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The Heterogeneity of Self-Regard: A Latent Transition Analysis of Self-Esteem and Psychological Entitlement

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www.psych.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/NZAVS

Abstract

Multiple subtypes of self-regard have been identified, but their longitudinal development has not been investigated. The current research used Latent Transition Analysis to identify profiles with differing levels of self-esteem and psychological entitlement, and track the likelihood of transition between these profiles from 2014 to 2015 in a large, national panel study of New Zealand adults ($N = 12,550$). Five profiles of self-regard were identified. The five profiles were generally stable across the course of a year, however, the two profiles that were high in entitlement were relatively less stable than profiles with positive but unentitled self-regard. This research demonstrates the importance of accounting for the heterogeneity of high self-regard, as unique patterns of longitudinal change were found across profiles.

Keywords: psychological entitlement, narcissism, self-esteem, latent profile analysis, latent transition analysis

The Heterogeneity of Self-Regard: A Latent Transition Analysis of Self-Esteem and Entitlement

The mix of adaptive and maladaptive outcomes associated with both self-esteem and narcissism (e.g., Ackerman et al., 2011; Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996) make it difficult to interpret what self-regard actually means. Two people with the same level of narcissism may show differential behaviours and outcomes, as may two people with the same level of self-esteem (Jordan, Logel, Spencer, & Zanna, 2009; Trzesniewski et al., 2008; Wetzel, Leckelt, Gerlach, & Back, 2016). In fact, the narcissism and self-esteem literatures view these variables as multi-dimensional and heterogeneous (e.g., Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger, & Vohs, 2003; Cain, Pincus, & Ansell, 2008; Jordan et al., 2009). When theories hypothesise ‘types’ of people that differ in qualitative ways from one another, some questions can be better answered by measuring ‘types’ of people, using person-centered research that identifies subgroups within a population (Osborne & Sibley, 2017). As such, recent research has begun to identify different classes, subtypes, or profiles of high self-regard (Crowe, LoPilato, Campbell, & Miller, 2016; Lessard, Greenberger, Chen & Farruggia, 2011; Stronge, Cichocka, & Sibley, 2016; Wetzel et al., 2016), as linear associations can obscure the diverse pattern of associations that exist between self-regard and other variables. However, differences in the stability or longitudinal development of these subtypes of self-esteem and narcissism have yet to be investigated.

One of the most consistent ways of distinguishing subtypes of high self-regard is to measure levels of self-esteem and narcissism simultaneously (Baumeister et al., 2003; Cichocka, Dhont, & Makwana, 2017; Orth, Robins, Meier, & Conger, 2016; Marchlewska & Cichocka, 2016; Paulhus, Robin, Trzesniewski, & Tracy, 2004; Stronge et al., 2016). Building upon cross-sectional research (Stronge et al., 2016), the current research aims to track change in self-regard longitudinally across one year, identifying profiles of self-regard consisting of differing levels of

self-esteem and psychological entitlement. Psychological entitlement is a global and pervasive sense that one deserves more (Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bushman, 2004), and a core facet of narcissism (Krizan & Herlache, 2017) that drives many of the maladaptive outcomes associated with narcissism as a whole (e.g., Ackerman et al., 2011; Moeller, Crocker, & Bushman, 2009).

Subtypes of Self-Esteem, Narcissism, and Entitlement

While high self-evaluation is generally considered to have a positive impact on many aspects of life (e.g., Orth, Robins, & Widaman, 2012), early research identified that it was sometimes associated with a number of maladaptive behaviours such as aggression (Baumeister et al., 1996). Researchers then aimed to separate the high self-regard captured by self-esteem from the high self-regard captured by narcissism (Baumeister et al., 2003; Kernis, 2003). These conceptions label one type of self-regard as ‘genuine’, ‘optimal’, ‘secure’ or ‘authentic’ self-esteem (Byrne & O’Brien, 2014; Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003; Kernis; 2003; Mruk, 2013). This type of self-regard is assumed to be stable over time, rooted in reality and associated with positive psychosocial outcomes. In comparison, another form of self-regard is labelled ‘fragile’, ‘defensive’, ‘contingent’, or ‘narcissistic’ self-esteem and is usually measured as narcissism (Jordan et al., 2003; Kernis, 2003). This form of self-regard is linked to entitlement, dependent on approval from others, reflects high defensiveness, and is associated with poor psychosocial outcomes (Byrne & O’Brien, 2014; Campbell & Foster, 2007; Hyatt et al., 2018; Jordan et al., 2003; Kernis; 2003; Mruk, 2013). In sum, two types of high self-regard are identified: those with high self-esteem and those with high self-esteem accompanied by a sense of entitlement. We would then expect two groups: one with high levels of self-esteem and low entitlement, and one with high levels of self-esteem and high entitlement.

In the narcissism literature, research has similarly identified that different facets of narcissism have opposing relationships with self-esteem (Ackerman et al., 2011; Zeigler-Hill & Besser, 2013). It has been suggested that narcissism may be expressed in two divergent ways (see Bosson et al., 2008; Cain et al., 2008; Rose, 2002; Wink, 1991), although with a common core of high entitlement (Brown & Brunell, 2017; Brown, Budzek, & Tamborski, 2009; Krizan & Herlache, 2017). One form of narcissism is defined by high self-esteem and grandiose behaviour, labelled grandiose narcissism, and another is defined by its low self-esteem and emotional instability, labelled vulnerable narcissism (Brown & Brunell, 2017; Clarke, Karlov, & Neale, 2015; Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Miller et al., 2011; Maxwell, Donnellan, Hopwood, & Ackerman, 2016; Pincus et al., 2009; Rohmann, Neumann, Herner, & Bierhoff, 2012; Zeigler-Hill & Besser, 2013). Similarly, entitlement clusters into two subgroups of emotionally stable and emotionally vulnerable entitlement with differing levels of self-esteem (Crowe et al., 2016). Grandiose narcissism therefore shares similarities with fragile self-esteem – a pattern of high entitlement and high self-esteem – but it can also be distinguished from vulnerable narcissism, which assumes high entitlement but low self-esteem.

More recently, triarchic models integrate the two grandiose and vulnerable forms of narcissism into a single structural model (Wright & Edershile, 2018). While clinical research often discusses grandiosity and vulnerability as clear categorical subtypes of narcissism, the social/personality literature tends to treat grandiosity and vulnerability as dimensions (e.g., Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Pincus & Roche, 2011). Krizan and Herlache (2017) propose that entitlement forms the anchor of narcissism, from which the spectrum stretches to grandiosity on one pole and vulnerability on the other. Narcissists display entitlement, grandiosity, and vulnerability to different degrees. Similarly, Miller et al. (2017) theorise that narcissism can be

defined centrally by high interpersonal antagonism, or low agreeableness, with the peripheral traits of extraversion and neuroticism describing the form that narcissism takes. Crucially, these models still allow for distinct subtypes of narcissism (alongside those who may not fit clearly into one subtype or the other), defined by their high levels of entitlement, but differentiated from one another by their levels of grandiosity and vulnerability. As in previous models of narcissism, empirical evidence suggests that self-esteem can serve as a marker for the grandiose (high self-esteem) and vulnerable (low self-esteem) sides of the spectrum (Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Miller et al., 2017). Overall, the research suggests that measuring self-esteem and entitlement together is an efficient way to identify most theorised forms of narcissism (Baumeister et al., 2003; Brummelman et al., 2016; Jordan et al., 2003; Kernis, 2003; Miller et al., 2011; Stronge et al., 2016).

Latent Profile Analysis and Latent Transition Analysis

These subtypes have previously been investigated using Latent Profile Analysis (LPA; Stronge et al., 2016; also see Wetzel et al., 2016). LPA groups together individuals who have similar response patterns across measures, in this case, mean levels of psychological entitlement and self-esteem. It models a latent categorical factor with a set of latent profiles that are assumed to underlie the variation in responses to the observed variables (Collins & Lanza, 2009). Even when the true underlying distribution is continuous, LPA can be helpful by identifying multiple profiles that represent different discrete points along this continuum, acting as landmarks. Understanding what profile an individual may belong to (what ‘landmark’ they are near) can provide more accurate information on their likely behaviour and longitudinal development than investigating the entire sample as a homogenous whole (Bauer & Shanahan, 2007).

Furthermore, individuals are never assumed to belong to one particular profile (as true subgroups with clear boundaries are unlikely). Instead, LPA estimates the likelihood that each individual is misclassified for each profile, providing an estimate of how similar each individual is to each common pattern of self-regard (Collins & Lanza, 2009). Even if an individual does not fit clearly within any particular profile, the degree of misclassification provides an estimate of the individuals 'distance' from each 'landmark', again allowing for better estimates of an individual's behaviour and development than if we assume no heterogeneity (Bauer & Shanahan, 2007). LPA also has advantages over approaches to identifying subgroups that use continuous variables, such as moderation, in terms of improved power and lower error rates (see Osborne & Sibley, 2017 for a review). It is important to note that person-centered approaches are intended to be *complementary* to variable-centered approaches rather than a replacement (Laursen & Hoff, 2006). While variable-centered approaches describe general trends in a way that is useful (e.g., narcissism is associated with interpersonal antagonism and low agreeableness), person-centered approaches can also describe heterogeneity in a way that is useful (e.g., narcissists can hold positive and negative self-views). Indeed, whether it is appropriate to treat grandiose and vulnerable narcissism as distinct categorical subtypes is somewhat unknown as so little person-centered research has been conducted (see Crowe et al., 2016; Lessard et al., 2011; Wetzel et al., 2016 for exceptions).

In previous research, Stronge et al. (2016) used LPA to identify five different profiles with differing levels of entitlement and self-esteem. At the high end of self-evaluation, a profile was identified with high self-esteem and high entitlement (labelled Narcissistic Self-Esteem and representative of grandiose narcissists), and a profile with high self-esteem but low entitlement (labelled Optimal Self-Esteem; Kernis, 2003). However, Stronge et al. (2016) did not identify a

high entitlement, low self-esteem group representing vulnerable narcissists. A small group with low self-esteem and low entitlement was also identified, labelled Low Self-Regard. Finally, there were two distinct moderate profiles with similarly low levels of entitlement, but the High Moderates had self-esteem scores above the midpoint of the scale, while the Low Moderates had self-esteem below the midpoint of the scale.

The current research aims to expand upon Stronge et al. (2016) by measuring profiles of self-esteem and entitlement longitudinally from 2014 to 2015, using Latent Transition Analysis. Latent Transition Analysis (LTA) is similar to Latent Profile Analysis, but allows for the estimation of transitions between profiles over time. The prevalence of each latent profile (i.e. the probability of belonging to each profile) is estimated for each time point, as well as the probability of transitioning from one profile to all other profiles from one time point to the next (Collins & Lanza, 2009). This allows us to test how patterns of self-regard hold or change longitudinally across one year. We aim to track longitudinal change in self-regard while also taking into account the heterogeneity of self-regard; if entitlement and self-esteem consist of qualitatively different subtypes, it stands to reason that they may develop differentially over time.

Development of Entitlement and Self-Esteem over Time

In measuring changes in self-esteem and entitlement over time, we would expect small amounts of normative change—change in mean levels. However, changes in the rank-order—change in levels of self-regard *relative* to others, are unlikely (Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006). Cross-sectional research suggests that self-esteem is generally higher at older ages (Bleidorn et al., 2016), while entitlement generally decreases across the lifespan (Foster, Campbell, & Twenge, 2003; Stronge, Milojev, & Sibley, 2018; Wilson & Sibley, 2011). We may

then see some small shifts in these directions. However, the rank-order stability of trait self-esteem is high over time (see Orth, 2017, for a review), so those profiles defined by high, moderate, or low self-esteem are unlikely to show shifts towards vastly different levels of self-regard.

The stability of narcissism and entitlement is less obvious. Low rank-order stability was found for Narcissistic Personality Disorder (Hopwood et al., 2013), and significant daily variations were found in state narcissism (Giacomin & Jordan, 2014), but other research found high stability in trait narcissism (Orth & Luciano, 2015) and moderately high stability in trait entitlement (Stronge et al., 2018). Although entitlement levels themselves may not shift, those high in entitlement could develop lower self-esteem over time (e.g., Orth & Luciano, 2015). Both narcissism and entitlement have been theorised to lead to lower self-esteem and greater psychological distress in the long-term as unrealistic expectations are continually unmet (Grubbs & Exline, 2016) and interpersonal relationships break down (Baumeister & Vohs, 2001).

Finally, the causal link between self-esteem and narcissism and entitlement is still understudied. It is a popular belief that an over-inflated sense of self will lead to narcissism, and it has been suggested that narcissism may be rising over time, and that it may be linked to a concurrent rise in self-esteem (Twenge & Campbell, 2001; Twenge, 2013). There is no evidence that high self-esteem is linked longitudinally to higher narcissism (Orth & Luciano, 2015), but it is worth examining whether self-regard profiles show distinct patterns of change over time. For example, self-esteem may not transition to higher entitlement over time on average, but it may be do so for those with very high levels of self-esteem.

Summary and Hypotheses

High self-regard is heterogeneous and often reflects different nomological networks, outcomes, and behaviours (e.g., Crowe et al., 2016; Kernis, 2003; Miller et al., 2011). But longitudinal research into subtypes of self-esteem and entitlement is lacking, leaving questions of stability, states or traits, and development unanswered. While entitlement and self-esteem are dimensional constructs, they are often theorised about as types, and research examining narcissism, self-esteem, and entitlement categorically is growing (e.g., Crowe et al., 2016; Lessard et al., 2011; Stronge et al., 2016; Wetzel et al., 2016). Demonstrating that theoretical subtypes of narcissism and self-esteem can emerge clearly from exploratory analyses of a nationally representative sample is an excellent test of the practicality of ‘types’ of entitlement and self-esteem, and aids in our understanding of the heterogeneity of self-regard at a population level. The next step is using person-centered approaches longitudinally – that is, assessing not only heterogeneity in *levels* of entitlement and self-esteem, but also in their *development* over time. While we have an understanding of the general developmental trends that entitlement and self-esteem may follow (e.g., Bleidorn et al., 2016; Wilson & Sibley, 2011), we also have good reason to believe different subtypes of entitlement and self-esteem may develop differentially over time (e.g., Gore & Widiger, 2016). However, variability in longitudinal change across these subtypes has not yet been examined.

Using Latent Transition Analysis, we aim to identify profiles of self-regard consisting of different levels of self-esteem and psychological entitlement, and track changes in these profiles over one year. The likelihood of belonging to one profile relative to another will be tested using demographic and personality covariates, so these profiles can be compared to previously identified subtypes of self-regard. We expect to identify profiles with self-views analogous to grandiose narcissism (high entitlement, high self-esteem), optimal self-esteem (low entitlement,

high self-esteem), and low self-regard (low self-esteem, low entitlement). Additionally, although Stronge et al. (2016) did not identify a profile of vulnerable narcissists (high entitlement, low self-esteem), given the strength of the research behind this type of narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009), it is worth considering the possibility that this profile could be present in the sample. Based upon Stronge et al.'s (2016) results, we also expect to see a profile with low self-esteem and low entitlement, as well as profiles with more moderate levels of self-regard. These hypotheses are not pre-registered.

Method

Sampling Procedure

This research uses two time points (Time 1 and Time 2), with the first time point measured at Wave 6 (2014) and the second at Wave 7 (2015) of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study. The initial Wave 1 NZAVS sampled from the New Zealand electoral roll, which is publicly available for scientific research and as of 2009 contained 2,986,546 registered voters. This represented all citizens over 18 years of age who were eligible to vote regardless of whether they chose to vote, barring people who had their contact details removed due to specific case-by-case concerns about privacy. In sum, postal questionnaires were sent to 40,500 registered voters or roughly 1.36% of all registered voters in New Zealand. The overall response rate (adjusting for the address accuracy of the electoral roll and including anonymous responses) was 16.6%.

The Wave 6 NZAVS contained responses from 15,822 participants (15,740 retained from one or more previous waves, and 82 unmatched participants or unsolicited opt-ins). The sample retained 3,727 participants from the initial Wave 1 (2009) NZAVS of 6,518 participants (a retention rate of 57.2% over five years). The Wave 7 NZAVS contained responses from 13,944 participants (13,879 retained from one or more previous wave, and 65 unmatched participants or

unsolicited opt-ins). The sample retained 3,344 participants from the initial Wave 1 (2009) wave (a retention rate of 51.3% over five years). The sample retained 12,550 participants from the full Wave 6 sample (a retention rate of 79.3% from the previous year). See Sibley (2018) for more details about sampling procedures.

Participants

Out of the participants who completed the measures of psychological entitlement and self-esteem and both Time 1 and Time 2 ($N = 12,550$), 63% were female ($n = 7,882$) and 37% were male ($n = 4,654$). Participants were aged between 18 and 95 ($M = 50.36$, $SD = 13.84$) at Time 1. Ninety-two percent of the participants identified as New Zealand European, 11% identified as Maori, 3% identified as Pacific and 4% identified as Asian, with some participants identifying as multiple ethnicities.

Materials

Self-esteem was measured using three items adapted from Rosenberg's (1965) Self Esteem Scale, on a scale from 1 (very inaccurate) to 7 (very accurate): "On the whole am satisfied with myself", "Take a positive attitude toward myself", and "Am inclined to feel that I am a failure" (reverse-coded) ($\alpha_{\text{Time 1}} = .80$ and $\alpha_{\text{Time 2}} = .80$).

Psychological entitlement was measured using two items from the Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell et al., 2004): "I feel entitled to more of everything", and "I deserve more things in life" ($\alpha_{\text{Time 1}} = .71$; $\alpha_{\text{Time 2}} = .73$). Responses were rated on a scale from 1 (very inaccurate) to 7 (very accurate).

Table 1

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for psychological entitlement, self-esteem, and demographic and personality covariates

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Entitlement (Time 1)											
2. Self-Esteem (Time 1)		-.206									
3. Entitlement (Time 2)	.678		-.187								
4. Self-Esteem (Time 2)	-.178	.753		-.229							
5. Extraversion	.043	.276	.025		.253						
6. Agreeableness	-.219	.125	-.197	.096		.196					
7. Conscientiousness	-.108	.265	-.089	.235	.066		.131				
8. Neuroticism	.187	-.589	.173	-.518	-.142	-.033		-.171			

9. Openness to Experience	-.041	.099	-.051	.090	.191	.223	-.014	-.036		
10. Psychological Distress	.232	-.619	.212	-.557	-.178	-.068	-.230	.583	-.004	
11. Satisfaction with Relationships	-.179	.424	-.162	.392	.168	.145	.156	-.278	.025	-.370
Mean (SD)	2.65 (1.27)	5.26 (1.20)	2.62 (1.27)	5.26 (1.20)	3.91 (1.15)	5.35 (0.94)	5.11 (1.01)	3.39 (1.11)	4.92 (1.10)	0.81 (0.63)
										7.75 (2.23)

Note. N = 12,550. Correlations > .015 are significant at $p < .05$. All demographic and personality covariates were measured at Time 1.

Kessler-6 measured on a scale from 0 to 4; personality on a scale from 1 to 7, and satisfaction with personal relationships on a scale from 1 to 10.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for psychological entitlement and self-esteem at Time 1 and Time 2 are presented in Table 1. The one year test-retest correlation was .68 for psychological entitlement and .75 for self-esteem. The entitlement measure in the current research differs from the measure employed by Stronge et al. (2016), which included an additional item “I demand the best because I’m worth it”. While Stronge et al. (2016) found that entitlement and self-esteem were uncorrelated, the constructs are negatively correlated here. The content of the removed item, and the negative correlation between entitlement and self-esteem, suggests that the 2-item measure used in the current research may tap into a more vulnerable side of entitlement.

Demographic and Personality Covariates

All covariates were measured at Time 1. The Five-Factor Model of personality was measured using the 20-item Mini-IPIP6 (Donnellan, Oswald, Baird, & Lucas, 2006). Each trait is measured using 4 items rated from 1 (very inaccurate) to 7 (very accurate) and averaged to give scale scores for Extraversion ($\alpha = .76$), Agreeableness ($\alpha = .72$), Conscientiousness ($\alpha = .67$), Neuroticism ($\alpha = .72$), and Openness to Experience ($\alpha = .71$).

Psychological distress was measured using the Kessler-6 scale (Kessler et al., 2010). Each item asks participants to rate how often they experienced psychological distress using a scale from 0 (none of the time) to 4 (all of the time). The scale includes 6 items such as “During the last 30 days, how often did you feel hopeless?” ($\alpha = .84$).

Satisfaction with personal relationships was measured using a single item from the Personal Wellbeing Index (Cummins, Eckersley, Pallant, van Vugt, & Misajon, 2003). The scale asks participants to rate their level of satisfaction with various aspects of their life, including

“Your personal relationships”, on a scale from 0 (completely dissatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied).

Results

Analysis

Analyses were conducted using Mplus 7.40 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015) using maximum likelihood with robust estimation of standard errors (MLR). We conducted a Latent Transition Analysis assessing the stability of latent profiles of entitlement and self-esteem over a one-year period, from 2014 to 2015.. Latent Transition Analysis models the probability that an individual belongs to a particular latent profile at the second time point, given membership in a particular profile at the first time point (Collins & Lanza, 2009); thus, we estimate the probability of transitioning from each profile to every other profile, as well as the probability of remaining within the same profile, across the course of a year.

We opted to model the probability of change over a given one-year time period, because (a) this is the minimum period of change detectable in our study, and (b) an estimate of average annual rates of change seems like a reasonable benchmark of the rate for future research (people tend to think about and follow annual rates heuristically). Our model only estimates the transition probabilities over two consecutive waves because of the rapid increase in model complexity when assessing three or more waves in an LTA. Our model and interpretation of it assumes that the rates of transitions between profiles represent a stationary process, where similar rates would be observed over any particular year because people are constantly shifting dynamically between profiles at a similar rate in the population.

Our a priori hypothesis was for a five-profile solution (Stronge et al., 2016). However, given that Stronge et al.’s (2016) analysis was conducted using a slightly different measure and

sample, we conducted LPA's at Time 1 and Time 2 to test three to seven-profile solutions. Fit indices for these models, including the Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test (see Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001) and Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test (McLachlan & Peel, 2000), are presented in Supplementary Table 1. At both Time 1 and Time 2, adding more profiles always resulted in better model fit, indicating that a seven-profile solution was preferred.

We also compared the relative fit indices of three to seven-profile solutions for the Latent Transition Analysis (see Collins & Lanza, 2009), presented in Supplementary Table 2. To conduct the Latent Transition Analysis, we simultaneously estimated profile solutions in the repeated panel sample of people who completed all relevant measures at both Time 1 and Time 2. We constrained the intercepts for entitlement and self-esteem within each profile to be equal to the intercepts in the corresponding profile at each time point, so that we estimated the same latent profiles at both time points. All five profile solutions demonstrated reasonable model fit, but there was a slight inflection point in the relative fit indices of the LTA at the five-profile solution. Additionally, the six and seven-profile solutions preferred by the LPA's simply add a profile exactly parallel to existing profiles, but with different overall means. With the goal of parsimony, a five-profile solution was selected. The constrained five-profile model provided an excellent fit to the data (entropy = .867, AIC = 144420, aBIC = 144582; N = 12,550). Note that entropy should be above .7-.8 to indicate a clear separation of the profiles (Collins & Lanza, 2009). The means and proportions of the five profiles from the LPA's and LTA are presented in Table 2. The LTA means differs slightly from the LPA means at both time points; as Collin and Lanza (2009) note, the best-fitting model at a single time point is not necessarily the best-fitting model across all points of measurement.

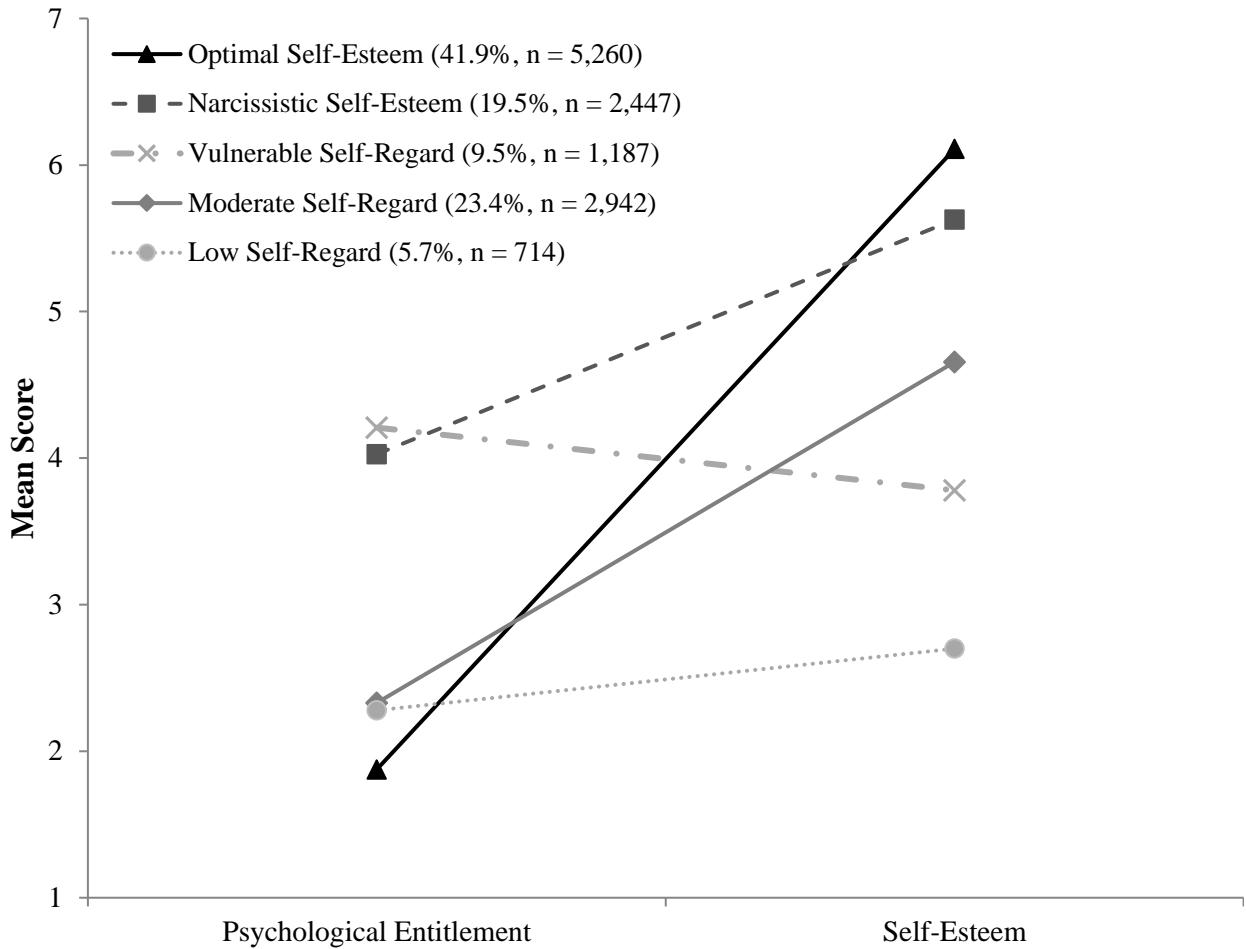


Figure 1. Five-profile solution for the Latent Transition Analysis. Percentages represent the percentage of the sample within each profile at Time 1 (2014).

The five-profile LTA solution is presented in Figure 1. There was a clear separation between profiles in terms of levels of entitlement, with two clustering at relatively high levels at the midpoint of the scale, and three clustering at low levels. Of the high entitlement profiles, one also had high levels of self-esteem and so was labelled Narcissistic Self-Esteem (19.5%) as in Stronge et al. (2016). The other had relatively low levels of self-esteem, slightly below the midpoint of the scale, and so was labelled this class Vulnerable Self-Regard (9.5%). Of the low entitlement classes, the majority of participants (41.9%) also had the highest self-esteem,

forming a clear Optimal Self-Esteem profile. A single moderate profile (Moderate Self-Regard, 23.4%) was identified instead of two (High and Low Moderates), showing a less exaggerated version of the Optimal Self-Esteem profile with entitlement below the mid-point of the scale and self-esteem above it. Finally, a small profile with low entitlement and low self-esteem was once again identified; this profile has higher levels of self-regard than in the five-profile solution but still sits below the midpoint of the scale on both measures, and so was labelled Low Self-Regard (5.7%). The LPA's conducted separately at Time 1 and Time 2 identified similar profiles at both time points (presented in Figure 2). We additionally conducted a replication of the five-profile LTA using earlier time points of the NZAVS, which found similar fit statistics, means, and transitions, which can be seen in Supplementary File 1.

Table 2

Means levels of psychological entitlement (Ent) and self-esteem (SE) constrained to equality at both time points, and proportions (%) of each profile at Time 1 and Time 2. Entitlement and self-esteem are measured on scales from 1-7

	Latent Transition Analysis				Latent Profile Analysis			Latent Profile Analysis		
					(Time 1)			(Time 2)		
	Ent	SE	% (Time 1)	% (Time 2)	Ent	SE	%	Ent	SE	%
Optimal Self-Esteem	1.88	6.11	41.9	42.3	1.83	5.85	49.1	1.75	5.86	48.2
Narcissistic Self-Esteem	4.03	5.63	19.5	19.0	5.52	5.63	3.9	5.37	5.45	5.3
Vulnerable Self-Regard	4.21	3.78	9.5	9.2	4.48	3.26	4.3	4.42	3.17	4.7
Moderate Self-Regard	2.33	4.66	23.4	23.7	3.60	5.23	32.8	3.50	5.18	31.7
Low Self-Regard	2.28	2.70	5.7	5.8	2.12	3.40	10.1	2.07	3.37	10.0

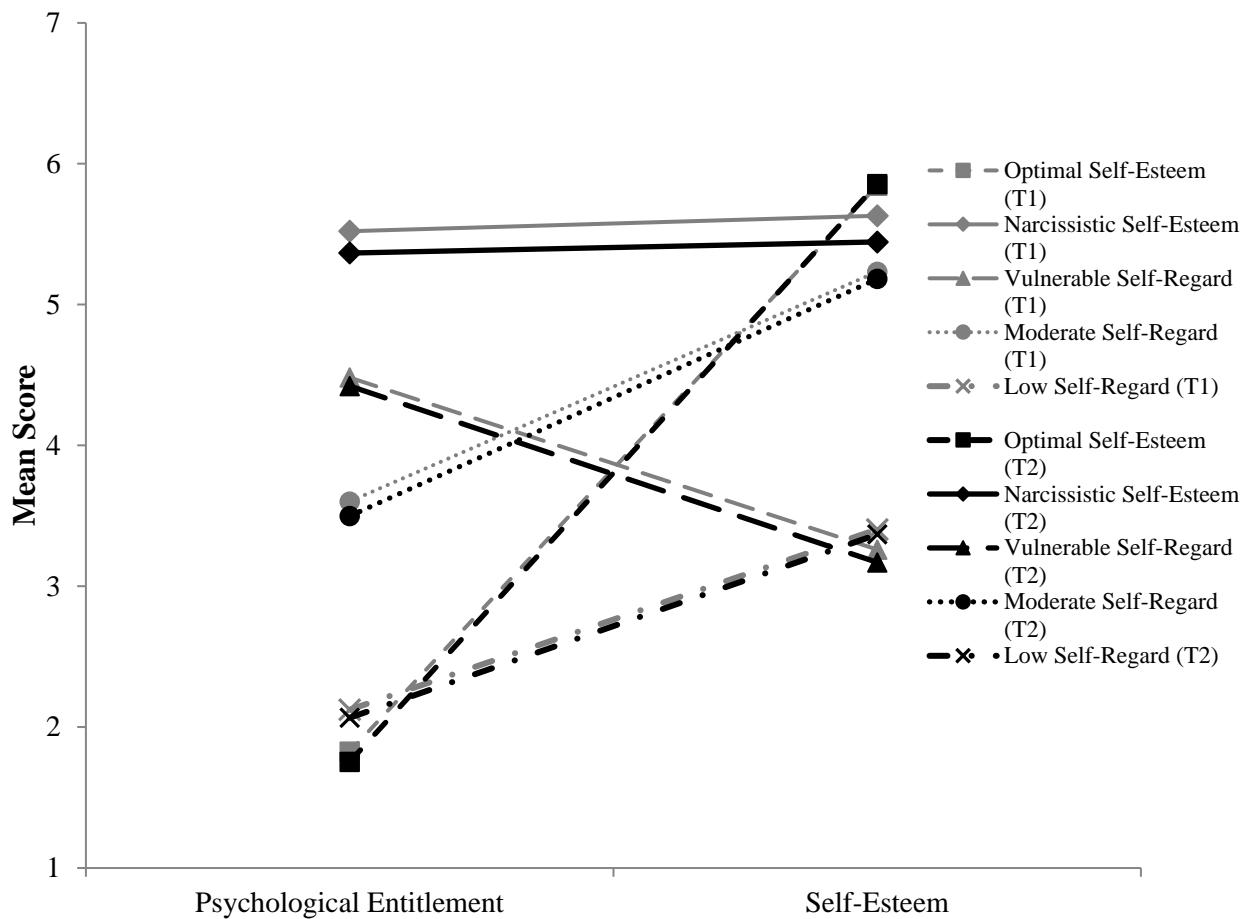


Figure 2. Five-profile solution for the Latent Profile Analyses at Time 1 (2014) and Time 2 (2015).

Latent Transitions

The latent transition probabilities for moving from any given latent profile to another across the course of one year are presented in Table 3, and the overall transition probabilities are also presented as a Markov model in Figure 3. The estimates of profile stability over time are represented by the circular arrows for each profile leading back to itself. As shown in Table 3, profile membership was general quite stable over time. The Optimal Self-Esteem profile was the most stable, with the probability of remaining within this profile after one year sitting at .976.

The Moderate profile was similarly stable, with a probability of .965 of remaining within the profile. The Narcissistic Self-Esteem and Vulnerable Self-Regard profiles had probabilities of .917 and .895 respectively. Finally, the Low Self-Regard profile was the least stable, with a probability of .839 of remaining in this profile. However, despite relative differences in stability, this model suggests that profile membership was stable over time, and people's self-regard was unlikely to shift across the course of a year.

Table 3

Transition probabilities for change in profile membership across one year (2014 – 2015)

		Time 2				
		Optimal	Narcissistic	Vulnerable	Moderate	Low
Time 1	Optimal Self-Esteem	.976	.018	.003	.000	.003
	Narcissistic Self-Esteem	.059	.917	.024	.000	.000
	Vulnerable Self-Regard	.011	.043	.895	.036	.015
	Moderate Self-Regard	.000	.000	.003	.965	.032
	Low Self-Regard	.014	.004	.013	.130	.839

However, there were some transitions of note between profiles. These are highlighted in bold in Figure 3 if the probability was above .01 (or 1% probability). The most likely transition (.130) was out of the Low Self-Regard profile, into the Moderate Self-Regard profile, a profile with slightly higher self-esteem. As the Low Self-Regard profile was the least stable, it also had a small chance of transitioning to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile (.014) or the Vulnerable Self-Regard profile (.013), but was unlikely to transition to Narcissistic Self-Esteem. The Vulnerable Self-Regard profile was similarly unstable and had probabilities to transition anywhere: Low Self-Regard (.015), Moderate Self-Regard (.036), Optimal Self-Esteem (.011), and most notably, the similarly entitled Narcissistic Self-Esteem (.043).

The Moderate Self-Regard profile had a small probability of transitioning down to Low Self-Regard (.032), but otherwise was unlikely to change. The Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile could transition to Vulnerable Self-Regard (.024), but it was most likely to transition towards Optimal Self-Esteem (.059). In turn, Optimal Self-Esteem had a small probability of transitioning towards Narcissistic Self-Esteem although this was less than half as likely (.018). As the most stable profile, Optimal Self-Esteem had no other likely transitions. As seen in Table 3 and Figure 3, the rest of the transitions sat beneath a one percent probability of occurring. Overall, net probabilities for transition into the high entitlement profiles (Vulnerable and Narcissistic Self-Esteem) sat at .041, while net probabilities for transition out of those profiles sat at .121.

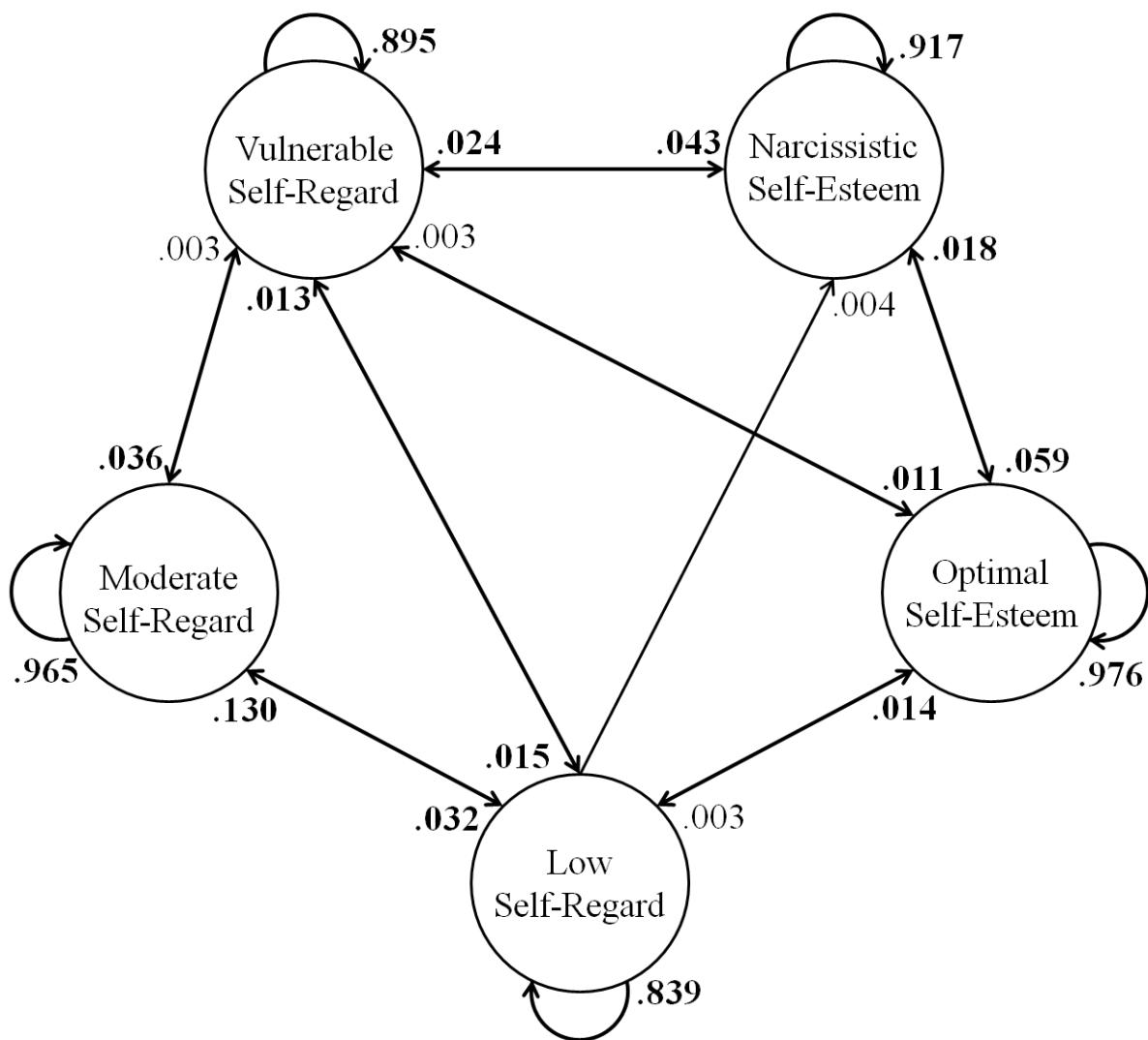


Figure 3. Markov chain model showing transition probabilities for the five-profile model

between Time 1 (2014) and Time 2 (2015). Transition probabilities above .01 (1%) are bolded, and transition probabilities of .000 are not presented.

Demographic, Social and Personality Predictors

We additionally used a three-step weighted multinomial logistic regression model in a Latent Profile Analysis at Time 1 to assess likelihood of belonging to each profile predicted by gender, age, personality, satisfaction with personal relationships, and levels of psychological

distress (Lanza, Tan, & Bray, 2013). The LPA allows us to treat the profiles as a categorical latent variable and examine how demographic variables predict increased or decreased odds of belonging in one profile relative to another profile. Results using the Optimal Self-Esteem as a reference profile are presented in Table 4. Results using Narcissistic Self-Esteem as the reference profile are presented in Supplementary Table 3, and results comparing the remaining profiles are presented in Supplementary Table 4. The odds ratios are weighted to adjust for misclassification in profile membership. It is important to note that the LPAs at both time points differ slightly from the LTA. In particular, the moderate self-regard profile had higher entitlement in the cross-sectional analysis compared to the longitudinal analysis and appears to be a less exaggerated Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile as opposed to a less exaggerated Optimal Self-Esteem profile as in the LTA. Thus these results are intended only as support for the conception and labelling of the latent profiles, explored further in the discussion.

Relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile, belonging to all other profiles was associated with higher levels of psychological distress, and less satisfaction with personal relationships. People were more likely to belong to the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile if they were male, younger, more extraverted, less agreeable, more conscientious, and more neurotic. Similarly, people were more likely to belong to the Moderate Self-Esteem profile than the Optimal Self-Esteem profile if they were male, younger, more extraverted, less agreeable, and more neurotic, but less conscientious. Belonging to the Vulnerable Self-Regard profile was predicted by being younger, less agreeable, less conscientious, more neurotic, and less open relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile. Finally, belonging to the Low Self-Regard profile relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile was

predicted by lower extraversion, lower agreeableness, lower conscientiousness, and higher neuroticism.

Table 4

Results from the distal multinomial logistic regression with the auxiliary variables (gender age, personality, K-6 psychological distress, and satisfaction with personal relationships) at Time 1, using Optimal Self-Esteem as the reference profile

<i>Optimal Self-Esteem reference profile</i>				
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Narcissistic Self-Esteem</i>				
Gender	.537	.125	4.299	1.71**
Age	-.021	.004	-5.496	0.98**
Extraversion	.568	.064	8.886	1.76**
Agreeableness	-.577	.066	-8.770	0.56**
Conscientiousness	.134	.063	2.123	1.14*
Neuroticism	.269	.078	3.444	1.31**
Openness	.017	.063	0.273	1.02
Kessler-6	1.203	.158	7.609	3.33**
Satisfaction with Relationships	-.128	.035	-3.633	0.87**

Vulnerable Self-Regard

Gender	.060	.149	0.401	1.06
Age	-.020	.005	-4.258	0.98**
Extraversion	-.129	.060	-2.138	0.88*
Agreeableness	-.640	.075	-8.574	0.53**
Conscientiousness	-.405	.065	-6.274	0.67**
Neuroticism	1.544	.086	17.955	4.68**
Openness	-.224	.063	-3.555	0.80**
Kessler-6	2.344	.125	18.794	10.42**
Satisfaction with Relationships	-.434	.027	-16.006	0.65**

Moderate Self-Regard

Gender	.350	.061	5.757	1.42**
Age	-.017	.002	-8.188	0.98**
Extraversion	.183	.026	7.093	1.20**
Agreeableness	-.474	.034	-14.036	0.62**
Conscientiousness	-.156	.029	-5.303	0.86**
Neuroticism	.433	.033	13.151	1.54**

Openness	-.127	.027	-4.692	0.88**
Kessler-6	.827	.067	12.303	2.29**
Satisfaction with Relationships	-.176	.016	-11.194	0.84**
<i>Low Self-Regard</i>				
Gender	-.120	.111	-1.086	0.89
Age	-.004	.004	-1.075	1.00
Extraversion	-.415	.047	-8.734	0.66**
Agreeableness	-.132	.066	-1.993	0.88*
Conscientiousness	-.349	.053	-6.573	0.71**
Neuroticism	1.337	.068	19.800	3.81**
Openness	-.099	.051	-1.918	0.91
Kessler-6	1.910	.095	20.075	6.75**
Satisfaction with Relationships	-.354	.023	-15.605	0.70**

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$. Gender coded as 0 for women, 1 for men; Kessler-6 measured on a scale from 0 to 4; personality on a scale from 1 to 7, and satisfaction with personal relationships on a scale from 1 to 10.

Discussion

Both the narcissism and the self-esteem literature suggest that high self-regard is heterogeneous and that entitlement and self-esteem serve as markers of different patterns of self-regard (e.g., Jordan et al., 2003; Kernis, 2003; Crowe et al., 2016a; Rose, 2002). Using Latent Transition Analysis, we aimed to track change over time in profiles of self-regard. We identified five profiles with different ways of viewing the self. While the majority of the sample had high self-esteem, these profiles diverged in their associations with entitlement, indicating important differences in high self-evaluation (e.g., Baumeister et al., 2003; Kernis, 2003). Similarly, highly entitled profiles diverged in their levels of self-esteem suggesting these two profiles might also diverge in their behaviour and outcomes (e.g., Brummelman et al., 2016; Pincus et al., 2009). We generally found the various profiles of self-regard to be highly stable. Still, we observed small transitions between profiles, which differed depending on their levels of both self-esteem and entitlement. Overall, these results demonstrated that taking into account multiple dimensions and subtypes of self-regard can provide a more nuanced understanding of one's feelings of self-worth and their development over time.

Latent Profiles

The profiles identified here are clearly grouped, with three measuring low in entitlement, and two measuring relatively high in entitlement. Overall, over 70% of the representative New Zealand sample reported low levels of psychological entitlement. The largest profile in the current research consisted of those with the highest levels of self-esteem and the lowest levels of entitlement, representing over 40% of the sample. We labelled this profile Optimal Self-Esteem to indicate self-esteem that is unaccompanied by high defensiveness associated with entitlement (Kernis, 2003; Stronge et al., 2016). We also identified a single moderate profile with low levels of entitlement, and self-esteem levels around the midpoint of the scale, which we labelled

Moderate Self-Regard. Finally, a small profile was identified with entitlement and self-esteem levels that are both below the midpoint of the scale, which we labelled Low Self-Regard.

Two high entitlement profiles were also identified. The first profile has both high levels of entitlement and high levels of self-esteem which we label Narcissistic Self-Esteem. This profile matches conceptions of grandiose narcissists (Brown & Brunell, 2017; Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Wink, 1991). The other profile had nearly identical levels of entitlement, but much lower levels of self-esteem, hence we labelled this profile Vulnerable Self-Regard in line with research identifying two types of narcissists with the same core of entitlement but differing levels of self-esteem (Brown & Brunell, 2017; Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Wink, 1991). Although levels of self-esteem in this profile are not particularly low, hovering around the midpoint of the scale, their belief that they deserve more is higher than their belief that they are a person of worth, indicating a fragile self-view. Overall, these results demonstrate that those who measure high in entitlement can still vastly differ in terms of self-esteem, as can those who measure high in self-esteem in terms of their levels of entitlement.

Stronge et al. (2016) identified five profiles of self-esteem and entitlement in 2009, and four very similar profiles have been identified here. However, the fifth profile is different. Whereas Stronge et al. (2016) identified a second, moderate profile with relatively low entitlement and self-esteem, whereas the fifth profile here clearly has higher entitlement and seems to fit with the vulnerable narcissists Stronge et al. (2016) hypothesised but did not identify. The measure used in the current research is slightly different to the measure used by Stronge et al (2016), as we did not include the item “I demand the best because I’m worth it”. This item may have tapped into self-esteem just enough that vulnerable narcissists did not endorse it, and thus did previously not emerge as a clear profile. With regard to the proportions

of the profiles, we hesitate to rely on these or compare them to Stronge et al.'s (2016) results as the data in the current research is not weighted, and there are some differences in the mean levels of the profiles. Yet, these profiles are broadly comparable to those identified by Stronge et al. (2016) and follow a very similar pattern, indicating there may be some 'basic truths' to the structure of self-regard among New Zealanders. These results show that these profiles are not only identifiable five years on, but are quite stable and hold longitudinally across the course of a year.

Demographic, Social and Personality Predictors

To support our labelling of these profiles, we also examined demographic and personality variables that predict whether people are more likely to belong to one profile over another, in this case, using the Optimal Self-Esteem profile as the main reference profile. These results illustrated that the Optimal Self-Esteem profile was the most psychologically healthy profile, as it was associated with a more prosocial personality pattern and better psychosocial health relative to other profiles. It was also associated with being older relative to most other profiles. These results fit well with conceptions of optimal self-esteem (Kernis, 2003), and research that suggests self-esteem increases and entitlement decreases as people age (Bleidorn et al., 2016; Wilson & Sibley, 2011). Low self-regard was differentiated from Optimal Self-Esteem mostly by high neuroticism, low extraversion, and to a lesser degree, low conscientiousness. While slightly less agreeable, this profile is still more agreeable than all other profiles, and just as open to experience. This suggests the low self-regard profile consists of people who are struggling, but for reasons other than entitled and self-serving behaviour.

Belonging to the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile was largely driven by higher extraversion and lower agreeableness, which matches

conceptions of grandiose narcissists (Hyatt et al., 2017; Miller et al., 2011). However, the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile was associated with more psychological distress, higher neuroticism, less satisfaction with relationships, and greater neuroticism than the Optimal Self-Esteem profile, even as they shared very similar levels of self-esteem. This suggests, as found in previous research, that psychological distress and difficulty with relationships are related to high entitlement (Brummelman et al., 2016; Byrne & O'Brien, 2014; Grubbs & Exline, 2016; Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro, & Rusbult, 2004).

While the Vulnerable Self-Regard profile shared the same levels of entitlement as the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile, the lower self-esteem associated with this profile meant they were far less psychologically healthy (Grubbs & Exline, 2016; Miller et al., 2011; Pincus et al., 2009). Those with higher psychological distress were 10 times more likely to belong to the Vulnerable Self-Regard profile relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile, and 3 times more likely relative to the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile. Belonging to the Vulnerable Self-Regard profile was also predicted by higher neuroticism and lower extraversion relative to the Optimal Self-Esteem profile, followed by weaker effects of lower conscientiousness and openness.

In sum, these profiles fit conceptually with existing conceptions of narcissism and self-esteem in the literature. Optimal Self-Esteem is self-esteem without a sense of entitlement, and is psychologically healthy (Kernis, 2003; Schmitt & Allik, 2005; Orth, 2017). Two highly entitled profiles share a common core of disagreeableness, but the more grandiose profile is defined by its high extraversion while the more vulnerable profile is defined by its high neuroticism, fitting with recent triarchic models of narcissism (Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Miller, et al., 2017). Similarly, Crowe et al., (2016) identified two clusters of high entitlement, defined largely by their divergent levels of neuroticism. The markers of entitlement and self-esteem in the current

research appear to have identified profiles of self-regard that are analogous to and share nomological networks with various previously theorised subtypes of self-esteem, narcissism, and entitlement.

Transitions over Time

Now, we turn to the transition probabilities over time. Although the transitions are generally small, changes across one year accumulate over longer periods of time and across the adult lifespan (e.g., Roberts, Edmonds, & Grijalva, 2010; Stronge et al., 2018). As we note in the results section, these changes are assumed to be a stationary process year-over-year. Cross-sectional research suggests that as adults age, they move towards higher self-esteem and lower entitlement (Bleidorn et al., 2016; Wilson & Sibley, 2011); with a sample mean of approximately 50, we would expect reasonably high self-esteem, reasonably low entitlement, and trends that continue in this direction. Our results fit well with these previous findings, demonstrating greater transitions out of, rather than into, the low self-regard and high entitlement profiles. The opposite was observed for the Optimal Self-Esteem and Moderate Self-Regard profiles, with more transitions into, rather than out of, these profiles. In this way, the Optimal Self-Esteem profile acts as a logical conclusion for the development of self-regard across the adult lifespan. Indeed, the high stability of the Optimal Self-Esteem profile suggests that once people get there, they are likely to stay there. There was a small transition probability towards the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile over time (1.8%). However, this was a bidirectional process, and transitions from Narcissistic Self-Esteem to the Optimal Self-Esteem was more likely (5.9%). These results suggest that grandiose narcissism has the potential to fade into healthier forms of self-regard for some.

The Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile also had a bidirectional transition with Vulnerable Self-Regard. Previous research and theory suggest that narcissists should move towards lower self-esteem over longer periods of time (Baumeister & Vohs, 2001; Grubbs & Exline, 2016; Orth & Luciano, 2015). In contrast, we found that transitions may occur in both directions, with small probabilities of the Vulnerable Self-Regard profile moving towards higher self-esteem (4.3%) and the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile moving towards lower self-esteem (2.4%). The theorised reduction in self-esteem may occur over a longer time span (Grubbs & Exline, 2016), however, as it stands, over the course of a year, highly entitled profiles had only a small chance of moving towards lower self-esteem.

The Vulnerable Self-Regard profile also transitioned in other directions, showing a small probability of moving to every other profile across the course of a year (although it was still more stable over time than the Low Self-Regard profile). While transition towards the Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile suggests changes in self-esteem, transitions towards Optimal Self-Esteem (1.1%), Low Self-Regard (1.5%), and Moderate Self-Regard (3.6%) suggest that entitlement levels have the potential to change as well. Overall, these results demonstrate that highly entitled forms of self-regard were quite stable, and yet, less stable than healthier forms of self-regard with low levels of entitlement.

The Low Self-Regard profile was the least stable of the profiles, with the majority of its transitions occurring towards Moderate Self-Regard (13%), and to a much smaller degree the Optimal Self-Esteem profile (1.4%). Those who belong to this profile may see increases in their self-esteem, sometimes substantial increases, even in the time-span of just one year. The Low Self-Regard profile may be a transitional state for those who have gone through a ‘rough patch’, and then bounced back to their original state of self-regard. However, even though this profile is

relatively unstable, the vast majority (over 80%) were still likely to remain within this state of very low self-regard. Previous research similarly suggests that low self-esteem should be stable and self-reinforcing (Orth, 2017; Orth & Luciano, 2015; Sowislo & Orth, 2013). Thus, this group may be at risk of a poor psychological health and behaviour such as depression, anxiety, and aggression (Donnellan, Trzesniewski, Robins, Moffitt, & Caspi, 2005; Sowislo & Orth, 2013).

Finally, the Moderate Self-Regard profile represented a less exaggerated version of the Optimal Self-Esteem profile, with low levels of entitlement and self-esteem just above the midpoint. This profile was fed by the other low self-esteem profiles (Vulnerable and Low Self-Regard), and had a small chance itself of transitioning into Low Self-Regard (3.2%). Interestingly, however, there was essentially zero probability of transitioning from here to higher self-esteem profiles, narcissistic or not. We suggested earlier that the stability of the Optimal Self-Esteem profile represents the conclusion of developmental processes of steadily increasing self-esteem across adulthood; with Moderate Self-Regard the second most stable profile, it appears to be an alternative, more modest profile for people to settle into. As implied by the high rank-order stability of self-esteem (Orth, 2017), those with high self-esteem and those with moderate self-esteem may show small transitions around other profiles with similar levels, but the basic facts of one's self-regard do not usually change. Once someone takes a positive but measured view of themselves, it appears to remain that way.

Strengths and Limitations

These results demonstrate the heterogeneity of self-regard. Even when groups of people may score similarly on one dimension, taking another dimension of self-regard into account paints a broader picture. Among those with high self-regard in particular, measuring entitlement can distinguish between different forms of high self-esteem, and measuring self-esteem can

distinguish between different forms of entitlement; previous research suggests that these profiles all display very different behaviours and personalities, and attain very different outcomes (e.g., Brummelman et al., 2016; Crowe et al., 2016; Kernis, 2003; Miller et al., 2011; Stronge et al., 2016). The current research also demonstrates that subtypes of self-esteem and entitlement are not only worth differentiating between cross-sectionally, but longitudinally as well. Profiles were defined by their different levels of self-regard and associated personalities, but could also be clearly separated by their stabilities and developmental pathways. For example, optimal and moderate profiles of self-esteem had similar patterns of entitlement and self-esteem and similarly high stability. However, they can be clearly differentiated longitudinally by their lack of transition to one another, and completely different patterns of transitions to other profiles.

These results raise the question of what increases in self-esteem and narcissism actually mean in previous longitudinal research if high self-regard can be heterogeneous (see Twenge, 2013 for a review, *cf.* Hamamura & Septarini, 2017; Stronge et al., 2018; Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2008; Wetzel et al., 2017) Discussions of rising self-esteem are often folded into discussions of rising narcissism and entitlement, under the general banner of ‘positive self-views’, ‘individualism’ or ‘an inflated sense of self’ (e.g., Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010; Twenge, 2013), but they are distinct constructs that are not always positively associated. Interpretations of the impact of rising self-esteem levels over time (e.g., Twenge & Campbell, 2001) are confounded by not measuring subtypes of fragile and secure self-esteem. For example, while it is true self-esteem is not always beneficial (Baumeister et al., 2003; Twenge, 2013), the vast majority of those with high self-esteem in the current research appear to have a healthy self-concept that is generally associated with positive outcomes and is highly stable. Similarly, while high entitlement is certainly not positive, the outcomes of grandiose and vulnerable forms of

self-regard are worth differentiating between (e.g., Miller et al., 2011a). While cross-sectional narcissism research typically measures grandiose and vulnerable subtypes of narcissism, longitudinal research often does not.

As noted by Collin and Lanza (2009), being within the same profile one year later is not necessarily the same as having stayed in that profile across the entire course of the year – participants may have transitioned out and back in any number of times, particularly for transitions between the high entitlement profiles (Wright & Edershile, 2018). Self-regard has high stability across long time-frames (Orth, 2017). However, with self-esteem fluctuation measurable in under a week (Kernis, 2005) and narcissism fluctuation measurable daily (Giacomin & Jordan, 2014), the idea of stability across a year must be interpreted with caution. There also remains the issue of systematic attrition of those high in entitlement across time. Satherley et al. (2015) found, unsurprisingly, that those with high entitlement are more likely to drop out of the NZAVS over time, which could mean potentially underestimating transitions towards our Narcissistic Self-Esteem profile.

We also note that, as this research was conducted in New Zealand, it may not be generalisable to other contexts. Research suggests that differences in entitlement do exist across countries (Foster et al., 2003), and mean levels of entitlement in New Zealand are likely to be relatively low compared to other Western countries, given New Zealand's cultural focus on humility and meritocracy (e.g., Kirkwood, 2007; Sibley, Hoverd, & Liu, 2011). However, while there is certainly the potential for differing proportions within profiles, or differing transitions between profiles, it seems likely that the structure of self-regard (i.e. the profiles identified here across time) would remain similar across Western contexts. Indeed, the profiles in the current research fit well with constructs of self-regard theorised and measured within the United States -

grandiose and vulnerable narcissism (Rose, 2002; Wink, 1991), and secure and fragile self-esteem (Kernis, 2003). However, these results may not be generalisable outside of Western contexts (see Foster et al., 2003).

Given the strong theoretical grounding of these forms of self-regard, we can have confidence that the profiles in the current research represent non-arbitrary differences in self-regard. However, we cannot be confident we have identified *all* potential subtypes of self-regard. Research that uses more targeted measures (e.g., grandiosity, vulnerability, and entitlement) may identify additional more finely-grained profiles in the future. For example, further person-centered research could identify whether grandiose and vulnerable narcissism are indeed subtypes or whether they are factors where some narcissists are high in entitlement, grandiosity, and vulnerability (e.g., Krizan & Herlache, 2017; Miller et al., 2017). Furthermore, there may be finer distinctions such as those suggested by Back, Küfner, Dufner, Gerlach, and Rauthmann (2013), who distinguish grandiose narcissism into further subtypes of assertive and antagonistic grandiose narcissism. We also note that the measure of entitlement used in this research is a 2-item measure, and short-form measures can be more prone to Type I or Type II errors (Credé et al., 2012; Kruyken, Emons, & Sijtsma, 2013). However, using shorter measures is a natural trade-off for large scale, national panel studies. These items are a useful marker of entitlement that has been utilised in a body of previous research (Stronge et al., 2016; Stronge et al., 2018; Wilson & Sibley, 2011), has good reliability and high one year test-retest correlations.

Finally, we have chosen to discuss variables that are generally treated as continuous in a categorical way (Foster & Campbell, 2007), which can result in a loss of predictive utility (Costa, Herbst, McCrae, Samuels, & Ozer, 2002; Irwin & McClelland, 2003). Indeed, the existence of high, medium and low self-esteem profiles in the current research illustrates the

dimensional nature of self-esteem and entitlement. However, the consistent identification of latent profiles with high entropy and little transition between the profiles over time suggests that approaching entitlement and self-esteem as ‘subtypes’ can also be appropriate. Furthermore, the differences in personality between these profiles were not simply a matter of degree, indicating qualitative, not quantitative differences (Osborne & Sibley, 2017). Categorical approaches are useful when they complement dimensional approaches, allowing for the documentation of both general trends and heterogeneity (Laursen & Hoff, 2006). Some things can be generalised across populations (i.e., entitlement is associated with low agreeableness), but variability can also emerge within those populations (subtypes of entitlement are differentiated by their associations with neuroticism and extraversion). These differences are occluded by the average tendency when examining purely linear relationships. This kind of person-centered research is growing in the narcissism literature, identifying groups, clusters, or patterns where people have similar levels of narcissism or entitlement but diverge in other important ways (Crowe et al., 2016; Wetzel et al., 2016). The current research also demonstrates the heterogeneity and variation away from general trends that exists in the development of self-regard.

Conclusion

We identify here five main patterns that self-regard may follow, consisting of different levels of psychological entitlement and self-esteem. These profiles of entitlement and self-esteem represent different self-views that are associated with different personalities and levels of psychosocial health. The five profiles are very stable over time, with only small likelihoods of transitioning from one form of self-regard to another over the course of a year. Furthermore, the profiles diverge in their development over time, with different levels of stability and different directions of change identified over the course of a year. Overall, these results illustrate the

heterogeneity of high self-regard both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, demonstrating the different developmental pathways that high self-regard can take.

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