Core Aspects of Grandiose Narcissism in Childhood: Grandiosity and Entitlement in Social Context

R. Poppy Wilkinson

A Thesis
In the Department
of
Psychology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology) at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

September 2021

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: **Rosalind Poppy Wilkinson**

Entitled: **Core Aspects of Grandiose Narcissism in Childhood: Grandiosity and Entitlement in Social Context**

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____ Chair
Dr. William Zerges

_____ External Examiner
Dr. Sander Thomaes

_____ External to Program
Dr. Valérie De Courville Nicol

_____ Examiner
Dr. Erin Barker

_____ Examiner
Dr. Andrew Ryder

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. William M. Bukowski

Approved by _____
Dr. Andreas Arvanitogiannis, Graduate Program Director

10/29/2021 _____
Dr. Pascale Sicotte, Dean
Faculty of Arts and Science

Abstract

Core Aspects of Grandiose Narcissism in Childhood:
Grandiosity and Entitlement in Social Context

R. Poppy Wilkinson, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 2022

Arriving at a definition of narcissism has been a controversial process. Recently, two defining aspects of narcissism have been identified, self-importance and entitlement, that can be expressed both grandiosely and covertly (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). The present project focuses on grandiose narcissism in children. Grandiose narcissism is understood as multidimensional (e.g., with dimensions of grandiosity and entitlement) but research on its core aspects in children is limited. A better understanding of the dimensions of narcissism in children is critical, primarily because they have been shown to relate to different outcomes in adults. Evidence suggests that entitlement is associated with more problematic social outcomes than grandiosity. The aim of this project was to assess the potentially different social correlates of grandiosity and entitlement in children. This was achieved using self-report and peer-report data collected in a short-term longitudinal design with 5th and 6th grade students in Montreal, Quebec, Canada and Barranquilla, Colombia. The results of **Study 1** suggest that grandiosity and entitlement are two related but distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children, measurable across two cultural contexts. Grandiosity in particular was associated with positive self-appraisals of social competency and self-worth, above and beyond acceptance by peers. **Study 2** assessed the relation between grandiosity/entitlement and peer-assessed prosocial behaviours (care, justice, comfort, proactive and reactive help) and aggression (physical and relational). Within time, entitlement was found to negatively relate to all prosocial behaviours, and prior levels of entitlement negatively predicted later care and justice. Prior levels of entitlement also positively predicted subsequent physical aggression. These same patterns were not found for grandiosity. **Study 3** assessed how grandiosity and entitlement, respectively, predicted popularity while accounting for characteristics of the social and cultural context. A key and consistent finding across our models was that entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in classrooms high

in communal care, as well as in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal. The opposite pattern was observed for grandiosity in some of the models. Together, these studies provide support for these two dimensions of narcissism being distinct and that the social consequences of entitlement are of particular concern.

Acknowledgments

My deep gratitude goes out to Dr. William M. Bukowski for taking a chance on an English Literature graduate and sharing his wisdom, guidance, and humour over the years. I feel incredibly fortunate to have learned from you as a supervisor and to know you as a human. Your support will not be forgotten. My thanks also go out to Dr. Sander Thomaes—I have learned so much from your work over the years and it was an honour and a true pleasure to have you on my committee as external examiner. I am also very thankful to Drs. Erin Barker, Andrew Ryder and Valérie De Courville Nicol for their attention and insightful comments as committee members. I would also like to thank the members of the Bukowski lab and other fellow travellers who I have had the pleasure to know and grow with on the road to a PhD. I end this part of the journey with no doubt in my mind about the utmost importance of peer relations. To my friends and family, your love and support has been felt and held dear. To my husband Jeremy, thank you for helping me keep my eye on the big picture. I could not have done this without you. Thank you to all the teachers in my life—the young and the wise—who help me stay curious and playful and remind me that we never stop learning.

I am grateful to acknowledge the support of the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarships program, as well as Concordia University's graduate awards including the Catherine and Robert Juster Graduate Student Scholarship.

Contribution of Authors

R. Poppy Wilkinson	Study conception, design, data organization, planned and executed analyses, writing, editing, proofing.
William M. Bukowski	Research supervisor, funding, oversaw and assisted research/measure design, study conception and coordination, relevant analyses, editing and proofing
Melisa Castellanos	Facilitated data collection process
Ryan J. Persram	Facilitated data collection process
Luz S. López	Facilitated data collection process
Gordon Rosenoff	Facilitated data collection process

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Study 1

General Introduction

Narcissism has long been considered one of the most fascinating—albeit complex—constructs in psychology. Its complexity can be seen in a literature rife with controversy about narcissism's very definition and core dimensions (Donnellan et al., 2021; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Narcissism is a term that has been used in a flexible manner—describing at times a collection of traits, and at others a state, a phase in development, or a form of psychopathology (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Different presentations of narcissism have been identified (e.g., grandiose, vulnerable, "normal," pathological) as well as subtypes and dimensions of these presentations (Donnellan et al., 2021). How these various presentations, types and dimensions of narcissism relate to each other has been a matter of interest and debate. With this lack of clarity, narcissism has earned the dual distinction of being at once a fascinating and a particularly confusing topic of study (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). However, recent advancements in the literature with adults help make sense of the apparent confusion, offering some clarity on the meaning of narcissism. Notable conclusions from the past decade are that narcissism is multidimensional (Ackerman et al., 2011; Brown et al., 2009; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Miller et al., 2017) and that a succinct definition of narcissism that transcends its various presentations is possible (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Narcissism has been defined as *entitled self-importance* (Krizan & Herlache, 2018) and this definition speaks to two core features of narcissism, entitlement and self-importance, that can manifest in a grandiose or covert manner. Two main presentations of narcissism have been identified—vulnerable and grandiose (see Cain et al., 2008)—and the present thesis will focus on core dimensions of prototypical grandiose narcissism in children.

Grandiose narcissism is multidimensional with both socially advantageous as well as antagonistic aspects (Back et al., 2013). Grandiosity, a core component of grandiose narcissism, refers to an inflated sense of self and self-importance—appraising oneself as uniquely great and special (Brown et al., 2009). Another core component of narcissism is entitlement, which concerns the belief that one deserves special treatment, goods, attention, and recognition—and that others are available to be (mis)used for one's personal gain (Brown et al., 2009). While these two dimensions of narcissism have been found to be moderately correlated, they represent conceptually distinct constructs that need to be studied separately as well as together, primarily because they appear to affect different outcomes (Donnellan et al., 2021). Importantly, these

conclusions about the meaning and defining features of narcissism have been derived from research with adults. There is a lack of clarity regarding the core dimensions of narcissism in children and the possible differential social correlates of these dimensions.

The idea that narcissism is related to problematic ways of interacting with others is not new—there exists a robust literature with both adults and children that shows narcissism's positive association with aggression and other antagonistic behaviours (e.g., Rasmussen, 2016; Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016). A growing literature on specific aspects of adult narcissism shows that entitlement in particular is related to toxic social outcomes (Donnellan et al., 2021). We argue that such specificity is required in the study of child narcissism. The overarching aim of this project is to assess the potentially different social correlates of two core dimensions of narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) in children, using self-report and peer-report data collected from 5th and 6th grade students in Canada and Colombia. This project consists of three studies that are intended to build upon each other. The goal of Study 1 is to identify two defining dimensions of self-reported childhood narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) and to assess if these dimensions are measurable across two cultural settings (Colombia and Canada). In Study 2, we seek to understand if these two dimensions of narcissism differentially relate to problematic social outcomes in childhood (e.g., increased peer-assessed aggression and decreased prosocial behaviour). In Study 3, we aim to understand the social consequences of these dimensions of narcissism while accounting for characteristics of the social contexts in which these children function. Specifically, we will assess how grandiosity and entitlement each predict peer-assessed popularity while accounting for culturally relevant characteristics (e.g., country, classroom norms).

A cross-cultural perspective is important because how narcissism behaviourally manifests has been proposed to derive from transactional processes that occur between individuals and their environment (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). This highlights a key point: narcissism involves both intrapersonal processes (e.g., an inflated self-appraisal) as well as interpersonal processes (e.g., a comparative and sometimes exploitative orientation). In other words, narcissism at its core involves the self in relation to other. Individualism and collectivism are two constructs commonly used to understand different ways in which individuals relate to society and others (Oyserman & Lee, 2008; Triandis, 1995, 2015). Social-cultural factors have been found to be relevant to the study of narcissism (Foster et al., 2003; Paris, 2014; Vater et al., 2018), and

collecting data in both Colombia and Canada allows for an exploration of the social consequences of narcissism in children in two different contexts. Specifically, Colombia has traditionally been considered one of the most collectivistic cultural settings in the world, where collective good is emphasized over individual gain (Hofstede Insights, 2021b). In contrast, Canada (including Quebec) has been characterized as highly individualistic (e.g., where the individual is prioritized over the larger group; Hofstede Insights, 2021a). In Study 3, we assess whether particular aspects of narcissism might relate to greater social sanctions (e.g., as indicated by decreased social status) in contexts where communal care is particularly valued.

In summary, the overarching aim of these studies is to gain a better understanding of how specific dimensions of narcissism might relate to social functioning. A strength of our design is the use of both self-report measures (e.g., narcissism, admiration-seeking) as well as measures that offer the perspective of others (e.g., peer-reported aggressive and prosocial behaviours, popularity, and classroom norms). With this rich perspective, we seek to better understand which dimensions of narcissism are related to problematic social outcomes, whether there are other aspects that have more neutral or even positive correlates, as well as whether these associations are influenced by context. We consider this information integral for understanding when interventions may be required and informing the nature of possible interventions. It is of particular interest to study these questions in children when interventions may be more effective and feasible to implement.

Specifically, this project consists of three studies and uses data collected in a short-term longitudinal design with children in two distinct cultural contexts (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, and Barranquilla, Colombia). In Study 1, building from existing validated measures, we assess if narcissism in children concerns two core dimensions: grandiosity and entitlement. The purpose of Study 2 is to assess the differential social correlates of grandiosity and entitlement. Specifically, in Study 2 we assess whether these dimensions of narcissism relate in different ways to peer-reported aggressive (relational, physical) and prosocial behaviours (care, justice, comfort, reactive and proactive help). Study 3 concerns how children high in narcissism tend to fare socially while accounting for characteristics of the social and cultural contexts in which they live. Specifically, the third study assesses whether the associations between popularity and two core dimensions of narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) vary as a function of group-level variables such as place, sex, socioeconomic status and classroom norms for communal care.

Taken together, the overarching aim of this project is to study childhood grandiose narcissism in context at the level of two core dimensions, bringing attention to how grandiosity and entitlement relate to important social outcomes and functioning in the peer-group.

Summary of Method

Participants

Study 1. Participants were 329 boys and girls (52% girls) in the fifth and sixth grade (M_{age} =11. 5 years) from three schools in Montreal, Quebec, Canada and two schools in Barranquilla, Atlántico, Colombia. Participants were evenly distributed across the Canadian (47%) and Colombian (53%) sites. Originally, 397 students from 19 classrooms were invited to participate in the study. The participation rate was on average 89% (Range 75% -100%, SD = 7.4%). A total of 351 students were authorized to participate, however 22 students were excluded from two classrooms judged to have insufficient participation rates (e.g., classes with same-sex groups with fewer than seven children). Nineteen classrooms participated in this study with 19.8 participants per class on average. For the self-report measures, the percentage of missing data ranged from 11.0% to 17.9%. For peer assessment measures, the percentage of missing data varied from 5 to 10% depending on the variable. This data was found to be missing at random (e.g., not due to systematic attrition).

Socioeconomic status (SES) was assessed in the following ways. For the Canadian sample, information provided by the schoolboard indicated that for two of the schools the majority of students lived in upper-middle class households, whereas the majority of students at the third school lived in lower-middle class households. In Colombia, neighborhood SES is ranked by a federal agency using a six-level index called *estrato,* where 1 indicates "low-low" and 6 indicates "high" SES (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, n.d.). For the Colombian sample, students from one school lived in *estrato* 1 and 2 neighborhoods whereas the students from the other school lived in *estrato* 5 and 6 neighborhoods.

Study 2. Participants were 307 boys and girls (46% boys and 54% girls) in the 5th and 6th grade from three schools in Montreal, QC, Canada and two schools in Barranquilla, Atlántico, Colombia. Participants were evenly distributed across Canada (46%) and Colombia (54%). Twenty-one other participants were excluded due to technical difficulties that prevented data from being collected.

Study 3. Please refer to details above for Study 1.

Procedure

Once ethical approval from relevant institutions was obtained, permission from school boards and principals was granted. Project staff described the purposes and procedures of the study to potential participants during class time, including confidentiality. Information packets with consent forms for parents were provided. Whether participating or not, children later received a token of thanks for returning a completed form. Only children who returned signed consent forms were included in the study. As part of a larger project, participants were then met twice: in the fifth month of the school year (Time 1) and eight weeks later (Time 2). A burst design was used with two data collections at each time point (i.e., four data collections total). Students completed the questionnaires on tablet computers at their desks in their classrooms with project staff present to assure confidentiality of responses. There were no exclusion criteria and children were free to withdraw their participation at any time without any negative repercussions.

Data Screening

Prior to running analyses, an inspection of all variables was conducted in order to ensure data integrity. For each of the measures, outliers were detected and converted so that they did not exceed 2.5 SD from the mean.

Study 1: Core Aspects of Grandiose Narcissism in Childhood

He's totally narcissistic. Narcissism is a term often bandied around in casual conversation, but the fact remains that agreeing on what narcissism means has not been straightforward. How best to define and what constitutes narcissism has been hotly debated in the literature. The word "narcissism" has been used widely—describing at times a state, a normative developmental phase, a constellation of personality traits and a personality disorder (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Part of the confusion has been that narcissism is not one thing, nor does it present in a singular way. Narcissism is a multidimensional personality construct believed to exist upon a continuum, however despite the murky nomenclature it is argued that core components can be identified—namely, self-importance and entitlement—that can be expressed grandiosely or more covertly (Donnellan et al., 2021; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). It is generally recognized that there are two main presentations of narcissism: a more prototypical grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism (Cain et al., 2008). Further, grandiose narcissism itself is posited to be multidimensional, with socially advantageous and antagonistic aspects (Back et al., 2013). Two core aspects of grandiose narcissism that have been identified are entitlement and grandiosity (Brown et al., 2009). Grandiosity can be summarized as a belief in one's greatness, whereas entitlement concerns putting oneself before others and using others to one's advantage (Donnellan et al., 2021). The present study focuses on grandiose narcissism and advancing our understanding of its dimensions in children. An adequate multidimensional conceptual framework of grandiose narcissism is not yet well established with youth. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to investigate if existing measures of childhood narcissism capture the core dimensions of grandiosity and entitlement.

There is rising interest in narcissism in its many forms from both scholars and the general public. Since 2010 there has been an 106% increase in the number of scholarly articles on the subject, with an average of 357 peer-reviewed articles published each year (Miller et al., 2017). Narcissism exists at the intersection of the individual and the social context. As such it draws interest from personality, social, developmental and clinical psychologists whose conceptualizations of narcissism have not always aligned (Donnellan et al., 2021; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016). In the context of its popularity, the study of narcissism has been rife with controversy and lack of consensus concerning its very definition, variants, core features and assessment (Donnellan et al., 2021; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). This

lack of consensus exists in part due to narcissism's apparent heterogeneity—including grandiose versus vulnerable and normal versus pathological presentations (Cain et al., 2008; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Miller et al., 2017). There has been a lack of clarity about how these types of narcissism relate to each other and how to best conceptualize these different expressions of narcissism (e.g., as dimensions, subtypes, etc.; Cain et al., 2008). Although there is accumulating evidence that narcissism has a multidimensional structure, the substance of its basic dimensions has remained unclear (Krizan & Herlache, 2018).

It has long been theorized that narcissism has two main presentations: grandiose and vulnerable (Cain et al., 2008; Wink, 1991). Both grandiose and vulnerable narcissism are characterized by self-importance and entitlement, but with grandiosity these traits are expressed though bold self-enhancement strategies (e.g., bigheadedness, extraversion), while vulnerable narcissism's presentation is covert, shrouded by emotional distress, disempowerment and fragility (Cain et al., 2008; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Miller et al., 2017). Cain and colleagues (2008) argue that the literature (both clinical and social/personality) has been heavily biased towards grandiose narcissism with vulnerable expressions of narcissism having been largely disregarded. Taking a different perspective, Miller and Campbell (2008) mapped clinical and social-personality measures of narcissism onto vulnerable and grandiose conceptualizations of narcissism respectively. They found that while the two measures were interrelated through interpersonal antagonism, the clinical measure captured high levels of distress, emotional fragility, negative affect, and introversion (i.e., vulnerable narcissism), whereas the social-personality measure was characterized by extraversion and emotional resilience (i.e., grandiose narcissism, Miller & Campbell, 2008). Despite a long-held assumption that the social-psychology literature pertains to "normal" (as opposed to pathological) narcissism (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010), more recently narcissism has been conceptualized as existing upon a continuous spectrum in the population (Donnellan et al., 2021; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Miller et al., 2017). The apparent distinction between "so-called normal" and pathological narcissism may in fact reflect an emphasis on grandiose versus vulnerable presentations in divergent literatures, and evidence suggests that either form can be pathological and maladaptive at its extreme (see Miller et al., 2017, p. 299).

Krizan and Herlache (2018) recently addressed the broad confusion around narcissism as a construct and propose the *narcissism spectrum model* as an antidote (NSM; see also Miller et

al., 2017). In this model, narcissism's central domains are entitlement, grandiosity and vulnerability (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). The NSM offer a succinct definition of narcissism as *entitled self-importance*: "a sense of oneself and one's needs being special and more important than others," and that this psychological core is shared across vulnerable and grandiose presentations (Krizan & Herlache, 2018, p. 6). Using original empirical evidence, Krizan and Herlache (2018) identify entitlement and self-importance as the most characteristic features of narcissism in its many forms. These authors posit that how narcissism ultimately presents, whether vulnerably (via aversion and reactivity) or grandiosely (via approach and boldness) is a product of multiple transactional processes over time between individuals and their experiences (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). In summary, recent theoretical and empirical advances in the study of narcissism recognize its multidimensional nature and appear to converge toward a recognition of two core features: entitlement (i.e., one's needs and goals as more important than others) and self-importance (i.e., oneself as great, special and important; Ackerman et al., 2011; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Miller et al., 2017) that can be expressed boldly or vulnerably.

Research with adults on *grandiose narcissism* specifically indicate it is also a multidimensional construct. Brown and colleagues propose a two-dimensional conceptualization of narcissism with two distinct aspects: grandiosity and entitlement (Brown et al., 2009). In this model, grandiosity concerns an overinflated appraisal of self-importance, whereas entitlement refers to the belief that one deserves special treatment, goods, attention, recognition and that others exist for one's personal use or benefit (e.g., Brown et al., 2009). The authors conceptualize grandiosity as primarily an *intrapersonal* self-appraisal (i.e., occurring within the individual), in contrast to entitlement which involves beliefs about oneself in relation to others (i.e., an *interpersonal* orientation; Brown et al., 2009). Grandiose narcissism has also been shown to have two main pathways—*assertive self-enhancement* and *antagonistic self-protection* which result in social power and social conflict respectively (Back et al., 2013). These authors differ from Brown and colleagues in their assertion that both pathways concern intra- and intrapersonal processes (Back et al., 2013). Such research indicates that capturing core dimensions of grandiose narcissism in childhood is crucial, not only for theoretical clarity but also because these components likely function in different ways to affect development and social functioning.

Among adults, grandiosity and entitlement have been found to be moderately correlated

but also to relate to different outcomes in important ways (e.g., Brown et al., 2009; Campbell et al., 2004). It has been proposed that entitlement is a particularly toxic aspect of narcissism with correlates that are more problematic and concerning as compared to those of grandiosity which may be bothersome but less harmful (Ackerman et al., 2011; Donnellan et al., 2021). In studies with adults, entitlement and not grandiosity predicted unethical decision-making, self-serving strategies to the detriment of others (Tamborski et al., 2012) and lower interpersonal agreeableness (Brunell & Buelow, 2018). Dedicated scales of psychological entitlement in adults have been associated with a slew of unconstructive social behaviors, such as willingness to take candy intended for children, selfish interpersonal choices, and aggression in response to ego threat (Campbell et al., 2004). In a study that assessed which narcissistic sub-traits predicted administration of electric shocks to confederates, it was entitlement and exploitativeness that best predicted both initiation and extremeness of aggression (Reidy et al., 2008). Grandiosity has been associated with disagreeableness to a lesser degree and is associated with high self-esteem, extraversion, social potency and risk-taking (Buelow & Brunell, 2014; Donnellan et al., 2021) as well as relatively low rates of depression and anxiety (Brunell & Buelow, 2018). Taken together, the literature with adults suggests that some aspects of narcissism (e.g., entitlement) are especially pernicious in the social sphere. These are important advances in the adult literature, but to our knowledge the differential correlates of narcissism's core features are not yet well understood in childhood. This highlights a pressing need to understand the multidimensional nature of childhood narcissism to reflect the evolving understanding of this construct.

Childhood Measures of Narcissism

While an inflated self-view is normative in early childhood, by age seven or eight most children have developed a self-view that is more reflective of reality as they become cognitively capable of integrating information and appraisals from their social world (Harter, 2012). Narcissism has been found to be a normally distributed trait present and measurable in children eight years and older that is related to important outcomes such as superiority, aggression and decreased empathy (Barry et al., 2003; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008). Proposed factor structures of various childhood narcissism measures differ (see Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016). Some measures of childhood narcissism are proposed as multifactorial while other measures have been found to fit a single factor solution (Thomaes et al., 2008; Barry et al., 2003). The assessment of narcissism in childhood typically relies on self-report measures used to tap into internal self-

views, and two main measures used are the Childhood Narcissism Scale (CNS; Thomaes et al., 2008) and the Narcissistic Personality Inventory for Children (NPIC; Barry et al., 2003). Both self-report measures have been validated for use in non-clinical samples, but differ in length, breadth and factor structure (Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016).

The CNS (Thomaes et al., 2008) is a 10-item measure used to assess individual differences in narcissism in community samples eight years and older and is intended to capture grandiose self-views and an adversarial interpersonal orientation (Thomaes et al., 2008). The CNS was found by its authors to fit a one-dimensional factor structure and to have good internal consistency and stability (Thomaes et al., 2008). High scores on the CNS have been associated with self-esteem contingency, individualistic and agentic goals, emotional lability, aggression and lower empathic concern (Thomaes et al., 2008; Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016). While the CNS was originally validated as a one-factor scale, an overarching goal of Study 1 is to find support for a multidimensional measure of narcissism in line with shifting conceptualizations of narcissism.

The NPIC is a multidimensional measure of childhood narcissism, delineated into several subscales (authority, exhibitionism, superiority, entitlement, exploitativeness, self-sufficiency and vanity; Barry et al., 2003). There have been concerns raised about how the Narcissistic Personality Inventory undersamples entitlement items, its emphasis on adaptive versus maladaptive subscales, and the reliability and replicability of its proposed factor structure (Miller et al., 2012; Miller & Campbell, 2011). Due to these concerns and a preference for a succinct scale to ease participant burden, we choose to use the CNS as the base for our study.

In summary, narcissism has been found to be a normally distributed trait that has been studied in children aged 8 to 18 both in community and high-risk samples (Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016). The above measures reflect important contributions to the study of child narcissism; however, we seek clarity regarding grandiose narcissism's core dimensions. Using existing validated measures of childhood narcissism, the goal of the present study is to identify two core dimensions: grandiosity and entitlement. This two-factor framework speaks to a conceptualization of narcissism as a socially situated personality dimension with interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects. Accordingly, a second goal of this study is to validate our measure within a social framework. Despite the fact that grandiose narcissism can be understood as a *distorted* sense of self (e.g., seeing oneself as greater than is objectively warranted), to our

knowledge the perspective of peers is essentially lacking in the literature. The perspective of peers may be the closest one can realistically get to an "objective" standard against which the distorted self-view of narcissism can be assessed. At a basic level, it remains to be assessed if children who score highly on a subjective self-report measure of narcissism do indeed have a distorted sense of self in comparison to peer ratings (i.e., objective indices of social functioning).

Data, collected in both Canada and Colombia, will be analyzed to address the following questions. First, building from existing measures of childhood narcissism (Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008; Ang & Raine, 2009), we ask whether support can be found for core dimensions of grandiosity and entitlement. We expect to find support for this hypothesis, using confirmatory factor analyses. Second, we ask whether these findings can be generalized across cultural contexts. We hypothesize that our findings will be invariant across two distinct contexts (Montreal, Canada and Barranquilla, Colombia). Third, we seek basic objective evidence that children who score high on our measure of narcissism hold inflated self-views. We test this hypothesis by assessing subjective measures of narcissism, self-worth and social competence and their association with indices of social functioning as reported by peers (Bukowski et al., 2009).

Method

Measures

Self-Report Measures

As part of a larger study, students completed self-report questionnaires on narcissism, perceived social-competence and general self-worth (i.e., self-esteem) at both time points.

Narcissism. Questions on narcissism were responded to on a 4-point Likert scale where 1 = *"Not at all true*" and 4 = *"Completely true,"* regarding how much participants deemed the sentence to describe themselves personally. The narcissism scale was based on the CNS (Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008), however three items were removed on the following grounds. Two of the items: "I am a great example for other kids to follow" and "I like to think about how incredibly nice I am" were considered to represent *communal narcissism,* a distinct subtype of grandiose narcissism identified subsequent to the CNS (Gebauer, Sedikides, Verplanken, & Maio, 2012). While prototypical grandiose narcissism concerns an inflated sense of one's agentic or self-serving traits (e.g., competence, extraversion, uniqueness), communal narcissism concerns inflated self-evaluations in affiliative domains (e.g., warmth, interpersonal skills; Gebauer et al., 2012). While a fascinating variant of narcissism, communal narcissism has been

found to be distinct from the more typically studied grandiose-agentic narcissism in both adults and adolescents (Barry et al., 2017; Luo et al., 2014). Given that our study seeks support for central and core dimensions of grandiose narcissism, these two items were removed. In addition, the item "I think it's important to stand out" was removed due to face validity concerns. We assessed the "standing out" item as potentially measuring a value (e.g., something the child believes is important/desirable) rather than a form of self-perception. This item may be interpreted as referring to the importance of accepting or advocating for one's unique differences (e.g., in ability, culture), a value commonly reinforced in schools. To substitute for these removed items, two items were added from the Narcissistic Personality Questionnaire for Children-Revised (superiority scale), "I think I am a great person" and "I am going to be a great person" (Ang & Raine, 2009). See Table 1 for a complete list of the 9 item-scale and descriptive statistics.

Self-Reported Social Competence and General Self-Worth. Items for perceived positive and negative social competence as well as general self-worth were based on Harter's Perceived Competence Scale for Children (Harter, 1982). Questions were responded to on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *"Very untrue*" to 5 = *"True")* with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived social competency and general self-worth. Items and descriptive statistics are listed in Table 2.

Sociometric data

Sociometric data was collected to measure the extent to which each child was socially accepted (i.e., was well-liked by peers; Cillessen & Marks, 2011; Mayeux et al., 2011). While popularity is measured by peer assessment, social acceptance involves composite measures of individual liking (i.e., it is not a reflection of a consensus concerning a child's social status but reflects how well a child is liked by their peers; Cillessen & Marks, 2011). We created a composite score from two indices of child acceptance measured at both times (at each wave) and adjusted for class size: 1) the number of times a child received the highest score (five) on items asking how well they were liked from same-sex peers (at T1 and T2), and 2) the number of times they were named as a friend at both waves of T1 and T2. This composite score was only created if at least two of the four measures were available.

Results

A five-step analytic process was used. In step one, a confirmatory factor analysis was used to assess the factor structure of the self-report narcissism measure. Step two concerned assessing the invariance of the observed factor loadings across place (Montreal and Barranquilla). Step three involved assessing the stability of the measure over the two time points. In step four, the latent means for differences on the measure across place, gender, and SES were analyzed. Finally, step five tested the hypothesis that for children high in narcissism there would be discrepancies between how they perceive themselves and their actual social functioning. This fifth step involved multiple regression analyses to assess whether the relation between perceived social competence as well as general self-worth and objective measures of social functioning (i.e., sociometric preference) varied as a function of a child's narcissism at the level of its factors.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

In step one, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on self-reported narcissism was completed for both time points using Mplus Version 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010). The model had two proposed factors which we call grandiosity and entitlement (see Figure 1). The observed goodness of fit statistics provided strong support for the proposed two-factor model (χ^2 (110) = 186.23, $p < .001$, CFI = .96, TLI = .94, RMSEA = .05 (.03-.06), SRMR = .04; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2005). At both times, adequate and statistically significant factor loadings for individual items were observed (ranging from .50 to .74). As expected, the two factors were found to be correlated (*r*s of .71 at Time 1, and .60 at Time 2) indicating a 50% and 36% overlap between the two factors for the two respective times. Omega calculations indicate that internal consistency was adequate, ω = .82, .83 for grandiosity and .91, .93 for entitlement for Time 1 and Time 2 respectively (Zinbarg et al., 2005).

In step two, scalar invariance was assessed across the two places for each of the two latent factors. Analyses involved a series of multigroup comparisons of the factor loadings for each item for the participants from Montreal and those from Barranquilla. In the baseline model, factors loadings were allowed to vary freely for each group. Equality constraints were then used to force the values for the two groups to be equal. A statistically significant decrease in model fit was used as an indication of variance in the loadings across the two groups of participants. A total of nine comparisons were made. A significant difference in fit was observed for only one item (i.e., "*I am going to be a great person*" ($\Delta X^2(1) = 18.68$, $p < .001$) which was observed to be more strongly associated with the grandiosity scale for the Montreal participants (loading =

.68) than for the Barranquilla participants (loading = .32). This degree of difference, specifically one difference in nine comparisons, is not considered compelling evidence of variance between groups (van de Schoot et al., 2012).

Stability of Measures

Step three concerned assessing the stability of the measures over the two time points. Grandiosity was found to have a correlation of .82 across time, and entitlement a correlation of .77, indicating a good level of stability for the two factors.

Comparison of Means

In step four, the latent means of the factors were compared across place, time, sex, and SES through mixed-model ANOVA using SPSS. The mean scores on both factors were higher at Time 2 as compared to Time 1, $F(1, 320) = 30.2$, $p < .001$. It was observed that means for grandiosity were higher than those for entitlement at both time points. Across place, overall means for narcissism were found to be higher in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal, $F(1, 320) = 19.14$, $p < .001$. In addition, interactions were observed where the two factors (entitlement and grandiosity) varied as a function of SES, $F(1, 320) = 10.92$, $p = .001$, gender, $F(1, 320) = 27.57$, $p < .001$, and time, $F(1, 320) = 12.85$, $p < .001$. Scores on grandiosity were found to be equal across SES, however the scores on entitlement were found to differ, with higher scores among students from lower SES schools as compared to higher SES schools. Concerning gender, scores on the grandiosity factor were not found to differ between boys and girls, however scores on entitlement were higher for boys as compared to girls. Concerning time, scores on the grandiosity factor were found to be unchanged over time, whereas scores on the entitlement factor were found to increase over time. See Table 3 for means.

Perceived Social Competency, Self-worth and Indices of Social Functioning

The final step concerned finding basic objective support for our subjective measure of narcissism. In this step, sociometric preference (acceptance) was taken as a proxy of actual social functioning. Acceptance scores were compared to subjective measures of self-reported social competency and general self-worth, and it was assessed if the relation varied as a function of the self-reported narcissism factors (e.g., entitlement and grandiosity). Using multiple regression in SPSS, predictors were the two narcissism factors and the objective acceptance score, and the outcome measures were positive and negative social competency and positive and negative general self-worth.

We found that the relation between self-reported positive social competency and acceptance varied as a function of self-reported narcissism. Specifically, grandiosity ($t = 5.75$, $p < .001$) predicted 8.8% of variance in self-rated positive social competency after the objective measure of social competency (e.g., acceptance) was accounted for, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 33.06$, $R^2 = .134$, $\Delta R^2 = .088$, $p < .001$. Entitlement ($t = 2.14$, $p = .033$) accounted for 1.3% of the variance in self-rated positive social competency after acceptance was accounted for, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 4.58$, $R^2 = .059$, $\Delta R^2 = .013$, $p < .001$. For self-rated negative social competency, grandiosity ($t = -1.53$, $p = .13$) was not found to be a significant predictor, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 2.34$, $p < .001$, and entitlement ($t = 2.16$, $p = .03$) accounted for 1.3% of the variance in self-rated negative social competency after acceptance was accounted for, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 4.66$, $R^2 = .064$, $\Delta R^2 = .013$, $p < .001$.

Concerning general self-worth, grandiosity ($t = 5.39$, $p < .001$) predicted 8.1% of the variance in self-rated positive general self-worth, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 28.98$, $R^2 = .09$, $\Delta R^2 = .081$, $p < .001$, above and beyond acceptance. In addition, an interaction was found between acceptance and entitlement ($t = -2.31$, $p = .02$) in predicting self-rated positive general self-worth $\Delta F(1, 324) = 5.36$, $R^2 = .025$, $\Delta R^2 = .016$, $p = .04$: for children low in entitlement, acceptance had a positive linear effect on their positive general self-worth, whereas for children high in entitlement, scores on general self-worth remained high and stable regardless of their level of acceptance (see Figure 2). For negative general self-worth, grandiosity negatively predicted 1.5% of the variance in negative self-worth ($t = -2.22$, $p = .03$, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 4.94$, $R^2 = .016$, $\Delta R^2 = .015$, $p = .07$) with marginal statistical significance. Entitlement ($t = 4.08$, $p < .001$) was found to significantly and positively predict self-reported negative general self-worth, accounting for 5% of the variance after the objective indicator of acceptance had been accounted for, $\Delta F(1, 325) = 16.63$, $R^2 = .05$, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $p . < 001$.

Discussion

This study was motivated by the need to understand the multidimensional nature of grandiose narcissism in childhood. This goal was born from the perspective that grandiose narcissism is a socially situated personality phenomenon that concerns both inflated self-importance and an entitled orientation. Support was found for our hypotheses. Building from existing validated measures (Ang & Raine, 2009; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008), evidence was found for childhood grandiose narcissism having two core dimensions: grandiosity and entitlement. Consistent with previous literature and theory, grandiosity and entitlement were

found to be moderately correlated (Brown et al., 2009; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). In our study, grandiosity is reflected by items that speak to self-importance and self-appraised greatness (e.g., "I am a very special person"; "I think I am a great person") as well as arrogance (e.g., "I love showing all the things I can do"). Entitlement concerns the sense that one deserves more *than* and more *from* others, as well as an "others exist for me" attitude (Sedikides et al., 2002). In our model, the following items reflect a sense of interpersonal deservedness: "Kids like me deserve something extra"; "It often happens that other kids get the compliments that I actually deserve." This factor also captures an exploitative or manipulative attitude (e.g., "I am very good at making other people believe what I want them to believe"; "I often succeed in getting admiration") and self-centeredness (e.g., "Without me, our class would be much less fun"). In sum, our findings support a model of grandiose narcissism having distinct but interactive dimensions of grandiosity and entitlement. A two-dimensional model of grandiose narcissism is in line with a recent twin study that demonstrated that grandiosity and entitlement are heritable and also have fundamentally different genetic and environmental bases (Luo et al., 2014).

Hypothesis two was also supported, where the two-factor solution was found to be invariant across place. The lack of difference across place reflects the strength of the measure and its generalizability across two very different cultural contexts. Furthermore, the narcissism factors were found to be stable across the school year, speaking to the measure's reliability over time. This is consistent with how the CNS has been found to be a stable measure of individual differences in childhood narcissism (Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008).

In exploratory analyses of means, interesting findings were observed for the two narcissism factors. Overall, the means for grandiosity were consistently higher than those of entitlement. We suspect that the two factors speak to two fundamentally different processes: that grandiosity is an inflated estimation of the self that is expressed boldly, whereas entitlement concerns a more antagonistic orientation of deservedness in relation to others with more serious interpersonal consequence (Brown et al., 2009). It appears those children who hold grandiose self-views do not also necessarily have entitled relational orientations. The overall mean on the narcissism measure was found to be higher in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal and further cross-cultural analyses are planned to better understand this finding. Interaction effects were also observed where the two narcissism factors varied as a function of SES, gender, and time. Concerning SES, students from lower-middle-class schools had higher scores on entitlement as

compared to students in upper-middle-class schools, whereas for grandiosity there was no statistical difference between SES groups. It is possible that children from lower SES neighborhoods are aware of inequalities, whether explicitly or implicitly, and these scores reflect a sense of deserving more in terms of fairness. In addition, an interaction was found between the narcissism factors and time, where grandiose self-views remained stable, entitlement scores increased over time. One explanation for this finding is time of year effects. It is possible that while grandiose self-views remain relatively unchanged, feelings of entitlement in relation to others could increase in children predisposed to narcissism as they feel more secure in their social position. Finally, it was observed that boys, as compared to girls, had higher levels of entitlement, though not grandiosity. This finding is in line with a meta-analysis showing that males are higher on narcissism than females, and that this difference is driven by exploitativeness/entitlement and leadership facets of narcissism, whereas on grandiosity there were no observed differences across sex (Grijalva et al., 2014).

The third and novel goal of this study was to ask whether for children high in narcissism there is a disconnect between self-perception and the way one is perceived by others. First, we assessed if the relation between perceived *positive social competency* and peer acceptance varied as a function of grandiosity. Beyond an objective measure of acceptance, grandiosity predicted 8.8% of variance in self-rated positive social competency. Children's appraisal of their social performance was predicted by their grandiosity score as much or more than it was predicted by their actual social functioning. Entitlement was found to account for 1.3% of the variance in self-rated positive social competency after acceptance was accounted for. Concerning perceived *negative social competency*, grandiosity was not found to be a significant predictor. Notably, entitlement *positively* predicted self-rated negative social competency above and beyond acceptance. This indicates that the higher a child's entitlement score, the more negatively they perceived their own social competency. While the direction of this relation was initially surprising, it could reflect an antagonistic interpersonal orientation inherent to entitlement that could lead to difficulties in the social sphere (Donnellan et al., 2021). Interestingly, this indicates that above and beyond peer acceptance, children high in entitlement rate their social skills both positively and negatively. In contrast, a stronger effect size was found for children high in grandiosity who positively (and not negatively) rated their own social prowess, above and

beyond their actual acceptance by peers. This is taken as basic evidence that prototypical grandiosity concerns an inflated sense of one's social competency.

Concerning more global *general positive self-worth* (i.e., self-esteem), grandiosity was found to predict 8.1% of the variance in how children positively perceived themselves, after acceptance had been accounted for in the model. This indicates that positive self-esteem was positively related to children's grandiose self-appraisals (e.g., as uniquely great, superior) above and beyond how well they were accepted by peers in reality. Additionally, an interaction was found for entitlement: for children low in entitlement, a linear effect was observed whereby the more they were accepted by peers, the more positively they reported feeling about themselves generally; in contrast, for children high in entitlement, peer acceptance did not appear to have an effect—these children's global self-view remained stable and positive. Turning to *general negative self-worth*, grandiosity was found to negatively relate to negative self-esteem whereas entitlement significantly and positively predicted self-reported negative general self-worth, accounting for 5% of the variance after the objective indicator of acceptance had been accounted for. Again, the direction of this relation was initially surprising, indicating that the higher the entitlement score the more negative the child's general self-esteem. While at first this finding seems contradictory, it might in part be explained by the content of the self-worth scales (Harter, 1982). The items for positive and negative self-worth may emphasize different areas of self-appraisal: negative general self-worth focusing more on internal appraisals of the self (e.g., what one would change about oneself), whereas positive general self-worth items touch on the way the child perceives themselves in terms of what they do and how they act. Ultimately, our findings indicate that as with social competency, entitlement is related to both positive and negative self-views, whereas children high in grandiosity appear to simply hold themselves in positive regard. This is in line with previous findings where grandiosity was found to be associated with unrealistic self-appraisals (e.g., regarding one's height, attractiveness; Rosenthal et al., 2019) and high self-esteem (Donnellan et al., 2021), perhaps indicating a bias toward more unequivocally positive self-evaluation. In summary, we found that grandiosity positively predicted positive self-esteem, above and beyond acceptance by peers. Concerning children high in entitlement, they appear to report both relatively high positive and negative global self-worth. We note that our effect sizes are smaller for entitlement as compared to grandiosity, and the relation between self-appraisal and actual functioning appears to be more complex. This may

also speak to entitlement's association with interpersonal antagonism as a pathway to social conflict.

Mapping Our Findings on the Theoretical Landscape

Our findings align with those in the adult literature that have identified grandiose narcissism as multidimensional. The *dynamic self-regulatory processing model* conceptualizes narcissism as a dynamic personality process as opposed to a fixed individual difference (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001) and has been argued to largely pertain to grandiose narcissism (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). According to the model, narcissism concerns the motivation to create and maintain a *desired* self-view, one that is impossibly grandiose and under constant construction (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Various intrapersonal and interpersonal strategies are employed in the Sisyphean task of seeking validation for one's inflated self-view but these ultimately backfire (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Building from this model, the *narcissistic admiration and rivalry concept* (NARC) posits that the self-regulatory processes implicated in grandiose narcissism have two main pathways: *assertive self-enhancement* (e.g., self-promotion through charm, fantasies of greatness, attempts to be unique) which can result in social power, and *antagonistic self-protection* (e.g., striving for dominance through undermining others, aggression) which can lead to social conflict (Back et al., 2013). There is not a solid understanding in the literature yet of how assertive and antagonistic pathways of grandiose narcissism present in childhood (but see Poorthuis et al., 2019) and we hope that by identifying core dimensions of grandiose narcissism we can contribute to this understanding. Specifically, we believe that grandiosity and entitlement can serve as anchors for future studies when exploring differential correlates of narcissism's facets.

Concluding Thoughts, Strengths & Limitations

What do the findings of this study suggest, and why should we concern ourselves with the issue of grandiose narcissism's multidimensional nature in childhood? We believe our findings further develop the assessment of childhood grandiose narcissism and honor advancements in the adult literature by identifying central and core features of narcissism early in development (e.g., Miller et al., 2017; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). These are not only important theoretical considerations, as there are very real implications in terms of how these core dimensions relate to social outcomes. Research with adults suggest that entitlement, and not grandiosity, is related to more pernicious social consequences (Donnellan et al., 2021).

Additionally, our study sought and found basic objective evidence that trait narcissism concerns a distorted sense of self as compared to objective indices. An inflated sense of self is often presumed in narcissism, so we consider this simple but profound finding to be a novel contribution to the literature. What might be the implications of children high in narcissism holding steady their positive self-appraisal, above and beyond how accepted they are by peers? While on one hand this could speak to resiliency and a secure sense of self, on the other hand this may indicate unique and potentially detrimental ways of perceiving oneself in relation to others that do not reflect reality.

A notable strength of this study is its identification of two core dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children, however an important limitation is that we do not differentiate or measure vulnerable narcissism (Cain et al., 2008; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Exploring the full spectrum of narcissistic features may shed light on associations between entitlement and self-esteem as well as self-assessed social competency (Krizan & Herlache, 2018) and further our understanding of grandiose and vulnerable presentations in childhood. In addition, another interesting avenue for future studies would be to assess how levels of narcissism fluctuate within person over brief periods of time (e.g., narcissism as a state; Donnellan et al., 2021).

In summary, narcissism appears to play a role in the disconnect between an objective indicator (peer acceptance) and how children high in narcissism perceive themselves in terms of social competency and general self-worth. We found that this disconnect played out differentially for entitlement and grandiosity. We believe that the present study challenges the idea that grandiose narcissism in childhood is unidimensional by capturing two aspects that are important to understand both separately and together. A multidimensional understanding of grandiose narcissism in childhood allows us to next elaborate on the potentially different social outcomes related to these two dimensions of narcissism in children (e.g., aggression, prosociality), and is an essential first step to know how and when to intervene.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Two Narcissism Factors

Factor with items	*M*	*SD*	ω T1	ω T2
Grandiosity	3.18	.59	.82	.83
1. I love showing all the things I can do[a]				
2. I am a very special person [a]				
3. I am going to be a great person[b]				
4. I think I am a great person [b]				
Entitlement	2.54	.65	.91	.93
5. Kids like me deserve something extra [a]				
6. Without me, our class would be much less fun [a]				
7. It often happens that other kids get the compliments that I actually deserve [a]				
8. I am very good at making other people believe what I want them to believe [a]				
9. I often succeed in getting admiration [a]				

Note. [a] Childhood Narcissism Scale (CNS; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008), [b] Narcissistic Personality Questionnaire for Children-Revised (NPQC-R; Ang & Raine, 2009); *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation; T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; ω = omega.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Social Competency and Self-Worth

Scale with items	*M*	*SD*	ω
Positive Social Competency T1	3.82	.86	.94
Positive Social Competency T2	3.91	.88	.94
1. I am liked by most kids in my class			
2. Other kids in the class like me for who I am			
3. I feel accepted by the other kids in my class			
4. I know how to get along well with others			
5. It's easy for me to make friends			
6. I have a lot of friends			
7. Most kids in my class like being with me			
8. I am good at interacting with others			
9. I am liked by the majority of kids in my class			
Negative Social Competency T1	2.46	1.25	.91
Negative Social Competency T2	2.37	1.14	.89
1. I have trouble making friends			
2. It is hard for me to get other kids to like me			
3. Sometimes I don't know how to get others to be a friend with me			
Positive General Self-Worth T1	3.97	.85	.88
Positive General Self-Worth T2	3.92	.86	.87
1. I feel good about the way I act			
2. I am generally sure that what I am doing is right			
3. There are a lot of things about myself that I am proud of			
4. I am sure of myself			
5. I feel good about the way I act			
6. I am happy the way I am			
Negative General Self-Worth T1	2.77	1.15	.88
Negative General Self-Worth T2	2.81	1.14	.88
1. There are lots of things about myself that I am not happy with			
2. I wish I had more good things going for me			
3. There are lots of things about myself that I would change if I could			
4. If I could I would change a lot of things about myself.			
5. I do not have a positive view of myself			

Note. Items based on Harter's Perceived Competence Scale for Children (1982). *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation; T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; ω = omega

Table 3

Means by Narcissism Factors Across SES, Sex, Time and Place

Scale	Lower SES *M* (*SD*)	Upper SES *M* (*SD*)	Boys *M* (*SD*)	Girls *M* (*SD*)	Time 1 *M* (*SD*)	Time 2 *M* (*SD*)	Montreal *M* (*SD*)	Barranquilla *M* (*SD*)
Grandiosity	3.18 (.56)	3.17 (.64)	3.18 (.57)	3.17 (.62)	3.13 (.66)	3.22 (.65)	3.07 (.61)	3.28 (.56)
Entitlement	2.65 (.60)	2.42 (.69)	2.73 (.58)	2.39 (.66)	2.44 (.71)	2.65 (.73)	2.39 (.62)	2.70 (.64)

Note. *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation; SES = socioeconomic status

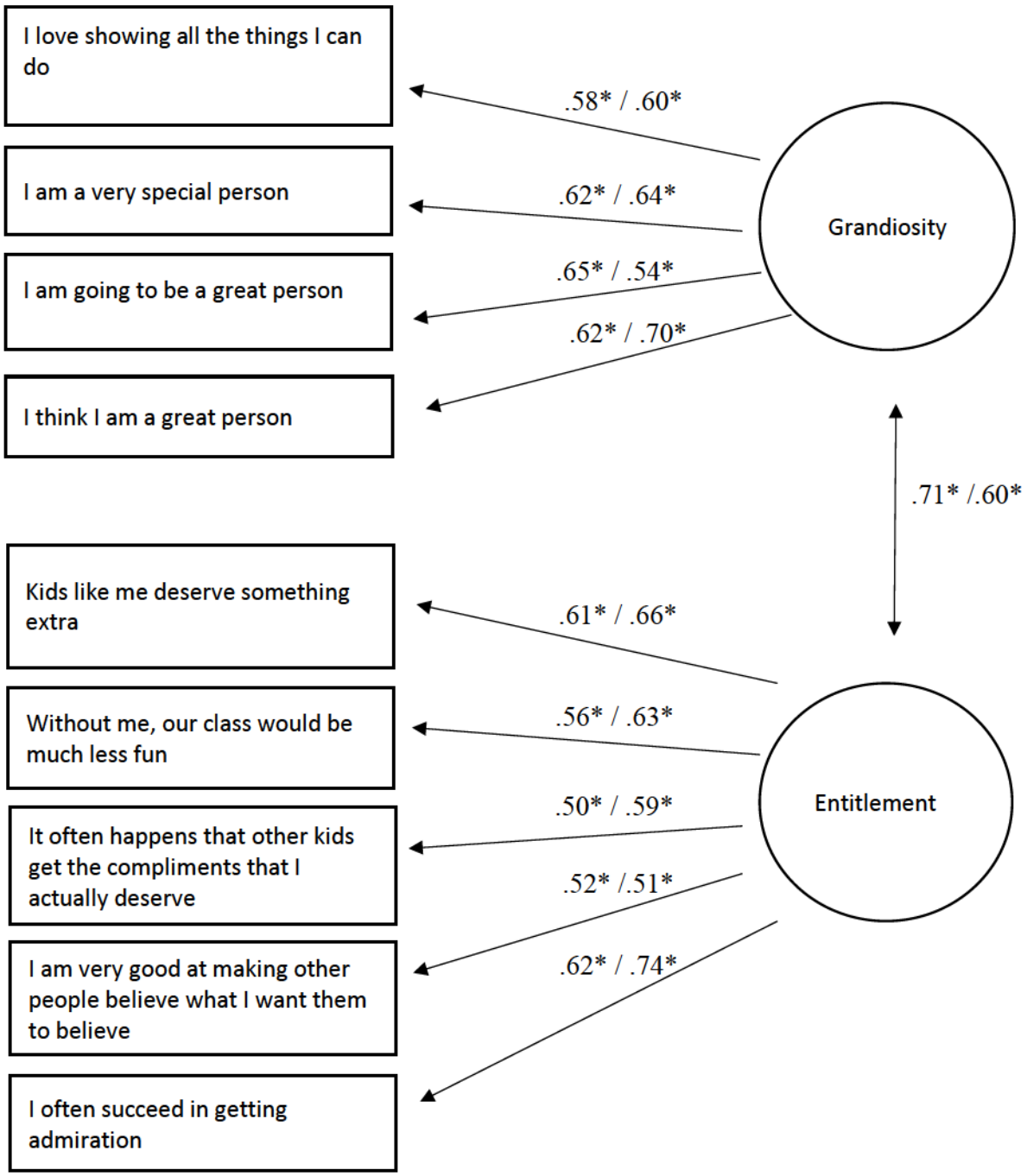

Figure 1. CFA for a Two-Factor Childhood Narcissism Scale With Factors of Grandiosity and Entitlement. Items are from the Childhood Narcissism Scale (CNS; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008) and the Narcissistic Personality Questionnaire for Children-Revised (NPQC-R; Ang & Raine, 2009). Estimates shown are standardized at Time 1 / Time 2. χ^2 (110) = 186.23, $p < .001$, CFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.94, RMSEA = 0.05, SRMR = .04. *$p < .001$.

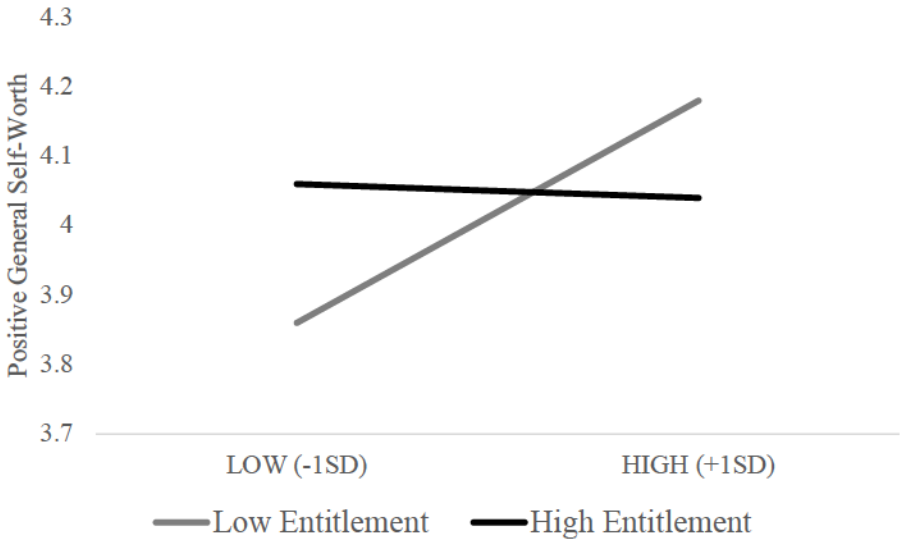

Figure 2. Interaction Between Acceptance and Entitlement as Predictor of Positive General Self-Worth.

Study 2: What Drives Narcissism's Dark Side?

Social Outcomes Related to Entitlement and Grandiosity in Youth

Narcissism is a personality construct that at its core concerns an inflated self-appraisal and an entitled antagonistic interpersonal orientation. These two interrelated but distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism are called grandiosity and entitlement, and in the adult literature they have been shown to relate to different outcomes. Study 1 supports the idea that grandiose narcissism in children is multidimensional (e.g., with factors of grandiosity and entitlement). Given the interpersonal implications associated with narcissism, it is of particular importance for scholars to study how narcissism relates to other-oriented prosocial and aggressive behaviours at the level of these dimensions. Very little is known about how these aspects of narcissism function in youth, thus it the aim of this study to assess the differential social correlates of grandiosity and entitlement in children.

Conceptually, grandiosity and entitlement have been argued to implicate fundamentally different processes. Brown and colleagues (2009) conceptualize entitlement as an antagonistic and comparative interpersonal orientation, marked by the belief that one deserves more *than* others because one is better *than* others and that others exist for one's benefit. In contrast, grandiosity is seen to concern a bloated self-appraisal that while unrealistic is not necessarily interpersonally antagonistic in nature (Brown et al., 2009; it has also been argued that factors of grandiosity, entitlement, callousness and manipulativeness all concern interpersonal antagonism; see Miller et al., 2017). Recent attention to the intra- and interpersonal aspects of narcissism is in line with an influential theoretical model of narcissism (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). The dynamic self-regulatory processing model describes narcissism not as a fixed trait but rather as a self-under-constant-construction—one driven by the ultimate goal of building and buttressing a desired but impossibly grandiose self-view (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). In this model, the goal of maintaining self-appraised greatness is argued to play out both intrapersonally and interpersonally (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Building from this model, the narcissistic admiration and rivalry concept model posits that grandiose narcissism's self-regulating processes occur through two main pathways, both with interpersonal consequence: assertive self-enhancement (i.e., self-promotion through charm) which can lead to social power/popularity, and antagonistic self-protection (e.g., striving for social dominance through degrading or aggressing others) which can result in social conflict (Back, 2013).

Recent empirical evidence indicates that grandiosity and entitlement have different correlates in the social realm—and that those of the former are particularly toxic (Donnellan et al., 2021). Specifically, entitlement has been shown to be associated with aggression, unethical decision making, counterproductive work behaviour, antisocial tendencies, and interpersonal disagreeableness in a way that grandiosity has not (e.g., Brunell & Buelow, 2018; Grijalva & Harms, 2014; Rasmussen, 2016). Entitlement is associated with devaluing others, exploitativeness, and lower relationship quality, however both grandiosity and entitlement have been positively associated with rage when entitled expectations were not met (Ackerman et al., 2011). Grandiosity has been found to relate to positive self-assessments of attractiveness, over-estimating one's physical height, (Rosenthal et al., 2019), over-optimism (Tamborski et al., 2012), extraversion, social potency, goal persistence (Ackerman et al., 2011), increased risk taking (Buelow & Brunell, 2014), and decreased mental health problems (Brunell & Buelow, 2018). Such findings have led some researchers to propose measuring and studying the correlates of narcissism's distinct aspects rather than narcissism as a whole (see Brown et al., 2009; Brunell & Buelow, 2018). The idea that entitlement and grandiosity are two distinct aspects of narcissism is also supported by a twin study that found them to have distinct and largely independent genetic and environmental bases (Luo et al., 2014).

The above research on the different facets of narcissism has been conducted with adults and little is known about their differential correlates in youth. For example, while there is evidence that grandiose narcissism relates positively to aggression and negatively to empathy in children (Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008; Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016), we do not yet know which facets of narcissism drive such associations. Based on a multidimensional conceptualization of grandiose childhood narcissism, the overarching goal of the present study is to better understand narcissism's social outcomes at the level of its core dimensions in children (e.g., grandiosity and entitlement). A second goal of this study is to investigate both the possible negative outcomes associated with narcissism *and* the deficit of positive ones, an understudied area in the literature. Specifically, we will investigate associations both within and across time between two core dimensions of self-reported narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) and peer-reported prosocial and aggressive behaviours. A more nuanced understanding of the driving factors behind narcissism's relation to prosocial and aggressive behaviour is especially important in youth when prevention and intervention programs are more feasible to implement.

Narcissism and Aggression

Aggression has been defined as behaviour intended to harm other people who are motivated to avoid that harm (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). Aggression is a multidimensional construct with different forms (e.g., overt, covert, physical, relational) and functions (e.g., proactive, reactive; see Prinstein & Giletta, 2016). There is convincing empirical evidence that narcissism is associated with aggression both generally and in specific forms and contexts. A landmark experiment with adults by Bushman and Baumeister (1998) showed narcissism to be associated both with overall increased aggression and especially high levels of aggression when faced with negative evaluation. The authors theorized that aggression in this context was a result of *threatened egotism*—a defensive reaction against threats to an inflated sense of self (Baumeister et al., 2000; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). These findings have since been replicated and extended (Campbell et al., 2004; Konrath et al., 2006; Stucke & Sporer, 2002). Additionally, experiments have shown narcissism to be positively related to displaced aggression when provoked—aggressing upon an innocent person not involved in the provocation (Martinez et al., 2008). Experimental designs also show children high in narcissism to be more aggressive (Thomaes et al., 2009; Thomaes, Bushman, et al., 2008) and more likely to express anger (i.e., "humiliated fury") than other children when they feel ashamed (Thomaes et al., 2011). These experimental studies indicate a robust relation between narcissism and reactive aggression under conditions of perceived threat to one's self-view. Narcissism's association with aggression is also supported by correlational studies in community samples of children. Narcissism has been positively associated with both proactive and reactive aggression (Fossati et al., 2010), physical, verbal and relational forms of aggression (Ang & Yusof, 2006; Bukowski et al., 2009; Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016; Thomaes & Bushman, 2011), and conduct problems (T. D. Barry et al., 2008; Ha et al., 2008). The above findings highlight that narcissism is implicated in aggressive and other unproductive social behaviours in children and adults.

The topic of aggression in childhood leads to considerations of bullying behaviour. Bullying is a form of victimization where there is a power differential between aggressor and victim and can involve both proactive and reactive aggression (e.g., Salmivalli & Nieminen, 2002). While reactive aggression is believed to derive from feelings of frustration, proactive aggression is strategic and goal driven (Dodge & Coie, 1987; Prinstein & Giletta, 2016).

Children high in proactive aggression have been found to place low importance on relationship-enhancing goals and instead favour self-serving instrumental goals (Crick & Dodge, 1996). High social dominance goals and low affiliative values in childhood have been associated with a range of adjustment problems including higher delinquency, substance-use, aggression, peer rejection and lower levels of prosocial behaviour (Lochman et al., 1993). Bullying is recognized as a strategy to achieve goals of social dominance, status or power among peers (Salmivalli & Peets, 2009; Veenstra et al., 2007). This is relevant to narcissism, as individuals high in narcissism have been found to prioritize agentic goals—that is, *getting ahead* over *getting along* with others (Hogan, 1982; Paulhus, 1998; Raskin et al., 1991a; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Narcissism has been found to relate positively to social goals for dominance and negatively to goals for social closeness with peers in children; moreover, it is through the motivation for dominance that narcissism has been found to positively relate to relational aggression for boys and girls, and physical aggression for boys (Ojanen et al., 2012). In another study, high levels of narcissism were related to high levels of direct bullying (e.g., hitting, damaging other's belongings, name calling) and indirect bullying (e.g., gossiping, rumour spreading, exclusion) among boys only (Reijntjes et al., 2016). Specifically, boys high in narcissism were twice as likely as their peers to belong to a high bullying group (Reijntjes et al., 2016). Furthermore, boys high in narcissism who engaged in high levels of bullying were likely to achieve their social goals for dominance (Reijntjes et al., 2016). Narcissism has also been shown to support the continuity of aggression over a one-year period in community samples (Bukowski et al., 2009).

Taken together, aggression—in several forms and functions—has been shown to be an important correlate of overall narcissism. With the growing recognition of narcissism's multidimensional nature, studies have also begun to explore how its facets relate to aggression. A meta-analysis by Rasmussen (2016) found narcissism to positively relate to provoked aggression and importantly this relation was strongest for narcissistic entitlement and vulnerable narcissism. In one study, entitlement and exploitativeness were the narcissistic subtraits in adults that best predicted administration of electric shocks to confederates—both in frequency and intensity—and the only subtraits that positively predicted initiation of aggression (Reidy et al., 2008). Such findings are understood to reflect a particularly toxic combination: the staunch expectation of deserving special treatment combined with a willingness to misuse others to achieve one's goals (Reidy et al., 2008). Relatedly, narcissistic exploitativeness has been found to positively relate to

cyberbullying in two samples of Asian adolescents, and this relation was mediated by normative beliefs about aggression (Ang et al., 2011).

In adults, narcissism has also been associated with other troubling social outcomes aside from aggression. A meta-analysis in the organizational psychology literature shows a positive association between overall narcissism and counterproductive work behaviour (e.g., embezzlement, workplace incivility, bullying, aggression, and white-collar crime; O'Boyle et al., 2012). At the level of narcissism's core dimensions, entitlement—not grandiosity—has been positively associated with unethical decision making, antisocial tendencies and reduced relationship quality (Ackerman et al., 2011; Brown et al., 2009; Grijalva & Harms, 2014). Dedicated entitlement scales have also been found to positively relate to a slew of unproductive social behaviours including willingness to take candy intended for children, believing that one is entitled to hypothetical pay, heightened interpersonal competitiveness/less cooperation, and selfish romantic processes (Campbell et al., 2004). Entitlement has been associated with more socially toxic correlates (e.g., antisocial tendencies, exploitativeness, devaluing others, neuroticism, decreased agreeableness, and lower relationship quality with college roommates) whereas grandiosity/exhibitionism has been found to relate to social potency, extraversion and drive/goal persistence (Ackerman et al., 2011).

Narcissism and Prosociality

Prosocial behaviours are defined as voluntary actions enacted with the intent to benefit others (Fabes et al., 1999). Like aggression, prosociality is multidimensional in its manifestations and motivations (Eisenberg et al., 2015; Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2014). There is much less research on narcissism's association with prosocial behaviours as compared to antagonistic behaviours (Konrath et al., 2016). This might be due to a misguided assumption—that because narcissism is associated with antisocial outcomes, it will naturally negatively relate to prosocial behaviour; however, it has been highlighted that prosocial and antisocial behaviour are not opposite processes and can coexist (Card et al., 2008; Konrath et al., 2016). As well, apparent prosocial behaviour may not always be selflessly motivated (Eisenberg et al., 2015; Konrath et al., 2016).

There is an abundance of reasons why narcissism's relation to prosociality warrants attention. Prosocial behaviour is positively related to peer acceptance and is considered a hallmark of social competence (e.g., Newcomb et al., 1993; Wentzel, 2003; Wentzel et al.,

2007). Notably, the development of prosocial behaviour has been found to relate to empathy, especially empathetic concern where a person vicariously feels emotions that are in tune with another person's experiences (Eisenberg, 2014; Van der Graaff et al., 2018), as well as perspective-taking, a cognitive component of empathy (e.g., Van der Graaff et al., 2018; Wentzel et al., 2007). In adults, grandiose narcissism has been found to negatively relate to both types of empathy (Ackerman et al., 2017; Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014; Hepper, Hart, Meek, et al., 2014; Miller et al., 2017; Urbonaviciute & Hepper, 2020; Watson et al., 1984). Given that empathy deficits are considered defining characteristics of narcissism, it is of clear interest to scholars to investigate narcissism's association with prosocial behaviours.

What do we know thus far about narcissism and actual prosocial behaviour? Narcissism has consistently been associated with more self-serving (i.e., agentic) and less communal goals in adults and children (Campbell et al., 2005, 2006; Findley & Ojanen, 2013; Ojanen et al., 2012). However, external validation is presumed to be especially important to those high in narcissism (e.g., Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001) which could theoretically lead to prosocial behaviour motivated by impression management concerns (Konrath et al., 2016). Indeed, adults high in narcissism have been found to prefer helping with an audience present, and narcissism has been associated with less emphasis on altruistic motives for volunteering (Konrath et al., 2016). In the context of the ALS "ice bucket challenge," an online fundraising campaign that went viral in 2014, adults high in narcissism declared themselves less likely to donate money but more likely to have posted a video of themselves on social media (Konrath et al., 2016). Other studies have found narcissism to positively relate to public or opportunistic tendencies that were self-serving and to negatively relate to empathic concern (Eberly-Lewis & Coetzee, 2015). Still, there are inconsistencies in the literature in terms of how narcissism relates to prosociality—with reports of positive, negative and nil relations for both objective and self-reported prosocial behaviour (Nehrlich et al., 2019), preventing any firm conclusions. One explanation for these inconsistences is that previous studies have rarely accounted for narcissism's multidimensional nature. More recently, scholars have begun to investigate different manifestations or dimensions of narcissism in relation to prosociality. For example, both vulnerable and grandiose narcissism have been associated with less helping behaviour in adults, but how these associations manifest depends on the level of social pressure (Lannin et al., 2014).

Communal narcissism has recently been proposed as a distinct subtype of grandiose

narcissism that directly concerns an estimation of one's prosociality (Gebauer et al., 2012). While individuals high in "classic" grandiose narcissism were found to rate themselves as above-average on self-serving characteristics (e.g., intelligence, extraversion), they did not do so for communal traits (Campbell, Rudich, et al., 2002). In contrast, communal narcissism concerns inflated self-views in relation to affiliative domains (e.g., one's warmth, interpersonal skills; Gebauer et al., 2012). Agentic narcissism has recently been found to be associated with lower scores on objective *and* subjective measures of prosociality, whereas communal narcissism was found to be associated with higher scores on subjective measures of prosociality and to have no association with objective ratings of prosociality (Nehrlich et al., 2019).

The aim of the current study is to better understand how aggressive and prosocial outcomes relate to grandiose narcissism in childhood at the level of two defining dimensions—entitlement and grandiosity. There are only a few studies that speak to how prosociality and its correlates (e.g., empathy) relate to narcissism's core dimensions and to our knowledge these have been conducted with adults. Narcissism has been found to be negatively related to empathy and this relation was strongest for its exploitativeness/entitlement facet (Watson et al., 1984). More recently, an experiment found that irrespective of the context of a hypothetical individual's suffering, narcissism was related to a lack of empathy and this effect was propelled by facets of entitlement, exploitativeness and exhibitionism (Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014).

In summary, over twenty years ago it was suggested "that the dangerous aspects of narcissism are not so much simple vanity and self-admiration as the inflated sense of being superior to others and being entitled to special privileges. It is apparently fine to love oneself quietly—instead, the interpersonal manifestations of narcissism are the ones associated with violence" (Baumeister et al., 2000; p. 28). This speaks to the idea that particular aspects of narcissism extend beyond a so-called vain personality and embody a detrimental "others exist for me" interpersonal orientation (Sedikides et al., 2002, p.103). A growing literature supports the idea that the harmful interpersonal consequences associated with entitlement are of particular concern. There is less evidence of grandiosity's interpersonal dark side in the literature. It is critical that when we study and cite troubling outcomes related with narcissism that we identify which of its central facets are involved in these processes to know how best to intervene. While there is increasing understanding of narcissism's core components and their related outcomes in adulthood, to our knowledge this is an understudied area in childhood.

For the present study, data collected in both Canada and Colombia will be analyzed to address the following overarching question: do entitlement and grandiosity differ in the ways that they predict both aggressive and prosocial outcomes respectively? We will not look at differences across place in Study 2, though we do so in Study 3. Using our adaptation of the Childhood Narcissism Scale (Ang & Raine, 2009; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008) we will assess how grandiosity and entitlement relate to peer-reported aggressive and prosocial behaviours. We expect entitlement to be positively related to physical aggression both within time and across time and for this not to be the case for grandiosity. However, we hypothesize that both entitlement and grandiosity will demonstrate positive associations with relational aggression given grandiosity's positive associations with social potency (Ackerman et al., 2011). We hypothesize that all peer-assessed prosocial behaviours (care, justice, comfort, proactive help, and reactive help) will negatively relate to entitlement and not grandiosity, both within and across time.

We note that sex is an important variable to control for in our analyses as it relates to many variables in our model. Males have been found to score higher on narcissism measures and this was driven by facets of entitlement and leadership, not grandiosity (Grijalva et al., 2014). Sex is also an important correlate of prosocial behaviour with girls tending to score higher on such measures (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2015). Concerning aggression, boys have been found to be higher in direct aggression, and although the idea persists that girls are typically higher in relational aggression, meta-analyses have revealed minimal differences between boys and girls in terms of indirect aggression (Card et al., 2008). By including sex in our model, we intend for our analyses to better assess any true differential correlates of the two narcissism dimensions, as opposed to spurious associations.

Method

Measures

Narcissism

The self-report narcissism scale is based on existing measures of child narcissism (Ang & Raine, 2009; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008). For items and detailed description of the scale see Study 1.

Peer-nomination data

Peer nomination data on aggressive and prosocial behaviours were collected and corrected for class size (Bukowski et al., 2012). Children were provided with an alphabetized list of their classmates and asked to nominate participating peers (same and other sex) who they felt fit each item. Each participant received a score based on how often they had been chosen for each item. Relevant to the present study were items intended to measure care, justice, comfort, proactive help, reactive help, physical aggression and relational aggression. Both same- and other-sex peer assessment measures were used. All items are listed in Table 1 and reliabilities shown in Table 2. The above measures were translated into Spanish for the Colombian sample and back translations verified by native Colombian speakers for translational accuracy and age-appropriateness. The peer assessment data was screened for outliers, and scores that exceeded 2.5 standard deviations above or below the mean were corrected. Missing data in the peer-assessment data (just over 6%) was imputed using MPlus.

Results

Data analyses were conducted using structural equation modeling with Mplus Version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012).

Overall Model

We sought to ascertain if grandiosity and entitlement related to each of the prosocial and aggression outcomes in different ways. Models for each of the social outcome variables were run to assess the following: the covariances between the narcissism dimensions at time one (T1) and time two (T2); the within-time covariances between the narcissism dimensions and the social outcome variable at T1 and T2 respectively; the covariance between sex and both narcissism dimensions respectively at each time; and, the degree to which: the T1 social outcome variable predicted the T2 social outcome variable, T1 grandiosity predicted T2 grandiosity, T1 entitlement predicted T2 entitlement, sex predicted the T1 and T2 social outcome variables, the T1 narcissism dimensions predicted the T2 social outcome variable as well as the T1 social outcome variable's association with the T2 narcissism dimensions. Cut-off criteria for good fit were SRMR <.08, RMSEA <.06, and CFI >.95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2005).

A summary of within-time correlations between the narcissism dimensions and each social variable are shown in Table 3. Table 4 depicts a summary of how the narcissism dimensions predicted each of the social variables across time. Of specific interest in our models were the paths assessing if T1 entitlement and T1 grandiosity predicted each of the respective T2

social outcomes. Any significant findings were assessed by comparing the fit of models with paths predicting the T2 outcome from the T1 narcissism dimensions removed in a theoretically informed order (see below for description of steps). Statistically significant differences in chi square model fit ($p < .05$) were taken as indicative of a true difference between how entitlement and grandiosity predicted the respective outcome variables. How the social variables at T1 predicted the respective T2 variables is shown in Table 5 (i.e., stability).

As expected, sex was found to negatively relate to entitlement such that boys were higher on entitlement than girls (b = -.21, SE = .06, $p < .001$), however sex was not associated with grandiosity (b = -.02, SE = .06, p = .78).

Prosocial Outcomes

Care. Adequate model fit was found for the care model (χ^2 (2) = 1.06, p = .59, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .09), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.01, SRMR = .01). Sex was found to predict care at T1 (b = .31, SE = .05, $p < .001$) such that girls were higher than boys on care, but not at T2 (b = -.02, SE = .04, p = .65). Care and entitlement were found to negatively relate within time at T1. Because T1 entitlement was found to negatively predict T2 care, three steps were then used to assess if T1 entitlement and grandiosity differentially predicted T2 care. In Step 1, the statements for Time 1 entitlement and T1 grandiosity predicting T2 care and vice versa were removed from the original model and the model fit decreased ($\chi^2(6) = 15.55$, p = .02). Next, as we predicted entitlement to be more related to care as compared to grandiosity, we added back the path that predicted T2 care from T1 entitlement and found a significant chi square difference in model improvement ($\chi^2(5) = 5.78$, p = .33). Lastly, we added the path that predicted T2 care from T1 grandiosity and found no significant improvement to the model ($\chi^2(4) = 5.5$, p = .24), indicating that entitlement negatively predicted later peer-assessed care differentially as compared to grandiosity.

Justice. Adequate model fit was found for the model for justice, ($\chi^2(2) = .69$, p = .71, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .08), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.02, SRMR = .01). Sex was found to predict justice at T1 (b = .25, SE = .06, $p < .001$) such that girls were higher than boys on justice, but not at T2 (b = -.05, SE = .04, p = .22). A negative association was observed within time between entitlement and justice within time. Because T1 entitlement was found to negatively predict T2 justice, three steps were then used to assess if T1 entitlement and grandiosity differentially predicted T2 justice. In Step 1, the statements for Time 1 entitlement and T1 grandiosity predicting T2 justice and vice versa were removed from the model. The model fit decreased

($\chi^2(6) = 16.57$, $p = .01$). Next, as we predicted entitlement to be more related to justice as compared to grandiosity, we added back the path that predicted T2 justice from T1 entitlement and found a significant chi square difference in model improvement ($\chi^2(5) = 3.40$, $p = .64$). Lastly, we added the path that predicted T2 justice from T1 grandiosity and found no significant improvement to the model fit ($\chi^2(4) = 3.38$, $p = .50$), indicating that entitlement negatively predicted later peer-assessed justice differentially as compared to grandiosity.

Comfort. Adequate model fit was found for the model for comfort, ($\chi^2(2) = .90$, $p = .64$, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .09), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.02, SRMR = .007). Sex was found to predict comfort at T1 ($b = .32$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$) such that girls had higher scores than boys, as well as at T2 ($b = .08$, $SE = .04$, $p = .04$). At T1, comfort was negatively related to entitlement within time at a statistically significant level, and marginally so with grandiosity, however no across-time effects were found.

Proactive Help. Adequate model fit was found for the model for proactive help, ($\chi^2(2) = 1.36$, $p = .51$, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .10), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.01, SRMR = .008). Sex was found to predict proactive help at T1 ($b = .27$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$) such that girls were higher than boys on proactive help, but not at T2 ($b = .03$, $SE = .03$, $p = .34$). Within-time negative relations were observed at T2 for proactive help and entitlement, and grandiosity at T2 was found to positively predict proactive help at T1.

Reactive Help. Adequate model fit was found for the model for reactive help, ($\chi^2(2) = .67$, $p = .72$, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .09), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.03, SRMR = .006). Sex was not found to predict reactive help at T1 ($b = -.03$, $SE = .06$, $p = .58$) but positively predicted reactive help at T2 ($b = .21$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$) such that girls had higher scores on average than boys. We found within-time negative associations between reactive help and entitlement at T2, however no across-time effects were observed.

Aggression Outcomes

Physical Aggression. Adequate model fit was found for the model for physical aggression ($\chi^2(2) = .60$, $p = .74$, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .08), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.02, SRMR = .01). Sex was found to predict physical aggression at T1 ($b = -.36$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$) such that boys were higher than girls on physical aggression, but not at T2 ($b = -.02$, $SE = .03$, $p = .56$). Physical aggression and entitlement were found to positively relate at T1 at a marginally statistically significant level, and T1 entitlement predicted T2 physical aggression. Three steps were then

used to assess if T1 entitlement and grandiosity differentially predicted T2 physical aggression. In Step 1, the statements for Time 1 entitlement and T1 grandiosity predicting T2 physical aggression and vice versa were removed from the original model and the model fit decreased ($\chi^2(6) = 12.89$, $p = .05$). Next, as we predicted entitlement to be more related to physical aggression as compared to grandiosity, we added back the path that predicted T2 physical aggression from T1 entitlement and found a significant chi square difference in model improvement ($\chi^2(5) = 4.57$, $p = .47$). Lastly, we added the path that predicted T2 physical aggression from T1 grandiosity and found no significant improvement to the model ($\chi^2(4) = 4.57$, $p = .33$), indicating that entitlement negatively predicted later peer-assessed aggression differentially than grandiosity.

Relational Aggression. Adequate model fit was found for the model for relational aggression ($\chi^2(2) = .72$, $p = .70$, RMSEA = .00 (.00 - .08), CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.02, SRMR = .01). Sex did not predict relational aggression at T1 ($b = .08$, $SE = .06$, $p = .16$) nor did it at T2 ($b = .01$, $SE = .04$, $p = .72$). We found no within-time correlations between relational aggression and entitlement or grandiosity. T1 entitlement positively predicted T2 relational aggression at a marginally statistically significant level in a way that grandiosity did not. Three steps were then used to assess if T1 entitlement and grandiosity differentially predicted T2 relational aggression. In Step 1, the statements for T1 entitlement and T1 grandiosity predicting T2 relational aggression and vice versa were removed from the original model and the model fit decreased ($\chi^2(6) = 7.59$, $p = .27$). Next, as we predicted entitlement to be more related to relational aggression than grandiosity, we added back the path that predicted T2 relational aggression from T1 entitlement and found a significant chi square difference in model improvement ($\chi^2(5) = 2.56$, $p = .77$). Lastly, we added the path that predicted T2 relational aggression from T1 grandiosity and found no significant improvement to the model ($\chi^2(4) = 2.48$, $p = .65$), indicating that entitlement predicted later relational aggression differentially as compared to grandiosity.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to assess narcissism's association with aggressive and prosocial social behaviours within and across time at the level of two core dimensions: entitlement and grandiosity. We believe that we were successful in our goal, and that our overarching hypothesis was supported showing entitlement to be associated with an antagonistic interpersonal orientation. We found entitlement was negatively related to indices of prosocial

behaviour and positively related to aggressive behaviour in a way that grandiosity was not. More specifically, regarding the prosocial outcomes, we had hypothesized that within time all variables would be negatively related to entitlement and not to grandiosity and that higher levels of entitlement at T1 would predict lower levels of the prosocial variables at T2. Within time, we found that at T1 entitlement (and not grandiosity) was negatively related in a statistically significant way to all the prosocial outcomes (care, justice, proactive help, reactive help and comfort). We also hypothesized and tested across-time effects and found that T1 entitlement negatively predicted two prosocial outcomes at T2: care and justice. Our speculation as to why we found across-time effects for these two prosocial behaviours specifically will be discussed in further detail below. Interestingly, we also observed that T1 care and proactive help were *positively* associated with T2 grandiosity, indicating a very different pattern of associations as compared to entitlement.

Our hypotheses regarding aggression were partially supported, somewhat less robustly. We had expected physical aggression to be positively related to entitlement and not grandiosity, and found a marginally statistically significant positive association within time at T1. Across time, entitlement was found to positively predict later physical aggression, which was not the case for grandiosity. We had expected that we would find evidence of both narcissism dimensions being related to relational aggression due to grandiosity's previously reported association with social potency. We found no within-time associations between the narcissism dimensions and relational aggression. Across time, entitlement was found to marginally positively predict later relational aggression, while grandiosity did not. Relational and physical aggression are known to be positively correlated and our findings suggest that as compared to grandiosity, entitlement may be a greater risk factor for both forms of aggression as perceived by peers.

Finally, it is important to remark on how sex related to variables in the model. As expected from previous literature, we found that sex was related to peer-assessed physical aggression (boys scoring higher), and we found no effect of sex on relational aggression. We found a sex effect (girls scoring higher than boys) for all peer-reported prosocial behaviours. This is consistent with meta-analytic findings in literature, however it is important to note that it is not clear not how much such reported sex differences reflect true differences in how boys and girls relate to others versus sex-role stereotypes that pervade our societies and influence how

boys and girl are perceived (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2015). Consistent with the literature, we also found that boys scored higher than girls on the entitlement factor, but no sex differences on the grandiosity factor.

Taken together, our findings appear to paint a clear portrait of the differing social impact of these two dimensions of narcissism. Within time, entitlement was found to negatively relate to prosocial behaviours across the board at T1, and also to predict care and justice across time in a way that grandiosity did not. Indeed, it is compelling that individuals high in entitlement appear to help relatively less even when directly asked to do so (i.e., reactive help), when the social pressure to behave in a prosocial manner would presumably be high. In addition, entitlement was shown to positively predict physical as well relational aggression (marginally) across time while grandiosity did not. These findings are in line with the idea that entitlement is a more deleterious aspect of narcissism in the social sphere. We consider our findings important for several reasons, which we will discuss here.

Why We Need to Care About Care (and Other Prosocial Behaviours)

A strength of this study is its focus not only on negative outcomes associated with narcissism (e.g., forms of aggression) but also on the deficit of positive ones (e.g., prosocial behaviours) at the level of narcissism's dimensions. Both negative and the lack of positive outcomes are essential to assess. Aggression by definition involves harming others, and evidence suggests that overt aggression in childhood is related to impoverished peer relations, externalizing problems, low prosocial behaviour (e.g., Card et al., 2008) as well as important negative long-term trajectories (Klomek et al., 2015). We believe that our study replicates previous findings that highlight narcissism's association with aggression, and extends the knowledge base by showing that entitlement in particular may be implicated in two forms of aggression (relational and physical) in children.

Prosocial behaviour, like aggression, is also other-oriented but involves acts intended to benefit others. As mentioned, individuals high in narcissism are believed to have relatively low empathy, which involves other-oriented emotional and cognitive processes (Ackerman et al., 2011; Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014; Watson et al., 1984). Empathy is thought to be inherently implicated in how well a person functions socially, in term of prosociality and generally getting along with others (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2015; Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014; Van der Graaff et al., 2018). In the past decade or so, there has been a resurgence of

interest in prosocial behaviour and for good reason—prosociality is inherently implicated in how well individuals function within their peer groups and during the school-age years peers are of central importance (Eisenberg et al., 2015; Rubin et al., 2015). Well-liked children are typically seen by others as prosocial (i.e., caring, cooperative, helpful) and socially competent (Asher & McDonald, 2009; Lansu et al., 2013; Newcomb et al., 1993). Prosociality has been found to be related to several positive outcomes for youth (e.g., being liked and trusted by peers, enjoying academic success, having better quality relationships, making and maintaining reciprocal friendships, having higher status among peers, and demonstrating higher self-regulation, empathy and social cognitive skills; see Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2014 for review). While poor peer relations have been related to a multitude of negative trajectories, friendship, positive peer relations and prosociality are understood as protective factors (e.g., Rubin et al., 2015). Prosociality and aggression can coexist (e.g., Card et al., 2008), but prosocial and or/sympathetic children are typically low in aggression and other externalizing problems such as school drop-out, substance use, and delinquency (see Eisenberg et al., 2015; Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2014). That entitlement, and not grandiosity, appears to be consistently *negatively* related to a broad spectrum of potentially protective prosocial behaviours is pertinent in identifying youth who could benefit from interventions and to tailor these interventions. In other words, it appears that not all aspects of narcissism risk damaging social relations equally and so these distinct components of narcissism should not be lumped together.

Prosocial Behaviour in the Context of Moral Development

While a detailed review is beyond the scope of this project, we believe that the findings of the current study may concern moral development. Kohlberg (1976) defined the development of morality as a series of moral stages: from an egotistical self-orientation to an interpersonal perspective to orienting oneself to societal values/conventions and finally to universal and ethical maxims (e.g., that people be treated as ends not means). Morality is generally understood to involve how an individual treats others and that these acts reflect a person's deeper intention and motivations (Killen & Smetana, 2015). As discussed by Killen and Smetana (2015), Kant (1785/1959) defined morality as a set of norms that dictates how one should treat others (e.g., with concern for their welfare) derived from principles of fairness, equality and justice. To be moral in this sense is to be just, impartial and fair. Another branch of study in moral development originates from the philosophy of Hume (1739/1969) and focuses on human

emotions rather than logic (Killen & Smetana, 2015). Morality here is defined by our emotional capacity (e.g., to empathize, be compassionate) which is believed to propel prosocial and altruistic acts (see Killen & Smetana, 2015). These philosophies laid the foundation for studies of prosocial development that investigate altruistic emotions in relation to prosocial behaviours such as caring for others (Carlo, 2014; Eisenberg, 2014; Eisenberg et al., 2015). As discussed by Killen and Smetana (2015), Kantian philosophy also emphasized empathy in its delineation of *imperfect* and *perfect duties*. According to Kant, *perfect duties* are more obligatory maxims (e.g., the duty not harm others), whereas *imperfect duties* such as caring and helping other people are considered good but not absolute rules by which one must abide (see Killen & Smetana, 2015).

This theoretical background is relevant to the present study as we are assessing social outcomes where others are implicated, whether through harmful or prosocial behaviours. Specifically, we found within-time negative associations between entitlement and all the prosocial behaviours, and that prior levels of entitlement negatively predicted subsequent care and justice specifically. The above theory on moral development draws attention to at least two defining features of morality: an ethic of care and an ethic of justice. We find it compelling that in the present study it was our measures of care and justice in particular that were negatively predicted by entitlement, as care and justice have been conceptualized not just as prosocial behaviours but as moral *orientations* (see Eisenberg, 2014; Gilligan, 1982). An orientation by definition concerns how one situates oneself in relation to others, and we consider this especially relevant to entitlement. Entitlement is conceptualized as an antagonistic orientation of self in relation to others—it is the belief that one deserve more from *others*, than *others* and also that *others* are available to be used for one's personal gain (Brown et al., 2009). Our findings indicate that two dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children may relate to distinct social outcomes. This aligns with previous research with adults that show grandiose narcissism to concern two distinct pathways, one which leads to social prowess and another to social conflict (Back et al., 2013). In summary, care and justice were shown to be negatively predicted by entitlement over time. This fits with the idea that entitlement reflects a particularly antagonistic aspect of narcissism, and as such it makes sense that we see this interpersonal stance negatively predict later caring and fair behaviours, presumably reflective of an underlying moral orientation.

Strengths and Limitations of the Present Study

We believe that the ultimate contribution of this study is that it investigates both aggressive outcomes and an array of less-studied prosocial outcomes in relation to two core dimensions of narcissism. A strength of this study is its longitudinal design that uses both self-reported narcissism and peer-report data on social behaviours providing an interesting vantage point on how children high in narcissism tend to function socially. While cross-time structural equation modelling does not allow for firm causal conclusions, it can provide support for causal hypotheses. We had hypothesized that across-time levels of entitlement would predict lower levels of prosocial behaviour in a way that grandiosity would not and found that this was the case for care and justice. Another strength of our model is that our findings account for covariances between the variables as well as how sex relates to both the outcome variables as well as covariances between the dimensions of narcissism.

Some limitations of our study are that our longitudinal design could have included more time waves and longer periods of time. Additionally, while our sample includes participants from two distinct settings this study does not investigate cross-cultural differences, though this topic will be addressed at length in Study 3 of this project. Finally, our two-factor conceptualization is specific to grandiose presentations of narcissism and does not directly address vulnerable narcissism, nor communal narcissism. Finally, it would be interesting for future studies to address particular functions of aggression (i.e., reactive and proactive) at the level of narcissism's core dimensions.

Concluding Remarks

These findings extend beyond theoretical and conceptual considerations and the hope is that they can be helpful in concrete ways. We believe we have replicated previous findings that show aggression and narcissism to be associated and also show that in children this relation concerns entitlement in particular. In addition, our findings draw attention not only to harmful social outcomes but the deficit of beneficial behaviours, showing entitlement to negatively relate to several prosocial behaviours and to predict decreased care and justice. Understanding entitlement as a particular risk factor may help identify individuals who could benefit from intervention, and as such help protect individuals and those around them. For example, experiments show that adults high in narcissism (in particular entitlement, exploitation and exhibitionism) reported low empathy and demonstrated a low autonomic arousal response to another person's suffering, however when instructed on perspective-taking these effects were

wiped out (Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014). This suggests that individuals high in narcissism are not fundamentally incapable of being empathetic but rather can change by learning skills (Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014). This is particularly interesting to consider from a developmental perspective. Children typically function in environments (e.g., schools) that are amenable to identification of issues and implementation of early interventions. For example, interventions that increase perspective-taking in children high in entitlement may hold promise for increasing empathy and related prosocial behaviours with tremendous cascading benefits. We consider this in line with the dynamic self-regulatory processing model of narcissism, which conceptualizes narcissism not as a fixed trait but rather as a self-under-constant-construction—and with flux there is also hope for positive change.

Table 1
Items for Peer Nomination Scales

Care • "Someone who cares about others in our class and grade" • "Someone who cares about how the other students in our class are doing" • "Someone who helps others in our class and grade when they need it even if it means that they treat some people differently than others"
Justice • "Someone who plays fairly" • "Someone who makes sure that all people in our class and grade are treated the same" • "Someone who tries to make sure that everyone in our class and grade is treated equally"
Proactive Help • "Someone who tries to help others without being asked to do so" • "Someone who gives assistance even when no one asks him/her to do so" • "Someone who is willing to help someone even when the other person does not ask for it"
Reactive Help • "Someone who helps others but only when the other person has asked for help" • "Someone who gives assistance but only when he or she has been asked" • "Someone who helps others but only when he/she has been asked to help"
Comfort • "Someone who comforts others when they are sad" • "Someone who enjoys making other people feel better"
Physical Aggression • "Someone who hits other students in our grade and school" • "Someone who gets involved in physical fights with other students in our grade and school" • "Someone who pushes others around"
Relational Aggression • "Someone who tries to keep others out of the group" • "Someone who talks badly about others behind their backs to hurt them" • "Someone who ignores or stops talking to someone when they are mad at them"

Table 2
Reliabilities for Peer Nomination Variables

	T1 ω		T2 ω	
Scale	Same Sex	Other Sex	Same Sex	Other Sex
Care	.87	.83	.85	.85
Justice	.89	.88	.93	.92
Proactive Help	.91	.89	.89	.89
Reactive Help	.86	.87	.85	.88
Comfort	.89	.91	.89	.91
Physical Aggression	.90	.88	.89	.92
Relational Aggression	.89	.80	.83	.70

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; ω = omega.

Table 3

Within-Time Correlations Between Grandiosity, Entitlement and All Social Variables

	T1				T2			
	With entitlement		With grandiosity		With entitlement		With grandiosity	
Variable	*b (SE b)*	*p*	*b (SE b)*	*p*	*b (SE b)*	*p*	*b (SE b)*	*p*
Care	**-.14 (.05)**	**.01**	-.01 (.05)	.79	.01 (.03)	.72	.01 (.03)	.74
Justice	**-.15 (.06)**	**.008**	-.05 (.06)	.34	.02 (.03)	.53	.02 (.03)	.44
Proactive Help	**-.20 (.06)**	**< .001**	-.01 (.06)	.85	.01 (.02)	.62	.02 (.02)	.41
Reactive Help	**-.15 (.06)**	**.009**	-.06 (.06)	.31	-02 (.04)	.51	-02 (.04)	.59
Comfort	**-.19 (.05)**	**< .001**	**-.09 (.05)**	**.09**	.03 (.03)	.26	.04 (.03)	.15
Physical Aggression	**.10 (.05)**	**.06**	.07 (.06)	.22	.02 (.06)	.72	-.08 (.06)	.19
Relational Aggression	.06 (.06)	.28	.08 (.06)	.18	.04 (.03)	.18	.02 (.03)	.57

Note. T1 = time one; T2 = time two; *b* = unstandardized beta; *SE b* = the standard error for the unstandardized beta. Statistically and marginally significant findings are shown in bold.

Table 4

Grandiosity and Entitlement Predicting Social Variables Across Time

	T2 variable regressed on T1 entitlement		T2 variable regressed on T1 grandiosity		T2 entitlement regressed on T1 variable		T2 grandiosity regressed on T1 variable	
Variable	*b (SE b)*	*p*	*b (SE b)*	*p*	*b (SE b)*	*p*	*b (SE b)*	*p*
Care	**-.10 (.04)**	**.02**	-.02 (.04)	.60	-.001 (.05)	.99	**.09 (.05)**	**.05**
Justice	**-.14 (.05)**	**.002**	.01 (.04)	.89	-.04 (.05)	.41	.04 (.05)	.33
Proactive Help	.02 (.04)	.62	-.05 (.04)	.21	.02 (.05)	.73	**.09 (.05)**	**.05**
Reactive Help	-.05 (.06)	.42	.01 (.06)	.87	-.04 (.04)	.34	.03 (.04)	.47
Comfort	-.02 (.05)	.61	.05 (.05)	.26	-.01 (.05)	.81	.06 (.05)	.18
Physical Aggression	**.09 (.04)**	**.02**	-.001 (.04)	.98	.08 (.05)	.11	-.02 (.05)	.66
Relational Aggression	**.08 (.05)**	**.08**	.01 (.05)	.78	.03 (.04)	.55	-.04 (.04)	.40

Note. T1 = time one; T2 = time two; *b* = unstandardized beta; *SE b* = the standard error for the unstandardized beta. Statistically and marginally significant findings are shown in bold.

Table 5

Time 1 Social Variables Predicting Respective Time 2 Variables

Variable	*b (SE b)*	*p*
Care	.77 (.03)	< .001
Justice	.74 (.04)	< .001
Proactive help	.82 (.03)	< .001
Reactive Help	.47 (.05)	< .001
Comfort	.71 (.04)	< .001
Physical Aggression	.81 (.03)	< .001
Relational Aggression	.74 (.04)	< .001

Note. b = unstandardized beta; *SE* b = the standard error for the unstandardized beta.

Study 3: Do Children High in Narcissism Win the Social Status They Crave? How Different Aspects of Narcissism Associate with Popularity Depends on the Context

What do we know about how individuals high in narcissism fare in their social worlds? Are they well-liked by peers? Are they popular? Well, it depends. Narcissism is an individual difference in personality that plays out socially through its defining characteristics: inflated self-importance and entitlement (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). However, narcissism is not one thing, nor is it manifested in one way. How narcissistic traits end up being expressed is thought to result from transactional processes between individuals and their social environments (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Narcissism has two main presentations—grandiose and vulnerable—however, there are core aspects of narcissism (i.e., entitled self-importance) that appear to transcend these presentations (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Furthermore, grandiose narcissism itself is understood as heterogenous and can be expressed in different ways—through an assertive, bold social style as well as antagonistically (e.g., Back et al., 2013). Accumulating evidence suggests that grandiose narcissism can both be positively and negatively related to popularity depending on how it manifests (e.g., Back et al., 2013; Küfner et al., 2013; Leckelt et al., 2015, 2020; Poorthuis et al., 2019). The relation between social standing and narcissism has been found to depend on several factors, including which aspects of narcissism are present, how they are actually manifested in social interactions, timing and social context.

The present study focuses on grandiose narcissism and its association with popularity in children. Here, we investigate the popularity of children high in grandiose narcissism at the level of two core dimensions: grandiosity and entitlement. In particular, we seek to understand this relation within the social context in which children function, including characteristics of their classrooms. Previous studies with adults indicate that entitlement and grandiosity have differential correlates and that entitlement in particular is negatively associated with prosocial behavior and positively associated with aggression and more socially toxic behaviours (e.g., Ackerman et al., 2011; Brown et al., 2009; Brunell & Buelow, 2018; Grijalva & Harms, 2014; Rasmussen, 2016; Reidy et al., 2008). Study 2 of this project suggests that a similar pattern exists in children (see also Ang et al., 2011). A more antagonistic interpersonal orientation could presumably have social costs *especially* if at odds with social norms. Specifically, accounting for grandiosity and entitlement's differential association with prosociality and aggression, in this study we ask whether the associations between popularity and two dimensions of narcissism

(grandiosity and entitlement) vary as a function of group level variables such as place, sex, SES, and classroom communal care norms.

Narcissism, Status Seeking and the Need for Admiration

Both children and adults high in narcissism place great importance on achieving high social status (Findley & Ojanen, 2013; Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Ojanen et al., 2012; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2018). A preoccupation with social worth and status has been found to be consistent across various measures and conceptualizations of narcissism (Krizan & Herlache, 2018) as well as across adults and children (C.T. Barry et al., 2011; Thomaes et al., 2018).

What drives this need for social status? According to the dynamic self-regulatory processing model, grandiose narcissism concerns the goal of constructing and maintaining an inflated sense of self by employing various self-regulatory strategies (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). However, maintaining this desired sense of self is practically impossible in the face of life's inevitable ups and downs, resulting in the grandiose self remaining in a chronic state of construction (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Striving to keep an inflated sense of self afloat, self-enhancement strategies are continually and flexibly employed both intrapersonally (e.g., cognitively reframing a situation to shift blame onto others) and interpersonally (e.g., attempting to associate oneself with high-status peers; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Importantly, with grandiose narcissism we see a dialectic: one's inflated sense of self-importance is intensely reliant on the attention and validation of others to whom one feels superior (e.g., "I am the greatest! Don't you agree??"), and yet strategies to seek validation often ultimately backfire. This is likely because a self-centered yearning for external validation manifests in ways that are off-putting to those from whom approval is sought (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Furthermore, because narcissism is also associated with self-serving attitudes and interpersonal insensitivity, attempts to gain social worth and approval in the short-term may be costly in the long-term (Campbell et al., 2005; Leckelt et al., 2015).

The literature supports the above conceptualization (Morf et al., 2012; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Adults high in narcissism tend to strive for high status and care less about affiliative goals (for review see Zeigler-Hill et al., 2018). Using the terms of Hogan (1982), narcissistic individuals are more concerned with *getting ahead* than *getting along* with others, and value being admired more than affection or affiliation (Raskin et al., 1991b, 1991a). This

pattern extends to youth, where high narcissism has been shown to be positively associated with dominant social goals (e.g., for status, power) and negatively with closeness goals (e.g., affiliation; Ojanen et al., 2012; Salmivalli et al., 2005; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008; Thomaes et al., 2018). Furthermore, the positive relation between narcissism and aggression has been explained through these dominant social goals (Ojanen et al., 2012).

The emphasis on status highlights the intense impression-management concerns of individuals high in narcissism. Narcissism in adults has been associated with the appeal of fame—in particular in terms of visibility (being seen/valued) and status, as well as with spending more time fantasizing about becoming famous (Greenwood et al., 2013). Adolescents high in narcissism have been shown to have heightened self-presentation concerns (e.g., to appear attractive, cool, fashionable on social media) even after accounting for extraversion (E. Y. L. Ong et al., 2011). The relation between narcissism, need for peer approval and the influence of popularity is also illustrated in an experiment with 10 year-olds where it was found that children high in narcissism demonstrated greater decreases in state self-esteem as compared to their peers when judged negatively by a peer jury (Thomaes et al., 2010). Furthermore, for children who were highly impacted by peer disapproval, self-esteem recovery was reliant on time spent receiving positive feedback from *popular* peers in particular (Thomaes et al., 2010). While popularity and status are a priority in young adolescence in general (Adams et al., 2011; Lafontana & Cillessen, 2010), a burgeoning literature suggests that social status may be an especially salient feature for children high in narcissism. Relatedly, adults high in narcissism were more likely to select high-status romantic partners as part of a self-enhancement strategy (Campbell, 1999). Narcissism has also been associated with a tendency to be highly selective in choosing desirable (i.e., "perfect") potential friends, bringing to mind the concept of securing a "trophy friend" in the hope of leveraging one's own social worth (Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020).

There is ample evidence that narcissism is associated with a self-serving and low communal focus, which fits with its definition of *entitled self-importance* (Campbell, Rudich, et al., 2002; Czarna et al., 2014; Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Adults high in narcissism have been found to assess their agentic characteristics (e.g., intelligence, extraversion) as higher than average, though they did not do so for communal traits (e.g., agreeableness, morality; Campbell, Rudich, et al., 2002). Narcissism in adults is associated with a tendency to brag (Palmer et al., 2016), take credit for success and blame others for failures (Campbell et al., 2000), a game-

playing romantic style (Campbell, Foster, et al., 2002) and exploitation of others for short-term and self-serving gains (Campbell, Foster, et al., 2002; Leckelt et al., 2015). In children, narcissism in combination with emulation of gender stereotypes has been shown to promote selfish and aggressive behaviours (Pauletti et al., 2012). Further, at-risk adolescents high in narcissism were considered to be particularly antagonistic and hostile by their peers (Grafeman et al., 2015). Both adults and children high in narcissism have been found to have deficiencies in empathy, an other-oriented process (Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016; Urbonaviciute & Hepper, 2020). Findings from Study 2 indicate that narcissistic entitlement in particular (and not grandiosity) is negatively associated with prosocial behavior. There is a rich literature linking narcissism and aggression (Ang et al., 2011; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Martinez et al., 2008; Rasmussen, 2016; Thomaes et al., 2011; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008; Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016), some of which has highlighted the association between entitlement and aggression in particular. Taken together, such findings indicate that narcissism is associated with problematic ways of interacting and relating to others and that some aspects of narcissism are especially pernicious. We should not simply equate narcissism's association with agency with antagonism as these have been shown to be distinct aspects of narcissism. Agency concerns the ability to enact influence or power and its related traits (e.g., acting dominantly, being sociable) and this can be adaptive and beneficial in terms of social standing, whereas antagonistic behaviours such as arrogance and combativeness have been linked to lower communal values (Back et al., 2013; Leckelt et al., 2020; Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020).

Given its potentially problematic correlates, how does narcissism play out in the peer group—are individuals high in narcissism popular? Do self-promoting strategies for status and approval win individuals high in narcissism any social success, or do antagonistic behaviours cost them the social standing they so crave? (Poorthuis et al., 2019). As elaborated below, the answer to this question is not entirely straightforward as grandiose narcissism has come to be understood as a heterogenous construct and is not manifested in a single way, and both timing and context play a role. In asking this question we first need to define what we mean by being *popular* and how this form of social status is not the same as *social acceptance* (i.e., being liked). Social acceptance and popularity are positively related but distinct constructs with differing correlates (Cillessen & Rose, 2005; Mayeux et al., 2011). Social acceptance is a measure of being liked by peers and concerns affiliation (Mayeux et al., 2011). Popularity concerns

visibility, prestige and power, and is measured by peer ratings (Cillessen & Marks, 2011; Mayeux et al., 2011). While both forms of social status are positively associated with beneficial attributes like prosociality, leadership qualities and high-quality friendships, they also diverge in important ways that speak to their discriminant validity. Alongside advantageous characteristics, popularity is also positively associated with aggression, risky behaviour and being *disliked* by peers—while the same does not hold true for socially accepted children (Mayeux et al., 2011). Our research question focuses on popularity as an outcome as this is the form of social status that children high in narcissism presumably seek, but acceptance is an important variable to control for in our analyses. Acceptance and popularity have been found to be positively related (e.g., correlations of .40 at age 10), though the strength of this association has been found to differ across age and gender (Cillessen & Marks, 2011; Mayeux et al., 2011).

Grandiose Narcissism and Popularity: Having Had Your Fill

The process of getting to know a person high in narcissism has been likened to eating chocolate cake: rich and gratifying at first but in large doses can be off-putting and potentially unhealthy (Brunell & Campbell, 2011; Campbell, 2005). Individuals high in narcissism appear to lose their appeal in the eyes of others over time, both in laboratory studies and in peer contexts. In one landmark study, adult self-enhancers were found to make a good initial impression in a group setting (e.g., were seen as agreeable, well-adjusted and competent) but over a seven-week period were rated negatively (e.g., as arrogant, hostile, defensive; Paulhus, 1998). This finding has been replicated and extended, where at first individuals high in narcissism are seen in a positive light and deemed popular (Back et al., 2010; Küfner et al., 2013), but over time this popularity waned (e.g., Czarna et al., 2016; Leckelt et al., 2015). This pattern has also been shown to extend to leadership, where the appeal and attractiveness of narcissistic leaders wore off rapidly after a "honeymoon period" (C. W. Ong et al., 2016). In other words, it appears that narcissistic individuals are seen less positively by those that know them better as compared to new acquaintances (Czarna et al., 2016). Indeed, narcissism has been associated with trouble maintaining interpersonal relationships (Campbell, Foster, et al., 2002; Paulhus, 1998) and while individuals high in narcissism have been found to enjoy popularity on initial acquaintance, they gain fewer friends over time as compared to their peers (Czarna et al., 2016). This effect can be explained by the contextual reinforcement model of narcissism where benefits in the "emerging zone" are prioritized (i.e., in the short term, with acquaintances), at the cost of the "enduring

zone" (i.e., in the long-term, with long-standing relationships; Campbell & Campbell, 2009). As discussed above, strategies to maintain a grandiose self-image may over time manifest in behaviours that grow repellant to others (e.g., arrogance, aggression in the face of perceived criticism), thus it is in the new-acquaintance phase that narcissists have fresh opportunities to shine and win admiration (Küfner et al., 2013).

The Sinister and Shiny Sides of Narcissism

However, the story is not so simple—even within the context of short-acquaintance there have been mixed findings in terms of narcissism's relation to likeability or popularity. In situations of brief self-presentation (e.g., introducing oneself) or simple small talk, narcissism has been positively related to likeability (Back et al., 2010; Carlson et al., 2011; Miller et al., 2011). However, when the interactions involved collaborative work on a task, longer getting-to-know-you chats and more intense dyadic interactions with critical feedback, narcissism was found to negatively relate to positive perceptions from others (Carlson et al., 2011; Heatherton & Vohs, 2000; Rauthmann, 2012; see Küfner et al., 2013 for discussion). Such findings prompted a dual pathway hypothesis which outlined two opposing processes in grandiose narcissism that can either help or hinder one's social status: 1) assertive behaviour (e.g., being dominant, bold, charming, self-assured, funny) which leads to favourable impressions by others and 2) aggressive behaviour (e.g., being hostile, combative, selfish, or arrogant) which leads to negative impressions (Küfner et al., 2013). This idea is elaborated on in the narcissistic admiration and rivalry concept (NARC; Back et al., 2013; Leckelt et al., 2015) that posits that for those high in grandiose narcissism, the ultimate goal is to maintain their grandiose sense of self and that this occurs through two main strategies or motivational dynamics: *assertive self-enhancement* (i.e., attempts to gain social admiration; "Let others admire you!") and *antagonistic self-protection* (i.e., attempts to defend oneself in the face of perceived threat; "Don't let others tear you down!" (Back et al., 2013, p. 1016). These two strategies are argued to activate distinct cognitive pathways, behavioural dynamics, and social outcomes: *assertive self-enhancement* leading to expressive/dominant behaviours that are perceived by others as assertive and are positively evaluated, and *antagonistic self-protection* that promotes hostile behaviours perceived by others as uncaring and that result in negative evaluations (Back et al., 2013).

The development of a questionnaire to measure narcissistic admiration and rivalry has afforded the concept to be tested with adults in both laboratory (e.g., Leckelt et al., 2015) and

naturalistic (i.e., real-life) settings (Leckelt et al., 2020). Lab experiments indicate that while initially popular, individuals high in narcissism become less so over time and this was explained through an increasing negative behavioural pathways (i.e., arrogant-aggressive behavior, being judged as untrustworthy) and decreasing positive pathways (i.e., dominant expressive behavior, being perceived as assertive; Leckelt et al., 2015). Narcissistic admiration is believed to be reflected in statements such as "I am great" while narcissistic rivalry by statements like "I take pleasure in the failure of my rivals" (Back et al., 2013). Studies with college students in naturalistic settings have shown that overall narcissism and popularity were unrelated when considering zero-order correlations, however the agentic (admiration) and antagonistic (rivalry) aspects of narcissism were found to differentially relate to popularity through two distinct behavioural pathways—the agentic pathway promoting popularity and the antagonistic pathway hampering popularity over time (Leckelt et al., 2020). In a rare study with children on this subject, narcissism was found to predict increases in popularity over time in participants with modest self-esteem but decreases in popularity over time in those with high self-esteem (Poorthuis et al., 2019), though this study did not use a multidimensional measure of narcissism.

A recent study looked at these two aspects of grandiose narcissism (rivalry and admiration) in the context of agentic and communal orientations toward friendship in adults (Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020). An agentic orientation concerns a drive for power and influence, whereas a communal orientation concerns closeness and intimacy (Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020). Agency and communion have been conceptualized as two basic approaches to interpersonal relationships (e.g., Bakan, 1966; Leary, 1957; see Abele & Wojciszke, 2013, for a review) and it is believed that adaptive interpersonal functioning and well-being relies on deftly combining both (Helgeson, 1994; Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020). Narcissism (both admiration and rivalry aspects) was found to be associated with an agentic orientation toward friendships which was in turn associated with less friendship commitment (Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020). However, narcissistic rivalry in particular (and not admiration) was found to negatively relate to a communal friendship orientation, indicating an antagonistic view of friendship (e.g., less friendship satisfaction; Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020). Taken together, the evidence points towards certain aspects of grandiose narcissism—those that relate to antagonism—being especially problematic in terms of peer relations.

When Self and Surroundings Clash

Narcissism concerns inter- and intrapersonal processes and clearly does not exist in a vacuum, thus considerations for social context should be made. Sociocultural factors have been shown to be relevant to the study of narcissism (Foster et al., 2003; Paris, 2014; Vater et al., 2018). In particular, individualism and collectivism are two constructs of interest commonly used to conceptualize how individuals relate to society and others (Oyserman et al., 2002; Oyserman & Lee, 2008; Triandis, 1995, 2015). As defined by Oyserman and Lee (2008): "Within individualism, the core unit is the individual; societies exist to promote the well-being of individuals. Individuals are seen as separate from one another and as the basic unit of analysis. Within collectivism, the core unit is the group; societies exist, and individuals must fit into them. Individuals are seen as fundamentally connected and related through relationships and group memberships" (p. 311). There is some evidence that levels of narcissism are higher in individualistic cultures and countries (i.e., ones that foster self-focus) as compared to collectivistic ones (Foster et al., 2003; Vater et al., 2018). As well, higher social class (e.g., parental education level, income) has been associated with increased narcissistic and entitled tendencies (Cai et al., 2012; Piff, 2014). High individualism was found to positively relate to high narcissism for individuals living in China, a culture traditionally considered collectivistic (Cai et al., 2012). Further, highly individualistic individuals living in a collectivistic culture (Istanbul) were found to score higher on subclinical measures of pathological traits (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçegi, 2006). These findings raise interesting questions about the consequences of an individual's personality traits "clashing" with values characteristic of their cultural surroundings (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçegi, 2006; Jauk et al., 2021).

One should ponder, however, what cultural surroundings are best to consider. It has been argued that when looking at narcissism in its social context, speaking of "culture" at the level of a country is too broad, while the family unit too specific (Washburn & Paskar, 2011). While there is evidence of systematic cross-country differences in individualism and collectivism (e.g., North Americans being higher in individualism and lower in collectivism), it has also been shown that such cross-national differences are dynamic and subject to change depending on the cued salience of individualism and collectivism moment-to-moment (Oyserman & Lee, 2008). In the present analyses we assess cross-country differences, however we also avoid making sweeping assumptions about individualism and collectivism across these places. Further, because interpersonal processes play out in peer networks and within the cultural norms of the peer

group, it at this level of analysis (e.g., the classroom) that narcissism's association with popularity and peer acceptance in children will also be studied.

The present study

As discussed above, narcissism is associated with a self-focused interpersonal orientation, which at its worst can manifest in an antagonistic and exploitative attitude. Further, narcissism has also been associated with lowered popularity. There have been impressive strides made in the literature in recent years shedding light on grandiose narcissism's multidimensional nature, its underlying processes, and how these dimensions of narcissism differentially relate to popularity and/or likeability. However, there are certain gaps in the literature on narcissism and popularity that we hope to address here. Firstly, the literature on popularity and narcissism has almost exclusively been conducted with adults. While a multidimensional understanding of narcissism in childhood is still in its infancy, increased understanding on how different dimensions of narcissism are associated with *actual* peer interactions and social status is essential. Secondly, if how narcissistic traits manifest is a result of transactional processes between individuals and their context (Krizan & Herlache, 2018) more attention should be paid to characteristics of the individual's social context—particularly at the level in which children actually interact (e.g., the norms of their classrooms). Study 2 of this project indicated that entitlement was negatively related to other-oriented prosocial behavior and positively related to aggression, factors which may influence social status. We are interested in assessing if relevant aspects of the social context, especially group norms for communal care, play a role in the social standing of a person high in narcissism who exhibits these behaviours—and if these associations differ across narcissism's core dimensions (entitlement and grandiosity). As far as we know this question has yet to be addressed in the literature.

In summary, the purpose of this study is to assess whether dimensions of childhood narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) are differentially related to a form of high status: peer-assessed popularity while accounting for social acceptance (e.g., likeability), and whether this relation differs as a function of group-level characteristics: sex, place, socioeconomic status (SES) and communal care norms of the classroom. Specifically, multigroup comparisons will be made to assess group differences in school-age children in Colombia and Canada on four paths (a) a path from entitlement to popularity b) a path from grandiosity to popularity c) a path from each respective peer-assessed behaviour (e.g., care, justice, physical and relational aggression) to

popularity d) a path from social acceptance to popularity. Groups were classroom-based same-sex peer groups. Group-level measures of place, SES, sex, and group means on the measure of communal care were used as to account for variance in the path coefficients for each path in each model.

Multiple pathways will be tested in our models, but of particular interest are the pathways from entitlement and grandiosity to popularity. Here, we outline our hypotheses on the research questions of interest while also specifying which analyses are exploratory. We hypothesize that 1) zero-order correlations will reveal a positive correlation between narcissism and striving for admiration across both dimensions (grandiosity and entitlement); 2) entitlement will negatively predict popularity, particularly in Colombia as compared to Canada (typically considered a more individualistic cultural setting), as well as in classrooms high in communal care as compared to classrooms lower in care; and for girls more than boys given stereotypical norms (Grijalva et al., 2014); further, we expect entitlement to more negatively predict popularity in lower SES groups given entitlement's positive association with higher SES (Piff, 2014); 3) compared to entitlement, we expect grandiosity to be more positively related to popularity, though how this relation might differ across between-level groups is exploratory; 4) peer-assessed physical and relational aggression will be positively associated with popularity, however we predict that this association will be more negative in Colombia as compared to Canada as well as in classrooms higher in communal care; how this association might differ across sex and SES is exploratory; 5) prosocial behaviours will positively predict popularity and that this association will be particularly positive in classrooms high in communal care and in Colombia compared to Canada; how this association might differ across SES and sex is treated as exploratory; 6) acceptance will positively predict popularity, especially in classrooms relatively high in communal care, how this association might differ across place, sex and SES is treated here as exploratory.

Method

Measures

Self-Report

The self-report narcissism scale is based on existing measures of child narcissism (Ang & Raine, 2009; Thomaes, Stegge, et al., 2008). See Study 1 of this thesis for items and detailed description of the narcissism scale. Self-assessed admiration/status seeking was assessed with four items (e.g., "Being admired means a lot to me, especially when I am admired by the popular

kids in class"). Communal care was assessed with eight items (e.g., "It is everybody's job to make sure that others are doing OK"). Table 1 lists all items for admiration seeking and communal care, as well as reliabilities.

Class Norm for Communal Care

Means were computed for self-reported items of communal care for each same-sex group within each classroom. This was done by assigning each child a score for their groups (class and sex) and then using the aggregate procedure in SPSS.

Peer-nomination Data

Peer nomination data were collected and corrected for class size (Bukowski et al., 2012). Children were provided with an alphabetized list of their classmates and asked to nominate participating peers who they felt fit each item. Each participant received a score based on how often they had been chosen for each item. Relevant to the present study were same-sex nomination items intended to measure popularity, relational aggression, physical aggression, care, and justice. For items and descriptive statistics for relational aggression, physical aggression, care and justice, see Study 2 of this thesis (Tables 1 and 2). Popularity was measured with four items ("Someone who is cool"; "Someone who is liked by everyone"; "Someone who stands out because he/she is good looking, wears nice clothes, or is really good at things like sports"; "Someone who is popular"; T1 ω = .87; T2 ω =. 87). The peer assessment data was screened for outliers, and scores that exceeded 2.5 standard deviations above or below the mean were corrected.

Sociometric Data

See Study 1 for details on the acceptance measure.

Results

Admiration-seeking and narcissism were found to have positive zero-order correlations across both times, and this was true for both entitlement and grandiosity though the relation was stronger for entitlement. Entitlement and self-reported admiration-seeking had zero-order correlations of r = .42 at T1 and r =.49 at T2. Grandiosity and self-reported admiration-seeking had correlations of r =.14 at T1 and r =.27 at T2.

A multilevel approach was employed using MPlus' multilevel comparison function (MLR estimator), where coefficients for the individual paths were set at random. In total, eight models were run: a model for each of the four peer-assessed behaviours: care, justice, relational

and physical aggression at both times. In each model, multigroup comparisons were made to assess group differences on four paths: (a) a path from the entitlement measure to popularity; b) a path from grandiosity to popularity; c) a path from the respective peer-assessed social variable to popularity; and d) a path from social acceptance to popularity. Groups were the classroom-based same-sex peer groups. Group-level measures of place, SES, sex, and group means for communal care were used to account for variance in the path coefficients for each path in each model (i.e., between-level variables). To facilitate interpretation, variables were standardized. The models' standardized path coefficients for popularity predicted by entitlement, grandiosity, the respective peer-assessed behaviours and acceptance are presented in Table 2 (care), Table 3 (justice), Table 4 (physical aggression), and Table 5 (relational aggression). Predicted scores for group differences are shown for each path for which significant and marginally significant group difference were observed and are presented as standardized path coefficients in Table 6 (care), Table 7 (justice), Table 8 (physical aggression), and Table 9 (relational aggression).

Discussion

Support was found for our hypotheses. Narcissism was positively related to admiration/status seeking, and the zero-order correlations were stronger for entitlement as compared to grandiosity at both times. Our admiration/status seeking scale intended to capture the goal of being popular and wanting the approval of others (particularly those considered high status), and speaks to prioritizing gaining admiration over being liked or nice. It is consistent with previous findings where the antagonistic aspects of grandiose narcissism appear to be especially related to a low-communal approach with peers (Sauls & Zeigler-Hill, 2020).

We next wanted to ascertain whether children high in narcissism actually achieved the high social status they so crave (i.e., their popularity while controlling for acceptance) and if this depended on context. More specifically, we asked whether the association between narcissism and popularity differed at the level of its dimensions (grandiosity and entitlement) and across group-level variables (sex, SES, place and classroom communal care). Our multilevel models tested four pathways across four different group-level variables at each time. In this discussion, we will first draw attention to the patterns most consistently observed across time and models and in particular how they relate to our main hypotheses, then speak to other findings. Across all eight models, an effect was observed where entitlement more negatively predicted popularity as a function of both place and the level of communal care in the classroom. Specifically, our

findings indicated that in Barranquilla, Colombia, higher levels of entitlement more negatively predicted popularity as compared to in Montreal, Canada. In addition, entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in classrooms higher in communal care. These same effects were not found for grandiosity. Grandiosity actually more *positively* predicted popularity in classrooms higher in communal care as well as in Colombia as compared to Canada in several of our models. This indicates a different pattern of how children high in grandiosity are perceived/received by their peers in these contexts which we discuss in more detail below.

Why would entitlement more negatively predict popularity in Colombia as compared to Canada? One possibility is that Colombia has traditionally been considered one of the most collectivistic cultures in the world, where the emphasis tends towards relationships over the individual—the "we" trumps the "me" (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Hofstede Insights, 2021b). While one must be cautious in making broad assumptions across entire nations, aggressively individualistic behaviours could presumably fly in the face of values that emphasize the collective good. However, it is important to note that other explanations are possible. Our measure of communal care emphasizes care for others and presumably captures some elements of collectivism. Our data indicates that at T1 means of communal care were higher in Canada (M = 3.96, SD = .69) as compared to Colombia (M = 3.72, SD = .87), $F(1,271) = 6.19$, $p = .01$ at T1, though there was no statistical difference across place at T2. There may be complexities to this association that warrant future study. Other aspects of Colombian culture may affect the social status of children high in entitlement, or our measure of communal care may capture only some aspects of collectivism. Another possibility is that there are cultural differences in the way that popularity is conceptualized (Marks et al., 2009), which would affect how we observe narcissism to relate to this form of social status across place.

We were also interested in characteristics of the context in which children function in on a daily basis—the cultures of their classrooms. Our measure of classroom communal care at its core captures the value of caring about the welfare of others—not putting oneself above the rest but expressing concern for everyone. It is unsurprising that in classrooms high in such values we see a social cost to greater entitled interpersonal attitudes that prioritize self above all else. That a differential pattern was observed for grandiosity is also interesting and lends credence to the discriminant validity of these two dimensions of narcissism. One possibility is that while grandiosity concerns an inflated sense of self (e.g., "Aren't I fabulous!!??), interpersonally it is

not characteristically antagonistic but manifests more through assertiveness and boldness etc. Previous studies have shown that some aspects of grandiose narcissism are looked upon favourably by peers and promote social status (e.g., Back et al., 2013), however notably these authors used a measure of *narcissistic admiration*; how this might relate to grandiosity in children needs further investigation. What our findings show is that aspects of grandiose narcissism differentially relate to social status *and* that this depends on characteristics of the social setting. In summary, in support of our hypotheses, entitlement and grandiosity appear to relate differently to popularity, and that how this plays out depends on characteristics of the group—specifically, place and norms of communal care of the classroom.

Our models also tested several other pathways to popularity, which we will now discuss. We looked at whether each peer-assessed prosocial and antisocial behavior respectively (e.g., care, justice, relational aggression, physical aggression) predicted popularity as well as whether acceptance predicted popularity across four group-level variables: sex, SES, place and classroom collective care. We will review each model, highlighting which associations were found across both T1 and T2, and those only found at one time. We will then summarize and discuss the patterns observed across all models.

Care

As discussed above, at both times entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in Colombia as compared to Canada, and in highly caring classrooms as compared to classrooms low in communal care. Our findings also show that across both times, care more positively predicted popularity in groups lower in SES as compared to groups higher in SES. This suggests that in lower SES groups, value is placed on care that translates into favourable social status more so than in higher SES groups. Past research suggests that social class shapes an individual's cognitions, attitudes and behaviours and that relatively higher SES (e.g., access to more resources and choice, less exposure to external forces) fosters a more independent and self-focused mindset, whereas relatively lower SES is believed to promote interdependency and focus on others (see Piff, 2014 for discussion). Care for others is a prosocial other-focused behaviour/approach and it is possible that in groups with relatively lower SES that positive other-focused behaviour is particularly valued and results in higher social status. In addition, across both times, social acceptance (e.g., likeability) more strongly predicted popularity in high SES groups as compared to lower SES groups, though notably both coefficients for high and low SES

were positive. It is not immediately evident to us why this would be. Acceptance and popularity have been shown to be moderately-to-highly related in early adolescence (e.g., r =. 40) however, prior literature indicates that the strength of the relation between popularity and acceptance can be influenced by group-level variables such as sex and age (see Cillessen & Marks, 2011). To our knowledge, little is known about how the relation between popularity and acceptance might change as a function of SES in children. One possibility is that popularity and acceptance may differentially relate to another variable that also varies as a function of SES.

In addition, we found the following effects in our care model but at one time only, so these results should be interpreted with caution. At T1, we found that entitlement negatively predicted popularity in lower SES groups as compared to in relatively higher SES groups, perhaps reflecting more intolerance for antagonistic self-centeredness in lower SES groups for the reasons discussed above. Further, entitlement more negatively predicted popularity for girls as compared to boys. Entitlement has been found to be higher in males than females (Grijalva et al., 2014), thus our findings are in line with a gender normative hypothesis which predicts increased social costs for being perceived as going against stereotypical ideas of femininity (e.g., Crick, 1997). Correlates of entitlement (e.g., physical aggression; lower prosociality) may lead to greater unpopularity in girls as compared to boys. In contrast, grandiosity was found to be more positively predictive of popularity in girls as compared to boys, which may reflect characteristics of grandiosity that are particularly valued in girls. Other studies with adults indicate that extraversion, social potency, goal persistence (Ackerman et al., 2011) as well as more risky or bold behaviour (Buelow & Brunell, 2014) are correlates of grandiosity. Our study does not address the relation of these behaviours and popularity across sex directly, though these are interesting inquiries for future studies. We also found that grandiosity was more positively predictive of popularity in Colombia as compared to Canada. Again, this may reflect an increased value placed on characteristics that are positively associated with grandiosity. A richer understanding of the behavioural correlates of grandiosity may shed light on these findings. We also found (at one time only) that care positively predicted popularity and that acceptance predicted popularity more so in classrooms high in communal care. It seems intuitive that care, a form of prosocial behaviour, would be positively associated with social status in classrooms high on such values. And further, that in classrooms that value communal care the relative "value" of being likeable (and its associations with high prosociality, lower aggression, high quality

friendship etc.) would increase. Why this effect was only found at one time warrants investigation.

Justice

As with care, at both times entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in Colombia as compared to Canada, and in highly caring classrooms as compared to classrooms low in communal care. In our justice model at one time only, grandiosity was found to more *positively* predict popularity in girls than boys, in Barranquilla as compared to in Montreal, and in classrooms with relatively higher levels of communal care as compared to those with lower communal care (though the *p* value was not significant for the latter). These effects were found at one time only and so should be interpreted cautiously. This may indicate that in these groups, characteristics associated with grandiosity (e.g., extraversion, boldness) may act as social currency that translates into status. Justice was also found to be more positively predictive of popularity in groups with relatively lower SES, perhaps reflecting that these groups value more interdependent other-oriented behaviours. Also consistent with the care model, at one time only, acceptance more positively predicted popularity in groups with relatively higher SES as compared to in lower SES groups and in classrooms higher in communal care, though notably both coefficients were positive. An effect was also found whereby acceptance positively predicted popularity more so in Barranquilla as compared to in Montreal. As discussed above, one possibility is that in Colombia other-oriented behaviours (such as a sense of fairness, consideration for others) are especially valued, another possibility is that this finding reflects differing conceptualization of popularity across cultures (Marks et al., 2009).

Physical Aggression

At both times, entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in Colombia as compared to Canada, and in highly caring classrooms as compared to classrooms low in communal care. We found at both times that grandiosity more positively predicted popularity in classrooms high in communal care. This may indicate that grandiosity is associated with sociable characteristics that are valued by peers, translating into popularity especially in caring environments. In addition, we found the following effects at one time only. Entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in groups relatively lower in SES as compared to those higher in SES, as discussed above. In contrast, grandiosity was found to more positively predict popularity in groups relatively lower in SES as compared to those higher in SES as well as in Barranquilla as

compared to Montreal. Again, it is possible that certain characteristics associated with grandiosity (e.g., social extraversion) are seen even more favourably in these groups. Physical aggression more positively predicted popularity in higher SES groups as compared to lower SES groups, which may reflect valuing a more self-focused orientation in groups with higher affluence and resources. There is accumulating evidence in the literature that the positive and likely bidirectional associations between aggression and popularity are moderated by demographic and peer-valued characteristics (Mayeux et al., 2011). For example, one study found that physically aggressive boys with peer-valued characteristics (e.g., material wealth, nice clothes, sense of humour, attractiveness) were more popular and less disliked than aggressive boys who lacked these characteristics (Vaillancourt & Hymel, 2006). Also, early adolescents who were perceived by peers as popular (but were not well liked) were higher on social aggression and social visibility/economic advantage (Lease et al., 2002). In the present study, physical aggression was found to more positively predict popularity for boys as compared to girls, which is consistent with some previous findings (e.g., Andreou, 2006) and concordant with a gender normative hypothesis (Crick 1997), as physical aggression is thought to be more common in boys (Card et al., 2008). However, it is important to note that the effect of gender differences on the association between overt aggression and popularity is complex (Rose et al., 2011). Finally, as discussed in other models, acceptance more positively predicted popularity in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal and in classrooms with higher communal care.

Relational Aggression

As with all the models, at both times entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in Colombia as compared to Canada, and in highly caring classrooms as compared to classrooms low in communal care. In contrast, grandiosity positively predicted popularity in classrooms higher in communal care at both times. We observed at both times that for groups high in SES, relational aggression more positively predicted popularity as compared to in groups lower in SES. This is consistent with previous findings that youth high in relational aggression who were also high in peer-valued characteristics (e.g., being wealthy, well dressed) were more popular than those who were not seen to have these characteristics (Vaillancourt & Hymel, 2006). In addition, popularity in girls and boys has been associated with visible signs of spending power and above-average social aggression (Lease et al., 2002). The following effects were observed at one time only in the relational aggression model and so should be interpreted with caution.

Entitlement was found to more negatively predict popularity in groups with lower SES, however this effect was not at a statistically significant level (p = .11). Consistent with other models, the effect was the opposite for grandiosity whereby it more positively predicted popularity in groups with relatively lower SES as compared to higher SES. Speculations as to why this might be are noted above. Grandiosity was also found to more positively predict popularity in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal. Interestingly, at one time only we found relational aggression was more positively predictive of popularity in *boys* than girls, which may be in line with previous findings that indirect aggression contributed to social acceptance for boys in particular (Salmivalli et al., 2000). We recall here that our measure of popularity controls for acceptance, but note that previous findings on the relation between popularity and relational aggression are mixed (Andreou, 2006; Rose et al., 2004). It has been noted that the intercorrelation of social acceptance and popularity may be stronger for boys than girls (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004). One possibility is that popular boys and girls alike can be socially aggressive but that boys are less censured for being so (i.e., they remain liked by others; see Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004). Importantly, we must recall that we are not necessarily looking at behaviours in the context of sex differences, but those behaviours as perceived and judged by peers and thus through the lens of gender stereotypes. These are interesting ideas and future studies that take into account the intercorrelations between acceptance and popularity and sex are warranted (Smith et al., 2009). Finally, acceptance was found to more positively predict popularity in groups of higher SES, as well as in classrooms higher in collective care, findings that are discussed above.

Patterns Observed Across Models

Some patterns can be observed across the eight models (i.e., the four social behaviours across two times) which will be summarized here. As highlighted above, a key contribution of this study is the consistent finding across all models that entitlement more negatively related to popularity in classrooms with relatively high communal care. Also, across all eight models we found that in Barranquilla, higher levels of entitlement more negatively predicted popularity as compared to in Montreal. The association between entitlement and popularity was more negative in lower SES groups as compared to higher SES groups in the models for care, physical aggression and relational aggression, though not at both times. Additionally, the relation between entitlement and popularity was more negative for girls in the care model. Taken together, patterns in the data suggest that the social costs of being high in entitlement (as reflected by

lower popularity) differ from those of grandiosity and are dependent on characteristics of the social context. Of particular interest, in groups with relatively higher communal care, lower SES and for girls as compared to boys, entitlement predicted relatively lower popularity.

Grandiosity predicted popularity in a different way than entitlement. This association was more *positive* in lower SES groups in the models of relational aggression and physical aggression, as well as more positive for girls in the care and justice models, though these findings were observed at one time only and had marginal statistical significance. Additionally, the associations between grandiosity and popularity were more *positive* in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal in all four models (but not at both times and marginally significantly so for the relational aggression model). As well, in contrast to entitlement, the association between grandiosity and popularity was more *positive* in classrooms high in communal care in several models. As mentioned before, this implies that there may be characteristics associated with our grandiosity measure (e.g., self-assurance, social boldness) that are seen more favourably by peers in certain groups and this translates to higher social status, however these ideas need to be empirically tested.

Concerning how the four social behaviours predict popularity, we also observed patterns across the models as a function of between-level groups. In the care and justice models, these prosocial behaviours more positively predicted popularity in *lower* SES groups as compared to higher SES groups, though these findings were found at one time only. In contrast, both physical and relational aggression more *positively* predicted popularity in higher SES groups as compared to lower SES groups. We encourage replication of these findings but see one possible explanation that SES may be associated with other- versus self-focused values (Piff, 2014). We note that prosocial and aggressive behaviours are both other-focused behaviours, with the former aimed to benefit others and the latter aimed to harm others (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Eisenberg et al., 2015). Our findings suggest that in lower SES groups, prosocial acts are more strongly associated with high social status than in higher SES groups, whereas aggression was more positively associated with popularity in higher SES groups, which may be more self-focused (Piff, 2014). Our findings in the aggression models are also in line with past research that indicates that individuals who are aggressive and wealthy are more popular than their aggressive peers who do not have the same visible signs of material wealth (Lease et al., 2002; Vaillancourt & Hymel, 2006). Finally, care predicted popularity more positively in classrooms

high in collective care which is an intuitive finding. We also found (though not at both times) that both forms of aggression more positively predicted popularity in males, which may indicate that males are less censured for aggression though there are likely complexities to these observations to unravel.

Regarding the association between acceptance and popularity, across all models (although not at each time) this association was more positive in classrooms higher in collective care. We expected and found that the association between popularity and acceptance was positive and moderate-to-high in effect size. Our findings indicate that this association might differ as a function of characteristics or norms of the classroom. Our study shows that likeable children were more popular in classrooms high in communal care as compared to classrooms lower in communal care, though notably the association was positive in both settings. This can be understood in terms of the positive attributes associated with social acceptance (high prosocial behaviour, high quality friendships, low aggression; see Mayeux et al., 2011), which are presumably peer-valued characteristics in highly caring classroom. In the aggression and justice models (at one time), we found that the association between acceptance and popularity was more positive in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal, though both were notably positive. How these findings might relate to cultural characteristics of Colombia (e.g., other-focused values) cannot be deduced from the present study but is intriguing. Prior research suggests that while behavioural correlates of social acceptance (e.g., prosociality, sociability) are similar cross-culturally, the association between acceptance and popularity may depend on characteristics of the environment (see Asher & McDonald, 2009), and further that conceptualizations of what it means to be popular may differ across cultures (Marks et al., 2009).

Summary of Results

Our multi-level models tested four pathways to popularity: popularity predicted by a) entitlement, b) grandiosity, c) each of the social behaviours and d) acceptance, across four group-level variables (e.g., SES, sex, place and classroom communal care). As a result, there are many rich findings in our models to be reproduced and expand upon in future studies. However, we would like to conclude by focusing on the implications of the findings as they relate to our main point of inquiry: do the dimensions of narcissism differentially relate to social status (e.g., perceived popularity) and does this change as a function of group-level characteristics? The formulation of this question highlights a strength of our study in our consideration of how

different dimensions of narcissism relate to peer status *within context* (whether speaking of culture broadly at the level of place or at the level of classroom norms). We are reminded that popularity is a social construct built within the contexts in which people live, and that accounting for characteristics of these contexts has been identified as a gap in the literature (Bellmore et al., 2011; Bukowski, 2011).

The focus of this study, and the most consistent findings across our models, is that entitlement more negatively predicts popularity in classrooms that are highly caring for others. This makes good sense if we consider that entitlement manifests through interpersonal antagonism which would presumably be less tolerated in classrooms where caring for others is highly valued. We also found entitlement was more negatively predictive of popularity in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal across all models. Very few studies have looked at peer status within cultural context so we can only speculate as to why this would be. Traditionally, Colombia has been considered one of the most collectivistic cultures in the world (Hofstede Insights, 2021b), so it is possible that the interpersonal antagonism embodied by entitlement is censured. We note that the same patterns did not extend to grandiosity which more *positively* related to popularity in some of our models as a function of relatively higher classroom collective care, lower SES, for girls as compared to boys, and in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal. This speaks to the discriminant validity of these two dimensions of grandiose narcissism, as highlighted in Study 2, and the idea that entitlement is related to more antagonistic interpersonal outcomes than grandiosity. Here we extend those findings to look at how children high in these two dimensions of narcissism are actually received by their peers.

Popularity is a priority in early adolescence in general (Lafontana & Cillessen, 2010), and is an especially salient feature for youth high in narcissism at this age. Our findings are important because they give some indication of how successful these strivings for social status are at the level of two dimensions of narcissism: entitlement and grandiosity. These findings also prompt us to consider the implications of individuals high in entitlement *not* achieving their ultimate goal of perceived greatness. After all, social status is afforded by one's peers. Popular children are the recipients of a constant stream of validation from peers in the form of admiration (e.g., Sandstrom & Cillessen, 2006). This speaks to the primary if impossible goal of grandiose narcissism (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001): to bathe in a stream of validation in order to maintain an inflated sense of self. Our findings suggest that in certain contexts, children high in entitlement

in particular fail to obtain social validation in the form of popularity. Both entitlement and grandiosity were found to be positively associated with admiration/status-seeking in our study, but notably entitlement was so more strongly. What is the effect of not achieving social status when it is so valued? Is being less popular taken as a lack of validation by those high in entitlement, and if so, what are the consequences on the individual and peers? A rich literature shows that narcissism in general and entitlement in particular are related to reactive aggression (particularly in the context of feeling shame or "humiliated fury"; e.g., Thomaes et al., 2011). Future studies could unpack how these social behaviours unfold in different contexts and possible bidirectional and transactional effects of lack of popularity and aggression.

A strength of this study is that we take a multidimensional view of grandiose narcissism by looking at correlates of its dimensions, an approach that is in its infancy in children. Our findings are in line with a related adult literature that show that grandiose narcissism has dual pathways that lead to popularity as well as unpopularity (e.g., Back et al., 2013; Küfner et al., 2013). A particular strength of our study is accounting for the contexts in which this happens. It has been posited that narcissistic traits are manifested through transactional processes between people and their environments (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). Our findings support this and the idea that—while understudied—context matters. Our findings on the whole imply that when there is a clash between characteristics of the individual (e.g., entitlement as self-focused antagonism) and the context (e.g., a caring classroom) the result is decreased social status (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçegi, 2006; Jauk et al., 2021). While one limitation is that our models do not specify the causal pathways to (un)popularity, there may be interesting bidirectional effects at play to be investigated in future studies. Another idea for future studies is to assess narcissism's association with waning popularity over time in relation to its dimensions and the social context.

Our takeaway from our findings is that to understand how narcissism relates to popularity, researchers need to be specific about the dimensions of narcissism being studied as well as characteristics of the context. Considering zero-order correlations alone could lead to misleading conclusions that narcissism and popularity are not associated (see Leckelt et al., 2020). In the present study, we account for group-level characteristics, and find that entitlement more negatively predicts popularity in classrooms that are relatively more caring as well as in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal, while the pattern for grandiosity was different. The importance of taking normative group cultures into consideration when studying popularity in

youth has been emphasized in past literature. For example, findings indicate that who is considered *cool* is dependent on characteristics of the peer group—children in aggressive groups have been found to nominate popular-aggressive children as cool, whereas in non-aggressive groups, popular and prosocial children were considered cool (Rodkin et al., 2006).

We have already highlighted some of the strengths of our study which include using multilevel modeling to account for cultural and class norm contexts and a cross-cultural perspective. However, there are important limitations to this study. Firstly, while we consider the multidimensional nature of grandiose narcissism we do not measure vulnerable narcissism in this study (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). In addition, while we believe we have added to the understanding of grandiose narcissism in childhood there is more to learn about the specific pathways to unpopularity or popularity. We do not yet have a solid understanding of the behavioural correlates of grandiosity (e.g., sociability, leadership) that might lead to popularity in particular contexts. Finally, we acknowledge that the effect sizes are not large in our study, however we note that when our models predict popularity and also control for acceptance, which predictably accounts for much of the variance in the models.

Our Findings in Theoretical Context

How do our findings fit into the theoretical literature so far? While self-importance is characteristic of narcissism in general, converging findings show that narcissism is multidimensional and particular dimensions of narcissism have correlates that are more antagonistic (i.e., entitlement), more agentic (i.e., grandiosity), or more neurotic (i.e., vulnerable narcissism; Donnellan et al., 2021). Research on dimensions of grandiose narcissism in adults speaks to aspects of narcissistic *rivalry* versus *admiration* with negative versus positive pathways to (un)popularity (Back et al., 2013; Küfner et al., 2013). This research points towards grandiose narcissism having dimensions that are perceived positively and others that are seen negatively with related processes that predict social status. We do not use the NARC measure in the present study, however in a similar vein, we focus on two dimensions of grandiose narcissism and their differential correlates. We believe we present support for two related but distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children: grandiosity and entitlement. Looking at the social correlates of these dimensions (Study 2), it appears that entitlement in particular is associated with interpersonal antagonism while grandiosity is not. Our conceptualization of grandiose narcissism (i.e., with dimensions of grandiosity, entitlement) is inspired by that of Brown and colleagues

(2009), however there are some important differences. Brown and colleagues (2009) conceptualized grandiosity as primarily intrapersonal and entitlement as interpersonal, however we agree with Back and colleagues (2013) that *both* the socially advantageous and antagonistic aspects of narcissism concern intra and interpersonal processes. A grandiose sense of self concerns an intrapersonal inflated self-appraisal that may also manifest in social behaviours (e.g., bragging, boasting, attention-seeking, extraversion). Similarly, entitlement involves intrapersonal cognitions (e.g., a strong sense of deservedness) as well as interpersonal behaviours (e.g., manipulating others to serve one's goals, a willingness to step on the backs of others to get to the top).

Why are some aggressive children popular, yet other are not? Children who are bi-strategic (e.g. use *both* coercive and prosocial strategies to achieve their goals) have been found to be socially successful (Hawley, 2003; Hawley et al., 2008). This strategy has been described as "a well-adapted Machiavellian" approach to getting what one wants (Hawley, 2003, p. 273). How does entitlement fit into this profile? We suspect that it does not—that those high in entitlement are likely *not* bi-strategic but more unilaterally antagonistic and lack the prosocial suave to win social status. Our findings suggest that individuals high in entitlement do not win the social favour they so crave, especially when their antagonistic orientation is at odds with what is valued in their social context.

Table 1

Items for Self-Reported Communal Care and Admiration-Seeking

Communal Care
• "If someone in class does well, I am happy for them" • "It is important for me that the whole class does well" • "It is best when everybody is happy together" • "It's important for me to think about how my decisions will affect others in the class" • "Before I do something I think about how it would affect others" • "It is everybody's job to make sure that others are doing OK" • "In class, it's best to do things that are best for everyone" • "It's important for people in class to cooperate with each other" T1 ω = .86; T2 ω = .88
Admiration Seeking
• "Being admired means a lot to me, especially when I am admired by the popular kids in class" • "Being admired by others is more important than always being nice." • "Being admired is more important to me than being liked by everyone" • "One of my main goals is to be popular in my class" T1 ω = .84; T2 ω = .88

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; ω = omega.

Table 2

Care Model: Popularity as Predicted by Entitlement, Grandiosity, Care and Acceptance

			T1		T2	
Outcome	Predictor	Group Level	β (*SE* β)	*p*	β (*SE* β)	*p*
Popularity	Entitlement	SES	**.11 (.05)**	**.03**	.01 (.05)	.80
		Gender	**-.12 (.06)**	**.04**	.004 (.04)	.90
		Place	**.20 (.07)**	**.002**	**.08 (.04)**	**.03**
		Classroom Communal Care	**-.12 (.04)**	**.007**	**-.08 (.04)**	**.04**
	Grandiosity	SES	-.07 (.06)	.24	.03 (.04)	.41
		Gender	**.09 (.05)**	**.08**	-.004 (.04)	.93
		Place	**-.12 (.05)**	**.02**	-.04 (.04)	.33
		Classroom Communal Care	.08 (.06)	.16	.06 (.05)	.17
	Care	SES	**-.19 (.06)**	**.003**	**-.14 (.06)**	**.01**
		Gender	.03 (.09)	.73	.04 (.08)	.58
		Place	.03 (.07)	.73	.05 (.06)	.41
		Classroom Communal Care	**.16 (.07)**	**.02**	.08 (.08)	.35
	Acceptance	SES	**.17 (.06)**	**.009**	**.14 (.09)**	**.09**
		Gender	-.06 (.07)	.38	-.07 (.07)	.34
		Place	-.08 (.05)	.13	-.12 (.08)	.12
		Classroom Communal Care	.03 (.08)	.69	**.13 (.07)**	**.07**

Note. T1 = time one; T2 = time two; SES = socioeconomic status; β = standardized beta; *SE* β = standard error of the standardized beta. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean. Statistically significant findings and marginally significant findings are shown in bold.

Table 3

Justice Model: Popularity as Predicted by Entitlement, Grandiosity, Justice and Acceptance

			T1		T2	
Outcome	Predictor	Group Level	β (*SE* β)	*p*	β (*SE* β)	*p*
Popularity	Entitlement	SES	.07 (.05)	.16	.02 (.05)	.66
		Gender	-.10 (.07)	.15	.01 (.03)	.76
		Place	**.18 (.06)**	**.001**	**.07 (.04)**	**.06**
		Classroom Communal Care	**-.10 (.04)**	**.02**	**-.08 (.04)**	**.04**
	Grandiosity	SES	-.09 (.07)	.22	.02 (.04)	.57
		Gender	**.09 (.05)**	**.06**	-.02 (.04)	.65
		Place	**-.11 (.05)**	**.01**	-.03 (.04)	.48
		Classroom Communal Care	.10 (.06)	.11	.06(.05)	.17
	Justice	SES	**-.26 (.08)**	**.002**	-.06(.07)	.43
		Gender	.11 (.10)	.30	.07 (.07)	.28
		Place	.07 (.08)	.38	-.07 (.07)	.33
		Classroom Communal Care	.04 (.08)	.60	.06 (.09)	.47
	Acceptance	SES	**.20 (.07)**	**.006**	.10 (.08)	.22
		Gender	-.06 (.07)	.42	-.08 (.08)	.32
		Place	**-.09 (.06)**	**.10**	-.11(.08)	.16
		Classroom Communal Care	.11 (.09)	.19	**.15 (.07)**	**.02**

Note. T1 = time one; T2 = time two; SES =socioeconomic status; β = standardized beta; *SE* β = standard error of the standardized beta. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean. Statistically significant findings and marginally significant findings are shown in bold.

Table 4

Physical Aggression Model: Popularity as Predicted by Entitlement, Grandiosity, Physical Aggression and Acceptance

			T1		T2	
Outcome	Predictor	Group Level	β (*SE* β)	*p*	β (*SE* β)	*p*
Popularity	Entitlement	SES	**.10 (.04)**	**.02**	.02 (.04)	.72
		Gender	-.09 (.06)	.14	.02 (.03)	.55
		Place	**.16 (.05)**	**< .001**	**.07 (.04)**	**.04**
		Classroom Communal Care	**-.10 (.05)**	**.02**	**-.09 (.03)**	**.01**
	Grandiosity	SES	**-.11 (.04)**	**.007**	.01 (.04)	.70
		Gender	.06 (.05)	.23	-.02 (.04)	.55
		Place	**-.09 (.05)**	**.05**	-.04 (.04)	.39
		Classroom Communal Care	**.11 (.05)**	**.03**	**.07 (.04)**	**.09**
	Physical Agg	SES	**.17 (.08)**	**.04**	.09 (.06)	.14
		Gender	.06 (.06)	.38	**-.08 (.05)**	**.10**
		Place	.02 (.07)	.81	.03 (.07)	.71
		Classroom Communal Care	-.09 (.09)	.28	-.06 (.07)	.40
	Acceptance	SES	.11 (.08)	.15	.12 (.09)	.17
		Gender	.02 (.08)	.83	-.08 (.07)	.26
		Place	-.11 (.08)	.16	**-.13 (.08)**	**.09**
		Classroom Communal Care	.12 (.09)	.17	**.14 (.07)**	**.05**

Note. T1 = time one; T2 = time two; SES =socioeconomic status; Physical Agg = Physical Aggression; β = standardized beta; *SE* β = standard error of the standardized beta. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean. Statistically significant findings and marginally significant findings are shown in bold.

Table 5

Relational Aggression Model: Popularity as Predicted by Entitlement, Grandiosity, Relational Aggression and Acceptance

			T1		T2	
Outcome	Predictor	Group Level	β (*SE* β)	*p*	β (*SE* β)	*p*
Popularity	Entitlement	SES	.09 (.06)	.11	.03 (.05)	.55
		Gender	-.07 (.06)	.22	.01 (.03)	.71
		Place	**.15 (.05)**	**.003**	**.08 (.04)**	**.02**
		Classroom Communal Care	**-.11 (.05)**	**.03**	**-.09 (.03)**	**.006**
	Grandiosity	SES	**-.11 (.05)**	**.02**	.01 (.04)	.83
		Gender	.05 (.05)	.32	-.02 (.04)	.54
		Place	**-.07 (.05)**	**.10**	-.05 (.04)	.25
		Classroom Communal Care	**.11 (.05)**	**.02**	**.07 (.04)**	**.09**
	Relational Agg	SES	**.12 (.07)**	**.09**	**.12 (.05)**	**.03**
		Gender	-.05 (.06)	.36	**-.13 (.05)**	**.005**
		Place	-.06 (.07)	.39	-.01 (.05)	.87
		Classroom Communal Care	-.02 (.06)	.71	.004 (.05)	.93
	Acceptance	SES	**.14 (.08)**	**.08**	.13 (.09)	.16
		Gender	-.02 (.09)	.86	-.09 (.07)	.22
		Place	-.11 (.08)	.16	-.13 (.09)	.14
		Classroom Communal Care	.14 (.10)	.13	**.16 (.07)**	**.03**

Note. T1 = time one; T2 = time two; SES =socioeconomic status; Relational Agg = Relational Aggression; β = standardized beta; *SE* β = standard error of the standardized beta. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean. Statistically significant findings and marginally significant findings are shown in bold.

Table 6

Predicted Group Differences on Popularity for the Care Model

Outcome	Predictor	Group	T1	T2
Popularity	Entitlement	SES Low	-.11	-
		SES High	.10	-
		Boys	.12	-
		Girls	-.13	-
		Barranquilla	-.20	-.06
		Montreal	.19	.10
		Classroom Low Communal Care	.11	.10
		Classroom High Communal Care	-.12	-.05
	Grandiosity	Boys	-.07	-
		Girls	.11	-
		Barranquilla	.14	-
		Montreal	-.10	-
	Care	SES Low	.33	.09
		SES High	-.05	-.18
		Classroom Low Communal Care	-.03	-
		Classroom High Communal Care	.30	-
	Acceptance	SES Low	.14	.26
		SES High	.47	.55
		Classroom Low Communal Care	-	.28
		Classroom High Communal Care	-	.53

Note. SES = socioeconomic status. Predicted scores were computed for statistically significant and marginally statistically significant effects only. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean.

Table 7

Predicted Group Differences on Popularity for the Justice Model

Outcome	Predictor	Group	T1	T2
Popularity	Entitlement	Barranquilla	-.20	-.05
		Montreal	.17	.10
		Classroom Low Communal Care	.09	.11
		Classroom High Communal Care	-.12	-.06
	Grandiosity	Boys	-.06	-
		Girls	.11	-
		Barranquilla	.14	-
		Montreal	-.09	-
		Classroom Low Communal Care	-.08^{+}	-
		Classroom High Communal Care	.13^{+}	-
	Justice	SES Low	.29	-
		SES High	-.22	-
	Acceptance	SES Low	.19	-
		SES High	.58	-
		Barranquilla	.48	-
		Montreal	.29	-
		Classroom Low Communal Care	-	.24
		Classroom High Communal Care	-	.55

Note. SES = socioeconomic status. Predicted scores were computed for statistically significant and marginally statistically significant effects only. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean. $^{+}$ indicates the p value = .11

Table 8

Predicted Group Differences on Popularity for the Physical Aggression Model

Outcome	Predictor	Group	T1	T2
Popularity	Entitlement	SES Low	-.14	-
		SES High	.07	-
		Barranquilla	-.20	-.06
		Montreal	.13	.09
		Classroom Low Communal Care	.07	.10
		Classroom High Communal Care	-.14	-.08
	Grandiosity	SES Low	.15	-
		SES High	-.08	-
		Barranquilla	.12	-
		Montreal	-.05	-
		Classroom Low Communal Care	-.07	-.09
		Classroom High Communal Care	.14	.05
	Physical Agg	SES Low	.01	-
		SES High	.35	-
		Boys	-	.17
		Girls	-	.02
	Acceptance	Barranquilla	-	.55
		Montreal	-	.29
		Classroom Low Communal Care	-	.28
		Classroom High Communal Care	-	.56

Note. SES = socioeconomic status; Physical Agg = Physical Aggression. Predicted scores were computed for statistically significant and marginally statistically significant effects only. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean.

Table 9

Predicted Group Differences on Popularity for the Relational Aggression Model

Outcome	Predictor	Group	T1	T2
Popularity	Entitlement	SES Low	-.13 +	-
		SES High	.06 +	-
		Barranquilla	-.19	-.06
		Montreal	.11	.10
		Class Low Communal Care	.07	.11
		Class High Communal Care	-.14	-.07
	Grandiosity	SES Low	.14	-
		SES High	-.09	-
		Barranquilla	.10	-
		Montreal	-.05	-
		Class Low Communal Care	-.08	-.08
		Class High Communal Care	.13	.06
	Relational Agg	SES Low	.07	.01
		SES High	.31	.25
		Boys	-	.26
		Girls	-	.01
	Acceptance	SES Low	.33	-
		SES High	.60	-
		Class Low Communal Care	-	.28
		Class High Communal Care	-	.59

Note. SES = socioeconomic status. Relational Agg = Relational Aggression. Predicted scores were computed for statistically significant and marginally statistically significant effects only. High and Low SES and Classroom Communal Care are defined as 1 SD above or below the mean. + indicates the p value = .11

General Discussion

The overarching aim of this project was to provide support for two distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children: grandiosity and entitlement, while assessing any differential social consequences. Based on research with adults, we expected entitlement to be associated with more detrimental social outcomes as compared to grandiosity. Support was found for these two core dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children (who were on average 11.5 years old). Working with school-aged children allowed for the perspective of peers, providing a better understanding of how grandiosity and entitlement relate to social functioning. This project consisted of three studies: Study 1 sought support for two core dimensions of grandiose narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement), Study 2 explored their differential social correlates (e.g., aggressive and prosocial behaviours), and Study 3 assessed how these dimensions of narcissism related to popularity with consideration for characteristics of the context within which these individuals were functioning socially. This general discussion will highlight the main findings of this project and their contribution to the literature.

Summary & Conclusions

Study 1 sought and found psychometric support for two dimensions of grandiose narcissism that are related, distinct and measurable across two cultural contexts. Consistent with previous literature, grandiosity was characterized by items that speak to a bold expression of self-appraised greatness, while entitlement items reflected a sense of deserving more *from* others, more *than* others, and a willingness to use others for one's means (Brown et al., 2009). Study 1 also provided basic support that grandiosity in particular is associated with inflated self-views, in that it predicted high-self appraisals (of social competency and self-worth) above and beyond the level of acceptance by peers. The picture was different and more complicated for entitlement (with smaller effect sizes) which appeared to relate to both positive and negative self-appraisals. These findings speak to our hypothesis that these dimensions of grandiose narcissism concern different intra and interpersonal processes.

We consider Study 1 the foundation of this project and important in showing that these two core dimensions of grandiose narcissism are measurable in children. In recent years, the adult literature on narcissism has been moving towards a succinct definition of narcissism and clarity concerning its core dimensions. There has been a lack of clarity about the core dimensions of narcissism in research with children and adults, as reflected by the widely different proposed

factor structures of existing measures. Through extensive empirical studies, the literature with adult samples has arrived at a degree of consensus about the defining dimensions of narcissism (Donnellan et al., 2021). A main and important conclusion in the literature is that at its core, narcissism concerns self-importance and entitlement, and these defining components transcend narcissism's various presentations, which can be boldly and/or covertly expressed (Krizan & Herlache, 2018). The present project focused on grandiose narcissism in children in particular, which has been proposed to be multidimensional with core aspects of grandiosity and entitlement (Brown et al., 2009). Clarifying and identifying two measurable core dimensions of grandiose narcissism allows us to then better understand their potentially different social correlates.

Study 2 of this project aimed to address this question, in assessing how self-reported narcissism (at the level of grandiosity and entitlement) related to aggressive and prosocial outcomes in children. Specifically, peer-report data on aggressive behaviour (physical aggression, relational aggression) and prosocial behaviours (care, justice, comfort, proactive help, and reactive help) were used as indices of a child's social functioning. Based on the adult literature, we expected that entitlement would be more strongly associated with harmful and antagonistic social behaviours as compared to grandiosity. This hypothesis was supported. We found that within-time, entitlement negatively related to all the prosocial behaviours, and also that entitlement negatively predicted later peer-reported care and justice behaviours in a way that grandiosity did not. We found that entitlement and physical aggression were positively correlated within time (at a marginal statistically significant level). Entitlement also predicted later physical aggression as well as relational aggression (at a marginal statistically significant level). These patterns were not observed for grandiosity. These findings in children are consistent with the adult literature, and support the idea that entitlement concerns a darker side of narcissism with more harmful social consequences.

We consider the findings of Study 2 to be important in that they provide clarity on how these dimensions of grandiose narcissism actually play out in individuals' social worlds. In addition, while the idea that childhood and adult narcissism alike are associated with more aggressive, antagonistic and less empathetic behaviours is not new (e.g., Thomaes & Brummelman, 2016), our study sought clarity on which dimensions of narcissism are associated with problematic ways of interacting in children. We also believe that this study offers a rich perspective—that of peers within social circles who can offer critical insights on their

classmates' other-orientated behaviours. Additionally, we found it important to study an array of behaviours that affect others. In other words, we did not only study harmful behaviours such as aggression but were interested in the relative deficit of prosocial behaviours intended to benefit others, which is an understudied area in the literature. Prosocial behaviours have been linked to many positive outcomes for children, and so predictors of lower prosociality, including entitlement, warrant attention. We believe the findings of Study 2 lend credence to the fact that entitlement and grandiosity are distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism in children. Further, our findings suggest that entitlement in particular is at risk of damaging social relations with consequences for the individual and those in the peer group. We consider this information to be important in ways that extend beyond theory. Targeting entitlement could assist in identifying where and how interventions may be implemented, for example assessing the possible benefits of teaching perspective-taking skills in order to promote empathy (Hepper, Hart, & Sedikides, 2014).

Study 3 investigated how well children high in narcissism actually fare in their social worlds in terms of how they are typically received by their peers. We were interested in looking at this question both at the level of the core dimensions of narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) while also taking into consideration characteristics of the social context in which individuals function. A premise of Study 3 was that while Study 2 identified patterns of behaviours (e.g., entitlement being related to more harmful and less helpful other-oriented behaviours), *how* these behaviours were received by others was not known. Specifically, the models in Study 3 (of care, justice, physical aggression and relational aggression) tested four pathways to popularity: popularity predicted by 1) entitlement, 2) grandiosity, 3) the respective social behaviour for that model, and 4) acceptance, across four group-level variables (SES, sex, place, and classroom norms of communal care). The findings across models are rich and plentiful, so here we will focus on our main points of inquiry for this study. The most consistent finding across our models was that entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in classrooms that were highly caring, indicating that the interpersonal antagonism embodied by entitlement does not win social status in contexts that value caring behaviour. Entitlement was also found to negatively predict popularity in Barranquilla, Colombia as compared to in Montreal. In addition, in some of our models, entitlement more negatively predicted popularity in lower SES groups as compared to in higher SES groups, and negatively predicted popularity

for girls as compared to boys. The same pattern was not observed for grandiosity, which in several of our models more *positively* predicted popularity in classrooms high in communal care as compared to classrooms lower in communal care values. In some models, grandiosity also more *positively* predicted popularity in Barranquilla as compared to Montreal, in groups with relatively lower SES, as well as for girls as compared to boys. This suggests that in certain groups there are characteristics of entitlement that are perceived more negatively which decrease social status and characteristics of grandiosity that are perceived more positively and that translate into higher social status. These different patterns lend credence to the idea that grandiosity and entitlement are distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism related to different processes.

We consider the findings of Study 3 to be important in that they provide information on the social status of children high in narcissism at the level of its core dimensions while also considering the social context. Social status tends to be a priority for early adolescents in general, but strivings for popularity/admiration seeking are especially pertinent for those high in narcissism (e.g., Krizan & Herlache, 2018). At the level of zero-order correlations, we found that this emphasis on popularity/admiration seeking was especially strong for entitlement. The results of Study 3 suggest that in certain contexts this striving for status and admiration does not succeed—in fact, entitlement was found to be a negative predictor of popularity. The fact that quite opposite patterns were observed for grandiosity supports the idea that entitlement and grandiosity are related but distinct dimensions of grandiose narcissism with different social outcomes and impacts. Another strength of our study is that we drew upon data collected in two distinct cultural settings while also accounting for characteristics of the contexts in which children function day-to-day (e.g., classroom norms for communal care). We recall that social status is afforded by one's peers and so accounting for characteristics of both the individual and their social context is important (Bukowski, 2011).

Future Directions

Our findings appear to align with other important research on grandiose narcissism in adults that find it to be multidimensional and that its different dimensions are related to different social processes. Grandiose narcissism is argued to concern the ultimate goal of maintaining a grandiose sense of self, and it has been argued that this occurs through two main strategies: assertive self-enhancement (e.g., attempts to gain admiration) and antagonistic self-protection in

the face of perceived threat. These strategies are argued to concern two pathways to (un)popularity—assertiveness has been found to be positively evaluated and win social favour, while antagonism (e.g., arrogant-aggressive behaviours) results in negative evaluations and decreased popularity (Back et al., 2013; Leckelt et al., 2015). This model measures admiration and rivalry, while the present project looks at grandiosity and entitlement. An interesting future direction would be to further explore pathways to popularity and unpopularity in relation to aspects of grandiose narcissism in children. For example, Study 2 shows that high entitlement is positively related to aggression and negatively to prosocial behaviour. It would be interesting to assess the constellation of entitled characteristics that are frowned upon by others. Conversely, we are interested to know which pathways to popularity are associated with grandiosity at the level of its characteristics—for example, is it boldness, leadership qualities or assertiveness that help win social favour? We note that our project concerns grandiose narcissism specifically and recognize the need for studies that assess the full spectrum of narcissism in childhood, including vulnerable presentations (Krizan & Herlache, 2018).

We hope that the findings in this project are of theoretical and practical relevance. Our findings concur with recent conclusions in the adult literature that narcissism is not one thing and also that defining aspects can be identified. This is important as these aspects appear to be related to different ways of being in the world and being with others. Evidence is gathering that entitlement in particular is associated with more antagonistic ways of interacting and orienting oneself with others. This information should be useful both in the planning of interventions as well as understanding when it is important to intervene. This project suggests that high levels of entitlement are of particular concern. In particular, it would be interesting to assess whether interventions to increase perspective-taking and mentalization (e.g., the ability to understand one's own mind and that of others) might reduce levels of entitlement or mitigate the detrimental outcomes associated with this aspect of narcissism. Identifying problematic aspects of narcissism in youth affords us a developmental perspective of these processes, and also provides the opportunity to intervene when it is more feasible at a practical level (e.g., in schools). Further, it would be ideal to intervene early in development, before entitled patterns of behaviour may become more entrenched.

In summary, this project found support for two core dimensions of grandiose narcissism (grandiosity and entitlement) with differential social correlates in terms of aggression and

prosocial behaviours. Further, accounting for characteristics of the peer group, we found that entitlement negatively predicted popularity, particularly in Colombia as compared to Canada as well as in highly caring classrooms—presumably where an antagonistic stance flies in the face of what is valued. We found the opposite pattern for grandiosity: in some of our models, this dimension positivity predicted popularity in these contexts. We believe that our findings as a whole support the idea that these are two central dimensions of grandiose narcissism with important social repercussions that warrant being studied in children both separately and together.

References

Ackerman, R. A., Hands, A. J., Donnellan, M. B., Hopwood, C. J., & Witt, E. A. (2017). Experts' views regarding the conceptualization of narcissism. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *31*(3), 346–361. https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi_2016_30_254

Ackerman, R. A., Witt, E. A., Donnellan, M. B., Trzesniewski, K. H., Robins, R. W., & Kashy, D. A. (2011). What does the narcissistic personality inventory really measure? *Assessment*, *18*(1), 67–87. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191110382845

Adams, R. E., Santo, J. B., & Bukowski, W. M. (2011). The presence of a best friend buffers the effects of negative experiences. *Developmental Psychology*, *47*(6), 1786–1791. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025401

Andreou, E. (2006). Social preference, perceived popularity and social intelligence: Relations to overt and relational aggression. *School Psychology International*, *27*(3), 339–351. https://doi.org/10.1177/0143034306067286

Ang, R. P., & Raine, A. (2009). Reliability, validity and invariance of the narcissistic personality questionnaire for children-revised (NPQC-R). *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment*, *31*(3), 143–151. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10862-008-9112-2

Ang, R. P., Tan, K.-A., & Talib Mansor, A. (2011). Normative beliefs about aggression as a mediator of narcissistic exploitativeness and cyberbullying. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *26*(13), 2619–2634. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260510388286

Ang, R. P., & Yusof, N. (2006). Development and initial validation of the narcissistic personality questionnaire for children: A preliminary investigation using school-based Asian samples. *Educational Psychology*, *26*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410500340942

Asher, S. R., & McDonald, K. L. (2009). The behavioral basis of acceptance, rejection, and perceived popularity. In Kenneth H. Rubin, W. M. Bukowski, & B. Laursen (Eds.), *Social, emotional, and personality development in context* (pp. 232–248). The Guilford Press.

Back, M. D., Küfner, A. C. P., Dufner, M., Gerlach, T. M., Rauthmann, J. F., & Denissen, J. J. A. (2013). Narcissistic admiration and rivalry: Disentangling the bright and dark sides of narcissism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034431

Back, M. D., Schmukle, S. C., & Egloff, B. (2010). Why are narcissists so charming at first sight? Decoding the narcissism-popularity link at zero acquaintance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *98*(1), 132–145. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016338

Baron, R. A., & Richardson, D. R. (1994). *Human aggression* (2nd ed.). Plenum Press.

Barry, C. T., Frick, P. J., & Killian, A. L. (2003). The relation of narcissism and self-esteem to conduct problems in children: A preliminary investigation. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, *32*(1), 139–152. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP3201_13

Barry, C.T., Lui, J. H. L., Lee-Rowland, L. M., & Moran, E. V. (2017). Adolescent communal narcissism and peer perceptions. *Journal of Personality*, *85*(6), 782–792. https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12287

Barry, C.T., Wallace, M. T., & Guelker, M. D. (2011). Developmental and theoretical influences on the conceptualization and assessment of youth narcissism. In C.T. Barry, P. K. Kerig, K. K. Stellwagen, & T. D. Barry (Eds.), *Narcissism and Machiavellianism in Youth: Implications for the Development of Adaptive and Maladaptive Behavior* (pp. 71–88). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/12352-004

Barry, T. D., Barry, C. T., Deming, A. M., & Lochman, J. E. (2008). Stability of psychopathic characteristics in childhood: The influence of social relationships. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *35*(2), 244–262. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854807310508

Baumeister, R. F., Bushman, B. J., & Campbell, W. K. (2000). Self-esteem, narcissism, and aggression: Does violence result from low self-esteem or from threatened egotism? *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *9*(1), 26–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.00053

Bellmore, A., Nishina, A., & Graham, S. (2011). Peer popularity in the context of ethnicity. In *Popularity in the peer system.* In A. H. N. Cillessen, D. Schwartz, & L. Mayeux (Eds.), *Popularity in the peer system* (pp. 193–215). The Guilford Press.

Brown, R. P., Budzek, K., & Tamborski, M. (2009). On the meaning and measure of narcissism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *35*(7), 951–964. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167209335461

Brunell, A. B., & Buelow, M. T. (2018). Homogenous scales of narcissism: Using the psychological entitlement scale, interpersonal exploitativeness scale, and narcissistic grandiosity scale to study narcissism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *123*(September 2017), 182–190. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.11.029

Brunell, A. B., & Campbell, W. K. (2011). Narcissism and romantic relationships: Understanding the paradox. *The Handbook of Narcissism and Narcissistic Personality Disorder: Theoretical Approaches, Empirical Findings, and Treatments*, *January 2011*,

344–350. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118093108.ch30

Buelow, M. T., & Brunell, A. B. (2014). Facets of grandiose narcissism predict involvement in health-risk behaviors. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *69*, 193–198. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2014.05.031

Bukowski, W. M. (2011). Popularity as a social concept: Meanings and significance. In Antonius H.N. Cillessen, D. Schwartz, & L. Mayeux (Eds.), *Popularity in the peer system* (pp. 3–24). The Guilford Press.

Bukowski, W. M., Cillessen, A. H. N., & Velásquez, A. M. (2012). Peer ratings. In B. P. Laursen, T. D. Little, & N. A. Card (Eds.), *Handbook of developmental research methods.* (pp. 211–228). The Guildford Press.

Bukowski, W. M., Schwartzman, A., Santo, J. B., Bagwell, C., & Adams, R. (2009). Reactivity and distortions in the self: Narcissism, types of aggression, and the functioning of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis during early adolescence. *Development and Psychopathology*, *21*(4), 1249–1262. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579409990149

Bushman, B. J., & Baumeister, R. F. (1998). Threatened egotism, narcissism, self-esteem, and direct and displaced aggression: Does self-love or self-hate lead to violence? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*(1), 219–229. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.1.219

Bushman, B. J., & Huesmann, L. R. (2010). Aggression. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (5th ed., pp. 833–863). John Wiley & Sons.

Cai, H., Kwan, V. S. Y., & Sedikides, C. (2012). A sociocultural approach to narcissism: The case of modern China. *European Journal of Personality*, *26*, 529–535. https://doi.org/10.1002/per.852 A

Cain, N. M., Pincus, A. L., & Ansell, E. B. (2008). Narcissism at the crossroads: Phenotypic description of pathological narcissism across clinical theory, social/personality psychology, and psychiatric diagnosis. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *28*(4), 638–656. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2007.09.006

Caldwell-Harris, C. L., & Ayçiçegi, A. (2006). When personality and culture clash: The psychological distress of allocentrics in an individualist culture and idiocentrics in a collectivist culture. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *43*(3), 331–361. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461506066982

Campbell, W. K. (1999). Narcissism and romantic attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*(6), 1254–1270. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.77.6.1254

Campbell, W. K. (2005). *When you love a man who loves himself: How to deal with a one way relationship*. Sourcebooks Casablanca.

Campbell, W. K., Bonacci, A. M., Shelton, J., Exline, J. J., & Bushman, B. J. (2004). Psychological entitlement: Interpersonal consequences and validation of a self-report measure. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *83*(1), 29–45. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa8301_04

Campbell, W. K., Brunell, A. B., & Finkel, E. J. (2006). Narcissism, interpersonal self-regulation, and romantic relationships: An agency model approach. In E. J. Finkel & K. D. Vohs (Eds.), *Self and relationships: Connecting intrapersonal and interperson* (pp. 57–83). Guilford Press.

Campbell, W. K., Bush, C. P., Brunell, A. B., & Shelton, J. (2005). Understanding the social costs of narcissism: The case of the tragedy of the commons. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*(10), 1358–1368. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205274855

Campbell, W. K., & Campbell, S. M. (2009). On the self-regulatory dynamics created by the peculiar benefits and costs of narcissism: A contextual reinforcement model and examination of leadership. *Self and Identity*, *8*(2–3), 214–232. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298860802505129

Campbell, W. K., Foster, C. A., & Finkel, E. J. (2002). Does self-love lead to love for others? A story of narcissistic game playing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *83*(2), 340–354. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.2.340

Campbell, W. K., Reeder, G. D., Sedikides, C., & Elliot, A. J. (2000). Narcissism and comparative self-enhancement strategies. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *34*(3), 329–347. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1006/jrpe.2000.2282

Campbell, W. K., Rudich, E. A., & Sedikides, C. (2002). Narcissism, self-esteem, and the positivity of self-views: Two portraits of self-love. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*(3), 358–368. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202286007

Card, N. A., Stucky, B. D., Sawalani, G. M., & Little, T. D. (2008). Direct and indirect aggression during childhood and adolescence: A meta-analytic review of gender differences, intercorrelations, and relations to maladjustment. *Child Development*, *79*(5),

1185–1229. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01184.x

Carlo, G. (2014). The development and correlates of prosocial moral behaviors. In M. Killen & J. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (2nd ed., pp. 208–234). Psychology Press.

Carlson, E. N., Vazire, S., & Oltmanns, T. F. (2011). You probably think this paper's about you: Narcissists' perceptions of their personality and reputation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *101*(1), 185–201. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023781

Cillessen, A. H. N., & Marks, P. E. L. (2011). Conceptualizing and measuring popularity. In A. H. N. Cillessen, D. Schwartz, & L. Mayeux (Eds.) *Popularity in the peer system* (pp. 25–56). Guilford Press.

Cillessen, A. H. N., & Mayeux, L. (2004). From censure to reinforcement: Developmental changes in the association between aggression and social status. *Child Development*, *75*(1), 147–163. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00660.x

Cillessen, A. H. N., & Rose, A. J. (2005). Understanding popularity in the peer system. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(2), 102–105. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00343.x

Crick, N. R. (1997). Engagement in gender normative versus nonnormative forms of aggression: Links to social-psychological adjustment. *Developmental Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.33.4.610

Crick, N. R., & Dodge, K. A. (1996). Social information-processing mechanisms in reactive and proactive aggression. *Child Development*, *67*(3), 993–1002. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1131

Czarna, A. Z., Dufner, M., & Clifton, A. D. (2014). The effects of vulnerable and grandiose narcissism on liking-based and disliking-based centrality in social networks. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *50*, 42–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JRP.2014.02.004

Czarna, A. Z., Leifeld, P., Śmieja, M., Dufner, M., & Salovey, P. (2016). Do narcissism and emotional intelligence win us friends? Modeling dynamics of peer popularity using inferential network analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *42*(11), 1588–1599. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167216666265

Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística. (n.d.). *Preguntas Frecuentes sobre Estratificación.*

https://www.dane.gov.co/files/geoestadistica/Preguntas_frecuentes_estratificacion.pdf%0D%0A

Dodge, K. A., & Coie, J. D. (1987). Social-information-processing factors in reactive and proactive aggression in children's peer groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *53*(6), 1146–1158. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.53.6.1146

Donnellan, M. B., Ackerman, R. A., & Wright, A. G. C. (2021). Narcissism in contemporary personality psychology. In O. P. John & R. W. Robins (Eds.), *Handbook of personality:Theory and research* (pp. 625–641). The Guilford Press.

Eberly-Lewis, M. B., & Coetzee, T. M. (2015). Dimensionality in adolescent prosocial tendencies: Individual differences in serving others versus serving the self. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *82*, 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2015.02.032

Eisenberg, N. (2014). *Altruistic Emotion, Cognition, and Behavior (PLE: Emotion)*. Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315746135

Eisenberg, N., Spinrad, T. L., & Knafo-Noam, A. (2015). Prosocial development. In R. M. Lerner & M. E. Lamb (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Socioemotional processes.* (Vol. 3, pp. 610–656). John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/concordia-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1895802

Fabes, R. A., Carlo, G., Kupanoff, K., & Laible, D. (1999). Early adolescence and prosocial/moral behavior: The role of individual processes. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *19*(1), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431699019001001

Findley, D., & Ojanen, T. (2013). Agentic and communal goals in early adulthood: Associations with narcissism, empathy, and perceptions of self and others. *Self and Identity*, *12*(5), 504–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2012.694660

Fossati, A., Borroni, S., Eisenberg, N., & Maffei, C. (2010). Relations of proactive and reactive dimensions of aggression to overt and covert narcissism in nonclinical adolescents. *Aggressive Behavior*, *36*(1), 21–27. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20332

Foster, J. D., Campbell, W. K., & Twenge, J. M. (2003). Individual differences in narcissism: Inflated self-views across the lifespan and around the world. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *37*(6), 469–486. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00026-6

Gebauer, J. E., Sedikides, C., Verplanken, B., & Maio, G. R. (2012). Communal narcissism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *103*(5), 854–878.

https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029629

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Harvard University Press.

Grafeman, S. J., Barry, C. T., Marcus, D. K., & Leachman, L. L. (2015). Interpersonal perceptions of narcissism in an at-risk adolescent sample: A social relations analysis. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *25*(1), 92–100. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12088

Greenwood, D., Long, C. R., & Dal Cin, S. (2013). Fame and the social self: The need to belong, narcissism, and relatedness predict the appeal of fame. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *55*(5), 490–495. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2013.04.020

Grijalva, E., & Harms, P. D. (2014). Narcissism: An integrative synthesis and dominance complementarity model. *Academy of Management Perspective*, *28*(2), 108–127. https://journals.aom.org/doi/abs/10.5465/amp.2012.0048

Grijalva, E., Newman, D. A., Louis, T., Donnellan, M. B., Harms, P. D., Robins, R. W., & Yan, T. (2014). Gender differences in narcissism: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *141*(2), 261–310. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621718.2016.1251733

Ha, C., Petersen, N., & Sharp, C. (2008). Narcissism, self-esteem, and conduct problems: Evidence from a British community sample of 7-11 year olds. *European Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, *17*(7), 406–413. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00787-008-0682-z

Harter, S. (1982). The perceived competence scale for children. *Child Development*, *53*(1), 87–97. https://doi.org/10.2307/1129640

Harter, S. (2012). *The construction of the self: Developmental and sociocultural foundations* (2nd ed.). Guilford Press.

Hawley, P. H. (2003). Prosocial and coercive configurations of resource control in early adolescence: A case for the well-adapted Machiavellian. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *49*(3), 279–309. https://doi.org/10.1353/mpq.2003.0013

Hawley, P. H., Little, T. D., & Card, N. N. (2008). The myth of the alpha male: A new look at dominance-related beliefs and behaviors among adolescent males and females. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025407084054

Heatherton, T. F., & Vohs, K. D. (2000). Interpersonal evaluations following threats to self: Role of self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *78*(4), 725–736.

https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.4.725

Hepper, E. G., Hart, C. M., Meek, R., Cisek, S., & Sedikides, C. (2014). Narcissism and empathy in young offenders and non-offenders. *European Journal of Personality*, *28*(2), 201–210. https://doi.org/10.1002/per.1939

Hepper, E. G., Hart, C. M., & Sedikides, C. (2014). Moving Narcissus: Can narcissists be empathic? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *40*(9), 1079–1091. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167214535812

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Sage.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Hofstede Insights. (2021a). *Canada*. https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/canada/

Hofstede Insights. (2021b). *Colombia*. https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country/colombia/

Hogan, R. (1982). A socioanalytic theory of personality. In *Personality: Current theory and research* (pp. 55–89). University of Nebraska Press.

Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *6*(1), 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

Hume, D. (1739/1969). *A treatise of human nature*. Penguin Press.

Jauk, E., Breyer, D., Kanske, P., & Wakabayashi, A. (2021). Narcissism in independent and interdependent cultures. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *177*(January), 110716. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.110716

Kant, I. (1785/1959). *Foundations of the metaphysics of morals*. Bobbs-Merrill.

Killen, M., & Smetana, J. G. (2015). Origins and development of morality. In R. M. Lerner & M. E. Lamb (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (7th ed., Vol. 3, pp. 701–749). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Kline, R. B. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (2nd ed.). Guildford Press.

Klomek, A. B., Sourander, A., & Elonheimo, H. (2015). Bullying by peers in childhood and effects on psychopathology, suicidality, and criminality in adulthood. *The Lancet*

Psychiatry, *2*(10), 930–941. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(15)00223-0

Kohlberg, L. (1976). Moral stages and moralization: The cognitive-developmental approach. In T. Lickona (Ed.), *Moral development and behavior: Theory, research and social issues* (pp. 84–107). Holt, Rinehart, & Winston. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Konrath, S., Bushman, B. J., & Campbell, W. K. (2006). Attenuating the link between threatened egotism and aggression. *Psychological Science*, *17*(11), 995–1001. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01818.x

Konrath, S., Ho, M. H., & Zarins, S. (2016). The strategic helper: Narcissism and prosocial motives and behaviors. *Current Psychology*, *35*(2), 182–194. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-016-9417-3

Krizan, Z., & Herlache, A. D. (2018). The narcissism spectrum model: A synthetic view of narcissistic personality. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *22*(1), 3–31. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868316685018

Küfner, A. C. P., Nestler, S., & Back, M. D. (2013). The two pathways to being an (un-)popular narcissist. *Journal of Personality*, *81*(2), 184–195. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2012.00795.x

Lafontana, K. M., & Cillessen, A. H. N. (2010). Developmental changes in the priority of perceived status in childhood and adolescence. *Social Development*, *19*(1), 130–147. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2008.00522.x

Lannin, D. G., Guyll, M., Krizan, Z., Madon, S., & Cornish, M. (2014). When are grandiose and vulnerable narcissists least helpful? *Personality and Individual Differences*, *56*(1), 127–132. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2013.08.035

Lansu, T. A. M., Cillessen, A. H. N., & Bukowski, W. M. (2013). Implicit and explicit peer evaluation: Associations with early adolescents' prosociality, aggression, and bullying. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *23*(4), 762–771. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12028

Lease, A. M., Kennedy, C. A., & Axelrod, J. L. (2002). Children's social constructions of popularity. *Social Development*, *11*(1), 87–109. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00188

Leckelt, M., Geukes, K., Küfner, A. C. P., Niemeyer, L. M., Hutteman, R., Osterholz, S., Egloff, B., Nestler, S., & Back, M. D. (2020). A longitudinal field investigation of narcissism and popularity over time: How agentic and antagonistic aspects of narcissism shape the development of peer relationships. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *46*(4), 643–

659. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219872477

Leckelt, M., Küfner, A. C. P., Nestler, S., & Back, M. D. (2015). Behavioral processes underlying the decline of narcissists' popularity over time. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *109*(5), 856–871. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000057

Lochman, J. E., Wayland, K. K., & White, K. J. (1993). Social goals: Relationship to adolescent adjustment and to social problem solving. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *21*(2), 135–151. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00911312

Luo, Y. L. L., Cai, H., Sedikides, C., & Song, H. (2014). Distinguishing communal narcissism from agentic narcissism: A behavior genetics analysis on the agency-communion model of narcissism. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *49*, 52–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JRP.2014.01.001

Luo, Y. L. L., Cai, H., & Song, H. (2014). A behavioral genetic study of intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions of narcissism. *PLoS ONE*, *9*(4). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0093403

Marks, P. E., Cillessen, A. H. N., Andreou, E., Bukowski, W. M., & Caravita, S. C. S. (2009). International perspectives on popularity: The meanings and constructions of popularity across cultures. *Unpublished Manuscript*.

Martinez, M. A., Zeichner, A., Reidy, D. E., & Miller, J. D. (2008). Narcissism and displaced aggression: Effects of positive, negative, and delayed feedback. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *44*(1), 140–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2007.07.012

Mayeux, L., Houser, J. J., & Dyches, D. K. (2011). Social acceptance and popularity: Two distinct forms of peer status. In A. H. N. Cillessen, D. Schwartz, & L. Mayeux (Eds.), *Popularity in the peer system* (pp. 79–102). The Guilford Press.

Miller, J. D., & Campbell, W. K. (2008). Comparing clinical and social-personality conceptualizations of narcissism. *Journal of Personality*, *76*(3), 449–476. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00492.x

Miller, J. D., & Campbell, W. K. (2011). Addressing criticisms of the narcissistic personality inventory (NPI). In *The handbook of narcissism and narcissistic personality disorder: Theoretical approaches, empirical findings, and treatments* (pp. 146–152).

Miller, J. D., Hoffman, B. J., Gaughan, E. T., Gentile, B., Maples, J., & Campbell, W. K. (2011). Grandiose and vulnerable narcissism: A nomological network analysis. *Journal of*

Personality, *79*(5), 1013–1042. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00711.x

Miller, J. D., Lynam, D. R., Hyatt, C. S., & Campbell, W. K. (2017). Controversies in narcissism. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, *13*(1), 291–315. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-032816-045244

Miller, J. D., Price, J., & Campbell, W. K. (2012). Is the narcissistic personality inventory still relevant? A test of independent grandiosity and entitlement scales in the assessment of narcissism. *Assessment*, *19*(1), 8–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191111429390

Morf, C. C., & Rhodewalt, F. (2001). Unraveling the paradoxes of narcissism: A dynamic self-regulatory processing model. *Psychological Inquiry*, *12*(4), 177–196. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327965PLI1204

Morf, C. C., Torchetti, L., & Schürch, E. (2012). Narcissism from the perspective of the dynamic self-regulatory processing model. In *The Handbook of Narcissism and Narcissistic Personality Disorder: Theoretical Approaches, Empirical Findings, and Treatments* (pp. 56–70). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118093108.ch6

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2010). *Mplus User's Guide. Sixth Edition*. Muthén & Muthén.

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2012). *Mplus User's Guide. Seventh Edition*. Muthén & Muthén.

Nehrlich, A. D., Gebauer, J. E., Sedikides, C., & Schoel, C. (2019). Agentic narcissism, communal narcissism, and prosociality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *117*(1), 142–165. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000190

Newcomb, A. F., Bukowski, W. M., & Pattee, L. (1993). Children's peer relations: A meta-analytic review of popular, rejected, neglected, controversial, and average sociometric status. *Psychological Bulletin*, *113*(1), 99–128. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.113.1.99

O'Boyle, E. H., Forsyth, D. R., Banks, G. C., & McDaniel, M. A. (2012). A meta-analysis of the dark triad and work behavior: A social exchange perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *97*(3), 557–579. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025679

Ojanen, T., Findley, D., & Fuller, S. (2012). Physical and relational aggression in early adolescence: Associations with narcissism, temperament, and social goals. *Aggressive Behavior*, *38*(2), n/a-n/a. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21413

Ong, C. W., Roberts, R., Arthur, C. A., Woodman, T., & Akehurst, S. (2016). The leader ship is sinking: A temporal investigation of narcissistic leadership. *Journal of Personality*, *84*(2),

237–247. https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12155

Ong, E. Y. L., Ang, R. P., Ho, J. C. M., Lim, J. C. Y., Goh, D. H., Lee, C. S., & Chua, A. Y. K. (2011). Narcissism, extraversion and adolescents' self-presentation on Facebook. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *50*(2), 180–185. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2010.09.022

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*(1), 3–52. https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-2909.128.1.3

Oyserman, D., & Lee, S. W. S. (2008). Does culture influence what and how we think? Effects of priming individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*(2), 311–342. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.2.311

Padilla-Walker, L M, & Carlo, G. (2014). *Prosocial development: A multidimensional approach*. Oxford Scholarship Online. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199964772.001.0001

Palmer, C. A., Ramsey, M. A., Morey, J. N., & Gentzler, A. L. (2016). How do people share their positive events? *Journal of Individual Differences*, *37*(4), 250–259. https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-0001/a000212

Paris, J. (2014). Modernity and narcissistic personality disorder. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment*, *5*(2), 220–226. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028580

Pauletti, R. E., Menon, M., Menon, M., Tobin, D. D., & Perry, D. G. (2012). Narcissism and adjustment in preadolescence. *Child Development*, *83*(3), 831–837.

Paulhus, D. L. (1998). Interpersonal and intrapsychic adaptiveness of trait self-enhancement: A mixed blessing? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*(5), 1197–1208. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.5.1197

Piff, P. K. (2014). Wealth and the inflated self: Class, entitlement, and narcissism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *40*(1), 34–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213501699

Pincus, A. L., & Lukowitsky, M. R. (2010). Pathological narcissism and narcissistic personality disorder. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, *6*(1), 421–446. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.clinpsy.121208.131215

Poorthuis, A. M. G., Slagt, M., van Aken, M. A. G., Denissen, J. J. A., & Thomaes, S. (2019). Narcissism and popularity among peers: A cross-transition longitudinal study. *Self and Identity*, *00*(00), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2019.1609575

Prinstein, M. J., & Giletta, M. (2016). Peer relations and developmental psychopathology. *Developmental Psychopathology*, 1–53. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119125556.devpsy112

Raskin, R., Novacek, J., & Hogan, R. (1991a). Narcissism, self-esteem, and defensive self-enhancement. *Journal of Personality*, *59*(1), 19–38. https://doi.org/10.0.4.87/1467-6494.ep9106030312

Raskin, R., Novacek, J., & Hogan, R. (1991b). Narcissistic self-esteem management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *60*(6), 911–918. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.60.6.911

Raskin, R., & Terry, H. (1988). A principal-components analysis of the narcissistic personality inventory and further evidence of its construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*(5), 890–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.5.890

Rasmussen, K. (2016). Entitled vengeance: A meta-analysis relating narcissism to provoked aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, *42*(4), 362–379. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21632

Rauthmann, J. F. (2012). The dark triad and interpersonal perception: Similarities and differences in the social consequences of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *3*(4), 487–496. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550611427608

Reidy, D. E., Zeichner, A., Foster, J. D., & Martinez, M. A. (2008). Effects of narcissistic entitlement and exploitativeness on human physical aggression. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *44*(4), 865–875. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2007.10.015

Reijntjes, A., Vermande, M., Thomaes, S., Goossens, F., Olthof, T., Aleva, L., & Van der Meulen, M. (2016). Narcissism, bullying, and social dominance in youth: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *44*(1), 63–74. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-015-9974-1

Rodkin, P. C., Farmer, T. W., Pearl, R., & Van Acker, R. (2006). They're cool: Social status and peer group supports for aggressive boys and girls. *Social Development*, *15*(2), 175–204. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2006.00336.x

Rose, A. J., Glick, G. C., & Smith, R. L. (2011). Popularity and gender: The two cultures of boys and girls. In A.H. N. Cillessen, D. Schwartz, & L. Mayeux (Eds.), *Popularity in the peer system* (pp. 103–122).

Rose, A. J., Swenson, L. P., & Waller, E. M. (2004). Overt and relational aggression and

perceived popularity: Developmental differences in concurrent and prospective relations. *Developmental Psychology*, *40*(3), 378–387. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.40.3.378

Rosenthal, S. A., Hooley, J. M., Montoya, R. M., van der Linden, S. L., & Steshenko, Y. (2019). The narcissistic grandiosity scale: A measure to distinguish narcissistic grandiosity from high self-esteem. *Assessment*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191119858410

Rubin, K. H., Bukowski, W. M., & Bowker, J. C. (2015). Children in peer groups. In M. Bornstein, T. Leventhal, & R. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (7th ed., pp. 1–48). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118963418.childpsy405

Salmivalli, C., Kaukiainen, A., & Lagerspetz, K. (2000). Aggression and sociometric status among peers: Do gender and type of aggression matter? *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9450.00166

Salmivalli, C., & Nieminen, E. (2002). Proactive and reactive aggression among school bullies, victims, and bully-victims. *Aggressive Behavior*, *28*(1), 30–44. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.90004

Salmivalli, C., Ojanen, T., Haanpää, J., & Peets, K. (2005). "I'm OK but you're not" and other peer-relational schemas: Explaining individual differences in children's social goals. *Developmental Psychology*, *41*(2), 363–375. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.41.2.363

Salmivalli, C., & Peets, K. (2009). Bullies, victims, and bully-victim relationships in middle childhood and early adolescence. In K. H. Rubin, W. M. Bukowski, & B. Laursen (Eds.), *Peer Interactions, Relationships, and Groups* (pp. 322–340). Guilford Press.

Sandstrom, M. J., & Cillessen, A. H. N. (2006). Likeable versus popular: Distinct implications for adolescent adjustment. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025406072789

Sauls, D., & Zeigler-Hill, V. (2020). The narcissistic experience of friendship: The roles of agentic and communal orientations toward friendship. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407520933685

Sedikides, C., Campbell, W. K., Reeder, G. D., Elliot, A. J., & Gregg, A. P. (2002). Do others bring out the worst in narcissists? The "others exist for me" illusion. In *Self and identity: Personal, social, and symbolic.* (pp. 103–124). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Smith, R. L., Rose, A. J., & Schwartz-Mette, R. A. (2009). Relational and overt aggression in

childhood and adolescence: Clarifying mean-level gender differences and associations with peer acceptance. *Social Development*, *19*(2), 243–269. https://doi.org/10.1161/CIRCULATIONAHA.110.956839

Stucke, T. S., & Sporer, S. L. (2002). When a grandiose self-image is threatened: Narcissism and self-concept clarity as predictors of negative emotions and aggression following ego-threat. *Journal of Personality*, *70*(4), 509–532. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6494.05015

Tamborski, M., Brown, R. P., & Chowning, K. (2012). Self-serving bias or simply serving the self? Evidence for a dimensional approach to narcissism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *52*(8), 942–946. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2012.01.030

Thomaes, S., & Brummelman, E. (2016). Narcissism. In D. Cicchetti (Ed.), *Developmental Psychopathology* (3rd ed., Vol. 4, pp. 679–725). John Wiley Inc.

Thomaes, S., Brummelman, E., & Sedikides, C. (2018). Narcissism: A social-developmental perspective. In V. Zeigler-Hill & T. K. Shackelford (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of personality and individual differences: Applications of personality and individual differences* (pp. 377–396). Sage Reference. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526451248.n16

Thomaes, S., & Bushman, B. J. (2011). Mirror mirror on the wall, who's the most aggressive of them all? Narcissism, self-esteem, and aggression. *Human Aggression and Violence. Causes, Manifestations, and Consequences*, *February 2017*, 203–219.

Thomaes, S., Bushman, B. J., Orobio De Castro, B., Cohen, G. L., & Denissen, J. J. A. (2009). Reducing narcissistic aggression by buttressing self-esteem: An experimental field study. *Psychological Science*, *20*(12), 1536–1542. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02478.x

Thomaes, S., Bushman, B. J., Stegge, H., & Olthof, T. (2008). Trumping shame by blasts of noise: Narcissism, self-esteem, shame, and aggression in young adolescents. *Child Development*, *79*(6), 1792–1801. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01226.x

Thomaes, S., Reijntjes, A., Orobio de Castro, B., Bushman, B. J., Poorthuis, A., & Telch, M. J. (2010). I like me if you like me: On the interpersonal modulation and regulation of preadolescents' state self-esteem. *Child Development*, *81*(3), 811–825. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01435.x

Thomaes, S., Stegge, H., Bushman, B. J., Olthof, T., & Denissen, J. (2008). Development and

validation of the childhood narcissism scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *90*(4), 382–391. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223890802108162

Thomaes, S., Stegge, H., Olthof, T., Bushman, B. J., & Nezlek, J. B. (2011). Turning shame inside-out: "Humiliated fury" in young adolescents. *Emotion*, *11*(4), 786–793. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023403

Triandis, H. (1995). *Individualism & collectivism*. Westview Press.

Triandis, H. (2015). Collectivism and individualism: Cultural and psychological concerns. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 206–210). https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.24008-7

Urbonaviciute, G., & Hepper, E. G. (2020). When is narcissism associated with low empathy? A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *89*(2), 3–6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2020.104036

Vaillancourt, T., & Hymel, S. (2006). Aggression and social status: The moderating roles of sex and peer-valued characteristics. *Aggressive Behavior*. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20138

van de Schoot, R., Lugtig, P., & Hox, J. (2012). A checklist for testing measurement invariance. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *9*(4), 486–492. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2012.686740

Van der Graaff, J., Carlo, G., Crocetti, E., Koot, H. M., & Branje, S. (2018). Prosocial behavior in adolescence: Gender differences in development and links with empathy. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *47*(5), 1086–1099. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0786-1

Vater, A., Moritz, S., & Roepke, S. (2018). Does a narcissism epidemic exist in modern western societies? Comparing narcissism and self-esteem in East and West Germany. *PLoS ONE*, *13*(1), e0188287. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0188287

Veenstra, R., Lindenberg, S., Zijlstra, B. J. H., De Winter, A. F., Verhulst, F. C., & Ormel, J. (2007). The dyadic nature of bullying and victimization: Testing a dual-perspective theory. *Child Development*, *78*(6), 1843–1854. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.01102.x

Washburn, J. J., & Paskar, L. D. (2011). Moving beyond parents in the etiology of narcissistic traits. In Christopher T. Barry, P. K. Kerig, K. K. Stellwagen, & T. D. Barry (Eds.), *Narcissism and Machiavellianism in youth: Implications for the development of adaptive and maladaptive behavior* (Issue 2011, pp. 145–157). American Psychological Association.

Watson, P. J., Grisham, S. O., Trotter, Marjorie, V., & Biderman, M. D. (1984). Narcissism and

empathy: Validity evidence for the narcissistic personality inventory. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *48*(3), 301–305. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4803_12

Wentzel, K. R. (2003). Sociometric status and adjustment in middle school: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *23*(1), 5–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431602239128

Wentzel, K. R., Filisetti, L., & Looney, L. (2007). Adolescent prosocial behavior: The role of self-processes and contextual cues. *Child Development*, *78*(3), 895–910. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.01039.x

Wink, P. (1991). Two faces of narcissism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*(4), 590–597. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.61.4.590

Zeigler-Hill, V., McCabe, G. A., Vrabel, J. K., Raby, C. M., & Cronin, S. (2018). The narcissistic pursuit of status. In A. D. Hermann (Ed.), *Handbook of Trait Narcissism* (pp. 299–306). Springer Nature 2018. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92171-6

Zinbarg, R. E., Revelle, W., Yovel, I., & Li, W. (2005). Cronbach's, α Revelle's β and McDonald's ω H: Their relations with each other and two alternative conceptualizations of reliability. *Psychometrika*, *70*(1), 123–133. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11336-003-0974-7