations in the potential to become narcissistic, the realization of which then depends on the environmental factors in the developmental process. Preliminary findings suggest that differences in the temperament of children between three and

narcizma kod djece (33 %; 145), trebao biti pod nekim netrivialnim genetskim utjecajem, a interakcija temperamenta sa strategijama roditeljstva možda dovodi do razvoja narcističkih crta u adolescenciji i odrasloj dobi. Mali je broj bihevioralno genetičkih studija koje su analizirale izvore varijance u mjerama NPL-a (npr. 123,146), ali rezultati studija blizanaca dosljedno ukazuju na značajan doprinos gena s procjenama heritabilnosti u rasponu od 37 % do 77 %, gdje ostatak varijance objašnjavaju isključivo nedijeljeni okolinski faktori (jedinstveni životni događaji), dok oni dijeljeni (npr. isto odgojno okruženje) nisu pokazali značajan utjecaj, a slični su rezultati dobiveni i mjerama subkliničkog narcizma kao što je Inventar narcističke ličnosti (147).

Fokus trećeg smjera razmišljanja je na pitanju evolucijske važnosti heritabilnih varijacija u narcističkim sklonostima. Teorije koje se bave evolucijskim podrijetlom i funkcijama narcizma oslanjaju se na različite modele evolucijske selekcije, a dva oblika selekcijskih pritisaka smatraju se ključnima: *izravna selekcija* i *balansirajuća selekcija*. Izravna selekcija djeluje putem općenitog favoriziranja određenih atributa u populaciji, pri čemu obično ne favorizira mutacije, no akumuliranjem mutacija generacijama stvara se fenotipski varijabilitet unutar populacije (148,149). Modeli koji naglašavaju izravnu selekciju općenito dobivaju sve više podrške (npr. 150), jer se pokazuje da se društveno nepoželjne crte gomilaju u populacijama gdje je srođivanje uobičajeno, što sugerira da je izravna selekcija na djelu. Ipak, balansirajuća selekcija čini se prikladnijom za objašnjenje pojave narcizma (135). Ona je na djelu kada su održive dvije ili više alternativnih strategija ponašanja, a to je slučaj kada se optimum za crte ličnosti razlikuje za različita okruženja (151). Primjerice, istaknuta crta neuroticizma mogla bi pospješiti preživljavanje u iznimno opasnim staništima, gdje bi vrlo oprezne jedinke osjetljive na prijetnje imale veću vjerojatnost pre-

four years of age indicate different narcissistic tendencies, and these tendencies are then realized depending on the parenting style (144). Based on the assessment of average heritability of narcissism in children (33%; 145), temperament is assumed to be under a certain amount of non-trivial genetic influence, and the interaction of temperament with parenting strategies could lead to the development of narcissistic traits in adolescence and adulthood. Few behavioral genetic studies have analyzed the sources of variance in NPD measures (e.g. 123, 146), however the results of studies conducted on twins consistently indicate a significant genetic contribution with heritability estimates ranging between 37% and 77%, where the remaining variance is explained exclusively by non-shared environmental factors (unique life events), and the shared ones (e.g. common upbringing environment) did not have a significant impact. Similar results were also obtained in measurements of subclinical narcissism such as the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (147).

The focus of the third line of thought is on the question of evolutionary significance of heritable variations in narcissistic tendencies. Theories focusing on the evolutionary origin and functions of narcissism rely on different models of evolutionary selection, and two types of selection pressures are considered to be key: *direct selection* and *balancing selection*. Direct selection involves a general favoring of particular attributes in the population, whereby there is typically no favoring of mutations, however an accumulation of mutations across generations creates a phenotypic variability within the population (148, 149). Models emphasizing direct selection are generally gaining more and more support (e.g. 150) since it has been observed that socially undesirable traits tend to accumulate in populations where inbreeding is common, thus suggesting the presence of direct selection. Nevertheless, balancing selection seems more appropriate for the purpose of explaining the occurrence of narcissism (135). Balancing selection takes place when two or more alternative behavior strategies are viable, which is the case if the optima for personality traits differ between

življavanja. S druge strane, u relativno sigurnim okruženjima vrlo reaktivni živčani sustav, karakterističan za visoke razine neuroticizma, možda nosi više štete nego koristi uzmemo li u obzir biološku cijenu osjetljivosti na stresore te cijenu propuštanja prilika za istraživanje. Ukratko, prednosti i cijene određene crte ličnosti ovise o kontekstu, a takvo stanje stvari češće dovodi do preživljavanja varijacija u ličnosti generacijama, posebice zato što su ljudi tijekom svoje evolucijske povijesti nastanjivali širok dijapazon staništa. Holtzman i Donnellan predlažu da se varijabilnost u narcističkim crtama zadržala tijekom evolucijske povijesti, jer troškovi i prednosti povezani s narcističkim atributima ovise o širokom rasponu okolinskih faktora (135).

Dakle, ideja je da empirijski utvrđene varijacije postoje jer narcistički atributi, kao što je gore spomenuto, u određenim kontekstima možda nose prednost za reprodukciju i preživljavanje. Primjerice, Holtzman i Strube su predložili da su se geni u podlozi narcizma zadržali u populaciji specifičnom vrstom balansirajuće selekcije – selekcijom ovisnom o frekvenciji (152). Ovdje je riječ o prirodnom odabiru svojstva čija relativna prednost ovisi o njegovoj frekvenciji u populaciji. Konkretno, njihova je ideja je da su se narcističke strategije zadržale generacijama zbog održivosti kratkoročnih strategija parenja u populaciji koja većinom odabire dugoročne strategije. Dokazi u korist ovoj ideji postoje u obliku povezanosti narcizma s mnogim karakteristikama koje bi u kontekstu kratkoročnih strategija parenja mogle biti favorizirane, no Holtzman, evaluirajući postojeću literaturu, zaključuje da su dokazi u prilog ovoj hipotezi nedostadni kako bi se podržala cijela evolucijska teorija narcizma jer okolinski razvojni faktori nisu isključeni kao objašnjenje povezanosti između narcizma i kratkoročnih strategija parenja (129).

Još jedna mogućnost je da je narcizam vezan za dominantnost te da to objašnjava njegovo po-

environments (151). For example, pronounced neuroticism traits could facilitate survival in extremely dangerous environments, where very cautious organisms who are sensitive to threat would have a higher likelihood of survival. On the other hand, in relatively safe environments, a highly reactive nervous system characteristic of high levels of neuroticism, might impart more harm than benefits if we take into account the biological costs of sensitivity to stressors and the costs of missed exploration opportunities. In summary, the costs and benefits of a particular personality trait seem to depend on the context, and this type of situation more frequently leads to the preservation of personality variations across generations, especially because humans have inhabited a wide range of environments over the course of their evolutionary history. Holtzman and Donnellan assumed that the narcissistic traits variability has been preserved throughout the evolutionary history due to the fact that the costs and benefits associated with narcissistic traits depend on a wide range of environmental factors (135).

The idea, therefore, is that empirically determined variations exist because narcissistic traits, as mentioned above, might be beneficial for reproduction and survival in certain contexts. For example, Holtzman and Strube suggested that the genes responsible for narcissism were maintained in the population through a specific type of balancing selection - frequency dependent selection (152). In this case, we are referring to a natural selection of features the relative advantage of which depends on their frequency in the population. More precisely, they presented the idea that narcissistic strategies have been preserved for generations due to the sustainability of short-term mating strategies in a population largely engaging in long-term strategies. Evidence supporting this idea refers to the association of narcissism with many characteristics which might be favored in the context of short-term mating strategies, however, after reviewing the existing literature, Holtzman came to the conclusion that evidence in favor of this hypothesis is insufficient to support the entire evolutionary theory of narcissism, because

drijetlo (153). Evolucijski procesi su favorizirali dominantnost jer je to jedan od puteva ostvarenju društvenog statusa (154); istovremeno je prirodna selekcija favorizirala kapacitet za doživljavanje i izražavanje ponosa i samopouzdanja, koji je jedan od sržnih emocionalnih elemenata narcizma (155). Prema ovom modelu prekomjerni ponos i samopouzdanje potpomažu ostavljanje dojma dominantnosti, što doprinosi usponu u društvenoj hijerarhiji, što pak povećava pristup resursima, a to pospješuje preživljavanje. Važno je istaknuti da argument u prilog dominantnosti ovisi o pitanju omogućuje li ona i veći reproduktivni uspjeh, što nas dovodi do integrativnog modela koji kombinira dominantnost i ideju kratkoročnih strategija parenja. Prema ovom modelu, crte koje potiču na kratkoročne strategije parenja potpomažu reproduktivni uspjeh, dok dominantnost potpomaže težnju ka statusu, koji primarno utječe na vjerojatnost preživljavanja, a sekundarno na reproduktivni uspjeh.

Nakon ovog pregleda ideja o evolucijskom podrijetlu narcizma, u sljedećoj sekciji ću se usmjeriti na razmatranja njegovog razvoja tijekom ontogeneze, odnosno na to kako se dijateza i utjecaj stresa na dijatezu očituju na razini razvoja pojedinca.

Temperament

Postoji konsenzus oko toga da se narcizam obično javlja prilično prije odrasle životne dobi (156). Dapače, od 8. godine nadalje, individualne razlike u narcizmu mogu se pouzdano odmjeriti, a manifestacije i posljedice narcizma slične su onima među odraslima (92, 157). Postoje naznake da se narcizam u dječjoj dobi možda javlja kao odstupanje od normativnog razvoja ličnosti. Ušavši u kasno djetinjstvo, čovjek posjeduje kognitivne sposobnosti koje omogućuju simulaciju tuđih mentalnih stanja – konkretno, tuđeg viđenja njih samih – te stvaranje općih vrijednosnih sudova o sebi kao

the environmental factors have not been ruled out as an explanation for the association between narcissism and short-term mating strategies (129).

Another possibility is that narcissism is associated with dominance, and that this explains its origins (153). Evolutionary processes have favored dominance because it is one of the routes leading to the achievement of social status (154); at the same time, natural selection favored the capacity to feel and exhibit pride and confidence, which is one of the core emotional elements of narcissism (155). According to this model, excessive pride and confidence help narcissists appear dominant, which contributes to their rise in social hierarchy, thus increasing their access to resources and promoting survival. It is important to note that the argument in favor of dominance largely depends on the question whether or not dominance enables greater reproductive success, which leads us to an integrative model that combines dominance and the idea of short-term mating strategies. According to this model, the traits encouraging short-term mating strategies enable reproductive success, while dominance supports the pursuit of status which primarily affects the likelihood of survival and, secondarily, has an effect on reproductive success.

Having reviewed the ideas on the evolutionary origins of narcissism, in the following section I will focus on the exploration of its development in the course of ontogenesis, i.e. on the manner in which diathesis and the effects of stress on diathesis are manifested at the level of individual development.

Temperament

There is a consensus around the fact that narcissism usually develops well before adulthood (156). Moreover, individual differences in narcissistic traits can be reliably measured from the age of 8 onwards, while the manifestations and consequences of narcissism tend to be similar to those occurring in adults (92, 157). There are indications that narcissism during childhood may appear as a deviation from normative personality development. Entering late childhood, an individual pos-

osobi (158). Od ostvarenja tog razvojnog preduvjeta djeca imaju snažnu potrebu osjećati se vrijednima i steći tuđe poštovanje. Narcizam je, kako neki pretpostavljaju, pretjerana manifestacija tih normativnih motiva, pa mlade narcise od ostale djece možda razlikuje uglavnom stupanj u kojemu teže zadovoljiti te motive. To implicira da bi se individualne razlike u narcizmu trebale javljati od kasnog djetinjstva nadalje, a podatci to i potvrđuju (92,156,157). Većina istraživanja razvoja narcizma fokusirala su se na roditeljsko ponašanje i premda njihovi rezultati ukazuju da su socijalizacijski utjecaji iznimno važan faktor u razmatranju etiologije NPL-a, većina teoretičara smatra da su temelji za razvoj narcizma postavljeni već u najranijim stadijima života.

U prethodnoj je sekciji već spomenuto da rano prepoznatljive razlike u temperamentu ukazuju na različite sklonosti narcizmu (156,159), koje služe kao podloga na kojoj kasnija socijalizacijska iskustva ostavljaju svoj trag (144). Jedan od središnjih zadataka psihologije ličnosti je identificiranje osnovnih strukturnih dimenzija ličnosti, a većina istaknutih pristupa ovoj problematici svoja rješenja predstavlja kao biološki utemeljena. Biološki fokus je tako od centralne važnosti za pristupe afektivnih dispozicija (160), motivacijskih sustava (161, 162), kao i za pristup dispozicijskih crta (163,164). I premda nude različite okvire za razumijevanje ličnosti, oni konvergiraju o pitanju prirode i sadržaja osnovnih konstrukata ličnosti, a slažu se i da su oni nasljedni, prisutni rano u djetinjstvu, relativno stabilni tijekom života, te da sadrže afektivni element, a to su sve karakteristike koje se smatraju aspektima *temperamenta* (165). Dapače, svi su predstavnici tih pristupa koristili termin "temperament" kako bi opisali prirodu predloženih konstrukata (159). Pojam temperament označava rano zamjetljive individualne razlike u reagiranju na okolinu te u reguliranju tih reakcija, a nasljedne varijacije u hipersenzibilno-

esses the cognitive abilities that enable them to simulate the mental states of others – more precisely, how others view them – and create general value judgments of themselves as individuals (158). After reaching this developmental prerequisite, children have a strong need to feel valued and respected by others. As assumed by some, narcissism is an exaggerated manifestation of these normative motives, therefore the main difference between young narcissists and other children may be in the degree to which they strive to satisfy these motives. This implies that individual differences in narcissism should appear from late childhood onwards, and the data support this notion (92, 156, 157). Most studies addressing the development of narcissism focused on parental behavior, and although their results suggest that socialization influences are an extremely important factor in the study of NPD etiology, most theorists believe that the foundations for the development of narcissism are laid already in the earliest stages of life.

It was already noted in the previous section that early recognizable differences in temperament indicate different narcissistic tendencies (156, 159) which represent a foundation on which later socialization experiences will leave their mark (144). One of the central tasks of personality psychology is to identify the basic structural dimensions of personality, and the majority of prominent approaches to this issue represent their solutions as biologically-based. Biological focus is, therefore, of central importance for the affective disposition approach (160), motivational systems approach (161, 162), and the dispositional trait approach (163, 164). Although they offer different frameworks for understanding personality, they converge on the question of nature and content of basic personality constructs and agree that they are hereditary, present in early childhood, relatively stable throughout life and contain an affective element, which are all characteristics considered to be the aspects of *temperament* (165). Moreover, all representatives of these approaches have used the term "temperament" to explain the nature of the proposed constructs (159). The term temperament refers to early no-

sti, nagonu agresiji, anksioznosti ili toleranciji frustracije i manjkavostima u regulaciji afekta važne su za razvoj NPL-a (166). Primjerice, u nedavno objavljenom longitudinalnom istraživanju na uzorku studenata Lenzenweger je pokazao da je veća razina srdžbe kao dio sastavnice emocionalnosti u temperamentu značajno i dosljedno vezana za veću razinu prisutnosti obilježja NPL-a prema DSM-ovim kriterijima (167).

Elliot i Thrash nastoje centralne konstrukte gore navedenih pristupa objediniti pojmovima *temperament prilazjenja* i *temperament izbjegavanja* kako bi naglasili da su oni osnovni oblici motivacije prilazjenja i izbjegavanja koji imaju i navedene karakteristike temperamenta (159). Temperament prilazjenja tako označava općenitu neurobiološku osjetljivost na pozitivne/poželjne, tj. nagrađujuće podražaje koju prate perceptivna usmjerenost, afektivna reaktivnost i bihevioralna predispozicija prema takvim podražajima. Temperament izbjegavanja, s druge strane, označava istovjetnu neurobiološku osjetljivost na negativne/nepoželjne, tj. kažnjavajuće podražaje što organizam usmjerava *podalje od* takvih podražaja.

Kada govorimo o narcisima, oni vjerojatno imaju izražen temperament prilazjenja (168,169). Nadalje, impulzivnost, fizička aktivnost i traženje pažnje u predškolskoj dobi ukazuju na veću vjerojatnost kasnijeg razvoja narcističkih crta (170). Odrasli narcisi povišenim rizikom za razvoj problema s kockanjem i ovisničkih obrazaca te sklonošću rizičnim financijskim ulaganjima također pokazuju karakterističnu usmjerenost na nagrađujuće podražaje (171,172). Što se tiče temperamenta izbjegavanja, njegova povezanost s narcizmom manje je jasna jer po toj dimenziji, čini se, postoje značajne individualne razlike među narcisima (21). Možda upravo individualne razlike u temperamentu izbjegavanja predisponiraju djecu na kasnije manifestiranje snažnijih grandioznih (slabiji temperament izbjegavanja) ili vulnerabilnih

ticeable individual differences when it comes to reactions to the environment and the regulation of these reactions, while hereditary variations in hypersensibility, aggression instinct, anxiety or tolerance to frustration and defects in affect regulation represent important factors in the development of NPD (166). For example, in his recently published longitudinal study conducted on a sample of students, Lenzenweger concluded that increased levels of anger as part of the emotional component of temperament are significantly and consistently associated with increased levels of NPD traits, according to DSM criteria (167).

Elliot and Thrash aim to unite the central constructs of the aforementioned approaches by using the terms *approach temperament* and *avoidance temperament*, in order to emphasize that these are the basic forms of motivation for approach and avoidance which also encompass the subject temperament characteristics (159). Approach temperament, thus, refers to a general neurobiological sensitivity to positive/desirable, i.e. rewarding stimuli that are accompanied by perceptual vigilance for, affective reactivity to, and a behavioral predisposition *toward* such stimuli. Avoidance temperament, on the other hand, refers to an equivalent neurobiological sensitivity to negative/undesirable, i.e. punishment stimuli, which directs the organism *away* from such stimuli.

Speaking of narcissists, they are likely to have a pronounced approach temperament (168, 169). Furthermore, impulsivity, physical activity and attention seeking in preschool age children indicate a greater likelihood of developing narcissistic traits later on (170). Since they have an increased risk for developing gambling problems and addictive patterns, as well as a tendency to make risky financial investments, adult narcissists also display a characteristic focus on rewarding stimuli (171, 172). As regards avoidance temperament, its association with narcissism is less clear, since there appear to be significant individual differences among narcissists in this dimension (21). Perhaps it is precisely the individual differences in the avoidance temperament what predisposes children to manifest more pronounced grandiose

(jači temperament izbjegavanja) tendencija (173).

Prema Krizanu i Herlache ove temperamentalne sklonosti kasnije se odražavaju u izraženosti dvaju biološko-ponašajnih funkcionalnih orijentacija: jedne usmjerene na izbjegavanje (*reaktivnost*) i druge usmjerene na približavanje (*odvažnost*; 19). Razina aktivnosti tih sustava proizvodi čitav spektar osobina ličnosti koje u različitoj mjeri odražavaju vulnerabilnost (izbjegavanje) i grandioznost (približavanje), a patološki procesi ličnosti često se mogu opisati u terminima pretjerane aktivacije jednog ili oba ova sustava (174). U tom smislu grandioznost podrazumijeva snažnu privučenost nagradama i prilikama koja prevagne nad njihovom mogućom cijenom, dok vulnerabilnost implicira istaknuti oprez spram prijetnjama koji nadjačava privlačnost nagrada (175,176). U terminima temperamenta i ličnosti, snažna pozitivna emocionalnost, ekstraverzija i asertivnost - konstrukti povezani s orijentacijom prilaženja - s tek nešto sniženom negativnom emocionalnošću karakteristične su za grandiozne manifestacije narcizma, dok vulnerabilnost karakteriziraju konstrukti vezani za orijentaciju izbjegavanja: snažnija negativna emocionalnost, inhibiranost, te slabija tolerancija na frustraciju (19,177).

Privrženost i odgoj

Sljedeća važna tema u raspravi o etiologiji NPL-a je teorija privrženosti koju su razvili John Bowlby i Mary Ainsworth (178). Štoviše, ova teorija, konzistentna s empirijskim nalazima iz evolucijske biologije i neuroznanosti, psihologije ličnosti te komparativne, razvojne, i eksperimentalne socijalne psihologije, pruža parsimonični okvir za razumijevanje etiologije, održavanja i tretmana svih poremećaja ličnosti (179). Središnji koncept ove teorije je odnos privrženosti – afektivni odnos između djeteta i skrbnika koji se razvija tijekom ranih interak-

(weaker avoidance temperament) or vulnerable (stronger avoidance temperament) tendencies later in life (173).

According to Krizan and Herlache, these temperamental tendencies are later reflected in the expression of two biological-behavioral functional orientations: one oriented towards avoidance (*reactivity*) and the other oriented towards approach (*boldness*, 19). The activity level of these systems produces an entire spectrum of personality traits which reflect vulnerability (avoidance) and grandiosity (approach) to different extents, and the pathological processes can often be described in terms of excessive activation of one or both of these systems (174). In this respect, grandiosity refers to a strong attraction to rewards and opportunities that prevails over their potential price, while vulnerability implies pronounced caution with regard to threats which supersedes the attraction of rewards (175, 176). In terms of temperament and personality, strong positive emotionality, extraversion and assertiveness - constructs associated with approach orientation - with only slightly lower negative emotionality, are a typical trait of grandiose narcissism, while vulnerability is characterized by constructs associated with avoidance orientation: stronger negative emotionality, inhibition and lower tolerance of frustration (19, 177).

Attachment and upbringing

Another important topic in the discussion about the etiology of NPD is the attachment theory developed by John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth (178). Moreover, this theory, consistent with the empirical findings in evolutionary biology and neuroscience, personality psychology and comparative, developmental and experimental psychology, provides a parsimonious framework for the understanding of etiology, maintenance and treatment of all personality disorders (179). The central concept of this theory is the attachment relationship – affective relationship between a child and its caregiver that develops during their early interactions, and which is the basis for the

cija, a koji je temelj na kojem se gradi buduće poimanje sebe i drugih ljudi (180). Riječ je o ponašajnom sustavu kojemu je tijekom evolucije ljudi funkcija bila štititi dijete od opasnosti poticanjem djeteta da od skrbnika traži zaštitu, povećavajući tako vjerojatnost djetetovog preživljavanja (179).

Teorija privrženosti oslanja se na ideju *unutarnjih radnih modela* (181) – kognitivno-afektivnih mentalnih struktura sebe i drugih ljudi koje nastaju tijekom ranih interakcija između djeteta i skrbnika, a koje igraju ulogu medijatora u vezi između ranih odgojnih iskustava i ličnosti u odrasloj dobi (182). Unutarnji radni modeli navode međuljudsku interakciju i obradu informacija oblikujući na taj način pojedinčev stil privrženosti. Dijete čije su potrebe pravovremeno zadovoljene i koje je primilo adekvatnu emocionalnu njegovu razvit će radne modele koji druge prikazuju pouzdanima i podržavajućima, te poimanje sebe kao osobe koja i zaslužuje njegovu i podršku odnosno *sigurni* stil privrženosti. Ako pak dijete ne primi adekvatnu skrb, ono može razviti unutarnje sheme drugih koje ih prikazuju nedostupnima ili zlonamjernima te poimanje sebe kao osobe koja pažnju ne zaslužuje. To se očituje u tri prepoznatljiva oblika *nesigurnog* stila privrženosti: (1) *anksiozni*, (2) *izbjegavajući*, i *dezorganizirani* (179). Meta-analiza longitudinalnih studija pokazala je da su unutarnji radni modeli relativno stabilni: djetetov stil privrženosti umjereno je prediktivan za stil privrženosti u odrasloj dobi, što znači da kasnija iskustva i odnosi ipak mogu utjecati na unutarnje sheme te promijeniti neadaptivno i otežavajuće poimanje sebe i drugih (183).

Promotrimo li NPL pod svjetlom teorije privrženosti, prototip grandioznog narcisa mogao bi se opisati u terminima izbjegavajućeg stila privrženosti, karakteriziranog pretjerano pozitivnim unutarnjim radnim modelom sebe i negativnim radnim modelima drugih ljudi gdje osoba druge doživljava kao inferiorne, nedostatne izvore bezuvjetnog divljenja koje

future perception of self and others (180). It is a behavioral system which during the evolution served the purpose of protecting a child from danger by encouraging the child to seek protection from the caregiver, thus increasing the likelihood of the child's survival (179).

Attachment theory relies on the idea of *internal working models* (181) – cognitive-affective mental structures of self and others which are formed during the early interactions between a child and its caregiver, and which play a mediating role in the relationship between the early experiences in the course of upbringing and personality in the adult age (182). The internal working models encompass interpersonal interaction and processing of information, in this way forming the individual's attachment style. A child whose needs have been met in a timely manner and who has received adequate emotional care will develop working models that view others as reliable and supportive, and will view themselves as worthy of care and support, i.e. they will develop a *secure* attachment style. On the other hand, if a child does not receive adequate care, it may develop internal schemes presenting others as unavailable or malicious, and can view themselves as unworthy of attention. This is manifested in three recognizable forms of *insecure* attachment styles: (1) *anxious*, (2) *avoidant*, and *disorganized* (179). A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies has shown that internal working models are relatively stable: a child's attachment style is moderately predictive of the attachment style in adult age, which means that later experiences and relationships can still affect the internal schemes and change a non-adaptive and aggravating perception of self and others (183).

If we observe NPD in light of the attachment theory, the grandiose narcissist prototype could be described in terms of the avoidant attachment style, which is characterized by an overly positive internal working model of self and negative working models of others, where the individual perceives others as inferiors, insufficient sources of unconditional admiration which the superior, unrecognized "I" deserves (182). Meyer and Pil-

zaslužuje superiorno, neprepoznato "ja" (182). Međutim, Meyer i Pilkonis predlažu da teorija privrženosti može akomodirati i vulnerabilni oblik narcizma te tako pospješiti razumijevanje narcizma na većoj rezoluciji (182).

Pošavši od Youngove (184) ideje o *ranim maladaptivnim shemama* Zeigler-Hill i sur. su proveli prvu empirijsku provjeru kognitivnih shema u podlozi subkliničkih i kliničkih oblika narcizma (185). Pojam ranih maladaptivnih shema blizak je gore spomenutim unutarnjim radnim modelima, a riječ je o rano stečenim, duboko ukorijenjenim negativnim uvjerenjima o sebi, drugima i svijetu, koja tvore negativnu prizmu kroz koju pojedinac promatra buduća iskustva, što rezultira pristranim i disfunkcionalnim percepcijama, emocijama, mislima i ponašanjima. Hoffart i sur. su, ispitujući strukturu višeg reda u podlozi Youngove originalne sistematizacije od 16 maladaptivnih shema, pronašli sljedeće četiri domene maladaptivnih shema: nepovezanost s drugima, narušena autonomija, narušene granice, i previsoki standardi (186). Young i suradnici, imajući u vidu ponajprije grandiozni oblik narcizma, predložili su *povlaštenost* (domena narušenih granica), *emocionalnu depriviranost* i *manjkavost* (domena nepovezanosti s drugima) kao glavne rane maladaptivne sheme u njegovoj podlozi (187). Oni smatraju da ove sheme nastaju kao odgovor na razne nepovoljne aspekte roditeljstva kao što su popustljivost, manjak empatije i zaštite, ili pretjerana kritičnost i posramljivanje, a Zeigler-Hill i sur. su ovo rezoniranje preuzeli kao polazište za oblikovanje hipoteza vezanih za grandiozni oblik narcizma, ali pretpostavili su i da će vulnerabilni oblik pokazati povezanost sa širim dijapazonom maladaptivnih shema.

Njihovi rezultati otkrili su nešto složeniju povezanost između narcizma i ranih maladaptivnih shema, no važno je istaknuti da je shema povlaštenosti bila značajno povezana sa svim pokazateljima narcizma, što je u skladu i s gore opisanom strukturom narcističke ličnosti u

konis, however, suggest that attachment theory could accommodate the vulnerable narcissism form as well, and thus improve the understanding of narcissism in a higher resolution (182).

Starting with Young's (184) idea of *early maladaptive schemas*, Zeigler-Hill et al. conducted the first empirical study of cognitive schemas underlying the subclinical and clinical forms of narcissism (185). The notion of early maladaptive schemas is close to the above mentioned internal working models, and refers to early-acquired, deeply rooted negative views of oneself, the others and the world, which form a negative prism through which an individual sees future experiences, thus resulting in biased and dysfunctional perceptions, emotions, thoughts and behaviors. By examining the higher order structure underlying Young's original systematization consisting of 16 maladaptive schemas, Hoffart et al. discovered the following four maladaptive schema domains: disconnection, impaired autonomy, impaired limits and exaggerated standards (186). Primarily bearing in mind the grandiose form of narcissism, Young et al. suggested *entitlement* (impaired limits domain), *emotional deprivation* and *defectiveness* (disconnection domain) as the main early maladaptive schemas which form its basis (187). They believe that these schemas are formed as a response to the various unfavorable aspects of parenting such as permissiveness, lack of empathy and protection, or excessive criticizing and belittling, while Zeigler-Hill et al. took over this reasoning as a starting point for the formation of hypotheses relating to grandiose narcissism, but they assumed that the vulnerable form would be somewhat connected to the wider range of maladaptive schemas as well.

Their results revealed a somewhat more complex connection between narcissism and early maladaptive schemas, but it should be emphasized that the entitlement schema had a significant association with all narcissism indicators, which aligns with the narcissistic personality structure described above, the very basis of which is the sense of entitlement (5, 19, 78, 79). It was observed that both narcissism expressions - the

čijoj srži se nalazi upravo osjećaj povlaštenosti (5,19,78,79). Obje ekspresije narcizma - i grandiozni, i vulnerabilni - pokazale su značajnu povezanost i sa shemom nepovjerenja, tj. uvjerenjem da su drugi skloni iskoristiti i manipulirati, što može poslužiti i kao objašnjenje zašto oni upravo tako tretiraju druge. Osim navedenih, grandiozni narcizam pokazao je povezanost sa shemama manjka samokontrole, samožrtvovanja i nepopustljivih standarda, koje ukazuju na visoki prioritet koji dobivaju samodisciplina i emocionalna kontrola, uvjerenje da tuđa inferiornost zahtijeva narcisovu žrtvu i vodstvo, te sklonost perfekcionizmu. S druge strane, vulnerabilni narcizam bio je povezan sa shemama pokornosti, zavisnosti i napuštenosti, što upućuje na uvjerenje da su tuđe potrebe i želje relativno važnije uz simultano negiranje ovisnosti o drugima, ali i visoku razinu interpersonalne osjetljivosti zbog uvjerenja da drugi ne mogu pružiti potrebnu emocionalnu podršku jer će eventualno otići. Budući da je riječ o korelacijskom istraživanju, važno je napomenuti da podatci ne isključuju mogućnost da je narcizam uzrok navedenim maladaptivnim shemama, a ne njihova posljedica, kao ni mogućnost da neka treća varijabla poput temperamenta nezavisno podržava razvoj i maladaptivnih shema i narcizma.

Kakva rana iskustva s primarnim skrbnikom facilitiraju razvoj onih oblika privrženosti i unutarnjih radnih modela koja podržavaju narcizam? Klinička opažanja i klasične teorije nudila su oprečna objašnjenja podrijetla NPL-a: možda mu prethodi prekomjerno divljenje i neselektivno ugađanje roditelja ili možda njihovo zanemarivanje ili odbacivanje djeteta. Gledajući iz perspektive teorije privrženosti, Meyer i Pilkonis uočavaju da neselektivno hvaljenje djeteta može dovesti do inflacije unutarnjeg radnog modela sebe, te ideje da drugi postoje samo da bi zadovoljili njegove potrebe (182). Osim toga, radni modeli drugih mogu sadržavati elemente negativnosti jer narcisova očeki-

grandiose and the vulnerable one - have a significant association with the mistrust schema, i.e. the belief that others will take advantage of them and manipulate them, which can also serve as an explanation for their equal treatment of others. In addition to the above, an association was also observed between grandiose narcissism and the insufficient self-control, self-sacrifice and unrelenting standards schemas, which indicate that high priority is given to self-discipline and emotional control, a belief that the inferiority of others requires a sacrifice from the narcissist and their leadership, and a tendency to perfectionism. On the other hand, vulnerable narcissism was associated with the subjugation, dependence and abandonment schemas, indicating a conviction that the needs and wishes of others are relatively more important, with a simultaneous negation of dependence on others, but a high level of interpersonal sensitivity due to the conviction that others cannot provide the necessary emotional support because they will eventually leave. Since this was a correlational study, it should be noted that the data do not exclude the possibility that narcissism is the cause of the aforementioned maladaptive schemas, rather than their consequence, as well as the possibility that a third variable such as temperament independently supports the development of both the maladaptive schemas and narcissism.

What early experiences involving the primary caregiver facilitate the development of those attachment forms and internal working models that support narcissism? Clinical observations and classical theories have offered conflicting explanations with regard to the origins of NPD: it could be preceded by excessive admiration and unselective parental pleasing or perhaps their neglect or rejection of the child. From the attachment theory perspective, Meyer and Pilkonis observed that unselective praising of a child could lead to an inflation of the internal working model of self, and an idea that others exist only to satisfy their needs (182). In addition, working models of others could include elements of negativity since the expectations of a narcissist to receive

vanja o bespriječnom tretmanu i neupitnom, neprestanom obožavanju neminovno moraju ostati neispunjena. Uz to, hladan, kontrolirajući i odbijajući stil roditeljstva, gdje se dijete opetovano suočava s odbijanjem, može rezultirati obrambenim udaljavanjem od odnosa, tj. izbjegavajućim stilom privrženosti. Na taj način dijete uči da su drugi nezainteresirani i irelevantni kao izvor pomoći za emocionalnu regulaciju, te unutarnji radni modeli drugih ljudi postaju negativni. Ovaj obrazac, čini se, odgovara pojavnosti grandioznog narcizma, a izbjegavajući stil privrženosti je i empirijski demonstriran na uzorku adolescenata s dijagnozom narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti u jednom od prvih istraživanja povezanosti stila privrženosti i psihopatologije (188).

S druge strane, kada je roditeljska pažnja nekonzistentna, moguć je razvoj anksioznog stila privrženosti. U takvoj okolini dijete nauči da je nježnost moguća, ali i da je prijetnja napuštanja uvijek prisutna, što dovodi do negativnih unutarnjih radnih modela sebe i pretežito pozitivnih radnih modela drugih. Ovaj obrazac privrženosti odgovara vulnerabilnoj manifestaciji narcizma, što pokazuju i rezultati nekoliko studija koje su pronašle vezu između anksioznog stila privrženosti i ranjivog narcizma pokazavši da je briga oko napuštanja i čežnja za intimnošću povezana s hiperosjetljivim egocentrizmom vulnerabilnih narcisa (61,189,190).

Fossati i sur., pokazavši značajnu pozitivnu korelaciju između rezultata na Inventaru patološkog narcizma i nesigurnih stilova privrženosti na subkliničkom i kliničkom uzorku, također su podržali diferencijalnu valjanost vulnerabilnih i grandioznih svojstava narcizma (191). Subklinički dio uzorka ostvario je znatno veći rezultat na faktoru grandioznog narcizma nego na faktoru vulnerabilnog narcizma, no vulnerabilni narcizam je bio faktor koji diskriminira klinički od subkliničkog oblika narcizma. Autori su klinički oblik narcizma okarakterizirali kao istovremenu prisutnost nepovjerljivosti i

flawless treatment and unquestionable, constant adoration must inevitably remain unfulfilled. Furthermore, a cold, controlling and rejecting parenting style, where a child repeatedly faces rejection, could result in defensive distancing from the relationship, i.e. avoidant attachment style. In this way, a child learns that the others are not interested and do not represent a relevant source of assistance for the purpose of emotional regulation, and the internal working models of others become negative. This pattern, as it seems, corresponds to the emergence of grandiose narcissism, and the avoidant attachment style was empirically demonstrated on a sample of adolescents who were diagnosed with narcissistic personality disorder in one of the first studies addressing the association between attachment style and psychopathology (188).

On the other hand, when parental attention is inconsistent, there is a possibility of developing the anxious style of attachment. In such surroundings, a child learns that affection is possible, but that the threat of abandonment is always present, which leads to negative internal working models of self and predominantly positive working models of others. This pattern of affection corresponds to the vulnerable manifestation of narcissism, which has been observed in the results of several studies where a connection was found between the anxious attachment style and vulnerable narcissism, proving that a fear of abandonment and craving for intimacy are associated with hypersensitive egocentrism in vulnerable narcissists (61, 189, 190).

Having demonstrated the significant positive correlation between the scores obtained in the Pathological Narcissism Inventory and the insecure attachment styles in subclinical and clinical samples, Fossati et al. also supported the differential validity of vulnerable and grandiose features of narcissism (191). The subclinical part of the sample achieved significantly higher scores in terms of the grandiose narcissism factor compared to the vulnerable narcissism factor, however vulnerable narcissism was the factor discriminating the clinical from the subclinical form of

straha od ovisnosti o drugima karakterističnih za izbjegavajući stil privrženosti s jedne strane te intenzivnih potreba za privrženošću svojstvenih anksioznom stilu, što je u skladu sa suvremenim kliničkim modelima NPL-a (29). Prema njihovom tumačenju aspekt vulnerabilnosti uključuje i ponašajne strategije svojstvene anksioznom stilu privrženosti, gdje neugodna percepcija vlastite emocionalne potrebitosti prekomjerno aktivira sustav privrženosti, ali i strategije izbjegavanja, kojim osoba pokušava deaktivirati sustav privrženosti priskrblijanjem statusnih simbola štiteći se tako od povrede naglašavanjem vlastitih postignuća i nezavisnosti. Nasuprot tome, aspekt grandioznosti, u skladu s prethodnim nalazima (62,189,190) služi kao samozaštitni sustav pružajući nerealistični osjećaj samopouzdanja i sigurnosti, i to i kod subkliničkih i kliničkih oblika narcizma. Ovi su rezultati u skladu raspravom Batemana i Fonagyja o jednoj mogućoj razvojnoj putanji koja rezultira narcističkim obrascima: oni relevantnim faktorom smatraju neuspjeh skrbnika da budućem narcisu da osjećaj sigurnosti uz prikladno zrcaljenje njegovog unutarnjeg iskustva (192). Umjesto toga, a u nastojanju da mu povрати osjećaj sigurnosti, skrbnik djetetu daje reprezentaciju koja ne odgovara njegovom unutarnjem iskustvu.

Kada govorimo o klasičnim teorijama, a u skladu s modelom dinamične samoregulatorne obrade (31), one predlažu da potreba za izvanjskom validacijom nastaje zbog disfunkcionalnih ranih socijalizacijskih iskustava. Kernberg i Kohut, istaknuti psihodinamski teoretičari iz druge polovice 20. stoljeća, smatrali su da je NPL posljedica roditeljske hladnoće i indiferentnosti, ali u svojim su se mišljenjima donekle razilazili (21,193). Prvi je smatrao da roditeljsko odbacivanje i emocionalno invalidirajuća okolina, u kojoj su roditelji nedosljedni ili interakciju s djetetom temelje primarno na vlastitim (a ne djetetovim) potrebama, izazivaju kod djeteta obrambeno povlačenje i izgradnju

narcissism. The authors characterized the clinical form of narcissism as the simultaneous presence of distrust and fear of dependence on others characteristic of the avoidant attachment style on the one hand and intense needs for attachment characteristic of the anxious style on the other, which is consistent with the contemporary clinical models of NPD (29). In light of their interpretation, the vulnerability aspect also includes behavioral strategies attributive to the anxious attachment style, where an unpleasant perception of one's own emotional needs over-activates the attachment system, but also the avoidant strategies, through which the individual is trying to deactivate the attachment system by obtaining status symbols, thus protecting themselves from being hurt by emphasizing own achievements and independence. Contrary to the above mentioned and in accordance with previous findings (62, 189, 190), the grandiosity aspect serves as a self-protective system by providing an unrealistic sense of confidence and security, both in subclinical and clinical forms of narcissism. These results are in line with Bateman and Fonagy's discussion on one possible developmental path which results in narcissistic patterns: they consider the caregiver's failure to provide a future narcissist with a sense of security while appropriately mirroring their internal experience, to be a relevant factor (192). Instead, in an attempt to recover the sense of security, the caregiver provides the child with a representation which does not correspond to their internal experience.

On the subject of classic theories, but in accordance with the dynamic self-regulatory processing model (31), they suggest that the need for external validation arises due to early dysfunctional socialization experiences. Kernberg and Kohut, prominent psychodynamic theorists of the second half of the 20th century, considered NPD to be a consequence of parental coldness and indifference, however, they somewhat differed in their opinions (21, 193). Kernberg believed that parental rejection and emotionally invalidating environment, in which parents are inconsistent or base their interaction with the child primar-

patološke grandiozne mentalne reprezentacije sebe koja služi kao unutarnje utočište. Kohut je pak narcizam držao normativnom fazom razvoja, tj. normalnim procesom koji može zastraniti zbog roditeljskog odbacivanja ili indiferentnosti te tome shodne nemogućnosti njihovog idealiziranja. Prema njemu, dijete nastoji steći divljenje prisvajanjem atributa kojima se ono divi, no potrebna je adekvatna modulacija izgradnje te grandiozne samoreprezentacije. U protivnom će osoba i u odrasloj dobi druge ljude doživljavati kao svojevrsne ekstenzije sebe i kao regulatore njenog unutarnjeg stanja, nestabilnog zbog manjka čvrstog identiteta.

S druge strane, unutar okvira kognitivno-behavioralnog pristupa dominira model socijalnog učenja, i njegovi pobornici, predvođeni Theodorom Millonom, tvrde da je narcizam zapravo posljedica roditeljskog precjenjivanja djeteta (2,21). Djeca internaliziraju poimanje sebe koje oslikavaju roditelji, a ako roditelji svoje dijete vide kao povlašteno i posebno, ono će usvojiti upravo takvo samopoimanje, a bilo kakva devijacija od povlaštenog tretmana onda može izazvati hostilnost, a moguće i agresiju. Zanimljivo, Kernberg je kasnije spekulirao da je razvoj NPL-a najvjerojatniji upravo u situaciji kada su površne, neselektivne pohvale uparene s neresponzivnim, odbijajućim stilom roditeljstva iz čega se može naslutiti razvoj paradokсне kombinacije grandioznosti i ranjivosti (127).

Provjere suprotstavljenih hipoteza psihodinamske teorije i teorije socijalnog učenja uglavnom se temelje na korelacijskim, kros-sekcijskim istraživanjima retrospektivnih izvještaja, i dale su nejednoznačne nalaze (21). Primjerice, Otway i Vignoles su testirali predikcije ovih modela na subkliničkom uzorku odraslih ljudi, a pronašli su da i precjenjivanje i indiferentnost roditelja pozitivno doprinose narcizmu, i to obima njegovim oblicima (189). Posebice jakom se pokazala veza između precjenjivanja i grandioznosti, ali i indiferentnost i neselektivno hvaljenje bili su povezani s oba oblika nar-

ily on their own (rather than the child's) needs, cause the child to defensively withdraw and result in the creation of a pathological grandiose mental representation of self which serves as an inner sanctuary. Kohut, on the other hand, considered narcissism to be a normative developmental phase, i.e. a normal process that can go awry due to parental rejection or indifference, and the corresponding inability to idealize them. According to his theory, a child seeks to gain admiration by acquiring the attributes it admires, however, proper modulation is required for the construction of this grandiose self-representation. Otherwise, even as an adult this individual will see others as extensions of themselves and as regulators of their inner state, which is unstable due to a lack of a strong identity.

On the other hand, the social learning model dominates as part of the cognitive-behavioral approach, and its supporters, led by Theodore Millon, claim that narcissism is in fact a consequence of parental overvaluation of the child (2, 21). Children internalize the view of themselves presented by the parents, so if the parents see their child as privileged and special, it will acquire such self-views, and any deviation from preferential treatment can cause hostility, and possibly, aggression. Interestingly, Kernberg later speculated that an individual is most likely to develop NPD precisely in a situation when superficial, nonselective praise was paired with a non-responsive, rejecting parenting style, which may lead to the development of a paradoxical combination of grandiosity and vulnerability (127).

Reviews of the opposed hypotheses of psychodynamic theory and social learning theory are mainly based on correlational, cross-sectional studies of retrospective reports, and have provided inconclusive findings (21). For example, Otway and Vignoles tested the predictions of these models on a subclinical sample of adults, and found that parental overvaluation and indifference have a positive contribution to the development of narcissism, in both its forms (189). A particularly strong link was found between overvaluation and grandiosity, but indifference

cizma. Autori spekuliraju da prospektivni narcisi konstantno primaju neselektivne pohvale od skrbnika, koje su popraćene implicitnim odbijajućim i hladnim porukama. Na tom tragu Horton i sur. su pronašli značajnu pozitivnu povezanost između nezdravog narcizma i roditeljske topline, ali i razine psihološke kontrole (npr. induciranje krivnje i uvjetovanje topline) (194). Nadalje, niže razine roditeljskog nadzora (npr. postavljanje granica) bile su povezane s višom razinom nezdravog narcizma, što ukazuje da hvaljenje koje nije moderirano postavljanjem granica može potaknuti razvoj narcizma.

U jednom istraživanju novijeg datuma, Marčinko i sur. (195) su na nespecifičnom kliničkom uzorku pokazali da su i grandioznost i vulnerabilnost povezane i s majčinim i s očevim disfunkcionalnim odgojnim praksama, ali vulnerabilnost jače nego grandioznost. U još jednom recentnom istraživanju, van Schie i sur. (196) su, ispitujući na subkliničkom uzorku starijih adolescenata sjećanja o interpersonalnom okruženju odrastanja te uzimajući istovremeno u obzir razne roditeljske stilove, pokazali da su i grandiozni i vulnerabilni narcizam u pozitivnoj korelaciji s prekomjernom roditeljskom zaštitom, i to i majčinom i očevom. Prekomjerna zaštita, autori spekuliraju, može ograničiti djeći prilike za učenje iz vlastitog iskustva čineći ih manje autonomnima odnosno ovisnijima o tuđem vodstvu i povratnim informacijama, što pak podržava razvoj osjećaja povlaštenosti te negativnih uvjerenja vezanih za oštećenu autonomiju. Nadalje, precjenjivanje, koje je u fokusu teorija socijalnog učenja, bilo je snažnije povezano s grandioznim narcizmom, a roditeljska brižnost se pokazala kao zaštitni faktor u odnosu između precjenjivanja i oba naličja narcizma. Gdje precjenjivanje izravno potiče razvoj nerealistično pozitivnog samopoimanja, koje može potaknuti strah od neuspjeha te razvoj strategija izbjegavanja i varanja kako bi se pozitivno samopoimanje pod svaku cijenu održalo, posvećenost djetetovim stvarnim

and nonselective praise were associated with both forms of narcissism as well. The authors speculate that prospective narcissists constantly receive nonselective praise from their caregivers, accompanied by implicit rejecting and cold messages. Along these lines, Horton et al. found a significant positive correlation between unhealthy narcissism and parental warmth, as well as the level of psychological control (e.g. inducing guilt and conditioning warmth) (194). Furthermore, lower levels of parental supervision (e.g. setting up boundaries) were associated with higher levels of unhealthy narcissism, suggesting that praise that is not moderated by boundaries can foster the development of narcissism.

In a more recent study, Marčinko et al. (195) used a nonspecific clinical sample to demonstrate that grandiosity and vulnerability are associated with dysfunctional educational practices from both mothers and fathers, with the link being stronger in reference to vulnerability than to grandiosity. In another recent study, by analysing a subclinical sample of older adolescents with regard to their memories of interpersonal surroundings and simultaneously taking into account the various parenting styles, van Schie et al. (196) observed that both grandiose and vulnerable narcissism have a positive association with excessive parental protection, from both mothers and fathers. Excessive protection, as the authors speculate, can limit the children's opportunities to learn from their own experience, thus making them less autonomous, i.e. more dependent on the leadership of others and receiving feedback, which in turn, supports the development of a sense of privilege and negative convictions with regard to impaired autonomy. Furthermore, overvaluing, which is the focus of social learning theories, had a stronger association with grandiose narcissism, while parental care proved to be a protective factor in the relationship between overvaluation and both forms of narcissism. While overvaluation directly encourages the development of an unrealistic positive self-perception, which can lead to a fear of failure and the development of avoidance strategies and cheating in order to maintain the positive self-per-

potrebama možda stvara protutežu u obliku realističnih elemenata djetetove slike o sebi. Konačno, majčina popustljivost bila je povezana s vulnerabilnim, a očeva s grandioznim narcizmom. Kao što to čini prekomjerna zaštita, manjak granica i neograničena sloboda povezana s popustljivim roditeljskim stilom ograničavaju mogućnost učenja iz vlastitog iskustva, te mogu potaknuti razvoj nerealnih ideja o sebi i vlastitoj povlaštenosti. Na tom su tragu u sustavnom pregledu istraživanja povezanosti roditeljskih stilova s narcizmom Kılıçkaya i sur. (197) također pronašli da je popustljivo roditeljstvo, koje u njihovoj konceptualizaciji obuhvaća i precjenjivanje djeteta, s njime pozitivno povezano. Sve u svemu, čini se da evaluativna okolina odrastanja u kojoj izostaje razvojno prikladno frustriranje djetetovih kapaciteta, uz prisutnost nediferenciranog prihvaćanja i precjenjivanja djetetovog ponašanja koči razvoj zdravog doživljaja autonomije, a njeguje viđenje sebe kao povlaštene osobe koja *a priori* zaslužuje poseban tretman.

Zanimljivo, u istraživanju od van Schie i sur. (196), zlostavljanje je bilo povezano s prisutnošću vulnerabilnosti, ali povezujući svoje nalaze s onima od prethodnih istraživanja, autori ga ipak drže nespecifičnim rizičnim faktorom. Gao i sur. (198) su u meta-analizi pokazali da je zlostavljanje povezano i s grandioznim narcizmom, ali u manjoj mjeri nego s vulnerabilnim, za koji su pronašli, u skladu s razmišljanjima psihodinamskih teoretičara, da je zanemarivanje oblik zlostavljanja koji ima jači efekt od fizičkog. Korelacija s vulnerabilnim, kao i ona s grandioznim narcizmom zapravo je imala relativno malu veličinu efekta pa su autori u svojem zaključivanju naglasili važnost multifaktorske etiologije patološkog narcizma.

Pri tumačenju rezultata ovih istraživanja, valja imati na umu da je riječ o kros-sekcijskim istraživačkim nacrtima kojima je svojstvena nemogućnost zaključivanja o uzročno-posljedičnim odnosu varijabli od interesa, te da su podatci

receptivni na sve troškove, a posvećenost djetetovim stvarnim potrebama mogla bi stvoriti protutežu u obliku realističnih elemenata integriranih u djetetovu sliku o sebi. Konačno, majčina popustljivost bila je povezana s vulnerabilnim, a očeva s grandioznim narcizmom. Kao što to čini prekomjerna zaštita, manjak granica i neograničena sloboda povezana s popustljivim roditeljskim stilom ograničavaju mogućnost učenja iz vlastitog iskustva, te mogu potaknuti razvoj nerealnih ideja o sebi i vlastitoj povlaštenosti. Na tom su tragu u sustavnom pregledu istraživanja povezanosti roditeljskih stilova s narcizmom Kılıçkaya i sur. (197) također pronašli da je popustljivo roditeljstvo, koje u njihovoj konceptualizaciji obuhvaća i precjenjivanje djeteta, s njime pozitivno povezano. Sve u svemu, čini se da evaluativna okolina odrastanja u kojoj izostaje razvojno prikladno frustriranje djetetovih kapaciteta, uz prisutnost nediferenciranog prihvaćanja i precjenjivanja djetetovog ponašanja koči razvoj zdravog doživljaja autonomije, a njeguje viđenje sebe kao povlaštene osobe koja *a priori* zaslužuje poseban tretman.

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When interpreting the results of these studies, it should be noted that they concern cross-sectional research designs with a characteristic in-

rezultat retrospektivnih samoizvještaja, a da je specifičnost ciljne populacije veća spremnost iskrivljanja stvarnosti pri izvještavanju o vlastitim iskustvima (156). Longitudinalna su istraživanja zato vrlo vrijedna, ali i izvedbeno zahtjevnija te stoga i rijetka. Brummelman i sur. su pratili uzorak od 565 djece u dobi od 7 do 12 godina i njihove roditelje putem 4 vala svakih 6 mjeseci (199). Rezultati tog istraživanja jasno su išli u prilog teoriji socijalnog učenja: roditeljsko precjenjivanje (a ne manjak topline) predviđa narcizam, dok je roditeljska toplina u pozitivnoj korelaciji s djetetovim samopoštovanjem. Autori zaključuju da se dječje samopoimanje razvija iz njihove percepcije kako ih drugi doživljavaju, odnosno da uče vidjeti sebe očima drugih ljudi.

Ranije spomenuto longitudinalno istraživanje Lenzenwegera (167) koristilo je nešto drugačiji razvojno-psihološki pojam *proksimalnih procesa* kako bi, pored povezanosti temperamenta s obilježjima NPL-a, ispitalo i njihovu povezanost s ranim odgojnim praksama. Proksimalni procesi su trajne, aktivne, angažirane, i s vremenom sve kompleksnije i sofisticiranije psihološke interakcije između djeteta i osoba, predmeta i simbola u njegovoj okolini koje aktualiziraju genetske potencijale za učinkovito psihološko funkcioniranje (200). Podatci dobiveni retrospektivnom procjenom proksimalnih procesa tijekom odrastanja (npr. putem pitanja o tome tko je sudioniku pomagao pisati domaću zadaću, ili tko je s njim čitao knjige) pokazali su da je njihova veća kvaliteta povezana s nižom razinom obilježja NPL-a u sva tri vala mjerenja (167). Međutim, budući da konstrukt proksimalnih procesa na neki način obuhvaća i roditeljsku njegu i toplinu, ostaje pitanje koje su točno komponente proksimalnih procesa tijekom odrastanja aktivne u moderiranju narcističkih obilježja. Važno ograničenje obih ovih longitudinalnih studija je činjenica da se korištene mjere narcizma usmjeravaju isključivo na njegov grandiozni aspekt, što ostavlja prostor

ability to draw conclusions about the cause-and-effect relationships of the variables of interest, that the data represent a result of retrospective self-reports, and that the specificity of the target population is their greater willingness to distort reality when reporting about their own experiences (156). For this reason, longitudinal studies are very valuable, but are also very demanding in terms of performance and, therefore, are very rare. Brummelman et al. monitored a sample of 565 children between 7 and 12 years of age and their parents, in four waves every six months (199). The results of this study clearly supported the social learning theory: parental overvaluation (as opposed to a lack of warmth) predicts the occurrence of narcissism, while parental warmth is positively correlated with the child's self-esteem. The authors concluded that the self-perception of children develops from their perception of how they are viewed by others, i.e. that they learn to view themselves through other people's eyes.

The previously mentioned longitudinal study conducted by Lenzenweger (167) used a somewhat different developmental-psychological notion of *proximal processes* so that, in addition to the connection between temperament and the features of NPD, they could also assess their connection with early educational practices. Proximal processes are permanent, active, engaged, and, over time, more complex and more sophisticated psychological interactions between a child and other individuals, objects and symbols in their surroundings which actualize the genetic potential for effective psychological functioning (200). The data obtained through retrospective assessment of proximal processes in the course of growing up (e.g. by asking questions such as who helped the participant to write their homework or who read books with them) have showed that their higher quality correlates with a lower level of NPD features in all three waves of measurement (167). However, since the proximal processes construct in a way encompasses parental care and warmth as well, the question remains as to what are the exact components of proximal processes while growing up which are active in the moderation of narcissistic features. An important limita-

budućim empirijskim provjerama utjecaja stila roditeljstva na vulnerabilnost.

ZAKLJUČAK

Teorijsko razumijevanje razvoja strukture narcističke ličnosti najbolje se postiže unutar šireg konteksta razvoja ličnosti koji možemo pojmiti kao niz transakcija između različitih aspekata pojedinca (temperamenta, interesa, sposobnosti ili emocija) i različitih aspekata njegove okoline (ljudi, situacija ili radnih izazova; 19). Odnos crta ličnosti i pojedinčeve situacije i iskustva je recipročan: crte ličnosti oblikuju i oblikovane su pojedinčevom situacijom i iskustvima, u skladu s odvijanjem različitih utjecaja tijekom vremena (201, 202). Pri razmatranju razvoja NPL-a valja imati na umu i princip ekvifinalnosti, tj. ideju da različite razvojne putanje mogu dovesti do sličnih ishoda, te multifinalnost – pravilo po kojemu slične startne pozicije mogu imati različite ishode (203). Oslanjajući se na dijateza-stres model Thomaesa i sur. (21,128) ovaj pregledni rad ocrtava razne putanje i najvažnije čimbenike u razvoju NPL-a.

Većina istraživanja podrijetla NPL-a fokusirala se na roditeljsko ponašanje, a njihovi nalazi konvergiraju zaključku da je disfunkcionalno roditeljstvo doista značajno povezano s razvojem patološkog narcizma u odrasloj dobi (204). Za ovo pitanje posebice su relevantna recentna longitudinalna istraživanja, koja su pokazala da roditelji djece s naglašenijim narcističkim obrascima neselektivno precjenjuju i obasipaju svoju djecu komplimentima o njihovoj posebnosti (196,199), te da prekomjernom zaštitom i popustljivošću oduzimaju djeci prilike za izgradnju osjećaja autonomije, a hrane djetetove ideje o povlaštenosti (196). Osim toga, određeni obrasci privrženosti čine se posebno formativnima. To uključuje izbjegavajuću privrženost, povezanu s grandioznom ekspresijom narcizma, te anksioznu privrženost, koja je posebice povezana s narcističkom vulnerabilnosti

tion to both of these longitudinal studies is the fact that the narcissism measures used are directed at its grandiose aspect exclusively, thus leaving room for future empirical assessments of the impact of the parenting style on vulnerability.

CONCLUSION

Theoretical understanding of the narcissistic personality structure development is best achieved within the wider context of personality development which we could explain as a series of transactions between various aspects of the individual (temperament, interests, abilities or emotions) and various aspects of their surroundings (people, situation or work-related challenges; 19). The relationship between personality traits, the situation an individual is in, and their experience is reciprocal: personality traits shape and are shaped by the individual's situation and experiences, in accordance with the course of different influences over time (201, 202). When reviewing the development of NPD, the equifinality principle should also be taken into account, i.e. the idea that different developmental paths may lead to similar outcomes, as well as multifinality – the rule according to which similar starting positions could have different outcomes (203). Relying on the diathesis-stress model developed by Thomaes et al. (21, 128), this review article depicts the various paths and most relevant factors in the development of NPD.

Most studies addressing the origins of NPD have focused on parental behavior, and their findings converge towards the conclusion that dysfunctional parenting indeed plays a significant role in the development of pathological narcissism in adulthood (204). Recent longitudinal studies are of particular relevance with regard to this question, observing that parents of children with more pronounced narcissistic patterns display nonselective overvaluation of their children, showering them with compliments that emphasize how special they are (196, 199), and deny the children the opportunities to develop a sense of autonomy and nourish their ideas of privilege through excessive protection and permissiveness

(182). Naravno, hoće li se kao posljedica ovih ranijih maladaptivnih socijalizacijskih utjecaja razviti NPL ovisi o mnogim drugim faktorima, među kojima je i temperament (159), te dodatni sociokulturalni utjecaji većeg opsega. Konkretno, utjecaj bi mogla imati pripadnost određenoj generacijskoj kohorti (13, 205, 206, 207, ali vidi 208, 209), čiji efekt je možda dodatno pojačan pojavom digitalnih društvenih mreža koje u svakom trenutku osobi nude pozornicu i priliku za samopromociju (37).

Ovdje bih iskoristio priliku za još jedan osvrt na zanimljivo pitanje o sličnosti NPL-a i klasičnih oblika ovisnosti. Cijena koju je mitski Narcis u Ovidijevoj priči bio spreman platiti odajući se vlastitoj slici, zapostavljajući sve druge tjelesne potrebe, neizbježno podsjeća na najcrnje scenarije iz života ovisnika. Može li se NPL doista uspoređivati s prototipnim ovisnostima (91), i ako može, jesu li im razvojni putevi slični? Je li NPL ukorijenjen u sličnim predispozicijama tj. dijatezama kao klasični oblici ovisnosti? Konačno, do koje mjere su ponašajne i neurobiološke reakcije narcisa na nagrađujuće podražaje (npr. pohvale) slične reakcijama ovisnika na klasična sredstva ovisnosti? Neke empirijske naznake da bi odgovori na ova pitanja mogla dodatno obogatiti naše viđenje NPL-a doista postoje.

Za početak, nemala je količina literature koja evidentira povezanost narcizma (grandioznog i vulnerabilnog) sa zluporabom opojnih sredstava u subkliničkim skupinama kao i komorbiditet NPL-a i ovisnosti o opojnim sredstvima u kliničkim skupinama (210). Ipak, budući da stope komorbiditeta kod NPL-a nisu nužno veće nego kod drugih poremećaja ličnosti (211), moguće je da komorbiditet nije posljedica specifičnosti narcizma već općenitih funkcionalnih teškoća, a Jauk i Dieterich predlažu da su samoregulatorne funkcije, posebice stabiliziranje samopoštovanja, glavni posrednici između narcizma i zluporabe opojnih sredstava (210). Drugim riječima, zluporaba opojnih sredstava je kompenzacija ili nadomjestak - način suoča-

(196). Furthermore, certain attachment patterns appear to be particularly formative. This includes avoidant attachment associated with grandiose expression of narcissism, and anxious attachment which is particularly associated with narcissistic vulnerability (182). Of course, whether NPD will develop as a consequence of these early maladaptive socialization influences depends on many other factors, including temperament (159) and additional sociocultural influences of a wider scope. More specifically, belonging to a certain generational cohort (13, 205, 206, 207, also see 208, 209) could also be an influencing factor, the effects of which could potentially be further enhanced by the appearance of digital social networks which offer individuals a stage and opportunities for self-promotion at any moment (37).

At this point, I would like to use the opportunity to once again address the interesting question of similarities between NPD and classic forms of addiction. The price which the mythical Narcissus in Ovid's story was prepared to pay by indulging in his own image and neglecting all other physical needs, inevitably reminds of the darkest scenarios in the lives of addicts. Could NPD actually be compared to prototypical addictions (91), and if yes, are their developmental paths similar? Is NPD rooted in similar predispositions, i.e. diatheses, as the classic forms of addiction? Finally, to what extent are the behavioral and neurobiological reactions of narcissists to rewarding stimuli (e.g. praise) similar to the reactions of addicts to classic addictive drugs? Some empirical indications suggesting that the answers to these questions could additionally contribute to our understanding of NPD indeed exist.

First of all, a significant amount of literature contains evidence that there is a connection between narcissism (both grandiose and vulnerable) and substance abuse in subclinical groups, as well as a comorbidity of NPD and drug addiction in clinical groups (210). However, since comorbidity rates in NPD are not necessarily higher than in other personality disorders (211), it is possible that comorbidity is not a consequence of a narcissistic specificity, but of general functional difficulties, and Jauk and Dieterich suggest that self-regulatory

vanja s neugodnim afektivnim stanjima koja nastaju zbog manjka tuđeg divljenja ili srama (212). Međutim, istraživanja su povezala narcizam i s drugim oblicima ovisničkog sindroma, primjerice patološkim kockanjem (213, 214), radoholičarstvom (215), ili kompulzivnim korištenjem pametnih telefona (216). U ovom je kontekstu posebice interesantna pojava narcisovog problematičnog korištenja društvenih medija (217) koje može poslužiti i kao svojevrsni model za razumijevanje narcističkog ponašanja. Naime, uz napomenu da je vrsta društvenog medija vjerojatno nezanemariv faktor u razmatranju njegova ponašanja na internetu (218), u ovom je slučaju narcis u potrazi upravo za onime što mu je potrebno. Primjerice, pokazalo se da je potreba za divljenjem (ali u manjoj mjeri i potreba za pripadanjem) medijator odnosa između narcizma i ovisničkog korištenja *Facebook*-a (219), a moglo bi se tvrditi da, u odnosu na druge društvene medije, *Facebook* nudi široke mogućnosti za samopromociju. U skladu s idejom da su opojna sredstva narcisov neadaptivni način suočavanja s manjkom divljenja (212) čini se da motivacijska orijentacija prilaženja ima važniju ulogu u odnosu grandioznog narcizma i problematičnog korištenja društvenih medija nego u njegovom odnosu s korištenjem opojnih sredstava (220).

Iako je slika koju imamo o narcizmu sve potpunija i bogatija, ona i dalje zahtijeva pažljivu analizu i dodatna istraživanja kako bismo što bolje upoznali sve njene nijanse, te razvili prilagođenije pristupe u tretmanu njenih kliničkih manifestacija (221). Budućnost NPL-a i njegovog ispitivanja zasigurno će biti i pod utjecajem nove, 11. revizije Međunarodne klasifikacije bolesti (MKB-11), koja donosi paradigmatiku promjenu klasifikacije poremećaja ličnosti (222). Naime, MKB-11 napušta kategorijalni pristup koji je dominirao dosadašnjom kliničkom praksom i istraživanjima (223). Premještanjem fokusa na općenita obilježja primjenjiva na sve poremećaje ličnosti ostva-

functions, stabilization of self-esteem in particular, are the main mediators between narcissism and substance abuse (210). In other words, substance abuse is a compensation or substitution - a way of coping with unpleasant affective states occurring due to a lack of admiration from others or embarrassment (212). Nevertheless, studies have shown that narcissism is associated with other forms of addiction syndrome as well, e.g. pathological gambling (213, 214), workaholism (215) or compulsive use of smartphones (216). In this context, what is particularly interesting is the appearance of problematic use of social media by narcissists (217) which could serve as a model for the understanding of narcissistic behavior. In fact, noting that the type of social media is probably a non-negligible factor in considerations of their behavior on the Internet (218), in this case narcissists are looking for exactly what they need. For example, it has been observed that the need for admiration (to a lesser extent also the need to belong) is a mediator in the relationship between narcissism and addictive use of *Facebook* (219), and it could be argued that, compared to other social media, *Facebook* offers a wide spectrum of opportunities for self-promotion. In accordance with the idea that addictive substances are a narcissist's nonadaptive way of coping with a lack of admiration (212), it seems that the motivational approach orientation plays a more important role in the relationship between grandiose narcissism and problematic use of social media than in its relationship with the use of addictive substances (220).

Even though our insight into narcissism is becoming more and more complete and comprehensive, it still requires careful analysis and additional research in order for us to get a better understanding of all of its nuances, and to develop more adjusted approaches when it comes to the treatment of its clinical manifestations (221). The future of NPD and its research will surely be influenced by the new, 11th revision of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11), which introduced a paradigmatic change in the classification of personality disorders (222). More precisely, the categorical approach which dominated clinical practice and research so far, was abandoned in ICD-11 (223). By

ruje se kontinuitet sa suvremenim, empirijski podržanim pet-faktorskim modelom ličnosti te s alternativnim dimenzionalnim modelom poremećaja ličnosti iz 5. izdanja DSM-a (224). Prema novom izdanju MKB-a, dijagnoza poremećaja ličnosti zasniva se na globalnoj procjeni ličnosti i međuljudskog funkcioniranja, kognitivnih, emocionalnih i ponašajnih manifestacija, te psihosocijalnih tegoba. Razmjeri poteškoća mogu se označiti klasifikacijom intenziteta, pa tako poremećaj ličnosti može dobiti predznak “blagi”, “umjereni” ili “teški”, a daljnji opis čini se pomoću jedne ili većeg broja od ukupno pet maladaptivnih domenskih crta, te daljnjih facetnih karakterizacija za još finiju rezoluciju (224). Osim za granični poremećaj ličnosti, za koji se zbog njegovog kliničkog značenja uključio poseban specifikator tzv. graničnog obrasca, novim se pristupom na svojevrsan način prekida dugogodišnji kontinuitet dobro poznate i povijesno značajne tipologije, istraživanja i kliničkih preporuka. Narcistički poremećaj ličnosti, obilježen nestabilnim, kontingentnim samopoimanjem i problematičnim međuljudskim odnosima bit će u prvom redu karakteriziran domenom disocijalnosti (engl. *dissociality*) s naglaskom na usmjerenost na sebe, domenom anankastije u obliku perfekcionizma i taštine, te domenom negativne afektivnosti, kojom će se obuhvatiti vulnerabilna svojstva specifične manifestacije poremećaja. Nesumnjivo, ove će promjene donijeti nove izazove i prilike za istraživače. Suvremena istraživanja već su prepoznala manjkavosti dosadašnjih klasifikacijskih sistema zbog kojih su važni elementi i raznolikost manifestacija narcističkog poremećaja ličnosti bili sustavno zanemarivani. Nijansirani pristup poremećajima ličnosti koji dolazi sa najnovijim izdanjima glavnih dijagnostičkih priručnika otvorit će nova istraživačka pitanja o interakcijama domenskih crta svojstvenih narcizmu, potaknuti razvoj novih mjernih instrumenata i postupaka, te bi se s vremenom, nadamo se, mogla oblikovati jedna nova mapa, vjernija teritoriju koji opisuje.

shifting focus to the general characteristics applicable to all personality disorders, a continuity was achieved with the modern, empirically supported five-factor personality model, as well as with the alternative dimensional model of personality disorders presented in the fifth edition of DSM (224). According to the new edition of ICD, the diagnosis of personality disorder is based on a global assessment of personality and interpersonal functioning, cognitive, emotional and behavioral manifestations, as well as psychosocial impairments. The extent of impairments can be classified according to their severity, so that a personality disorder can be classified as “mild”, “moderate” or “severe”, and further description is done using one or more of the five maladaptive personality trait domains, as well as further facet characterizations for an even finer resolution (224). In addition to the borderline personality disorder, for which due to its clinical significance a special specifier was produced, the so-called borderline pattern, the new approach also in a way ended the long-term continuity of well-known and historically significant typology, research and clinical recommendations. Narcissistic personality disorder, marked by unstable, contingent self-perception and problematic interpersonal relationships, will primarily be characterized through the domains of dissociality with an emphasis on self-centeredness, anankastia in the form of perfectionism and vanity, as well as negative affectivity which will include vulnerable features of a specific manifestation of the disorder. These changes will undoubtedly lead to new challenges and opportunities for the researchers. The flaws of classification systems used so far, due to which important elements and the diversity of narcissistic personality disorder manifestations were systematically neglected, have already been recognized in modern studies. A more nuanced approach to personality disorders represented in the most recent issues of the main diagnostic manuals will produce new research questions with regard to interactions of the domain traits characteristic of narcissism, encourage the development of new measuring instruments and procedures, and we hope that in time a new map will be created, which will more accurately depict the territory it is devoted to.

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