

**COLLECTIVE NARCISSISM AMONG ADVANTAGED AND DISADVANTAGED  
GROUPS AND REACTIONARY VS. PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL CHANGE**

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**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to  
the Department of Psychology, Goldsmiths, University of London, in October, 2023.**

**Declaration of Authorship**

I, Oliver Keenan, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own.

Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Oliver Keenan

31 October 2023

*To my Mother and Father, Candace and Ian*

### **Acknowledgements**

The studies presented in this Ph.D. thesis, and thesis itself would not have been possible without the guidance and support of many incredible people along the way. I would like to thank my primary supervisor, Dr. Agnieszka Golec de Zavala, for her input on the hypotheses, research methods, and theory presented in this thesis. Thank you for your continuous support, encouragement, and patience throughout my journey as a Ph.D. student. I will carry the things I learned from you with me throughout the rest of my academic career. I would like to thank the international members of PrejudiceLab for their support with the present research. Thank you to my peers in the Ph.D. in Psychology program at Goldsmiths, University of London

I prepared this thesis while working at PrejudiceLab. Studies 1, 3, 5, 5b and 6 were support by a grant from the Polish National Science Centre (2017/26/A/HS6/00647 awarded to Dr. Agnieszka Golec de Zavala). The other Studies were supported by the Psychology Department of Goldsmiths, University of London. Parts of this Thesis were presented at symposia at the 2022 International Society for Political Psychology Annual Meeting, and the 2023 Society for Personality and Social Psychology's Annual Conference in Atlanta.

**Abstract**

Acts of right-wing reactionary extremism against members of disadvantaged societal groups now pose the biggest terrorist threats in Western democracies (2021 Hate Crime Statistics). Societal polarization has also deepened, as disadvantaged groups seek pro-equality progressive social change while facing backlash from the public and the state (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). Across seven cross-sectional studies (N = 5,489, four nationally representative samples) in different national and intergroup contexts among advantaged (US Whites and Polish men) and disadvantaged (US Blacks and Latinx, Polish women) groups, this thesis tested the role of collective narcissism at national and subordinate (i.e., racial and gender subgroup memberships) levels of identification in predicting support for reactionary and progressive social change. The thesis established that subordinate-level collective narcissism is the same variable across groups (us multiple group confirmatory factor analysis, Studies 1, 3, & 5), and similarly predicts perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions similarly among U.S. Whites and racial minorities, and Polish men and women (Studies 1, 2, 3, 5 & 5b). The pattern of findings showed that national collective narcissism among both advantaged (Whites and men) and disadvantaged groups (racial minorities and women), alongside White and male collective narcissism made converging predictions with support for reactionary social change. Reactionary social change was expressed as ideological support for legitimization of inequality (Studies 1 & 5) and anti-egalitarianism (Studies 1, 3 & 5), and collective action outcomes: support for state repression of progressive movements (Black Lives Matter and Women's Strike, Studies 2 & 6) and support for the alt-right (Study 4). In some cases, national collective narcissism showed stronger associations with reactionary social change among disadvantaged groups. Conversely, Black, Latinx and female collective narcissism predicted support for progressive social change (and rejected reactionary social change), expressed as endorsing delegitimization of inequality and egalitarianism, and collective action outcomes: participation in, and support for, Black Lives Matter (Studies 2 & 4), and support for Keep Families Together (Study 4) and participation in Women's Strike (Study 6)

The findings indicate that national collective narcissism among advantaged and disadvantaged groups, and subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups accounts for the social identity basis of support for deepening societal inequality. Whereas, subordinate-level collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups accounts for the social identity basis of challenging inequality. Subordinate-level collective narcissism also predicts political radicalisation among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

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PART I.

BACKGROUND

## Chapter 1.

### Summary of Research Objectives and Thesis Structure

Seven cross-sectional studies investigated collective narcissism (i.e., the belief in the ingroup's greatness which is not sufficiently recognized by others; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) among advantaged and disadvantaged groups at the national-level and advantaged vs. disadvantaged subordinate-level of identification, and its effects on reactionary vs. progressive social change. The research presented here tested several hypotheses to gain a thorough understanding of how collective narcissism impacts both the appraisal and reaction to social inequality across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. It establishes that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism are distinct concepts. It also establishes that collective narcissism shows measurement invariance when measured across advantaged and disadvantaged group members, indicating it is the same concept across these groups. The hypotheses were tested within and across multiple national and intergroup contexts for robustness and generalizability by seeking to replicate the effects across diverse samples (Haefel & Cobb, 2022; Simons, 2014). Furthermore, it tested multiple operationalisations of the outcome variables, across attitude-based outcomes (i.e., ideological beliefs) and behavioural outcomes (i.e., collective action intentions). This provides a more rigorous test of the effects, and evaluating the effects beyond attitude measures to collective action intentions indicates when participants will support the active furthering or challenging of inequality. The aim of this introductory chapter is to provide a brief summary of the context and significance of the research presented in this Ph.D. thesis. It presents the main research aims and objectives. These focus on clarifying the impact of collective narcissism as a form of social identification as underpinning support for reactionary vs. progressive social change, as dependent on the level of identification (national and subordinate-level) and status (i.e., advantaged vs. disadvantaged) of the subordinate-level group. The chapter concludes by providing an overview of the thesis structure, implemented to allow the reader to navigate this thesis with ease.

#### 1.1. Research Context and Significance

Political scientists point to a global trend in reactionary politics – a form of politics expressed by the public (e.g., through protests) and mainstream political parties (e.g., right-wing populist policies) – which seeks the return to a past where traditionally advantaged groups held and maintained exclusive reins over social control and power (Alter & Zürn, 2020). Such reactionary movements:

*have a greater symbolic investment in the past than in the present [ . . . ] The most activist and vocal adherents of these backwards-looking groups tended to be white, often male, and people who lose power and status when discrimination is removed.* (Lipset and Raab, 1970: p. 504; cited in Alter & Zürn, 2020, p. 565).

Moreover, traditionally dominant, advantaged groups are willing to engage in collective action to achieve their goal. This is enacted through violence (e.g., shootings, hate crimes) and by leveraging the coercive power of the state. In 2020, domestic terrorism – hate crimes against national minorities – was identified as a primary threat to national security in the United States, superseding the threat from other forms of terrorism (2021 Hate Crime Statistics). These acts of domestic terrorism have been predominantly perpetrated by White right-wing extremists motivated by divisive populist rhetoric (Nacos et al., 2020; Rees et al., 2019; Selvanathan & Leidner, 2020). This can be seen in the rise in hate crimes following the election of Donald Trump (G. S. Edwards & Rushin, 2018) and the Brexit referendum (Devine, 2021; Piatkowska & Stults, 2022). Furthermore, right-wing populists have legitimised intergroup conspiracies and threat narratives which motivate extreme violence against disadvantaged national subgroups (Golec de Zavala, 2021; Obaidi et al., 2021). For example, the Buffalo shooter, who targeted and killed ten Black people in 2022, proclaimed allegiance to the alt-right (an anti-liberal, male and White supremacist movement; Forscher & Kteily, 2020). He endorsed the “great replacement” conspiracy theory, blaming Jews and the “elites” for purposefully procuring a “White genocide” in which White people were being demographically and culturally “replaced” by racial minorities. The Buffalo attack was explicitly intended to terrorise racial minorities (Rose, 2022; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024). Similarly,

immigrants and people from vulnerable racial and ethnic minorities have faced increasingly harsh treatment. For instance, the Trump administration's fortification of the southern border fence to a 30ft steel wall increased the number of deaths among those attempting to cross (Liepert et al., 2022). However, hostility to disadvantaged groups extends beyond racial minorities. The pursuit of gender equality has too recently experienced extraordinary drawbacks. For example, the American Supreme Court overruled the *Roe vs. Wade* legal precedent, which had guaranteed constitutional protection of women's rights to reproductive health since 1974 (Murray, 2020). Its overruling allows individual states to introduce laws that limit those rights. In October 2020, Poland limited women's reproductive rights, introducing the most restrictive anti-abortion law in Europe (Graff & Korolczuk, 2022). In contrast, men's reproductive rights in the United States or Poland have never been limited by any legal act. This unequal treatment of men and women is only one example of pervasiveness of gender inequality (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024).

Disadvantaged groups can show contradictory responses to reactionary attacks to equality which harm the disadvantaged ingroup. For instance, despite this mistreatment, disadvantaged group members still support politicians and policies which favour inequality and harm the ingroup directly. For instance, between 2016-20, Donald Trump gained support from racial minorities, including Blacks and Latinos (Nagesh, 2020), with support coming from a 'Latinos for Trump' movement (Corral & Leal, 2020). Similarly, in Poland, women representing the Polish Life and Family Foundation support the "Stop abortion" bill (Poland's extraordinarily restrictive anti-abortion policy) and label proponents of reproductive women's rights as "fans of killing babies" (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024).

Conversely, Trump also mobilised disadvantaged groups including US Blacks, Latinx and women in opposition to his administration's policies, and galvanised a stronger base for social justice campaigns and left-wing politics (Meyer & Tarrow, 2018). Notably, this is seen within the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM), which seeks the end of racial bias and lethal violence by Police against Blacks and other minorities (Leach & Allen, 2017). Black Lives Matter protests were

often subject to police violence in an attempt to shut them down (Amnesty International, 2020).

Likewise the federal government sought harsh prosecutions for any protesters which were arrested (Gabbatt, 2020). The Keep Families Together movement protested against the forceful separation of children from their parents at the Mexico-U.S. border, which led to more general opposition to the U.S. 's, hostile immigration rhetoric and policies (Yazdiha, 2022). In Poland, the All-Poland Women's Strike was organised to oppose the extremely restrictive abortion ban enacted by the right-wing populist Law and Justice party. Protestors were similarly met with violence from the police (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

## **1.2. Thesis Overview**

In this thesis, by integrating perspectives on collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), I propose a novel approach which can shed light on these complex outcomes as they relate to the way in which advantaged and disadvantaged group members respond to social inequality. In this approach, collective narcissism specifies the aspect of social identity concerned with competition with outgroups in order to improve the status of the ingroup. Collective narcissism is implicated within social identity processes regarding the levels of identification (i.e., national identities and subordinate-level identities which share the national context; Reynolds et al., 2013) and relative status of the ingroup (Ellemers, 1993; Klandermans, 2014). This follows from collective narcissism theory (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Guerra et al., 2020; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021) which shows that collective narcissism is highly correlated with measures of social identification, tracks social identity processes (e.g., social identity threat), and reliably predicts intergroup conflict (over other measures of social identification, once their covariation is accounted for in multiple regression analysis). This extends classic formulations within social identity theory (Turner, 1975) by clarifying it is not the strength of social identification which predicts conflict, but the form of social identification i.e., whether it is defined by collective narcissism, which specifies when social identification will lead to intergroup conflict for ingroup superiority over outgroups.

This framework is the first to apply collective narcissism simultaneously across nested identities within contexts of societal inequality, i.e., national and subordinate-level identities of advantaged and disadvantaged national subgroups. National collective narcissism specifies when the supremacist interests of advantaged subgroups will be expressed as a national norm. Due to the historical social power of advantaged national subgroups in shaping national identity, the supremacist need among advantaged subgroups associated with subordinate-level collective narcissism is elevated to the national identity expressed by national collective narcissism. This alignment of subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged national subgroups and national collective narcissism should be indicated by converging predictions in support for reactionary social change.

The converging predictions of subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged subgroups, and national collective narcissism across subgroups explains why the supremacist interests of advantaged group members are expressed at the national level. This is because the supremacist interests predicted by subordinate-level collective narcissism are projected onto the national identity expressed by national collective narcissism. This in turn explains why such interests are endorsed by disadvantaged group members who share the national identity and endorse national collective narcissism. It clarifies and extends approaches within the social identity literature which have shown a lack of robust predictions of national identification, particularly as it relates to active pursuit of deepening inequality (rather than passive acquiescence to prevailing inequality). The converging predictions would also explain national collective narcissism's robust relationship with right-wing populism and support for the rights of advantaged subgroups.

Furthermore, subordinate-level collective narcissism explains why national subgroups engage in political radicalism in order to compete for relative status and clarifies the social identity literature on support for reactionary and progressive social change which has shown unreliable findings for the role of subordinate-level social identification among national subgroups (Stewart & Willer, 2022). This is because collective narcissism comprises both the belief in ingroup superiority

and grievance which mobilises group members to engage in action to promote the ingroup, and leads them to escalate social conflict following perceived threat from outgroups (Golec de Zavala, 2023). Subordinate-level collective narcissism among both advantaged and disadvantaged group members should then predict perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective actions intentions to promote the ingroup.

To investigate the specific role of collective narcissism as a form of social identity, it is compared to another form of ingroup identification – ingroup satisfaction. The predictions are expected to be specific to collective narcissism rather than ingroup satisfaction. Following collective narcissism research (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), this approach focuses on collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction – as they are both concerned with the evaluation of ingroup. Additional analyses of this thesis data, and previous studies (e.g., Marchlewska et al., 2020) show a similar reliable effect of collective narcissism over other components of social identification (e.g., its cognitive component – ingroup centrality; Leach et al., 2008). Furthermore, it is important to include both national and subordinate-level collective narcissism together, as they are each expected to explain unique variance in the outcome variables among advantaged group members and are expected to have diverging predictions among disadvantaged group members. Therefore, not accounting for their covariation can lead to suppression effects and unreliable findings.

### **1.3. Objectives**

*Objective 1* of this thesis was to ascertain that national and racial/gender collective narcissism are distinct variables and that their measures tap the same phenomena among U.S. Whites, Blacks and Latinx, and Polish men and women. To do so I established that: (1) measurements of American and racial collective narcissism, and Polish and gender collective narcissism each loaded on separate factors (while also being distinct from ingroup satisfaction at each level of identification) and (2) measurement invariance of the assessments of national and racial/gender collective narcissism between the racial/gender groups.

*Objective 2* of this thesis is to establish collective narcissism as predicting a social change orientation in both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Diverging from the conventional view that advantaged groups seek to maintain the status quo, and disadvantaged groups challenge the status quo (Ellemers, 1993), recent psychological literature (Thomas & Osborne, 2022) indicates that both groups can be motivated towards social change – however, with different goals. Amongst advantaged groups, it is termed reactionary social change and seeks to promote the rights of advantaged groups at the expense of disadvantaged groups. This is often under the rubric of return to an idealised national period whose characteristics are perceived as having been lost. Among disadvantaged groups, it is termed progressive social change and seeks social justice and egalitarianism for disadvantaged groups challenging the current unequal status quo (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). For both groups, social change is motivated by a perception that the ingroup is disadvantaged, and a willingness to engage in violence if it promotes the interests of the ingroup (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020; Power et al., 2020). This thesis tests the predictions of racial and gender collective narcissism (vs. ingroup satisfaction) against outcomes of perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions.

*Objective 3* of this thesis extends *Objective 2* to the specific ideologies and collective action associated with reactionary and progressive social change. Recent commentaries describe how reactionary social change is associated with right-wing ideologies which legitimise current social inequality and promote an anti-egalitarian outlook (Becker, 2020). Furthermore, reactionary social change involves collective action by advantaged group members to promote the ingroup's interests (Thomas & Osborne, 2022), and is often supported by a state which enacts policies to limit the rights of disadvantaged groups (Hodson et al., 2022). On the other hand, progressive social change is associated with the rejection and delegitimizing of prevailing social inequality and an egalitarian outlook, along with collective action to promote the interests of the disadvantaged ingroup.

In particular, I seek to establish that national, White and male collective narcissism accounts for the social identity basis of reactionary social change. Conversely, Black, Latinx and female

collective narcissism accounts for the social identity basis of progressive social change. To assess this, collective narcissism is compared to ingroup satisfaction at the national and subordinate-levels of identification on outcomes relating to reactionary and progressive social change.

Additionally, Objective 4 compares collective narcissism to ingroup satisfaction as evaluative dimensions of social identification tapping narcissistic and non-narcissistic ingroup positivity, respectively. The predicted relationships with the outcome variables should be specific to collective narcissism over ingroup satisfaction. This implies null or alternative predictions for ingroup satisfaction when accounting for its covariation with collective narcissism in multiple regression analyses.

#### 1.4. Summary of Hypotheses

Hypotheses are not uniformly tested across all studies (see Table 1.1). Different analyses for each hypothesis are presented for the same studies across each section, for example, Studies 1, 3, & 5 tests all hypotheses presented across Parts 2 & 3. Some studies only test particular hypotheses, for example, Study 4 only tests Hypotheses 3a-c so is only presented in Part 3 and Study 5b only tests Hypothesis 2b so is only presented in Part 2.

**Table 1.1**

*Summary of All Hypotheses Tested Across the Present Research Project*

Hypothesis	Studies	Prediction
1a	1, 3, 5	National and subordinate-level collective narcissism (vs. ingroup satisfaction) will be distinct constructs at each level of measurement
1b	1, 3, 5	National and subordinate-level collective narcissism (vs. ingroup satisfaction) will be invariant across advantaged and disadvantaged groups

2a	1, 2, 3, 5, 5b	Racial and gender collective narcissism will predict perceived ingroup deprivation across advantaged and disadvantaged groups
2b	1, 2, 3, 5, 5b	Racial and gender collective narcissism will predict violent collective action intentions across advantaged and disadvantaged groups
3a	1-6 (excl. 5b)	National collective narcissism will predict reactionary social change (and reject progressive social change)
3b	1-6 (excl. 5b)	Subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups will predict reactionary social change (and reject progressive social change)
3c	1-6 (excl. 5b)	Subordinate-level collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups will predict progressive social change (and reject reactionary social change)

**1.5. Thesis Structure**

Chapter 2 of the thesis presents an in-depth overview of the literature which informed this research and the hypotheses tested. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the seven empirical studies conducted to test the hypotheses, summarises the hypotheses tested across the studies, and provides further methodological and analytical details.

Chapter 4, approaching Objective 1, presents the factorial validation of the collective narcissism (and ingroup satisfaction) scales across the national and subordinate-levels of identification, and the measurement invariance of these scales across advantaged and disadvantaged groups tested.

Chapter 5, approaching Objectives 2 and 4, investigates racial and gender collective narcissism relationship with perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. The relevant parts of the methodologies from studies 1-3b and 5 are presented, including participant

sections which are not repeated in the corresponding Study methodologies in Part Three. Chapter 6 presents an overview of Part Three which approaches Objectives 3 and 4, investigating collective narcissism's (compared to ingroup satisfaction's) role in reactionary and progressive social change. It summarizes the hypotheses investigated and specifies the various operationalisations of reactionary and progressive social change. Chapters 7-9 presents studies 1-6, including the relevant methodologies not presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 10 presents the General Discussion, including research implications and future directions.

## **Chapter 2.**

### **Collective narcissism of advantaged group supremacy and resistance by disadvantaged groups**

This thesis suggests that, within contexts of group-based inequality, collective narcissism accounts for a core social identity motive to enhance the ingroup over relevant outgroups. This in turn leads to specific ideological attitudes and political collective action regarding inequality. The direction of these attitudes depends on (1) whether collective narcissism is endorsed at the national level or subordinate-level (i.e., among national subgroups), and (2) the advantaged vs. disadvantaged status of these national subgroups. It's expected that national collective narcissism will promote inequality across groups, whereas subordinate-level collective narcissism will show opposite relationships with inequality depending on status: advantaged group members support inequality whereas disadvantaged group members challenge inequality. In particular, this thesis claims that national (American, Polish) and advantaged subgroup (White, male) collective narcissism stands behind support for reactionary social change – a politics of 'national renewal' which aims to reassert the power and privilege of historically advantaged groups within the national group (Alter & Zürn, 2020; Graff et al., 2019). Specifically, I intend to show that White and American collective narcissisms stand behind the conviction that Whites should be granted preferential treatment in the United States (e.g. Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022). Furthermore, that male and Polish collective narcissism stand behind similar convictions for men in Poland (Graff et

al., 2019; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024). Reactionary social change is indicated by the endorsing of ideologies and collective action which promote the rights of advantaged groups and diminishes the rights of disadvantaged groups (Thomas & Osborne, 2023).

This claim will be evidenced in two national and three intergroup contexts. In the United States in the context of a racial intergroup hierarchy (Whites and racial minorities: Blacks and Latinx), and in Poland in the context of gender group hierarchy. Moreover, given that disadvantaged racial minorities and women also identify with their superordinate national identities (Reynolds et al., 2013), it is expected that national collective narcissism will similarly be associated with reactionary social change among these disadvantaged national subgroups. Finally, I intend to show that racial and gender collective narcissism among racial minorities and women predict opposing support for progressive social change (i.e., support for ideologies and collective action which promotes the rights of disadvantaged groups; Thomas & Osborne, 2023).

An assumption of this research is that, while advantaged and disadvantaged groups adopt opposing views and actions towards social inequality, there is a shared motive towards social change based upon grievances about the ingroup's perceived social status. This is associated with a willingness to engage in radical, violent collective action to promote the ingroup among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020). This thesis also seeks to establish how subordinate-level collective narcissism accounts for this shared motive towards social change across both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The research intends to offer a novel framework to understand (1) why advantaged and disadvantaged groups challenge the status quo towards social change, even to the extent of political violence; (2) the role of ingroup identification among advantaged and disadvantaged groups in promoting reactionary and progressive social change; (3) why disadvantaged group members support reactionary social change which harms them.

Collective narcissism refers to the belief that the ingroup is exceptional and entitled to privileged treatment, but is not sufficiently recognized by others. It is associated with low self-worth and wellbeing outcomes (Golec de Zavala, 2019; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020), leading

collective narcissists to instrumentally use the group (and its members) to satisfy personal needs by symbolically exaggerating the ingroup (Cichocka et al., 2021; Marchlewska et al., 2020). Collective narcissism is an expression of frustrated superiority needs at the level of social identity (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Analogous to individual narcissists' inflated and over-sensitive evaluation of the self which is contingent on others' recognition (Campbell et al., 2000), collective narcissists express hyper-sensitivity to criticism of the ingroup, the need for public validation of the ingroup's worth, and reactive hostility to outgroups (Golec de Zavala, 2011, 2023; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020).

National collective narcissism has been robustly shown to predict outcomes related to the protection and expansion of the national entitlements of advantaged groups (Golec de Zavala, 2023). For example, American collective narcissism predicts support for Donald Trump and the insurrection of U.S. Capitol hill on – a white supremacist and anti-democratic attempt to forcefully gain political control (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). There are also nascent trends within collective narcissism research which investigate subordinate-level collective narcissism among Whites and support for reactionary collective action (Marinthe et al., 2022). This builds on previous research which shows a relationship between collective narcissism among dominant groups (e.g., male collective narcissism) and support for intergroup inequality (e.g., sexism) (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazek, 2021), and research showing national collective narcissism's association with ingroup deprivation (Marchlewska et al., 2018).

However, until now research has not explored the joint role of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism on specific outcomes relating to reactionary social change. Nor the association of advantaged group members' subordinate-level collective narcissism with perceived ingroup deprivation which can serve as the basis of a social change orientation. To start with, this research intended to answer the question: what motivates advantaged group members to aggressively reassert (e.g., to terrorise co-nationals) their dominance of their groups within a national context? This is particularly relevant as advantaged groups enjoy stable privileges within

unequal social systems which can be maintained through electoral politics (Sidanius et al., 1997; Thomas & Osborne, 2022). More specifically then, what motivates them to perceive a threat to those stable privileges and to engage in dangerous and illegal collective action to counter this threat? This thesis proposes that it is subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups, comprising both the need for ingroup superiority and perceived loss of ingroup status, which motivates intergroup conflict with societal outgroups to improve the ingroup's status expressed as support for reactionary social change. Moreover, support for reactionary social change is made a national norm because of national collective narcissism's alignment with the interests of subordinate-level collective narcissism among the advantaged.

I investigated this by assessing the role of collective narcissism in reference to both national groups and advantaged subgroups. Collective narcissism may be endorsed with reference to any social group, including race, gender and national groups (Golec de Zavala, 2011) as well as university (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009), football teams (Larkin et al., 2021), and fantasy groups (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). As an aspect of ingroup identification (i.e., the degree to which group membership is psychologically affecting and socially consequential, Ellemers, et al., 2002), collective narcissism pertains to positive evaluation of the ingroup. However, it differs from non-narcissistic ingroup positivity (labelled, for example, private collective self-esteem, Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; ingroup satisfaction, Leach et al., 2008) in its chronic frustration about the ingroup's unmet deservingness, which results in hypersensitivity to threat and propensity for conflict (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020).

The attempt to assert national ownership by advantaged subgroups is rife globally, with traditionally dominant groups (e.g., Whites, Catholics, men) supporting political candidates on the basis of fear and resentment towards racial and religious minorities, women and queer people who they perceive as trying to take control of a shared national identity (Hodson et al., 2022; S. D. Reicher & Ulusahin, 2020). This indicates the role of overlapping identity motives in predicting reactionary social change (Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022), which has been shown in the positive

correlations between national and subordinate-level ingroup identification among advantaged group members and anti-egalitarian ideology (Levin et al., 1998). However research has not investigated the joint contribution of social identity motives among advantaged groups at the national and subordinate group level in predicting reactionary outcomes within contemporary contexts. This is the first investigation of collective narcissism measured in reference to national and subordinate group identities simultaneously. This allows for investigation of the expected converging relationships among advantaged group members, and diverging relationships among disadvantaged groups. It is important to include national and subordinate-level collective narcissism simultaneously within regression specifications, as the converging of their unique (partial) relationships among advantaged group members indicate the alignment of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism (rather than mere covariation). It will also remove potential suppression effects due to the expected diverging relationships of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism among disadvantaged group members.

The claim to national ownership should be indicated by support of reactionary social change outcomes jointly predicted by national (American and Polish) and advantaged subgroups' (White and male) collective narcissism. As there is historical precedence for Whites (at least in the West) and men (universally) to coercively use the national group to gain status (Levin et al., 1998). White and male collective narcissism should be particularly devoted to this projection as they invest their self-worth in the ingroup's comparative image, while claiming national ownership allows them to promote the ingroup within the societal context (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). This approach opens a further question of why members of disadvantaged groups (i.e., racial minorities and women) do not universally challenge but sometimes endorse unequal social systems that disadvantage them (i.e., *superordinate ingroup bias*; Owuamalam et al., 2023; see also Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024). However, superordinate ingroup bias is often unreliable, and moreover it does not account for when disadvantaged group members actively endorse actions (e.g., policies) which directly harm the ingroup. I propose that this is because national collective narcissism confers beliefs which

promote the supremacy of historically advantaged groups, which disadvantaged groups internalise when they endorse national collective narcissism.

Furthermore, I compare this to collective narcissism at the national and subordinate levels among disadvantaged groups – US Blacks and Latinx, and Polish women. The social identity need for positive comparison with outgroups is what motivates advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike (Turner, 1975). However, among the disadvantaged this necessitates an opposing pursuit for equality to improve comparative ingroup status (Ellemers, 1993; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). Racial and gender collective narcissism among disadvantaged racial minorities and women should predict support for progressive social change (i.e., endorsing egalitarian ideologies and support for protest behaviours to promote the rights of disadvantaged groups; Becker, 2020; Thomas & Osborne, 2022).

Collective narcissism comprises all preconditions for radical and violent collective action in one individual difference variable. It is laden with resentment for the ingroup being deprived of what it deserves (Golec de Zavala, 2023). It is associated with the moralization of the ingroup's actions (Bocian et al., 2021), and a willingness to engage in conflict with outgroups (Guerra et al., 2020). Alongside predicting ingroup grievances and intergroup violence among advantaged groups, studies also indicate that collective narcissism among members of disadvantaged groups is associated with perceived deprivation (Górska et al., 2023) and endorsement of ideological extremism and violence in response to repression of the ingroup (Górska et al., 2023; Jasko et al., 2020). Therefore, I expect that collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups captures the same preoccupation with and resentment over the perceived invalidation of the ingroup's comparative status as it does among the advantaged. Thus collective narcissism among the disadvantaged should predict pursuing the ingroup's emancipation but also radicalization, including perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions.

The novel social identity framework presented in this thesis also extends previous research on reactionary and progressive social change by evaluating both its ideological and collective action

facets, alongside its motivational bases. To answer these questions and to better understand how collective narcissism is implicated in the appraisal and pursuit of reactionary and progressive social change, we need to consider that (1) people simultaneously identify with the nation and hierarchically stratified racial and gender groups within the nation and (2) collective narcissism is an aspect of ingroup identification whose unique predictions are often suppressed by its overlap with non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction - a positive but unpretentious evaluation of the ingroup (e.g., Golec de Zavala, 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). This is the first approach that assesses *multiple forms of multiple identities* (Verkuyten et al., 2019) in relation to group members' appraisal and reactions to social inequality.

National collective narcissism should predict opposite approaches to social inequality to subordinate-level collective narcissism among racial minorities and women. Those attitudes may be suppressed by the overlap between collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction at each level of social identity. This is based on findings that show narcissistic and non-narcissistic ingroup positivity (i.e., collective narcissism vs. ingroup satisfaction) can make diverging predictions, once their overlap is accounted for through multiple regression (Golec de Zavala, Dyduch-Hazar, et al., 2019; Górska et al., 2023). Studies that do not take this into account may produce inconsistent or unclear findings.

In intergroup relations, collective narcissism makes specific predictions over other forms of social identification. Collective narcissism research commonly compares predictions with another form of ingroup positivity - ingroup satisfaction (Leach et al., 2008) - which relates to positive feelings towards one's group membership and indicates a level of ingroup identification associated with higher wellbeing outcomes (Golec de Zavala, 2019). While collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction are correlated (as are individual narcissism and self-esteem), collective narcissism has been found to reliably predict intergroup hostility whereas ingroup satisfaction does not (Golec de Zavala, Dyduch-Hazar, et al., 2019). Collective narcissism predicts hypersensitivity to any signs of devaluation by an outgroup (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Collective narcissism is associated

with hostile retaliation towards both real and perceived threats, including unintentional ones. For instance, Portuguese collective narcissists showed hostility towards Germans and Schadenfreude at the German economic crisis when they believed Germany's position in the EU was prioritised over their own. These effects extend to political outcomes. National collective narcissism is associated with perceived ingroup deprivation and reactionary outcomes. For instance, perceptions that Britain has been disadvantaged by the EU was associated with British collective narcissism (but negatively with ingroup satisfaction), which in turn explained support for Brexit. Similarly, perceptions that (non-immigrant) US Americans were worse off than the immigrants were associated with American collective narcissism (but not ingroup satisfaction), which was associated with support for Donald Trump as president (Marchlewska et al., 2018). Polish collective narcissism predicts support for the right-wing populist Law and Justice government (Marchlewska et al., 2018), and the belief that democracy does not work and military governance would be better (Marchlewska et al., 2022). Collective narcissism is associated with intergroup conspiracies and 'siege beliefs' that interpret organised and pervasive threats from outgroups, which justify perceptions of ingroup deprivation and coercion over outgroups (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022). Broadly, collective narcissism captures the part of ingroup identification concerned with maximising comparative superiority to outgroups – even if it comes at a realistic cost to the ingroup (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020; Gronfeldt et al., 2022).

Beyond social identity theory (Ellemers, 1993; Thomas et al., 2020), I suggest it is not the strength of ingroup positivity but the form which predicts the form of behaviour group members will take. In particular, it is the alignment of national collective narcissism and advantaged subgroups' (i.e., White and male) collective narcissism (not ingroup satisfaction) which should jointly predict support for reactionary social change. Conversely, disadvantaged subgroups' (i.e., Black, Latinx, and female) collective narcissism should predict support for progressive social change. It's proposed that the central tenet of collective narcissism – the desire for others' to recognise the ingroup's greatness coupled with frustration over the belief that it goes unrecognised

– to motivate advantaged and disadvantaged group members similarly when appraising the ingroup's relative status and when engaging in collective action to improve the ingroup's status. In the case of advantaged groups who have the social power to shape national identity, this frustration and need for superiority is expressed by a national identity defined by national collective narcissism. Such alignment between advantaged groups' subordinate-level collective narcissism and national collective narcissism, would explain research findings showing a robust relationship between national collective narcissism and support for right-wing populism, as national collective narcissism confers the narcissistic and supremacist interests of advantaged subgroups as a national norm. This norm can be internalised by other national subgroups, including those it harms – disadvantaged group members. Therefore it is expected that advantaged groups' subordinate-level collective narcissism, and national collective narcissism endorsed across national subgroups, which should account for the identity basis of favouring historically advantaged national subgroups. This is expressed as support for reactionary social change. In the case of disadvantaged group members, subordinate-level collective narcissism leads to the opposing pursuit of status involving egalitarianism and progressive collective action as the proximal route to enhance relative ingroup status.

Below I will outline how reactionary social change is based on advantaged groups' use of their historical social power to claim national ownership in order to maintain and promote their status within national hierarchies. I will then turn to how reactionary social change is explained through the lens of collective narcissism

### **2.1. Reactionary social change as entitlement to national privilege**

Reactionary social change is defined by attempts to move away from the status quo to a society which prioritises the rights and privileges of advantaged groups at the expense of disadvantaged groups (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). Society is defined by national identities which specify particular ideologies and normative behaviour regarding social inequality (Reynolds et al., 2013). Advantaged group members mobilise for reactionary social change when they become

dissatisfied by the status quo when perceiving their advantaged status as under threat (Hodson et al., 2022). This threat engenders a *struggle for superiority recognition* whereby advantaged subgroups exercise their entitlement and social power over the superordinate national group to deepen prevailing inequality in their favour (Simon, 2020). This usually leads to coercive and violent policies (enacted through ‘illiberal democracy’; Dunwoody et al., 2022) and collective action to assert dominance (Hodson et al., 2022). For instance, populist rhetoric of national renewal depicts the current national culture as corrupt, with historically advantaged groups as deprived in favour of minority and disadvantaged groups, and the need to return to time which properly privileges the advantaged subgroups (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020; Hodson et al., 2022).

Subsequently, these populists enact reactionary policies to prevent disadvantaged groups gaining equality and deepening social inequality (Graff et al., 2019). For instance, Trump’s fortification of the southern border, the Roe vs. Wade repeal of abortion rights in the U.S. and Poland’s Law and Justice’s attack on abortion rights, and the extremely hostile state policy to refugees by European states (Nissen, 2022). Furthermore, right-wing populists also legitimise grassroots reactionary movements such as the alt-right – who seek to remake the U.S. in their image. For instance, Trump emboldened White supremacist groups (e.g., the Proud Boys, self-described male chauvinists who carry assault rifles and other military equipment). This led to the insurrection on Capitol Hill in January 2021, after Trump spread, and Fox news validated, the conspiracist idea of a fixed election against Trump (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). In this way, reactionary social change is supported and enacted through government policy as well as by grassroots collective action movements.

### **2.1.1. Reactionary ideology and collective action**

Reactionary social change comprises justificatory ideologies for the mistreatment of disadvantaged groups, alongside collective action in order to enact change (Forscher & Kteily, 2020; Thomas & Osborne, 2023). Ideologies are group-based beliefs about society that guide people’s political behaviour (Homer-Dixon et al., 2013; Rubin et al., 2023b). Ideologies can guide

attitudes towards intergroup inequality (i.e., the inequality relevant to one's ingroup) and broad social inequality (i.e., concerning beliefs about societal inequality beyond one's ingroup) (Sengupta et al., 2015). Reactionary social change involves endorsing both specific intergroup inequality and broader social inequality as desirable (Forscher & Kteily, 2020). This can lead to perceiving threats to these desirable inequalities (i.e., intergroup threat to the ingroup's status and/or threat to the social order which preserves group-based hierarchies) (Becker, 2020; Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022). For instance, alt-right and right-wing extremism is endorsed by Whites who perceive their racial ingroup to be undermined and endorse societal anti-egalitarianism (Bai, 2020; Bai & Federico, 2021).

Indeed, studies on ethnocentric projection show that members of advantaged groups claim national prototypicality to advance their ingroup's interests and goals over those of the disadvantaged groups while presenting them as common goals of the whole nation (and society) (Brewer et al., 2013; Devos et al., 2010). This is expressed as the alignment (i.e., joint predictions) of advantaged subgroup and national identities with ideological support for societal inequality (Sidanius et al., 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001). Prevailing ideologies reflect dominant group interests and contexts (e.g., right-wing populism), so the status of one's ingroup affects one's ideological leanings (Schmitt et al., 2003; Sidanius et al., 2004). For instance, to justify their advantage – men, more than women, endorse gender inequality as legitimate and general anti-egalitarian ideologies in order to justify defending their position and maintaining a society where group-based hierarchies are preferred (Sidanius et al., 2004). This becomes representative of the wider national culture and can become endorsed by across national subgroups (Van Berkel et al., 2017). This can be seen by advantaged groups' assertion of national ownership to push reactionary collective action.

For example, collective psychological ownership (i.e., the belief that the national 'founders' are more entitled than newcomers) among U.S. Whites was associated with state repression of BLM activists (e.g., police monitoring) (Selvanathan et al., 2021). Among national majority members in

the Netherlands, feeling nostalgic for the way Dutch people were in the past and the 'good old days' was associated with collective action to limit rights of minority groups (e.g., Dutch Muslims) and immigrants, as well as support for the right-wing populist party (Smeekes et al., 2021, 2023).

Similarly, nostalgia for White racial primacy in the U.S. is associated with violent collective action intentions to promote the White ingroup and repress racial minorities (Reyna, Harris, et al., 2022).

However, other research indicates that these variables do not specify support for reactionary outcomes. Collective psychological ownership among majority Dutch also relates to perceiving responsibility to take care and include immigrants and minority groups (Nijs et al., 2022). Similarly, American Christians' nostalgia for one's national history relates to openness to outsiders and positivity towards American Muslims (Wohl et al., 2020). This aligns with research suggesting that national identity has differential outcomes for subgroup relations. National identity can also convey more inclusive, and egalitarian norms which diminishes the need to legitimise and maintain salient intergroup hierarchies (Pratto et al., 2013; Sheehy-Skeffington & Thomsen, 2020; Tanjitpiyanond et al., 2023).

It is expected that national collective narcissism accounts for the form of national identity which predicts support for reactionary social change. This is based on national collective narcissism's alignment with subordinate-level collective narcissism among the advantaged, who have used their social power to shape the national identity in favour of their supremacist goals. Such alignment should be indicated by the joint predictions of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism in support for reactionary social change. This specifies and extends previous research on national collective narcissism and right-wing populism to outcomes assessing reactionary social change.

Below, I turn to how national collective narcissism relates to the claim of national ownership by advantaged subgroups which stand behind reactionary social change.

## **2.2. Collective narcissism and the claim to national ownership by advantaged groups**

Within collective narcissism research, the question remains as to why national collective narcissism is so robustly related to right-wing populism (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021)? This thesis seeks to answer this by jointly assessing subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups and national collective narcissism, and their converging predictions in support for reactionary social change. This also serves to answer the societal basis for support for reactionary social change which can be endorsed across advantaged and disadvantaged national subgroups. This research takes a more comprehensive approach to recent research that has investigated national and White collective narcissism separately, on support for reactionary social change (Marinthe et al., 2022). It also extends this research by evaluating both ideological and collective action facets of reactionary social change.

### **2.2.1. National collective narcissism and reactionary social change**

The expectation that American and White, and Polish and male collective narcissism and should predict similar attitudes towards equality is derived from the psychological literature which find that members of advantaged groups have a greater sense of ownership of the nation than members of disadvantaged groups and minorities (Hodson et al., 2022; Molina et al., 2015; Roberts & Rizzo, 2021). Whereby advantaged national subgroups within project their advantaged social identity - characteristics, values, worldviews but also interests - onto the national identity more than members of disadvantaged groups (e.g., Wenzel et al., 2016). However, research does not find this to be a uniform effect. I propose that it is specifically the aligning of subordinate-level collective narcissism among the advantaged subgroups and national collective narcissism accounts (beyond passive support for inequality) for the willingness to coercively further inequality through reactionary social change. Furthermore, such an alignment likely explains why national collective narcissism has such a robust relationship with outcomes relating to right-wing populism.

Research has found that U.S. Whites are seen as prototypical of American national identity at the exclusion of racial minorities including Blacks and Latinx (Devos & Mohamed, 2014). Similarly American nationalism is linked to a tendency to consider male-associated features as

‘truly’ American (van Berkel et al., 2017). This effect generalises to other national contexts and disadvantaged groups, for instance, religious minorities (e.g., Muslims) are excluded from European national identities (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Wenzel et al., 2016). This claim to national ownership is expressed by the alignment of advantaged subgroup’s subordinate-level identification and national identification in predicting ideologies that legitimise intergroup hierarchy and anti-egalitarianism (Levin et al., 1998).

However, as evidenced in the previous section, even claims to national ownership do not specify when advantaged group members will engage in reactionary social change. This aligns with evidence that shows a shared national identity can also be associated with acceptance of diversity, inclusivity, the support for disadvantaged groups and preference for egalitarian social systems (Brewer et al., 2013; Doucerain et al., 2018; Dovidio et al., 2016; Kunst et al., 2015; Osbourne et al., 2017; Sidanius, et al., 1997). For instance, priming a shared national identity among majority, advantaged groups in Western countries, was associated with increased tolerance and desire to integrate immigrants (Kunst et al., 2015).

Given the association of collective narcissism with coercive pursuit of the ingroup’s interests, political violence and conflict escalation (for detailed reviews see Golec de Zavala, 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), propagation of national collective narcissism by conservative and populist leaders (Federico et al., 2018) may be seen as an adversarial strategy to legitimize and deepen the privileges of advantaged subgroups within the national hierarchy (see Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021). For instance, the consequences of the propagation of national collective narcissism could be observed in the Capitol Hill raid on January 6th 2021. Trump supporters contested the legal election outcome and violently broke into the Capitol Hill building, some carrying weapons, and occupied the building for several hours (Feis, 2021). Donald Trump was later impeached for ‘incitement of insurrection’ for his role in the riot (BBC, 2021). American collective narcissism outweighed other related psychological factors, right-wing authoritarianism (i.e., social conformity and hostility towards non-conformists; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010), sexism, and

racial resentment, as a factor explaining support for Trump's candidacy (Federico & Golec de Zavala, 2018). It also predicted support for Donald Trump maintaining his presidency at the expense of democracy, even if he had to 'compromise the rule of law' to stay in power. American national collective narcissism predicted support for the Capitol attack more strongly than related variables: American ingroup satisfaction, right-wing authoritarianism, or social dominance orientation (a preference for group-based hierarchies; Ho et al., 2015). Such findings clearly suggest that national collective narcissism is propagated to maintain social hierarchies centred on reactionary leaders. The dissatisfaction and perceived crisis of national identity associated with national collective narcissism become a common way to contextualise the perceived threats to salient intergroup hierarchies, and national renewal becomes a more inclusive mission, beyond even those groups which benefit from the hierarchies (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020; S. D. Reicher & Haslam, 2017; S. D. Reicher & Ulusahin, 2020).

Furthermore, in contrast to national collective narcissism, non-narcissistic ingroup identification is not reliably associated with prejudice towards disadvantaged groups, especially when its overlap with collective narcissism is partialled out (Golec de Zavala, 2011; 2023). Instead, non-narcissistic national identification is sometimes associated with greater acceptance of diversity and pursuit of racial equality (Dovidio et al., 2016; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2020). For instance, Verkuyten et al. (2022) showed that national identification in Germany and the Netherlands was associated with tolerance towards immigrant and minority groups (e.g., Muslims, Poles), whereas, national collective narcissism was associated with negativity and intolerance towards those groups. Indeed, national collective narcissism (not national identification) accounts for the 'Identification-prejudice link' in driving hostility towards national outgroups through its associations with intergroup threat and conspiracies (Bertin et al., 2022). We expect that the inconsistencies in the findings relating to national identity will be elucidated by differentiating between national collective narcissism and non-narcissistic national ingroup satisfaction. National collective narcissism (rather than national ingroup satisfaction) is more likely to robustly predict rejection of equality.

Further evidence across multiple contexts confirms national collective narcissism is specifically linked to the adversarial endorsement of the interests of advantaged groups and usurpation of national interests as representative of the advantaged group interests. Studies show the strong overlap of national and Catholic (i.e., dominant religion) collective narcissism in Poland. Polish and Catholic collective narcissism (but not ingroup satisfaction) predict sexism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021) and prejudice towards sexual minorities, via the belief that members of the LGBTQIA+ community do not represent the nation but threaten its moral integrity (Mole et al., 2021). Polish collective narcissism is associated with negativity towards immigrants and ethnic and willingness to engage in collective action to prevent immigration to Poland (Górska et al., 2022). Furthermore, in multiple national contexts, national collective narcissism is related to support for ultraconservative populism that advocates enhancement of privileges of advantaged groups as rooted in ‘traditional national values’ (Golec de Zavala et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021).

These findings suggest that national collective narcissism (rather than national ingroup satisfaction) should predict reactionary social change outcomes. National collective narcissism’s opposition to equality, racial minorities, and increasingly harsh means of controlling ethnically diverse immigration is likely a reliable way to win voters in ethnically diverse societies like the United States or United Kingdom (Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022). Indeed, this reasoning aligns with the concept of White nationalism, a belief that White people are inherently superior to other racial groups within the nation and deserve preferential treatment and protection (Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022). It also aligns with the literature showing how right-wing populists draw on the threat to men, and the traditional gender roles which serve men, to garner support for their national policies (Graff et al., 2019).

Alongside national collective narcissism’s support for the rights of advantaged groups and reactionary social change, subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged subgroups

should also predict reactionary social change. This is based on intergroup factors: perceived threat from disadvantaged national subgroups and a willingness to engage in conflict to promote the exclusive rights of the ingroup. Below, I will discuss evidence which indicates subordinate-level collective narcissism's role among advantaged group members in predicting support for reactionary social change.

### **2.2.2. Subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged subgroups and reactionary social change**

The expectation that collective narcissism will be associated with reactionary outcomes among advantaged Whites and men is derived from collective narcissism theory which extends social identity theory in reliably explaining when intergroup processes will become conflictual (Marinthe et al., 2022; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). In particular, collective narcissism should account for perceived intergroup threat, the need for superiority over outgroups and intergroup conflict. Among advantaged groups, this should lead to support for reactionary social change, including ideologies that justify inequality and collective action to promote the ingroup within the national context.

Evidence suggests that collective narcissism among advantaged subgroups is associated with claiming national ownership with a social order based around their interests. For instance, White collective narcissism predicts reframing racism as protection of Whites' group interests (Cichocka et al., 2022). It also predicts double standards in evaluating the same actions as racist depending on whether they were committed by a White person against a Black person or the other way around (West et al., 2022). This generalises beyond racial groups. For instance, male collective narcissism is associated with benevolent and hostile sexism, i.e., ideologies that gender inequality and aggressively asserts male dominance (Golec de Zavala & Bierwaczonk, 2021). Catholic collective narcissism is associated with hostility towards women and sexual minorities via its associations with gender conspiracy beliefs – that liberals and intellectuals purposely spread beliefs about sexual fluidity and liberation to undermine traditional family values and religious national norms

(Marchlewska et al., 2019). The effect also extends beyond ideological attitudes. White collective narcissism is associated with support for the alt-right collective action in the U.S., such as ‘Unite the Right’ rallies (Marinthe et al., 2022). Among heterosexual people, collective narcissism is linked to refusal to support collective action to advance the rights of the LGBTQIA+ community (Górska et al., 2021). Collectively narcissistic men refuse to support the women’s protest against laws reducing women’s reproductive rights in Poland (Górska et al., 2021).

This is because collective narcissism involves perceiving the ingroup is deprived, and undermined by relevant outgroups (i.e., racial minorities and women), alongside a willingness to use coercive means to ensure the ingroup wins the conflict (Golec de Zavala, 2011; 2023). For example, racial collective narcissism among British Whites is associated with bias against British Blacks (Bagci et al., 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). This means that advantaged group members should pursue reactionary social change in order to assert superiority over disadvantaged groups which share a national group. This will likely result in violence as advantaged group members use their social power to coercively align their interests with the traditional national culture of maintaining group-based hierarchies (Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022). Social identity theory suggests that advantaged group members will seek to maintain their social advantage which provides them with a positive social identity, especially if they perceive a threat to their advantage (Jetten et al., 2020; S. D. Reicher & Ulusahin, 2020; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). It is collective narcissism specifically which should account for this motive to maintain ingroup superiority and thus support for reactionary social change.

Indeed, current reactionary outcomes are based on perceptions of status threat among historically advantaged groups. Particularly White people and men who perceive their national entitlements within the national hierarchy is being undermined by disadvantaged national subgroups pursuing equality. This is expressed in the case of White nationalism (Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022; or *whitelash*, Sengupta et al., 2019), as White perceive their power as undermined by liberals who represent disadvantaged groups, and fear they are becoming a numerical minority ‘in their own

country' because of immigration and increased rights given to racial minorities (Craig et al., 2018). Perceived threat among the national majority is associated with a stronger belief in the superiority of the national ingroup, and the 'othering' of non-majority national subgroups (Sengupta et al., 2019). Threat perceptions are also associated with endorsing anti-egalitarian ideologies. For instance, experimentally manipulating perceived demographic shifts which make Whites a minority lead unaffiliated U.S. Whites to endorse the Republican party and endorse more restrictive policies for racial minorities and immigrants (Craig & Richeson, 2014b).

Particularly as collective narcissists are motivated to maintain the ingroup image, collectively narcissistic advantaged group members would support and spread moralizing ideologies to justify the mistreatment of disadvantaged outgroups to assert their dominance in the national hierarchy (Golec de Zavala, 2023; Bocian et al., 2021). They can do this via two routes. Firstly, by exercising their social power and historical entitlements in defining the nature of national identity and the resulting norms and policies (Sidanius et al., 1997; Wenzel et al., 2016). For instance, men see non-conforming and feminist women as a threat not only to the male ingroup but also to national identity, and promote sexist beliefs to maintain the gender hierarchy (Glick et al., 2015; Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). Collective narcissism captures this desire to enforce the acknowledgement of ingroup superiority onto others (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020) which anti-egalitarian ideologies serve to express and justify (Sidanius et al., 2004). Secondly, collective narcissists among advantaged group members will engage in collective action movements. Collective narcissism specifies when advantaged groups members will be preoccupied over perceived status threat and the desire to assert ingroup superiority (Golec de Zavala, 2023). Threat perceptions and the desire for ingroup superiority motivate reactionary collective action which is coercive and adversarial (Jasko et al., 2022; Kunst et al., 2017). For instance, threat to Whites' demographic majority led White participants to endorse the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi party, and violence against immigrants (Bai & Federico, 2021). Support for the White supremacist alt-right movement is associated with support for the police coercively monitoring and shutting down BLM

protests (Selvanathan et al., 2021). Such tendencies towards coercion and violence should be explained by advantaged groups' narcissistic desire to assert their superiority over disadvantaged co-nationals.

Moreover, the reactionary backlash of advantaged national subgroups is legitimised by state power through its aligning with national collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021). Right-wing populists dynamically respond to, and build on, advantaged group members' beliefs that they are mistreated 'in their own country' (Haslam et al., 2023) by drawing on the narcissistic narrative about national identity that it is undermined by outgroups (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021). For instance, by scapegoating outgroups and selling an exclusionary national identity in order to privilege advantaged groups, which fosters hatred towards disadvantaged groups and legitimises right-wing extremism (Martínez et al., 2022; Selvanathan & Leidner, 2021). This messaging is compelling for advantaged group members who endorse collective narcissism as it validates their intergroup grievances and serve their readiness for conflict. It likely serves as a coded appeal to a range of advantaged national subgroups to 'remake' the national group in their narcissistic image (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2022).

Indeed, accounting for collective narcissism should clarify findings which do not support the prediction made by social identity theory that ingroup identification will drive support for reactionary social change (Selvanathan et al., 2021). Ingroup identification is often an unreliable predictor. Identified Whites can be unresponsive to threats to their privilege. Across five experiments, Stewart and Willer (2022) found no reliable effect of demographic shift manipulations even in interaction with White identification on Trump support. Indeed, more broadly, higher diversity can lead ethnic majority group members to be more accepting of minorities through intergroup contact (McKenna et al., 2018). Similarly, male identification does not reliably lead to hostile attitudes towards women (Glick et al., 2015). Including collective narcissism as a form of social identification should specify the social identity approach to inequality maintenance among advantaged groups.

Multiple studies demonstrated that after collective narcissism is differentiated, non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction or other aspects of ingroup identification alone do not predict intergroup antagonism (e.g., Federico et al., 2022, for review Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Indeed, unlike gender collective narcissism, men's ingroup satisfaction was not an obstacle to solidarity with women protesting against gender inequality in Poland (Górska et al., 2020). Gender ingroup satisfaction among men in Poland had a significantly weaker association with sexism than gender collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). Therefore, it should be subordinate-level collective narcissism (and not ingroup satisfaction) which drives support for reactionary social change and the elevation of the advantaged group's (supremacist) interests to the national level.

In the next section I will discuss how disadvantaged group members might downplay their disadvantaged ingroup identity for the sake of the national identity and endorse national collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). As such, disadvantaged group members would endorse those norms and interests conferred by national collective narcissism and show support for reactionary social change even though it directly harms the ingroup

### **2.3. Collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups and reactionary vs. progressive social change**

Among disadvantaged groups, collective narcissism makes opposing predictions regarding reactionary and progressive social change depending on whether it is endorsed at the national or subordinate-level of identity. There are findings which suggest that disadvantaged groups who endorse national collective narcissism will support reactionary social change that harms the subordinate-level ingroup, for instance, women who endorse national collective narcissism express sexist attitudes (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). Conversely, there are preliminary findings which suggest disadvantaged groups who endorse subordinate-level collective narcissism will challenge inequality and, for instance, LGBTQIA+ collective narcissism is associated with

non-violent and violent collective action to promote queer rights (Górska et al., 2023). I will elaborate on these two processes below.

### **2.3.1. National collective narcissism and superordinate ingroup bias among disadvantaged groups**

Evidence provided by the Social Identity Model of System Attitudes (SIMSA; Rubin et al., 2023a) suggests that disadvantaged group members, rather than attempt to gain a disadvantaged ingroup identity, will identify at a higher level of abstraction – i.e., with their national group, in order to maintain a positive social identity (i.e., superordinate ingroup bias). Identification with the national group (and its norms and interests) overshadows identification with their disadvantaged subgroup (Owuamalam et al., 2023; Rubin et al., 2023a). An alternative view is presented by system justification theory which suggests that individual differences (e.g., the need for certainty) produces ideological views and motives at the ‘system’ level – to see society as stable and ‘as it should be’ (Jost, 2019). The social identity approach (Reynolds et al., 2013) sees the system-level motive (i.e., beliefs about society) as equivalent to superordinate national identification (and the group norms and ideologies the identity specifies; Ashmore et al., 2004). Support for inequality is based on group interests and alignment with prevailing group norms, just at the superordinate-level of psychological investment (Rubin et al., 2023b). As described above, for advantaged groups identification at the higher level of national identity is consistent with their advantaged subgroup identity. However, for disadvantaged groups the two identities represent opposing needs (Reynolds et al., 2013). National identification requires assimilation to prevailing norms – including anti-egalitarian ones, and the foregoing of one’s subgroup identity (Gaertner et al., 2016; Ufkes et al., 2016).

National identification predicts legitimization of existing inequalities among members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Caricati et al., 2021; Jaśko & Kossowska, 2013; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015). It is also positively linked to a system justifying political conservatism (Jost, 2019; van der Toorn et al., 2014), and gender inequality justifying sexism (Glick & Fiske,

2001). For instance, when Italian national identity was made salient to female participants, they endorsed the Italian social and political system as legitimate despite the overt gender gap in health and economic outcomes in Italy (Owuamalam et al., 2023).

However, although national identity can lead to disadvantaged groups to “passively perceive and acknowledge the status quo” it is not clear when it will lead to support for reactionary social change including the active repression of disadvantaged groups (Rubin et al., 2023, p. 208). Furthermore, sometimes national identity can even lead to a sense of entitlement to fair treatment within society (Cárdenas, 2019; Verkuyten, 2017). For instance, Bulgarian national identification among the Roma ethnic minority predicted support for activism to promote the rights of Roma people in Bulgaria (Pereira et al., 2017). Rather it should be endorsing national collective narcissism which specifies when national ingroup members support for norms which privilege historically advantaged national subgroups even to the extent of endorsing the oppression of one’s disadvantaged national subgroup.

In support of this expectation, studies show that national collective narcissism, but not national ingroup satisfaction, is associated with prejudice justifying group-based inequalities within the nation, including: ethnic (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020), sexual (Lantos et al., 2022; Mole et al., 2021), and immigrant and refugee minorities (Golec de Zavala et al., 2017; Hase et al., 2021). National ingroup satisfaction (especially net of national collective narcissism) is often linked to rejection of prejudice (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020) and support for national solidarity (Federico et al., 2020). National collective narcissism predicts sexism among men and women, but national ingroup satisfaction predicts rejection of sexism among women (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). National collective narcissism is also robustly associated with right wing authoritarianism, anti-egalitarianism and loyalty towards the ingroup, its norms and authority (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Thus, national collective narcissism is more likely than national ingroup satisfaction to be linked to endorsement of national norms and values which legitimise inequality and support societal inequality and reactionary collective action. Racial minorities and women who endorse national

narcissism may be, for example, exceptionally hostile towards the subordinate ingroups, especially those who violate national norms and those who challenge inequality. Beyond Golec de Zavala and Bierwiazzonek (2021), this is the first research to assess the role of national collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups and explicit support for inequality. It should shed light on the inconsistent findings regarding national identity and attitudes towards inequality – specifically, national collective narcissism is likely to drive support for reactionary social change among advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike.

Conversely, subordinate-level collective narcissism among disadvantaged group members should motivate the opposing challenge to inequality, as it confers the desire to challenge outgroups and prevailing societal norms which disadvantage the ingroup.

### **2.3.2. Subordinate-level collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups and progressive social change**

Collective narcissism should motivate the pursuit of progressive social change among disadvantaged groups, which is (similarly to advantaged groups) motivated by perceived ingroup deprivation and conflict orientation towards advantaged groups (Becker & Tausch, 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2018). However, given the structural reality of disadvantaged groups' position, improving the ingroup's relative status means endorsing egalitarian and delegitimizing ideologies along with progressive collective action for equality (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). Collective narcissism should account for perceived ingroup deprivation and a willingness to engage in conflict to promote the disadvantaged ingroup compared to outgroups within the national context (Golec de Zavala, 2023). Furthermore, this grievance and conflict orientation should motivate political radicalisation. Literature shows disadvantaged groups can also adopt violent tactics towards their political aims (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020; Power et al., 2020), particularly as positivity towards advantaged outgroups can hinder social change for equality (Saguy, 2018) and because advantaged groups escalate the conflict through reactionary backlash (Tabri & Conway, 2011). Collective

narcissism should motivate such conflict escalation under perceived threat elicited by mistreatment by advantaged outgroups and societal norms (e.g., right-wing populists' rhetoric and policies).

Progressive social change is defined as support for egalitarian ideologies and collective action which promotes the rights of disadvantaged social groups (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). Progressive social change is championed by disadvantaged group members who are motivated to be recognised as equal (but different) within the national social context they are situated in (Simon, 2020). It involves the endorsing ideologies which challenge the legitimacy of the group-based inequality (i.e., that their ingroup's disadvantage is not legitimate) and endorse more general egalitarianism as desirable for society (i.e., that society can and should be more equal for everyone; Ellemers, 1993; Agostini & Van Zomeren, 2021). This can be seen in intersectional support (Burson & Godfrey, 2020), and stigma-based solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2016) where disadvantaged groups share understandings of social justice and work together to challenge unequal social systems.

The expectation that racial and gender collective narcissism among racial minorities and women will predict progressive social change outcomes derived from the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2018). This model posits that members of disadvantaged groups are motivated to improve their status by advancing goals of equality. The more the group members identify with their disadvantaged ingroup, the more they should engage in collective action for equality. However, research has established that identification with a disadvantaged ingroup is not enough to predict engagement in collective action on its behalf (Ellemers, 1993). Collective action is motivated by feelings of frustration and anger with discrimination, the belief in ingroup effectiveness and ideology underscoring the moral value of social justice and equality (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2018). Collective narcissism theory extends SIMCA by specifying when group members hold the necessary beliefs to mobilise collective action.

Collective narcissism in disadvantaged groups is an aspect of ingroup identification that comprises in one variable all preconditions for collective action for equality. It is strongly correlated with perceiving the disadvantaged ingroup as important to the self and an exaggerated idea about the ingroup efficacy (Bagci et al., 2022). It is associated with an exaggerated sense of ingroup deservingness that conduces to seeing the ingroup as constantly deprived and wronged by others and feeling angered and resentful because of this (Golec de Zavala et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021). It is associated with animosity towards the advantaged outgroup (Bagci et al., 2023). Collective narcissism research indicates that the predictions of the social identity model of collective action are robustly supported at high levels of collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups.

Existing findings on collective narcissism align with the expectation that minorities' racial and women's gender collective narcissism predicts the pursuit of progressive social change. Among Blacks in the UK, racial collective narcissism predicts challenging anti-Black racism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Among the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey, collective narcissism predicts collective action challenging discrimination against sexual minorities (Bagci et al., 2022). Gender collective narcissism among women in Poland is associated with anger and distress at women's exclusion by men (Golec de Zavala, 2022) and support for collective action for gender equality (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). The majority of these studies contrasted the predictions of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction in disadvantaged groups and demonstrated that they are specific to collective narcissism. Thus, we predicted that racial collective narcissism among minorities should predict positive attitudes toward racial equality and rejection of attitudes that align with White supremacy (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024). Furthermore, studies also indicate that collective narcissism among members of minority groups is associated with endorsement of ideological extremism and terrorist violence in response to repressions of the attempts of ingroup's emancipation (Jasko et al., 2020; Yusitsia et al., 2020). Among LGBTQIA+, collective narcissism is associated with group relative deprivation and willingness to engage in violent collective action

(Gorska et al., 2023). I propose that while identification with a particular racial minority and women may not be enough to inspire support for progressive social change, racial ‘minorities’ and women’s collective narcissism should be. However, some evidence is contrary to this. Black collective narcissism showed null and negative associations with support for the Black Lives Matter movement (Marinthe et al., 2022). This research includes national collective narcissism as a covariate as this should reveal the inequality-challenging effect of subordinate-level collective narcissism.

Specifying for collective narcissism clarifies findings which show that identification with the disadvantaged ingroup is not consistently associated with grievances and collective action intentions. Among women, gender ingroup identification did not predict distress and anger at exclusion of other women (Golec de Zavala, 2022). Gender ingroup identification doesn’t lead women to endorse collective action intentions (Mikołajczak et al., 2022). Among LGBTQIA+ participants, ingroup satisfaction was not associated with perceived ingroup deprivation or anger over being mistreated (Gorska et al., 2023).

Furthermore, as collective narcissism involves preoccupation and frustration over the ingroup’s disadvantage and hostility towards outgroups, it is also expected to predict willingness to engage in violence to promote the interests of the disadvantaged ingroup. This is because a prerequisite for action towards social change is hostility towards the advantaged outgroup (Saguy, 2018) and a desire to challenge prevailing societal norms to gain greater recognition and inclusion for the disadvantaged ingroup (Klandermans, 2014; Simon, 2020). Findings from the intergroup contact and prejudice reduction literature show that increasing positivity between disadvantaged and advantaged groups reduces disadvantaged group members’ appraisal of their own disadvantages and intentions to engage in collective action for equality (Dixon et al., 2010, 2016). For example, Latinos who had more positive attitudes towards Whites showed lower identification with their Latino identity and collective action intentions, such as demonstrating against the mistreatment of Latinos in the U.S. (Tausch et al., 2015).

Moreover, disadvantaged group members face daily discrimination and threatening situations which increases commitment to collective action groups which provide social support and promise to stop discrimination, while increasing distance from wider society (Barlow et al., 2012; DeBlaere et al., 2014; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002) which can promote violent collective action intentions (Becker et al., 2011). Most pertinently, disadvantaged group members face reactionary backlash including domestic terrorism (e.g., deadly shootings by incels and White supremacists), state violence (e.g., fatal shootings by police) and repression (e.g., the violent shutting down of protests by the police force using military equipment) (Hodson et al., 2022; Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022). Collective narcissism among disadvantaged group members is particularly likely to promote retaliatory aggression in such cases. This can lead to a state of intergroup conflict within democratic societies (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Although members of advantaged groups take part in violence to assert dominance because they can, disadvantaged group members take part in violence because they have to (Simon, 2020). Indeed, violence is sometimes necessary to elicit concessions by advantaged groups toward progressive social change (Shuman et al., 2020; Shuman, Hasan-Aslih, et al., 2022). Subordinate-level collective narcissism among the disadvantaged should account for the aspect of the ingroup identification which promotes conflict with advantaged outgroups (and the society perceived as representing advantaged groups' interests) as a viable and justified means to improve ingroup status (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023).

In summary, reactionary social change is expected to be expressed by national collective narcissism. This is based on the historical social power of advantaged groups in shaping national identity and its norms, which means the supremacist need among advantaged subgroups associated with subordinate-level collective narcissism is elevated to the national identity. This leads to the joint predictions of national collective narcissism and advantaged subgroup collective narcissism with reactionary social change. Conversely, disadvantaged group collective narcissism should predict progressive social change as it provides the best strategy to promote the ingroup. Across both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, the pursuit of social change is based in grievances over

perceived ingroup status and a willingness to engage in conflict. Albeit in realistic terms, violence results among the advantaged because of social power and licence (and therefore frequently), while among the disadvantaged violence is limited and results because of escalation in perceived necessity (Jasko et al., 2022).

### **Chapter 3.**

#### **Overview of the Present Research**

The present research had three main objectives: (1) to establish collective narcissism as a distinct form of social identification in reference to national and sub-group membership; and to establish it as a comparable construct across advantaged and disadvantaged group members; (2) to validate collective narcissism in predicting a social change orientation across advantaged and disadvantaged (sub)groups; and (3) to test the joint contributions of national and subgroup collective narcissism (vs. ingroup satisfaction) in predicting support for reactionary and progressive social change across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. To tackle each of these objectives, seven cross-sectional studies were conducted across both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The studies utilised large sample sizes and multiple intergroup and national contexts in the interests of generalizability, throughout these studies, a total of seven hypotheses. This chapter provides key methodological details related to each of the experiments.

In Part Two, I will first present analyses testing Hypotheses 1a and 1b to empirically validate the measurements of collective narcissism. Hypothesis 1a states that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism (vs. ingroup satisfaction) will be distinct constructs at each level of measurement. Hypothesis 1b states that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism (vs. ingroup satisfaction) will be invariant across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. This research is dealing with four separate measurements of ingroup positivity: national and subordinate-level collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction, which are to be treated as separate (but correlated) predictors. To test Hypothesis 1a, I will use confirmatory factor analyses across latent

configurations of the measures to test whether a model where each measure has its own latent factor fits the data best. Furthermore, this research intends to compare the associations of subordinate-level collective narcissism across groups. For comparison to be sound, measurement invariance of the factor loadings is required to check the measurements of collective narcissism are comparable across each group (i.e., that it shows a similar factorial structure in both advantaged and disadvantaged groups) (Putnick & Bornstein, 2016). To test Hypothesis 1b, I will use multigroup confirmatory factor analysis to check that there is factorial measurement invariance across groups. This test also provides initial evidence of the theoretical assumption that collective narcissism is the same concept across advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Pursuing Objectives 2 and 4, to provide a conceptual validation of this assumption and to support the theoretical position that collective narcissism's social change orientation, I validate the convergent and predictive validity of subordinate-level collective narcissism across racial and gender groups on outcomes predicted by collective narcissism theory: perceived ingroup deprivation (Hypothesis 2a) and violent collective action intentions (Hypothesis 2b). This will also establish collective narcissism as underpinning a social change orientation across the groups.

In Part Three, I focus on Objectives 3 and 4. I will further specify and extend the relationships investigated in part two by assessing the joint roles of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism in predicting support for reactionary and progressive social change outcomes. Across 6 cross-sectional studies in two national contexts and three intergroup contexts, I test the expectations which suggest that national (American and Polish; Hypothesis 3a) and advantaged subgroup (White and male; Hypothesis 3b) collective narcissism will predict support for reactionary social change. This support is expressed by ideological and collective action support for the rights of advantaged groups and for repressing disadvantaged groups. Conversely, collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups (US Blacks and Latinx, women; Hypothesis 3c) will predict support for progressive social change – expressed as ideological and collective action support for the rights of disadvantaged groups, and the rejection of reactionary social change. This entails cross-over

interactions for racial and gender collective narcissism. Part Three is conceptually rigorous in assessing both ideological and collective action facets of reactionary and progressive social change with multiple measurements and operationalisations of the outcomes.

### 3.1. Analytical strategy

All analyses were run in R (R Core Team, 2013). For Hypotheses 1a-1b, confirmatory factor analysis and multiple group confirmatory factor analysis were run using *lavaan* package (Rosseel, 2012). Robust Maximum Likelihood Estimation was used. For Hypotheses 2a-3c, analyses were conducted via OLS multiple regression and simple slopes analyses. The standard errors were adjusted (hc4) to account for heteroskedasticity and non-normality. The *tidyverse* (Wickham et al., 2019) was used for data preparation, the *sjPlot* package (Lüdtke, 2021) for regression tables and figures, and the *interactions* package (Long, 2019) for simple slopes analyses. The variable representing advantaged and disadvantaged group memberships was dummy-coded (0 = racial minorities, 1 = Whites, Studies 1-4; 0 = women, 1 = men, Studies 5-6).

To test the Hypotheses, I entered national collective narcissism, racial collective narcissism, racial group and two two-way interactions: between the national collective narcissism and racial/gender group and between the racial/gender collective narcissism and the racial group (Model 1). To fully account for covariation and compare forms of ingroup positivity, I added national ingroup satisfaction, racial ingroup satisfaction and their two-way interactions with racial group as covariates (Model 2).

Although Hypotheses 2a & b did not specify for effects of national collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction, they were included as covariates in order to investigate the unique (partial) effects of subordinate-level collective narcissism. It also allowed for the investigation of exploratory effects.

To test Hypothesis 3a, the main effect of national collective narcissism and the outcome variables was assessed. As this effect was expected to be similar across groups, it was also expected

that there was no interaction effect with racial or gender group. For robustness, marginally significant interaction effects were probed through simple slopes analysis. To test Hypotheses 3b & c, the interaction effect of subordinate-level collective narcissism and group was initially assessed for significance. Simple slopes analyses were then used to decompose this interaction and specify the effects per group.

### **3.2. Sample size estimations**

Across studies sample size estimation was carried out using G\*Power (Faul et al., 2009) for the most complicated analysis with 9 predictors (Model 2). The sample estimate was based on 80% power with  $\alpha = .05$ . To account for the expected cross-over effects, the sample was doubled because of the expected reversal of the effect of subordinate-level collective narcissism when moderated by racial or gender group (Giner-Sorolla, 2018). Apart from Study 5b, sample size estimations were carried out for variables pertaining to the main hypotheses tested in Part Three. These effect sizes were more conservative and were in line with our preregistration procedures (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024).

PART II.

ESTABLISHING THE VALIDITY OF COLLECTIVE NARCISSISM

## Chapter 4.

### Factor analysis and measurement invariance

An assumption which has not been established in previous research which compared subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged and disadvantaged groups (U.S. Whites and Blacks; Marinthe et al., 2022) is whether collective narcissism is a comparable construct in both groups (i.e., measurement invariance). Measurement invariance is important to establish in order to rule interpretative differences in the scale items across different group (or temporal) contexts (Putnick & Borstein, 2016). Establishing measurement invariance of collective narcissism will allow for the comparison of its associations with the outcome variables across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Furthermore, this thesis is the first investigation of collective narcissism both at different levels of identification (i.e., national and subordinate-levels) and across multiple groups (i.e., advantaged and disadvantaged groups). To investigate this assumption and to ensure measurement and predictive validity, it empirically establishes that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism are distinct concepts across groups (i.e., factor validity of measurements at each level of identification). Secondly, it empirically establishes that national collective narcissism and subordinate-level collective narcissism tap the concept for each group (i.e., measurement invariance within levels of identification). Therefore, this thesis seeks to establish that collective narcissism is a comparable construct across U.S. Whites and Blacks (Study 1), U.S. Whites and Latinx (Study 3) and Polish men and women (Study 5).

It is expected that American and racial collective narcissism are distinct constructs for both U.S. Whites and Blacks, and both U.S. and Latinx. Similarly, that Polish and gender collective narcissism are distinct constructs for both Polish men and women. Empirically, a two factor solution with American and racial collective narcissism specified as separate constructs should show a better fit to the data than a one factor solution with American and racial collective narcissism as the same construct. Secondly, that the measurements of American collective

narcissism and the measurements of racial collective narcissism tap the same concepts across U.S. Whites, Blacks and Latinx. Similarly, that the measurements of Polish collective narcissism and the measurements of gender collective narcissism tap the same concept across Polish men and women. Empirically, this should be indicated by the two factor solution fitting the data better when not differentiating for each group, than the two factor solution which differentiates for each group.

It is expected that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism are distinct concepts for both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. To account for covariation, national and subordinate-level ingroup satisfaction are also included in the model specifications. To test this, I ran confirmatory factor analyses comparing the fit of the latent configuration which treated each measurement (national and subordinate-level collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction; i.e., a four factor model) as distinct constructs against other possible configurations. Secondly, it is expected that collective narcissism is a comparable construct across racial and gender groups. To do this, I ran measurement invariance analysis for the four factor model using multiple-group confirmatory factor analysis. These analyses were run for each intergroup context (US Whites and Blacks, US Whites and Latinx, and Polish men and women).

#### **4.1. Factorial Structure**

These analyses were ran for the 5-item Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, 2019) and the 4-item Ingroup Satisfaction Scale (Leach et al., 2008). The item wordings and factor loadings following confirmatory factor analysis can be found in Table A1 in Appendix B. The correlations between latent factors can be found in Table A2 in Appendix B.

I first tested the assumptions that collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction at the national level, and racial and gender levels of identity represent separate latent factors. I established that the four factor model that differentiates national and racial collective narcissism and national and racial ingroup satisfaction (Model 1) fits the data better than (1) a two factor model representing only collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction (racial and national combined, Model 2), (2) a

two factor model representing national collective narcissism and national ingroup satisfaction combined vs. gender collective narcissism and gender ingroup satisfaction combined (Model 3), and (3) a one factor model representing all variables combined (Model 4). As the model fit indices in Table 4.1 indicate the four factor model showed the best fit to the data. As indicated by the model fit indices, assessed by  $\chi^2$  difference tests, the four factor model showed the best fit to the data across all Studies (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1**

*Factorial structure comparisons of measures of aspects of national and racial ingroup identification, Studies 1, 3 & 5*

<i>Models</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>SRMR</i>	<i><math>\chi^2</math></i>	<i>p</i>
Study 1 – U.S. Whites and Blacks							
Four factor (Model 1)	129	0.900	0.915	0.097	0.067	797.584	
Two factor (Model 2)	134	0.639	0.684	0.183	0.126	2538.435	<.001
Two factor (Model 3)	134	0.671	0.712	0.175	0.114	2328.948	<.001
One factor (Model 4)	135	0.516	0.573	0.212	0.145	3382.811	<.001
Study 3 – US Whites and Latinx							
Four factor (Model 1)	129	0.916	0.929	0.090	0.060	558.787	
Two factor (Model 2)	134	0.571	0.624	0.203	0.176	2,356.330	<.001
Two factor (Model 3)	134	0.732	0.766	0.160	0.100	1,527.698	<.001
One factor (Model 4)	135	0.468	0.530	0.226	0.167	2,914.260	<.001
Study 5 – Polish men and women							
Four factor (Model 1)	129	0.950	0.958	0.075	0.051	962.742	
Two factor (Model 2)	134	0.574	0.627	0.218	0.189	7100.141	<.001
Two factor (Model 3)	134	0.681	0.721	0.188	0.135	5363.172	<.001
One factor (Model 4)	135	0.449	0.514	0.248	0.196	9198.192	<.001

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*Note.* Robust fit indices are presented. *df*: degrees of freedom. *TLI*: Tucker-Lewis Index, *CFI*: Comparative Fit Index, *RMSEA*: Root Mean Square Error of Approximation, *SRMR*: Standardized Root Mean Square Residual. *p* values indicate significantly worse fit compared to the four factor model.

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## 4.2. Measurement Invariance

Next, we tested whether predictions of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction at the national and subordinate-level can be compared between groups by analysing their measurement invariance. We adopted the procedure of invariance testing suggested by Hirschfeld and Von Brachel (2014). All tests were conducted using robust maximum likelihood estimation using robust Huber-White standard errors. We used the criteria of  $\Delta CFI < .01$  (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002) to judge whether the four predictors were invariant between the configural and metric models as metric invariance is sufficient to interpret the differences in associations between collective narcissism and the outcomes between the racial groups. Multiple group (with group-wise estimates for each racial group) confirmatory factor analysis was carried out on the four factor model to check whether the measures of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction with respect to the nation and racial group were invariant across groups. Invariance was found at the metric level (Table 4.2), which allows comparing their predictions between groups (Putnick & Bornstein, 2016).

**Table 4.2**

*Measurement invariance analyses of the four factor model national, racial and gender collective narcissism vs. ingroup satisfaction, Studies 1, 3 & 5*

<i>Model</i>	<i>X<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>df</i>	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>SRMR</i>
<i>Four factor group identification model</i>						
Study 1 – U.S. Whites and Blacks						
Overall	797.584	129	0.900	0.915	0.097	0.067
US Whites	500.285	129	0.878	0.897	0.100	0.084
US Blacks	431.065	129	0.878	0.897	0.090	0.069

Configural	931.349	258	0.878	0.897	0.095	0.073
Metric	970.704	272	0.880	0.893	0.094	0.080
Study 3 – US Whites and Latinx						
Overall	558.787	129	0.916	0.929	0.090	0.060
US Whites	352.159	129	0.897	0.913	0.091	0.077
US Latinx	319.327	129	0.914	0.927	0.083	0.069
Configural	671.486	258	0.905	0.920	0.087	0.070
Metric	723.762	272	0.902	0.913	0.088	0.085
Study 5 – Polish men and women						
Overall	962.742	129	0.950	0.958	0.075	0.051
Male	460.544	129	0.962	0.968	0.065	0.051
Female	569.600	129	0.946	0.955	0.074	0.061
Configural	1030.145	258	0.954	0.962	0.070	0.053
Metric	1067.073	272	0.955	0.960	0.069	0.058

*Note.* Robust fit indices are presented.

### 4.3. Conclusion

This chapter empirically established collective narcissism measured in reference to national vs. racial (Studies 1 & 3; Table 4.1), and national vs. gender group memberships (Study 5; Table 4.1) as distinct constructs. While also establishing collective narcissism across each level to be distinct from ingroup satisfaction. Furthermore, it was also established through factorial measurement equivalence that collective narcissism is a comparable concept across racial and gender groups (Table 4.2). Next, I sought to establish racial and gender collective narcissism's predictive validity across racial and gender groups. Having established that the collective narcissism scale is empirically similar across advantaged and disadvantaged groups, I next turn to establishing its theoretical similarity across these groups. Particularly, by investigating whether racial and gender collective narcissism similarly predict outcomes related to social change orientation; perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions.

## Chapter 5.

### Establishing racial and gender collective narcissism's social change orientation

Chapter 4 established that collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction are distinct concepts at the national and subordinate group levels. Moreover, it empirically established that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism is the same concept across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. This chapter pursues Objective 2 that collective narcissism is conceptually similar across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. It tests the convergent validity of collective narcissism across advantaged U.S. Whites and Polish men, and disadvantaged U.S. Blacks, Latinx and Polish women. This is based on collective narcissism research which suggests that collective narcissism specifies a form of ingroup positivity that motivates group members to be preoccupied with the ingroup's relative standing and to pursue relative superiority over outgroups (Golec de Zavala, Federico, et al., 2019). Based on social identity theory (Caricati & Sollami, 2018), this motive for superiority is expected to be present in advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike. Furthermore, based on the social change literature (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020), collective narcissism is expected to express itself in support for violent social change which will benefit the ingroup. Namely, racial and gender collective narcissism is expected to predict perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions to benefit the ingroup across Whites and racial minorities and men and women.

### **5.1. Social change orientation vs. defence of the status quo**

Groups are motivated to change the current social arrangements if they think it will improve the comparative status of their ingroup compared to outgroups, perceive the ingroup as deprived, and are willing to engage in violence to achieve their aims (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020; Thomas & Osborne, 2022). In laying out a taxonomy for political action, Thomas and Osborne (2023) suggests that collective action is differentiated by whether they pursue rights for advantaged or disadvantaged groups, and whether they seek to challenge the status quo (i.e., pursue social change) or defend the status quo. Reactionary collective action challenges the status quo for the rights of advantaged groups, whereas progressive collective action challenges the status quo for the rights of

disadvantaged groups. On the other hand, liberal and conservative movements seek to defend that status quo (for the sake of disadvantaged and advantaged groups, respectively), e.g., through electoral politics (Thomas & Osborne, 2023). The pursuit of social change is motivated by grievance and dissatisfaction with the status quo. This is expressed by group members' belief that the ingroup is worse off compared to others in society (i.e., perceived ingroup deprivation) (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020). It is also operationalised as perceived of discrimination and mistreatment of one's ingroup as well as social identity threat (Grant et al., 2015; Power et al., 2020). Perceived ingroup deprivation is associated with violent collective intentions among members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020). For instance, among Swedish 'native' majority, Swedes' anger over diminished opportunities because of immigration was associated with violent collective intentions, including specific support for the burning down of Mosques. Conversely, among U.S. Black participants anger about Blacks diminished opportunities in the U.S. was associated with support for violent BLM protests (Lindström et al., 2023).

### **5.1.1. Collective narcissism and social change**

Collective narcissism's preoccupation with the ingroup's relative status, hypersensitivity to intergroup threat and retaliatory aggression, entails a social change orientation. Collective narcissism research shows that collective narcissism (over other forms of ingroup positivity, such as ingroup satisfaction) accounts for the aspect of ingroup identification which motivates intergroup competition for the sake of positive comparisons and superiority over other groups. This superiority is largely symbolic as it is sought even if it leads to net costs to the ingroup. For instance, building on the classic minimal groups' studies, Gronfeldt et al. (2022) showed that national collective narcissism (not ingroup satisfaction) predicted maximising difference between the ingroup and outgroup (i.e., relative intergroup gain) even at the expense of absolute profit. In other words, collective narcissism predicts investment in relative, symbolic superiority over outgroups even if

this comes at a realistic cost to ingroup members (e.g., the downplaying the national COVID severity to save face over the national image; Gronfeldt et al., 2023).

Collective narcissism is a variable that pertains to conflict escalation (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Collective narcissists have low self-worth and struggle to down-regulate negative emotionality (Golec de Zavala, 2019; Golec de Zavala, Federico, et al., 2019). This is seen for instance in collective narcissism's recursive relationship with vulnerable narcissism (a personality variable involving perceptions that one's talents are unappreciated by others; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). This generates collective narcissism's propensity towards threat perception and intergroup conflict, as collective narcissists use intergroup explanations for feelings of low self-worth and seek to enhance self-worth by asserting superiority at the social level of the self (Golec de Zavala, Dyduch-Hazar, et al., 2019; Gronfeldt et al., 2022). This is also associated with perceptions that the ingroup is deprived compared to others, regardless of the ingroup's absolute privilege. This is seen in for instance, in British collective narcissism's association with the belief the national group is deprived in the EU (Marchlewska et al., 2018). Also, male and Catholic collective narcissism is associated with perceptions of being undermined by (structurally disadvantaged) women and sexual minorities (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021; Marchlewska et al., 2019). Similarly, among disadvantaged groups — Kurds and LGBTQIA+ — collective narcissism is associated with perceived ingroup deprivation (Bagci et al., 2023; Górska et al., 2023)). Among Kurds, it's associated with animosity toward Turks (Bagci et al., 2023) and among LGBTQIA+ it's associated with violent collective action intentions (Górska et al., 2023).

Studies on collective narcissism's relationship to political violence are limited. In social contexts which legitimise violence, it is associated with willingness to engage in terrorism (Jasko et al., 2020). LGBTQIA+ collective narcissism with violence collective action intentions to promote rights for the ingroup (Górska et al., 2023). This is the first research that investigates collective

narcissism's association with support for violent collective action intentions among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

## 5.2. Overview

In order to demonstrate that we assess the same variable among racial majorities and minorities, we tested whether the variable assessed by the Collective Narcissism Scale in each group is associated with variables that would be predicted from collective narcissism theory similarly in both groups. Namely perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. It is expected that racial and gender collective narcissism will predict both outcomes similarly in both groups (i.e., the interaction term with racial or gender group will not be significant). For the sake of clarity I present simple slopes analyses for the relationships between racial and gender collective narcissism and the outcomes.

## 5.3. Study 1

Study 1 investigated whether racial collective narcissism predicts perceived ingroup deprivation. It is expected that racial collective narcissism (but not ingroup satisfaction) predicts perceived ingroup deprivation similarly among US Whites and Blacks (Hypothesis 2a). For study 1, I assumed an effect size of  $f^2 = .10$  based on a multiple regression assessing racial collective narcissism and egalitarianism from a pilot sample. This gave a final sample estimate of  $n = 332$  sufficient to test both the hypothesized main and interaction effects from Part Three.

### 5.3.1. Methods

#### 5.3.1.1. Participants and design

Participants ( $N = 800$ , U.S. adults; 367 males, 432 females, 1 non-binary/other, Age:  $M = 47.82$ ,  $SD = 17.59$ , range = 18-87) collected 365 self-identified Blacks and 435 self-identified Whites through the Ariadna Research Panel (<http://www.panelariadna.com>). The sample is nationally representative in terms of age, gender, and place of residence. The sample contained no missing

data. Participants with missing responses were automatically removed from the data poll and replaced with new participants until representative sample was reached. All studies utilised a cross-sectional design with group membership (i.e., advantaged vs. disadvantaged) as a binary moderator.

### 5.3.1.2. Procedure

Participants provided informed consent followed by demographic information. They then responded to racial collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction measures. Order of those measures and items within the measures was randomized for each participant. These measures were followed by the outcome measures which were presented in a randomized order with items also randomized. Finally, participants responded to the measures of national collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction. These measures were presented last to minimise confusion with the measures of racial collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction. Order of those measures and items within the measures was randomized for each participant. All subsequent studies followed the same design and procedure. In Study 1 and all studies measures were scored on a scale from (1) *Strongly disagree* to (6) *Strongly agree* unless otherwise specified.

### 5.3.1.3. Measures

**National and racial collective narcissism** were measured with the 5-item collective narcissism scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) in reference to participants' national and racial identities, e.g., “*If my [national/racial] group had more say in the world, the world would be a much better place.*”

**National and racial ingroup satisfaction** were measured with the 4-item ingroup satisfaction scale (Leach et al., 2008) in reference to participants' national and racial identity, e.g., “*I think that my [national/racial] group has a lot to be proud of*”.

**Perceived ingroup deprivation** was measured by two items adapted from Thomas et al. (2020) which assesses perceived disadvantage of the racial ingroup in the United States: “*My racial group is treated unfairly in the United States.*”, “*My racial group is disadvantaged in the United States.*”.

### 5.3.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 1*

	$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	5
1. National CN	.88	3.78	1.24	—	0.61***	0.30***	0.11*	-0.00
2. National IS	.94	4.76	1.10	0.57***	—	0.09	0.34***	-0.04
3. Racial CN	.91	3.82	1.37	0.79***	0.32***	—	0.53***	0.52***
4. Racial IS	.92	4.70	1.13	0.62***	0.55***	0.69***	—	0.32***
5. Perceived ingroup deprivation	$r = .86$	3.82	1.66	0.55***	0.18***	0.67***	0.38***	—

*Note.* Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .  $r$  indicates correlation coefficient for two item measures.

#### 5.3.2.1. Testing the association between racial collective narcissism and perceived ingroup deprivation among U.S. Whites and Blacks

In line with Hypothesis 2a, racial collective narcissism correlated positively with perceived ingroup deprivation similarly among Whites and Blacks. Multiple regression analysis showed that racial collective narcissism predicted perceived ingroup deprivation. There was no significant moderation of racial collective narcissism by racial group (Table 5.2). As expected, racial ingroup satisfaction was unrelated. However, there was significant moderation of racial ingroup satisfaction by racial group with perceived ingroup deprivation. Simple slopes indicated racial ingroup

satisfaction was negatively associated among Whites ( $b(SE) = -0.21(0.07)$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.35, -0.07]$ ) and unrelated among Blacks ( $p = .395$ ).

Additionally, there was a significant interaction of American collective narcissism with racial group and perceived ingroup deprivation (Table 5.2). Simple slopes analysis showed that national collective narcissism was positively associated among Whites ( $b(SE)=0.16(0.08)$ ,  $95\%CI[0.00072, 0.32]$ ,  $p = 0.049$ ) but negatively among Blacks ( $b(SE)=-0.16(0.07)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.29, -0.031]$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ). American ingroup satisfaction was unrelated to perceived ingroup deprivation.

**Table 5.2***Multiple regression analysis of perceived ingroup deprivation, Study 1*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.17(0.04)	-0.26,-0.08	<0.001	-0.13	-0.16(0.06)	-0.29,-0.04	0.011	-0.12
Racial CN	0.69(0.06)	0.56,0.82	<0.001	0.57	0.65(0.08)	0.50,0.81	<0.001	0.54
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-1.85(0.35)	-2.54,-1.15	<0.001	-0.58	-1.07(0.50)	-2.05,-0.08	0.034	-0.60
National CN X Group	0.26(0.09)	0.08,0.43	0.004	0.19	0.32(0.11)	0.10,0.55	0.004	0.24
Racial CN X Group	-0.02(0.09)	-0.21,0.16	0.816	-0.02	0.10(0.12)	-0.13,0.32	0.408	0.08
National IS					-0.01(0.07)	-0.15,0.14	0.915	-0.01
Racial IS					0.07(0.09)	-0.09,0.24	0.386	0.05
National IS X Group					-0.03(0.11)	-0.25,0.19	0.757	-0.02
Racial IS X Group					-0.29(0.13)	-0.53,-0.04	0.025	-0.20
Observations	800				800			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.558 / 0.555				0.566 / 0.561			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.3.3. Discussion

As expected, racial collective narcissism predicted perceived ingroup deprivation similarly among both Whites and Blacks. This effect was specific to racial collective narcissism. White ingroup satisfaction negatively predicted perceived ingroup deprivation. Additionally, American collective narcissism positively predicted perceived ingroup deprivation among Whites but negatively predicted it among Blacks.

### 5.4. Study 2

Study 2 investigated racial collective narcissism's relationship with violent collective action intentions to promote the racial ingroup. It is expected that racial collective narcissism (but not racial ingroup satisfaction) predicts violent collective action intentions similarly among US Whites and Blacks (Hypothesis 2b). For study 2, the effect size of  $f^2 = .18$  was used based on a multiple regression assessing national and racial collective narcissism and collective action for racial equality from the pilot sample. This gave a final sample estimate of  $n = 192$  sufficient to test the hypothesized main effect and interaction effects in Part Three.

#### 5.4.1. Methods

##### 5.4.1.1 Participants

Participants ( $N = 526$ ; 261 males, 233 females, 7 non-binary/other, Age:  $M = 37.5$ ,  $SD = 13.95$ , range = 18-82) were 263 self-identified Black and 263 self-identified White U.S. adults. Data collection was carried out using Academic Prolific which provided for pre-screening for U.S. nationality and self-identifying racial group. Participation was based on self-selection and the sample was non-representative.

##### 5.4.1.2. Measures

**National and racial collective narcissism** were measured as in Study 1.

**National and racial ingroup satisfaction** were measured with the 4-item private collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) in reference to participants' national and racial identities, e.g., *"In general, I'm glad to be a member of my [national/racial] group"*.

**Violent collective action intentions** was measured with the 4-item Radicalism Intentions Scale in reference to the racial ingroup to assess willingness to partake in violent political organisations which promote the racial ingroup (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). E.g., *"I would support an organization that fights for my racial group's political and legal rights even if it sometimes resorts to violence."*

#### 5.4.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are in Table 5.3.

**Table 5.3**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 2*

	$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	5
1. National CN	.90	2.78	1.21	—	0.62***	0.36***	0.04	0.13*
2. National IS	.89	4.26	1.13	0.55***	—	0.03	0.24***	-0.13*
3. Racial CN	.91	3.14	1.39	0.79***	0.47***	—	0.43***	0.45***
4. Racial IS	.88	4.70	1.06	0.48***	0.78***	0.52***	—	0.18**
5. Violent collective action	.92	2.55	1.18	0.47***	0.16*	0.49***	0.20**	—

*Note.* Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

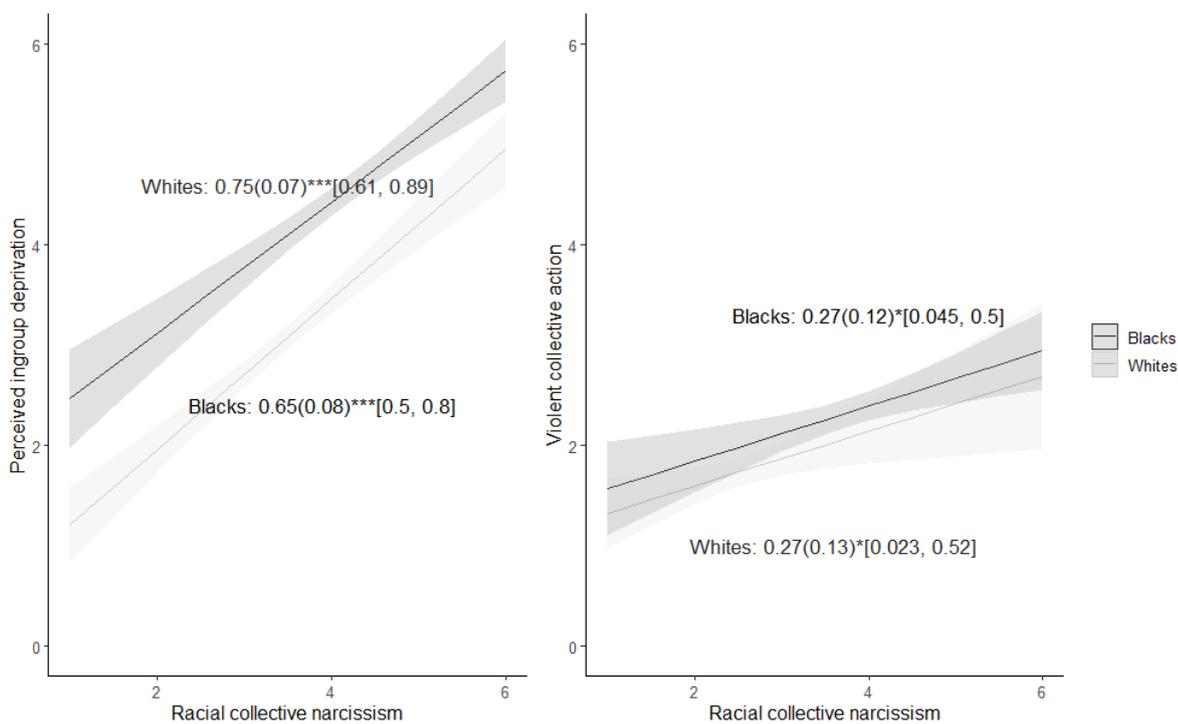
##### 5.4.2.1. Testing the association between racial collective narcissism and violent collective action intentions among U.S. Whites and Blacks

In line with Hypothesis 2b, the results of multiple regression analysis indicate that racial collective narcissism predicted support for violent collective action to pursue the racial ingroup

interests similarly among Blacks and Whites. This relationship was specific to racial collective narcissism, racial ingroup satisfaction was unrelated (Table 5.4). Additionally, American collective narcissism predicted violent collective action similarly in both groups. There was a significant interaction of national ingroup satisfaction with racial group negatively predicted violent collective action. Simple slopes analysis showed that national ingroup satisfaction was unrelated among Whites ( $p = .109$ ), but was strongly negatively related among Blacks ( $b(SE) = -0.45(0.1)$ , 95%CI[-0.64, -0.26],  $p < .001$ ).

**Figure 5.1**

*Simple slope analysis of perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective intentions, Studies 1 & 2*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

**Table 5.4***Multiple regression analysis of violent collective action intentions, Study 2*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.02(0.08)	-0.18,0.13	0.780	-0.02	0.28(0.11)	0.07,0.50	0.008	0.31
Racial CN	0.42(0.09)	0.24,0.60	<0.001	0.52	0.27(0.12)	0.05,0.50	0.019	0.34
Racial group (Whites = 1)	0.07(0.38)	-0.67,0.81	0.847	-0.23	-0.80(0.56)	-1.90,0.30	0.152	-0.23
National CN X Group	0.08(0.15)	-0.21,0.37	0.567	0.09	-0.12(0.15)	-0.42,0.18	0.424	-0.13
Racial CN X Group	-0.18(0.17)	-0.51,0.15	0.292	-0.22	-0.00(0.17)	-0.34,0.34	0.993	-0.00
National IS					-0.45(0.10)	-0.64,-0.26	<0.001	-0.46
Racial IS					0.03(0.11)	-0.18,0.24	0.784	0.03
National IS X Group					0.29(0.14)	0.01,0.56	0.040	0.30
Racial IS X Group					-0.07(0.14)	-0.34,0.20	0.608	-0.07
Observations	526				526			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.275 / 0.268				0.344 / 0.333			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.4.3. Discussion

As expected, racial collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intentions. This effect was specific to racial collective narcissism over racial ingroup satisfaction. Interestingly, American collective narcissism also predicted violent collective action similarly among both Whites and Blacks. This indicates that American collective narcissism expresses intergroup competition and conflict to promote the subordinate-level ingroup similarly among advantaged and disadvantaged group members.

Among advantaged groups, this is consistent with the prediction that national collective narcissism is aligned with the interests of the advantaged subgroup. The finding is more surprising among disadvantaged group members, however it is consistent with research from the perspective of SIMSA (Rubin et al., 2023a) that suggests disadvantaged group members who endorse anti-egalitarian beliefs (e.g., national collective narcissism) may still promote the subordinate ingroup interests if they believe that they could enhance the ingroup in the long-term (albeit do not see the possibility of change in the short-term) or if they construe the intergroup competition to be with other disadvantaged outgroup (rather than challenging advantaged groups and inequality) (Rubin et al., 2023a). American ingroup satisfaction also showed a strong negative relationship with violent collective action, particularly among Blacks. This is consistent with the evidence that finds that national identity and positive evaluations of society have a demobilising effect, particularly for disadvantaged groups (Hasan-Aslih et al., 2019; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Stathi et al., 2019). Next, I sought to replicate these findings in another national and intergroup context among Polish men and women.

### 5.5. Study 3

Study 3 intended to replicate Studies 1 and 2 within a further intergroup context of U.S. Whites and Latinx. Study 3 investigated racial collective narcissism's relationships with perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions for the racial ingroup. It is expected that

racial collective narcissism (but not racial ingroup satisfaction) predicts perceived ingroup deprivation (Hypothesis 2a) and violent collective action intentions (Hypothesis 2b). For Study 3, the sample estimate ( $n = 332$ ) from Study 1 was used.

### 5.5.1. Methods

#### 5.5.1.1. Participants

Participants ( $N = 401$ ; 198 males, 197 females, 6 non-binary/unidentified; Age:  $M = 29.93$ ,  $SD = 0.43$ , range: 18-69) were 200 self-identified U.S. Whites and 201 self-identified U.S. Latinx. Data collection was carried out using Academic Prolific which provided for pre-screening for U.S. nationality and self-identifying racial group. Participation was based on self-selection and the sample was non-representative.

#### 5.5.1.2. Measures

**National and racial collective narcissism** was measured with the 5-item collective narcissism scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) in reference to participants' national and ethnic identities. E.g., *"If my [national/ethnic] group had more say in the world, the world would be a much better place."*

**National and racial ingroup satisfaction** was measured with the 4-item ingroup satisfaction scale (Leach et al., 2008) in reference to participants national and ethnic identity. E.g. *"I think that my [national/ethnic] group has a lot to be proud of"*.

**Perceived ingroup deprivation** was measured with 2-items from Zubielevitch et al. (2020) which assessed perceived economic deprivation of the racial ingroup in the United States: *"People from my racial group generally earn less than other groups in the United States."* *"I'm frustrated by what my racial group earns relative to other groups in the United States."*

**Violent collective action intentions** were measured as in Study 3b in reference to the racial ingroup.

### 5.5.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are in Table 5.5.

**Table 5.5**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 3*

	$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	6	7
1. National CN	.91	2.55	1.06	—	0.72***	0.27***	0.04	0.10	0.22**
2. National IS	.93	3.81	1.30	0.58***	—	-0.01	0.14*	-0.14	-0.01
3. Racial CN	.95	2.95	1.19	0.69***	0.37***	—	0.45***	0.58***	0.34***
4. Racial IS	.88	4.39	1.07	0.48***	0.69***	0.53***	—	0.27***	0.04
6. Perceived ingroup deprivation	$r = .62$ ***	3.40	1.55	0.19**	-0.02	0.26***	-0.03	—	0.27***
7. Violent collective action	.83	1.89	1.02	0.49***	0.24***	0.53***	0.30***	0.31***	—

*Note.* Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . .  $r$  indicates correlation coefficient for two item measures.

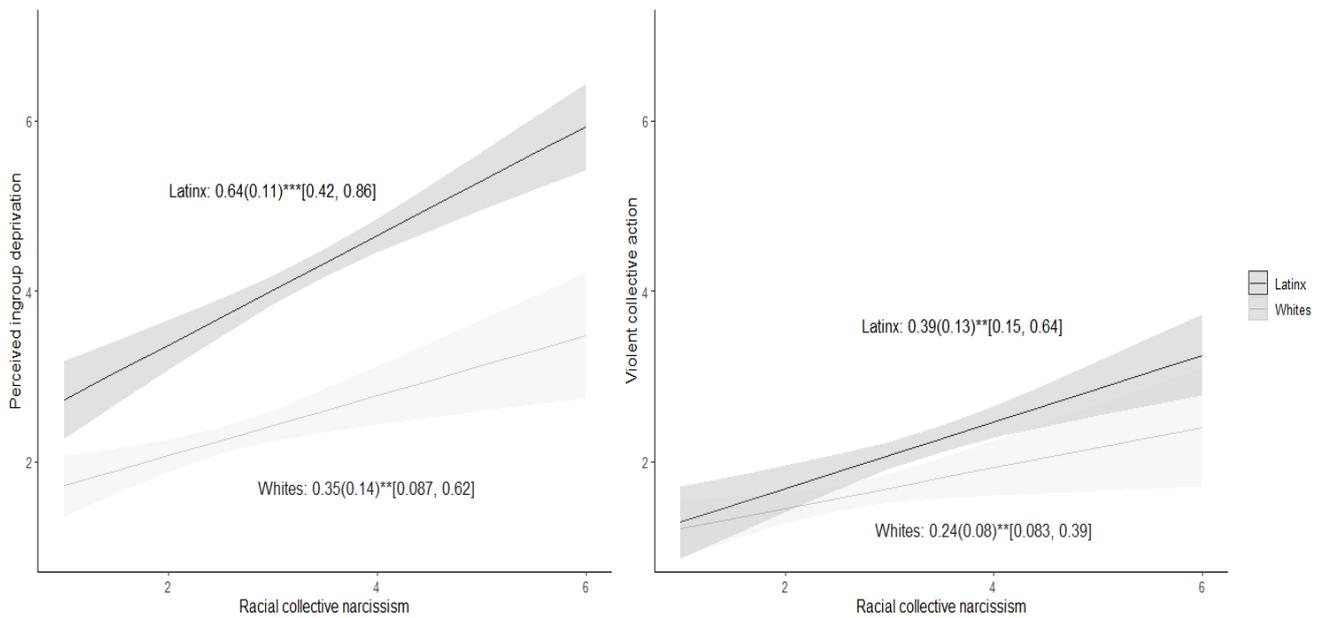
#### 5.5.2.1. Testing the associations between racial collective narcissism, perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions among U.S. Whites and Latinx

In line with Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 2b, racial collective narcissism was positively correlated with perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action. Multiple regression analyses showed that racial collective narcissism (and not racial ingroup satisfaction) predicted perceived ingroup deprivation (Table 5.6) and violent collective action intentions (Table 5.7). These associations were not moderated by racial group.

### Figure 5.2

Simple slopes analyses of perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions,

Study 3



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

Additionally, national ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated with violent collective action intentions. There was a marginally significant interaction of racial ingroup satisfaction and racial group with perceived ingroup deprivation. Simple slopes analysis showed non-significant relationships among Whites ( $b(SE) = -0.2(0.1)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.4, 0.0074]$ ,  $p = .059$ ) and Latinx ( $b(SE) = 0.10(0.11)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.12, 0.31]$ ,  $p = 0.367$ ).

**Table 5.6***Multiple regression analysis of perceived ingroup deprivation, Study 3*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>					<b>Model 2</b>				
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.05(0.05)	-0.15,0.05	-1.02	0.307	-0.04	0.14(0.13)	-0.11,0.39	1.10	0.272	0.10
Racial CN	0.75(0.07)	0.60,0.90	10.10	<0.001	0.58	0.64(0.11)	0.42,0.86	5.71	<0.001	0.49
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-0.30(0.37)	-1.02,0.42	-0.83	0.408	-1.01	0.07(0.56)	-1.02,1.17	0.13	0.893	-1.02
National CN X Group	0.06(0.12)	-0.17,0.30	0.54	0.589	0.04	-0.05(0.17)	-0.38,0.29	-0.27	0.791	-0.03
Racial CN X Group	-0.48(0.15)	-0.78,-0.18	-3.15	0.002	-0.37	-0.29(0.18)	-0.63,0.06	-1.64	0.101	-0.22
National IS						-0.20(0.11)	-0.41,0.01	-1.84	0.066	-0.17
Racial IS						0.10(0.11)	-0.12,0.31	0.90	0.367	0.07
National IS X Group						0.16(0.14)	-0.11,0.43	1.17	0.244	0.13
Racial IS X Group						-0.29(0.15)	-0.59,0.00	-1.96	0.051	-0.20
Observations	401					401				
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.691 / 0.687					0.704 / 0.697				

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 5.7***Multiple regression analysis of violent collective action, Study 3*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>					<b>Model 2</b>				
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.14(0.09)	-0.02,0.31	1.68	0.093	0.15	0.30(0.12)	0.07,0.54	2.52	0.012	0.32
Racial CN	0.40(0.10)	0.20,0.60	4.02	<0.001	0.47	0.39(0.13)	0.15,0.64	3.13	0.002	0.46
Racial group (Whites = 1)	0.05(0.36)	-0.66,0.75	0.13	0.897	-0.33	-0.80(0.48)	-1.75,0.15	-1.66	0.098	-0.37
National CN X Group	0.02(0.11)	-0.21,0.24	0.16	0.876	0.02	-0.11(0.14)	-0.39,0.17	-0.76	0.450	-0.11
Racial CN X Group	-0.15(0.13)	-0.40,0.11	-1.12	0.264	-0.17	-0.16(0.15)	-0.45,0.14	-1.05	0.295	-0.18
National IS						-0.18(0.08)	-0.33,-0.02	-2.21	0.027	-0.22
Racial IS						-0.12(0.11)	-0.33,0.09	-1.10	0.274	-0.12
National IS X Group						0.13(0.09)	-0.04,0.31	1.48	0.140	0.17
Racial IS X Group						0.15(0.12)	-0.09,0.39	1.20	0.229	0.16
Observations	401					401				
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.375 / 0.367					0.394 / 0.380				

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.5.3. Discussion

In line with the previous studies, this indicates that racial collective narcissism is associated with a social change orientation similarly among Whites and Latinx, in predicting perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. National and racial ingroup satisfaction are unrelated to perceived ingroup deprivation, and national ingroup satisfaction is negatively associated with violent collective action intentions which suggests they do not motivate group members to seek social change. Next, I sought to replicate these relationships in a further national and intergroup context among Polish men and women.

## 5.6. Study 5

Study 5 investigated gender collective narcissism's relationship with perceived ingroup deprivation. It is expected that gender collective narcissism (but not ingroup satisfaction) will predict perceived ingroup deprivation similarly among men and women (Hypothesis 2a). For study 5, the effect of  $f^2 = .13$  from the relationship between the predictors and egalitarianism in Study 1 was used. The effect was taken from the Model 2 which included all interaction effects, so the sample was not doubled. This left a final sample of  $n = 130$  sufficient to test the hypothesized main and interaction effects.

### 5.6.1. Methods

#### 5.6.1.1. Participants and procedure

Participants were a nationally representative sample of 1084 Polish adults (568 women and 516 men, age ranged from 18 to 80 years,  $M = 45.08$ ;  $SD = 15.7$ ) collected by the Ariadna Research Panel (<http://www.panelariadna.com>). The sample is nationally representative in terms of age, gender and place of residence. After the demographic questions were presented first, measures were administered in the random order for each participant with the order of items also randomised for each participant. All variables were assessed using the response scale from 1 ("Strongly disagree")

to 7 (“Strongly agree”) in response to instructions “Do you agree with the statements below?”. This procedure was followed for Studies 5b and 6.

### 5.6.1.2. Measures

All measures used with Polish samples were translated to Polish and back-translated by independent bilingual speakers.

**National and gender collective narcissism** were assessed by the 5-item scale used with reference to national and gender ingroup (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009, e.g. “The true importance of Poles/women/men is rarely sufficiently recognized by others”).

**National and gender ingroup satisfaction** were assessed by the four items Ingroup Satisfaction subscale of the Ingroup Identification Scale (Leach et al., 2007, used in previous studies in Poland, Golec de Zavala et al., 2020, e.g. “It is good to be Polish/women/men”).

**Perceived ingroup deprivation** was measured by two items adapted from Thomas et al. (2020) which assesses perceived disadvantage of the gender ingroup in Poland: “*My gender group is treated unfairly in Poland.*”, “*My gender group is disadvantaged in Poland.*”.

### 5.6.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are in Table 5.8.

**Table 5.8**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 5*

	$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	5
1. National CN	.93	3.98	1.61	—	0.75***	0.24***	0.22***	-0.11**
2. National IS	.94	4.82	1.55	0.75***	—	0.14***	0.40***	-0.18***
3. Gender CN	.92	4.05	1.61	0.56***	0.25***	—	0.39***	0.56***
4. Gender IS	.89	5.37	1.18	0.36***	0.44***	0.30***	—	0.15***
5. Perceived ingroup deprivation	.82	4.04	1.63	0.43***	0.18***	0.74***	0.16***	—

*Note.* Correlation estimates for men are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.6.2.1. Testing the association between gender collective narcissism and perceived ingroup deprivation among Polish men and women

In line with Hypothesis 2a, gender collective narcissism predicted perceived ingroup deprivation similar in both groups (Table 5.9). The interaction term with gender group was not significant. Simple slopes analysis showed strong positive associations for both men and women (Figure 5.3, left panel). Gender ingroup satisfaction was unrelated. Additionally, there was a significant interaction of national collective narcissism with gender group. Simple slopes analysis showed that national collective was unrelated among men ( $b(SE) = 0.07(0.06)$ , 95%CI[-0.04, 0.19],  $p = 0.218$ ) but was significant and negative among women ( $b(SE) = -0.13(0.05)$ , 95%CI[-0.23, -0.037],  $p = .006$ ).

**Table 5.9***Multiple regression analysis of perceived ingroup deprivation, Study 5*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.23(0.03)	-0.30,-0.17	<0.001	-0.23	-0.13(0.05)	-0.23,-0.04	0.006	-0.13
Gender CN	0.69(0.04)	0.61,0.76	<0.001	0.68	0.67(0.04)	0.59,0.76	<0.001	0.67
Gender group (Men = 1)	-1.48(0.25)	-1.97,-0.99	<0.001	-0.19	-1.25(0.35)	-1.94,-0.56	<0.001	-0.21
National CN X Group	0.26(0.05)	0.16,0.36	<0.001	0.26	0.20(0.08)	0.06,0.35	0.007	0.20
Gender CN X Group	0.03(0.06)	-0.08,0.14	0.568	0.03	0.05(0.06)	-0.07,0.17	0.433	0.05
National IS					-0.14(0.05)	-0.23,-0.04	0.005	-0.13
Gender IS					0.02(0.05)	-0.08,0.11	0.744	0.01
National IS X Group					0.11(0.07)	-0.03,0.24	0.122	0.10
Gender IS X Group					-0.11(0.07)	-0.25,0.02	0.096	-0.08
Observations	1084				1084			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.571 / 0.569				0.577 / 0.574			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.6.3. Discussion

As expected, gender collective narcissism predicted perceived ingroup deprivation similarly in both groups. This effect was specific to gender collective narcissism. Additionally, national collective narcissism negatively predicted perceived ingroup deprivation among women.

## 5.7. Study 5b

Study 5b investigates gender collective narcissism's relationship with violent collective action intentions to promote the gender ingroup. It is expected that gender collective narcissism (but not ingroup satisfaction) will predict violent collective action intentions similarly among men and women (Hypothesis 2b). For study 5b, an effect of  $f^2 = .30$  from the relationship between racial collective narcissism and violent collective action intentions in Study 2 was used. This gave a final sample estimate of  $n = 124$  sufficient to test the hypothesized main and interaction effects.

### 5.7.1. Methods

#### 5.7.1.1. Participants

Participants were a nationally representative sample of 1088 Polish adults, 572 women and 516 men with ages ranging from 18 to 85 ( $M = 44.66$ ,  $SD = 15.87$ ). Data collection (e.g., a nationally representative sample) and study procedure was the same as Study 3.

#### 5.7.1.2. Measures

**National and gender collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction** were measured as in Study 3.

**Violent collective action intentions** was measured with a 3 item scale adapted from (van Prooijen & Kuijper, 2020), e.g., *"I am prepared to disturb the social order so the important ideals of women/men are realized."*, *"I am prepared to use violence against other people so the important ideals of women/men are realized."*

### 5.7.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are in Table 5.10.

**Table 5.10**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 5b*

	<i>α</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
1. National CN	.93	4.13	1.56	—	0.72***	0.29***	0.25***	0.04
2. National IS	.94	4.99	1.47	0.77***	—	0.19***	0.47***	-0.08
3. Gender CN	.92	4.10	1.59	0.57***	0.31***	—	0.40***	0.47***
4. Gender IS	.91	5.36	1.20	0.30***	0.43***	0.25***	—	0.15***
5. Violent collective action	.84	3.98	1.56	-0.07	-0.14**	0.07	-0.08	—

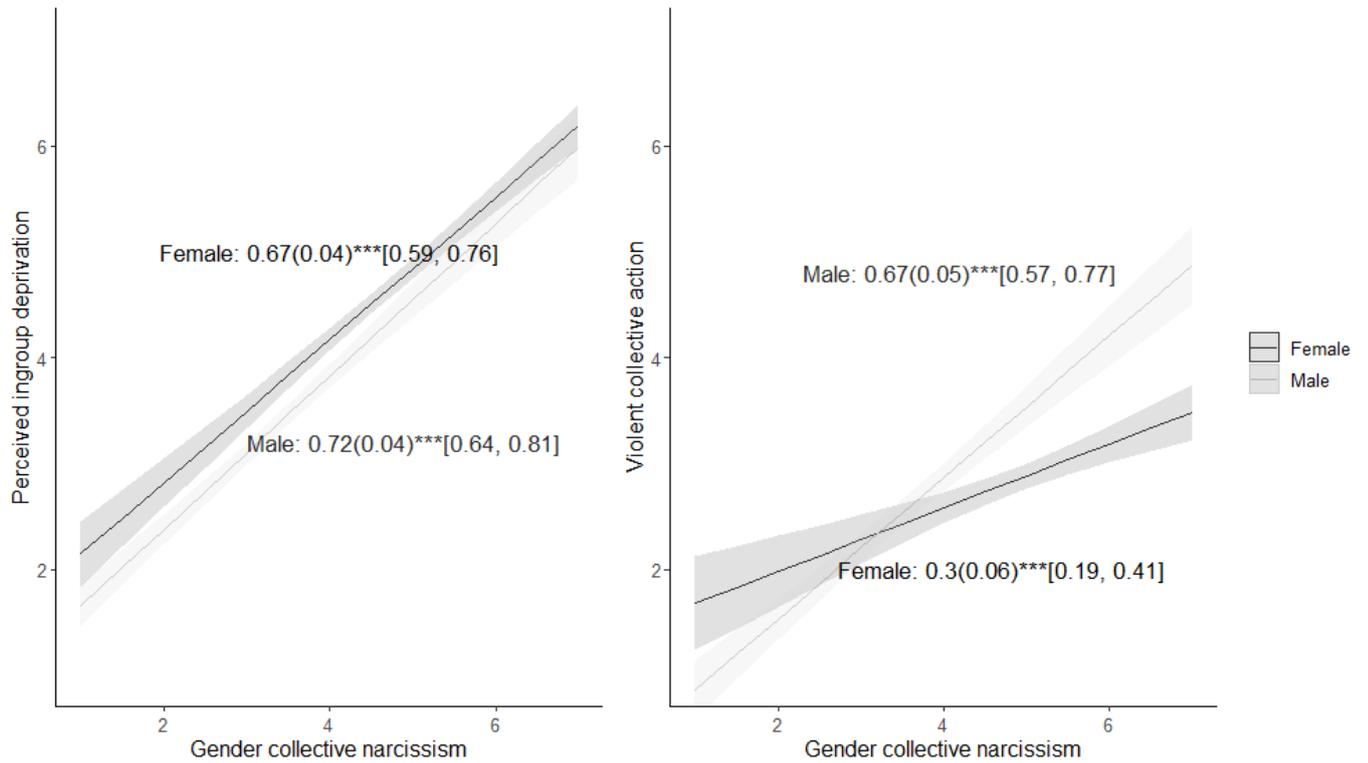
*Note.* Correlation estimates for men are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.7.2.1. Testing the association between gender collective narcissism and violent collective action intentions among Polish men and women

In line with Hypothesis 2b, gender collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intentions (Table 5.11). There was a significant interaction with gender group, simple slopes analysis indicated the gender collective narcissism was positively associated among both groups but more strongly among men (Figure 5.3, right panel).

### Figure 5.3

*Simple slopes analysis of gender collective narcissism, perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions, Studies 5 & 5b*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

Additionally, the relationship between Polish collective narcissism and violent collective action was qualified by a significant moderation by gender group. Simple slopes showed that the relationship was stronger among women ( $b(SE) = 0.31(0.06)$ ,  $95\%CI[0.2, 0.42]$ ,  $p < .001$ ) than men ( $b(SE) = 0.14(0.06)$ ,  $95\%CI[0.026, 0.26]$ ,  $p = .016$ ). Furthermore, Polish and gender ingroup satisfaction predicted the rejection of violent collective action similarly in both groups.

**Table 5.11***Multiple regression analysis of violent collective action, Study 5b*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.10(0.04)	0.01,0.19	0.024	0.10	0.31(0.06)	0.20,0.42	<0.001	0.31
Gender CN	0.27(0.05)	0.17,0.37	<0.001	0.27	0.30(0.06)	0.19,0.41	<0.001	0.30
Gender group (Men = 1)	-0.65(0.29)	-1.21,-0.08	0.025	0.29	-0.95(0.41)	-1.75,-0.14	0.021	0.24
National CN X Group	-0.16(0.06)	-0.29,-0.04	0.010	-0.16	-0.17(0.08)	-0.33,-0.01	0.039	-0.17
Gender CN X Group	0.42(0.07)	0.28,0.56	<0.001	0.42	0.37(0.07)	0.22,0.51	<0.001	0.37
National IS					-0.27(0.06)	-0.38,-0.16	<0.001	-0.27
Gender IS					-0.15(0.06)	-0.26,-0.03	0.016	-0.12
National IS X Group					0.06(0.08)	-0.10,0.21	0.470	0.06
Gender IS X Group					0.03(0.08)	-0.12,0.18	0.698	0.02
Observations	1088				1088			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.235 / 0.231				0.279 / 0.273			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 5.7.3. Discussion

As expected, gender collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intentions similarly among both men and women. Gender ingroup satisfaction predicted disapproving of violent collective action. Additionally, Polish collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intentions, particularly among women. This is consistent with Study 2, showing a competitive motive for the subordinate-level ingroup is expressed by national collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups. Polish ingroup satisfaction predicted disapproving violent collective action, consistent with evidence it has a demobilising effect (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015).

### 5.8. Summary of Results

Across all studies, Hypotheses 2a & b were supported. Studies 1 and 2 tested the relationship between racial collective narcissism among U.S. Whites and Blacks with perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. The findings were consistent with expectations. Both White and Black collective narcissism predicted perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. Additionally, national collective narcissism was positively associated with perceived ingroup deprivation among Whites but negatively associated among Blacks. National collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intentions in both groups. White ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated with perceived ingroup deprivation.

Study 3 replicated these relationships among U.S. Whites and Latinx. Consistent with expectations, White and Latinx collective narcissism predicted both perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. In line with the previous findings, national collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intentions in both groups but was unrelated to perceived ingroup deprivation.

Studies 5 and 5b intended to replicate these relationships among Polish men and women. Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, male and female collective narcissism predicted both perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. Additionally, national collective narcissism predicted violent collective actions in both groups, but more strongly among women. National collective narcissism negatively predicted perceived ingroup deprivation among women but was unrelated among men. Gender ingroup satisfaction negatively predicted violent collective action intentions similarly in both groups. Polish ingroup satisfaction negatively predicted both outcomes.

## **5.9. Discussion**

Across studies, as set out in Objective 2, in line with Hypotheses 2a & b, racial and gender collective narcissism predicted perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. This suggests that it is collective narcissism that captures the part of ingroup identification that motivates engagement with reactionary and progressive collective action in order to bring about social change which will favour the ingroup. On the other hand, national, racial and gender ingroup satisfaction were either negatively related or unrelated to perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. Collective narcissism specifies the social identity literature on when ingroup identity will lead to protest and radicalization towards social change which will benefit the ingroup. These findings also serve to advance deprivation research on social protest and radicalization (Power et al., 2020). Collective narcissism specifies a form of ingroup grievance based on the ingroup's unrecognized greatness, particularly liable to intergroup threat which allows for ingroup enhancement by perceiving the ingroup as 'at the centre of things' and special (i.e., threatened by multiple outgroup conspirators) and by justifying intergroup conflict (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022). This is consistent with evidence showing both liberals and conservatives show bias against information is counter to their beliefs (Collins et al., 2017) and express intergroup prejudice (depending on target groups) (Crawford & Brandt, 2020). Collective

narcissism likely explains how violence becomes seen as a moral and necessary way to advance the ingroup's goals across both advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020), even if it is largely only advantaged groups who have the social power and licence to actually enact violence (Jasko et al., 2022).

Furthermore, collective narcissism is implicated in identity leadership processes, as leaders accentuate both the positive qualities of the group as well explain how the ingroup has been wronged and what can be done about it (Steffens et al., 2014). National collective narcissism predicts support for the populist narrative of national renewal used by right-wing populists to win votes (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). Future research should see how collective narcissism among advantaged and disadvantaged groups relates to grievance and ingroup renewal narratives among identity leaders of reactionary and progressive social movements.

Although collective narcissism motivates the same propensity towards perceived deprivation and violence among advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike. Among advantaged group members, this is based on biased perceptions of structural reality. Whereas among disadvantaged group members, it motivates more accurate appraisals of structural reality and intergroup explanations for their experiences of misfortune. Future research should investigate whether motivated perceptions associated with collective narcissism differ across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. For instance, whether collective narcissism among advantaged (vs. disadvantaged) group members is more strongly related to intergroup conspiracies. It might also motivate misperceptions of social inequality and the denial of privilege common among advantaged group members (Hauser & Norton, 2017; Kraus et al., 2019).

National collective narcissism was also associated with violent collective intentions to advance the disadvantaged ingroup – US Blacks and Latinx, and Polish women. This suggests that national collective narcissism (even accounting for subordinate collective narcissism) still expresses a status motive for the disadvantaged subordinate ingroup. This might be explained from the

perspective of SIMSA which suggests that disadvantaged group members might endorse anti-egalitarianism if they believe the ingroup can improve its status in the future (Rubin et al., 2023a). It may be that American collective narcissism confers norms for political frustration and competition between national subgroups.

### PART III.

#### COLLECTIVE NARCISSISM AND REACTIONARY VS. PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL CHANGE

## **Chapter 6. Overview of Part Three.**

Part Two validated collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction as distinct constructs at the national and subordinate group level. It also validated the convergent validity of racial and gender collective narcissism across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The findings were as expected and in line with collective narcissism theory and social identity theory. In Part Two, this thesis investigates the aims set out in Objective 3. It seeks to assess the joint contributions of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism across advantaged (U.S. Whites and Polish men) and disadvantaged (U.S. Blacks and Latinx, and Polish women) groups on support for reactionary and progressive social change. Reactionary and progressive social change are operationalised across ideological attitudes and support for specific collective action to either promote inequality or equality in favour of the subordinate ingroup, respectively.

### **6.1. Overview of Hypotheses tested in Part Three**

I test the main hypothesis depicted in Table 6.1 and present the methodologies and results for each study (which have not already been presented in Part Two). It is expected that national (across advantaged and disadvantaged groups; Hypothesis 3a), White and male collective narcissism will predict support for reactionary social change (and the rejection of progressive social change; Hypothesis 3b). Conversely, Black, female and Latinx collective narcissism will predict support for progressive social change (and the rejection of reactionary social change; Hypothesis 3c). These relationships will be specific to collective narcissism (over ingroup satisfaction). Reactionary and progressive change includes ideological and collective action based features. Ideology was operationalised as the perceived legitimacy of intergroup (racial and gender) inequality and desirability of societal inequality (vs. egalitarian societal arrangements). These outcomes tested support for the specific inequality relevant to the ingroup, as well as support for more general inequality for society in general. Due to a clerical error, legitimization of racial inequality was not included as an outcome in Study 5. To increase the ecological validity of the studies, reactionary

collective action was operationalised as ecologically valid support for collective action which supports the rights of advantaged groups: support for state repression of social justice movements (BLM and Women's Strike), and the alt-right. Similarly, progressive collective action was operationalised as participation and support for BLM, participation in Women's Strike and support for Keep Families Together.

**Table 6.1.**

*Representation of operational predictions across studies*

		National CN	Advantaged CN	Disadvantaged CN
<b>U.S. Whites and Blacks</b>				
Study 1	Legitimization of racial inequality	+	+	-
N=800	Egalitarianism	-	-	+
Study 2	State repression of BLM	+	+	-
N=526	Support for Black Lives Matter	-	-	+
<b>U.S. Whites and Latinx</b>				
Study 3	Egalitarianism	-	-	+
N=401				
Study 4	Alt-right support	+	+	-
N=501	Keep Families Together support	-	-	+
	Black Lives Matter support	-	-	+
<b>Polish men and women</b>				
Study 5	Legitimization of gender inequality	+	+	-
N=1088	Egalitarianism	-	-	+
Study 6	State repression of Women's Strike	+	+	-
N=1089	Support for Women's Strike	-	-	+

Studies 1, 3, and 5 test Hypotheses 3a-c across ideological operationalisations of reactionary and progressive social change outcomes across the three intergroup contexts (U.S. Whites and Blacks, U.S. Whites and Latinx, and Polish men and women). Studies 2, 4, 6 test Hypotheses 3a-c

across collective action operationalisations of reactionary and progressive social change outcomes across the three intergroup contexts (U.S. Whites and Blacks, U.S. Whites and Latinx, and Polish men and women).

## Chapter 7.

### Studies 1 and 2 in the context of U.S. Whites and Blacks.

#### 7.1. Study 1

Study 1 investigated the predictions in the context of U.S. White and Blacks and ideological outcomes of legitimization racial inequality and egalitarianism. It is expected that American (Hypothesis 3a) and White collective narcissism (Hypothesis 3b) will predict the legitimization of racial inequality and anti-egalitarianism, whereas Black collective narcissism will predict the opposite (Hypothesis 3c).

##### 7.1.1. Method

###### 7.1.1.1. Measures

**Legitimization of racial inequality** was measured with a 2-item measure (Sengupta et al., 2015):

*“Everyone in United States has a fair shot at wealth and happiness, regardless of ethnicity or race.”*, *“In general, relations between different racial groups in United States are fair.”*

**Egalitarianism** was measured with 4 items of the social dominance orientation measure pertaining to the preference of egalitarian organization of societies (Ho et al., 2015), e.g., *“People should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.”*, *“People should do what they can to equalize conditions for different groups.”*

##### 7.1.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations Table 7.1. Zero-order correlations show that among Blacks and Whites, American collective narcissism positively

correlated with American ingroup satisfaction, racial collective narcissism, racial ingroup satisfaction, legitimization of racial inequality. Black collective narcissism was positively associated with racial ingroup satisfaction and egalitarianism. Among Whites collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality.

**Table 7.1**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 1*

	$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. National CN	.88	3.78	1.24	—	0.61***	0.30***	0.11*	0.46***	-0.03
2. National IS	.94	4.76	1.10	0.57***	—	0.09	0.34***	0.34***	0.16**
3. Racial CN	.91	3.82	1.37	0.79***	0.32***	—	0.53***	-0.00	0.21***
4. Racial IS	.92	4.70	1.13	0.62***	0.55***	0.69***	—	-0.03	0.35***
5. Legitimization of racial inequality	$r = .64$	3.67	1.46	0.63***	0.43***	0.60***	0.49***	—	-0.14**
6. Egalitarianism	.88	4.95	0.87	0.05	0.11*	-0.05	0.09	-0.07	—

*Note.* Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .  $r$  indicates correlation coefficient for two item measures.

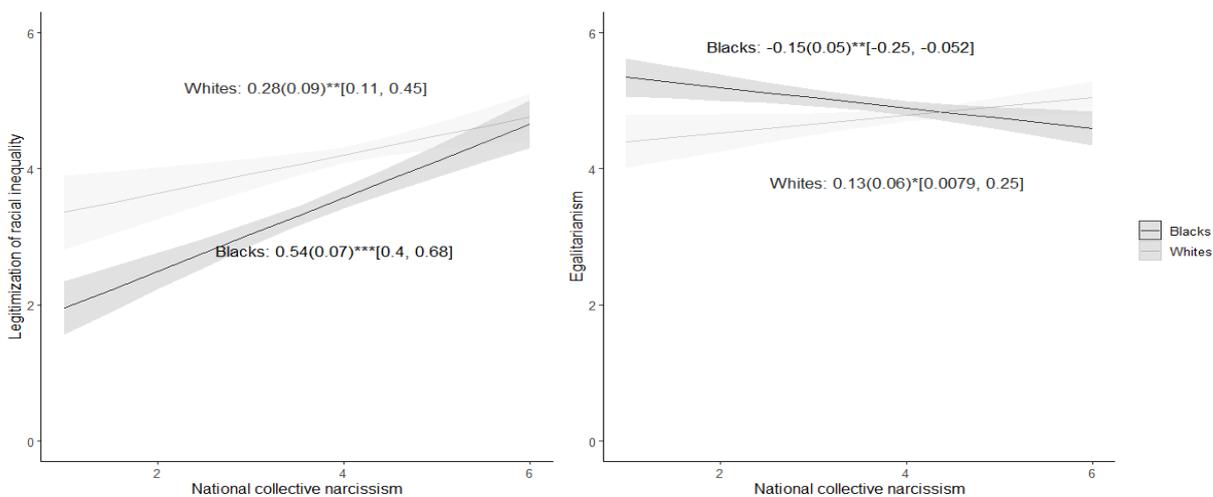
### 7.1.2.1. Testing the associations of American collective narcissism with legitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism among U.S. Whites and Blacks

In line with Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality among Blacks and Whites (Table 7.2). There was a marginally significant interaction with the racial group ( $p = .056$ ). Simple slopes analysis showed the relationship was significant and positive in both groups, but stronger among Blacks (Figure 7.1, left panel). Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, the negative association between American collective narcissism and egalitarianism was qualified by a significant interaction between American collective narcissism and racial group (Table 7.3). Simple slopes showed that among Whites, American collective narcissism was significantly positively associated with egalitarianism, whereas there was a significantly negative association among Blacks (Figure 7.1, right panel). These findings were specific to American

collective narcissism, American ingroup satisfaction was unrelated to legitimization of racial inequality and predicted egalitarianism among Whites and Blacks.

**Figure 7.1**

*Simple slopes analysis of national collective narcissism, legitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism, Study 1*



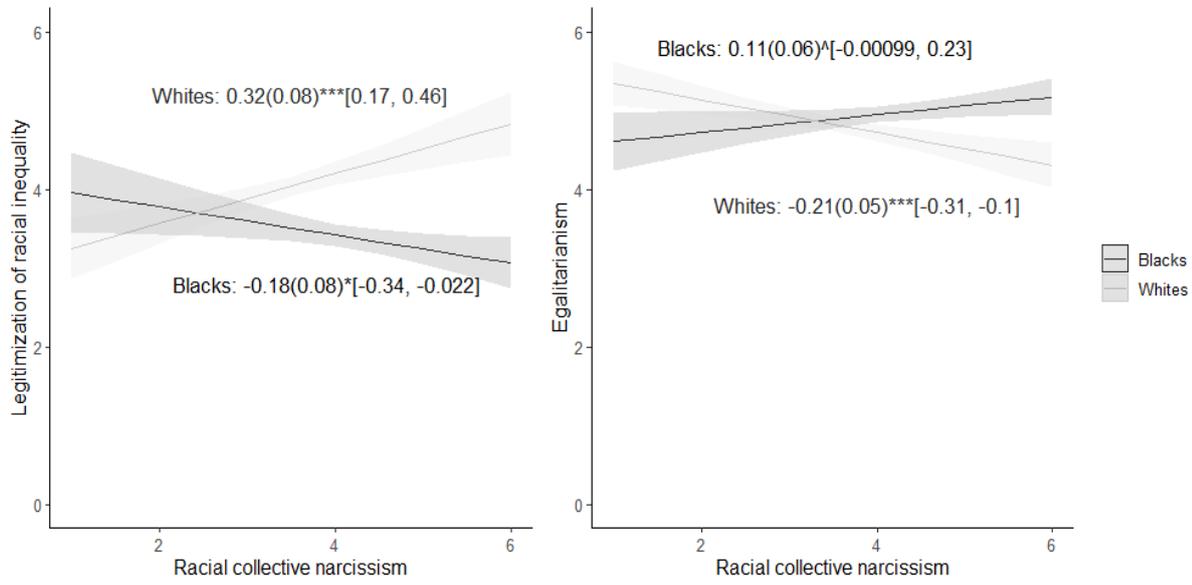
Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

**7.1.2.2. Testing the associations of racial collective narcissism with legitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism among U.S. Whites and Blacks**

There were significant interactions of racial collective narcissism and racial group for legitimization of racial inequality (Table 7.2) and egalitarianism (Table 7.3). In line with Hypothesis 3b, White collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality (Figure 7.2, left panel) and anti-egalitarianism (Figure 7.2, right panel). In line with Hypothesis 3c, Black collective narcissism predicted delegitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism. These relationships were specific to racial collective narcissism, racial ingroup satisfaction was unrelated to legitimization of racial inequality and predicted egalitarianism among Whites and Blacks.

**Figure 7.2**

*Simple slopes analysis of racial collective narcissism, legitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism, Study 1*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

**Table 7.2***Multiple regression analysis of legitimization of racial inequality, Study 1*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.62(0.07)	0.49,0.76	<0.001	0.53	0.54(0.10)	0.35,0.73	<0.001	0.46
Racial CN	-0.23(0.08)	-0.40,-0.07	0.005	-0.22	-0.18(0.12)	-0.42,0.06	0.140	-0.17
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-0.44(0.43)	-1.28,0.40	0.303	0.47	-0.86(0.51)	-1.86,0.14	0.093	0.47
National CN X Group	-0.20(0.11)	-0.41,0.01	0.064	-0.17	-0.26(0.14)	-0.53,0.01	0.056	-0.22
Racial CN X Group	0.49(0.11)	0.28,0.71	<0.001	0.46	0.50(0.14)	0.21,0.78	0.001	0.47
National IS					0.14(0.10)	-0.06,0.33	0.164	0.10
Racial IS					-0.08 (0.12)	-0.32,0.15	0.478	-0.07
National IS X Group					0.07(0.12)	-0.17,0.31	0.562	0.05
Racial IS X Group					0.06(0.15)	-0.22,0.35	0.665	0.05
Observations	800				800			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.377 / 0.373				0.386 / 0.379			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 7.3***Multiple regression analysis of egalitarianism, Study 1*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.07(0.04)	-0.15,0.01	0.072	-0.10	-0.15(0.06)	-0.26,-0.04	0.008	-0.21
Racial CN	0.21(0.05)	0.11,0.32	<0.001	0.33	0.11(0.06)	-0.00,0.23	0.056	0.18
Racial group (Whites = 1)	0.25(0.31)	-0.36,0.85	0.424	-0.27	1.13(0.51)	0.13,2.12	0.027	-0.19
National CN X Group	0.23(0.08)	0.07,0.39	0.006	0.33	0.28(0.10)	0.08,0.48	0.006	0.40
Racial CN X Group	-0.35(0.08)	-0.51,-0.20	<0.001	-0.55	-0.32(0.09)	-0.49,-0.15	<0.001	-0.50
National IS					0.15(0.07)	0.02,0.28	0.026	0.19
Racial IS					0.24(0.08)	0.09,0.40	0.002	0.32
National IS X Group					-0.15(0.09)	-0.33,0.03	0.107	-0.19
Racial IS X Group					-0.09(0.10)	-0.28,0.10	0.368	-0.12
Observations	800				800			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.063 / 0.057				0.120 / 0.109			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 7.1.3. Discussion

Support for Hypothesis 3a was mixed. National collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality, albeit more strongly among Blacks. However, the relationship with egalitarianism was moderated by racial group. Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, national collective narcissism predicted egalitarianism among Whites. However, it did predict anti-egalitarianism among Blacks. Evidence for Hypotheses 3b & c were more consistent. White collective narcissism predicts legitimization of racial inequality and anti-egalitarianism. Black collective narcissism predicts delegitimizing racial inequality and egalitarianism. Racial collective narcissism accounts for the opposite associations with legitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism among Whites and Blacks.

Additionally, American and racial ingroup satisfaction predicted support for egalitarianism (but was unrelated to legitimization of racial inequality). This indicates they might underpin liberal attitudes, i.e., at least nominal support for equality, among Whites and Blacks (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). This is consistent with evidence that shows national and subordinate-level ingroup satisfaction is associated with acceptance of disadvantaged groups (Golec de Zavala, Dyduch-Hazar, et al., 2019a). This suggests that it is American and White collective narcissism which accounts for the social identity basis of support for ideologies which justify reactionary social change. The stronger association with these ideologies among Blacks who endorse national collective narcissism are consistent with reasoning the disadvantaged group members can be more motivated to rationalise and endorse beliefs in order to make sense of their disadvantaged status (i.e., anti-egalitarianism) (Rubin et al., 2023). However, these findings specify that this effect happens only at high levels of national collective narcissism.

### 7.2. Study 2

Study 2 investigates collective narcissism's associations with reactionary and progressive collective action. Specifically, support for state repression of BLM and participation in BLM. It is

expected that national (Hypothesis 3a) and White collective narcissism (Hypothesis 3b) will predict support for state repression of BLM and non-participation in BLM, whereas Black collective narcissism will predict the opposite (Hypothesis 3c).

### 7.2.1. Methods

#### 7.2.1.1. Measures

**State repression of BLM** was adapted from a political intolerance measure (Skitka et al., 2004), e.g., “*Support the government if it tapped the phones of BLM activists.*”

**Participation in BLM** was measured with a 5-item scale (Hong & Peoples, 2021) asking how often you took part in actions supporting Blacks Lives Matter e.g., “*Participate in BLM protests or marches.*” on scale from (1) *Not at all* to (6) *All the time*.

### 7.2.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are in Table 7.4. Zero-order correlations show that among Blacks, American collective narcissism was positively associated with support for repression of BLM by state but also with participation in BLM. It was positively associated with American ingroup satisfaction and Black collective narcissism. Black collective narcissism was positively associated with participation in BLM and collective action. Among Whites, American collective narcissism was positively associated with American ingroup satisfaction, White collective narcissism and White ingroup identification. It also correlated with support for repression of the BLM by the State and negatively correlated with participation in BLM. White collective narcissism showed the same pattern of results.

**Table 7.4**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 2*

$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	5	6
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1. National CN	.90	2.78	1.21	—	0.62***	0.36***	0.04	0.26***	0.14*
2. National IS	.89	4.26	1.13	0.55***	—	0.03	0.24***	0.04	-0.14*
3. Racial CN	.91	3.14	1.39	0.79***	0.47***	—	0.43***	-0.11	0.42***
4. Racial IS	.88	4.70	1.06	0.48***	0.78***	0.52***	—	-0.26***	0.16*
5. State repression	.93	1.69	1.09	0.54***	0.40***	0.59***	0.43***	—	0.04
6. Participation in BLM	.91	1.94	1.12	-0.22***	-0.40***	-0.29***	-0.42***	-0.25***	—

Note. Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

### 7.2.2.1 Testing the associations of American collective narcissism with state repression of, and participation in, BLM among U.S. Whites and Blacks

In line with Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of BLM (Table 7.5). The interaction between American collective narcissism and racial group was marginally significant ( $p = .061$ ). Simple slopes analysis showed the relationship was only significant among Blacks ( $b(SE) = 0.46(0.09)$ , 95%CI[0.27, 0.64],  $p < .001$ ) but positive and non-significant among Whites ( $b(SE) = 0.15(0.13)$ , 95%CI[-0.11, 0.41],  $p = .249$ ). Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted participation in BLM (Table 7.6). As this was anomalous, the relationship was probed with simple slopes which showed the positive association was only significant among Blacks ( $b(SE) = 0.21(0.09)$ , 95%CI[0.034, 0.38],  $p = .019$ ) but not Whites ( $b(SE) = 0.19(0.11)$ , 95%CI[-0.03, 0.4],  $p = .092$ ).

Also contrary to expectations, national ingroup satisfaction predicted non-participation in the Black Lives Matter among Blacks and Whites (Table 7.6). Finally, there was also a significant interaction between national ingroup satisfaction and racial group with state repression of BLM (Table 7.5). Simple slopes analysis showed that it was unrelated among Whites ( $b(SE)=0.047(0.08)$ , 95%CI[-0.10, 0.20],  $p = .535$ ) and significant and negative among Blacks ( $b(SE)=-0.22(0.08)$ , 95%CI[-0.39, -0.062],  $p = .007$ ).

**Table 7.5***Multiple regression analyses of state repression of BLM, Study 2*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.32(0.06)	0.21,0.43	<0.001	0.36	0.46(0.09)	0.27,0.64	<0.001	0.51
Racial CN	-0.29(0.07)	-0.43,-0.15	<0.001	-0.37	-0.28(0.09)	-0.46,-0.09	0.003	-0.36
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-1.72(0.37)	-2.44,-0.99	<0.001	0.45	-3.54(0.50)	-4.53,-2.55	<0.001	0.40
National CN X Group	-0.12(0.13)	-0.37,0.14	0.370	-0.13	-0.30(0.16)	-0.62,0.01	0.061	-0.34
Racial CN X Group	0.80(0.14)	0.54,1.07	<0.001	1.03	0.74(0.16)	0.42,1.05	<0.001	0.94
National IS					-0.22(0.08)	-0.39,-0.06	0.007	-0.23
Racial IS					-0.17(0.09)	-0.35,0.02	0.073	-0.16
National IS X Group					0.27(0.11)	0.05,0.49	0.016	0.28
Racial IS X Group					0.29(0.14)	0.02,0.55	0.034	0.28
Observations	526				526			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.230 / 0.223				0.271 / 0.259			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 7.6***Multiple regression analyses of participation in BLM, Study 2*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.01(0.07)	-0.16,0.13	0.838	-0.02	0.21(0.09)	0.03,0.38	0.019	0.23
Racial CN	0.58(0.08)	0.42,0.74	<0.001	0.72	0.44(0.09)	0.26,0.62	<0.001	0.54
Racial group (Whites = 1)	2.62(0.39)	1.85,3.38	<0.001	-0.12	3.04(0.50)	2.04,4.03	<0.001	-0.09
National CN X Group	0.05(0.12)	-0.19,0.28	0.694	0.05	-0.02(0.14)	-0.30,0.25	0.864	-0.03
Racial CN X Group	-0.92(0.12)	-1.15,-0.69	<0.001	-1.14	-0.67(0.13)	-0.93,-0.42	<0.001	-0.84
National IS					-0.32(0.08)	-0.47,-0.16	<0.001	-0.32
Racial IS					0.11(0.08)	-0.05,0.26	0.169	0.10
National IS X Group					0.12(0.11)	-0.11,0.35	0.298	0.12
Racial IS X Group					-0.31(0.12)	-0.55,-0.07	0.011	-0.29
Observations	526				526			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.173 / 0.165				0.240 / 0.227			

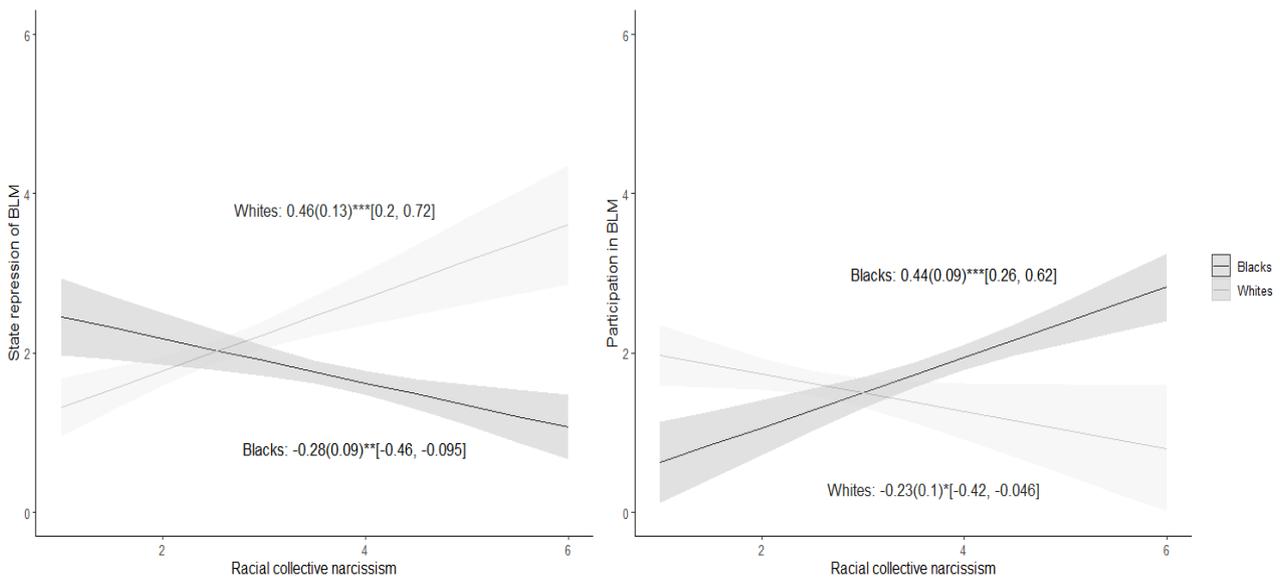
*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**7.2.2.2. Testing the associations of racial collective narcissism with state repression of, and participation in, BLM among U.S. Whites and Blacks**

As expected, there were significant interactions of racial collective narcissism with racial group (Tables 7.5 & 7.6). In line with Hypothesis 3b, White collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of BLM (Figure 7.3, left panel) and rejected participation in BLM (Figure 7.3, right panel). In line with Hypothesis 3c, Black collective narcissism predicted the disapproval of state repression of BLM (Figure 7.3, left panel) and participation in BLM (Figure 7.3, right panel).

**Figure 7.3**

*Simple slopes analyses of racial collective narcissism with state repression of BLM and participation in BLM, Study 1*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

Additionally, there was an interaction of racial ingroup satisfaction and racial group with state repression of and participation in BLM. The simple slopes analysis for racial ingroup satisfaction and state repression of BLM showed positive, but non-significant relationships among Whites ( $b(SE) = 0.12(0.1)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.073, 0.31]$ ,  $p = 0.221$ ) and Blacks ( $b(SE) = -0.17(0.09)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.35, 0.016]$ ,  $p = 0.073$ ). The simple slopes analysis for the relationship between racial ingroup satisfaction and participation in BLM showed a significant, negative relationship among Whites ( $b(SE) = -0.20(0.09)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.38, -0.02]$ ,  $p = 0.029$ ) and a positive but non-significant relationship among Blacks ( $b(SE) = 0.11(0.08)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.046, 0.26]$ ,  $p = 0.169$ ). Therefore, although the pattern of associations of racial ingroup satisfaction in Study 1 is similar to the pattern of associations of racial collective narcissism, it is weaker and less robust.

### 7.2.3. Discussion

Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted participation in BLM among Blacks (and was positive among Whites) whereas national ingroup satisfaction predicted non-participation. It is consistent with the finding that national collective narcissism predicts support for violent collective action among Blacks. This may mean that support for this movement has become a national norm in the United States, at least for those who perceive social conflict and want change. American collective narcissism is associated with following what is perceived as national norms and is associated with support for any forceful means of engaging in power struggle (Golec de Zavala, 2023).

The results are in line with Hypotheses 3b & c. White collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of BLM and rejected participation in BLM, whereas Black collective predicted the opposite pattern. Moreover, racial collective narcissism was a better predictor of opposite associations with both outcome variables than racial ingroup satisfaction.

Additionally, White ingroup satisfaction predicted non-participation in BLM and national ingroup satisfaction among Blacks predicted the rejection of state repression of BLM. Across

studies 1 and 2, American and racial ingroup satisfaction predicts support for egalitarian beliefs but not for any action that would disrupt the social life to pursue those beliefs. In particular, racial ingroup satisfaction among Whites rejected participating in BLM indicating conservative support for the advantaged ingroup at the subordinate-level of identity. Among Blacks, American ingroup satisfaction rejected the coercive repression of BLM but did not predict participating in the movement indicating ostensibly liberal support for the disadvantaged ingroup at the national-level of identity.

## Chapter 8.

### Studies 3 and 4 in the context of U.S. Whites and Latinx.

#### 8.1. Study 3

I sought to conceptually replicate the findings from the previous studies using alternate measures of egalitarianism and collective action support, returning to the U.S. context but with a new intergroup context among U.S. Whites and Latinx. Study 3 investigated the relationships between American and racial collective narcissism with egalitarianism. It is expected that American (Hypothesis 3a) and White collective narcissism (Hypothesis 3b) will predict anti-egalitarianism, whereas Latinx collective narcissism will predict egalitarianism (Hypothesis 3c).

##### 8.1.1. Methods

###### 8.1.1.1. Measures

**Egalitarianism** was measured with 5 items from the short critical consciousness scale (Rapa et al., 2020) chosen at face validity to tap a general egalitarian outlook. The items were: “*It is important to correct social and economic inequality.*”, “*All groups should be given an equal chance in life*”, “*We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally*”, “*Women have fewer chances to get ahead*”, “*Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead*”.

##### 8.1.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 8.1. Among Latinx, American collective narcissism was positively associated with American ingroup satisfaction, and racial collective narcissism. It was negatively associated with egalitarianism. Racial collective narcissism was positively associated with racial ingroup satisfaction and egalitarianism. Among Whites, American collective narcissism was positively associated with American ingroup satisfaction, and racial collective narcissism and racial ingroup

satisfaction. American and White collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction were both negatively associated with egalitarianism.

**Table 8.1**

*Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 3*

	$\alpha$	$M$	$SD$	1	2	3	4	5
1. National CN	.91	2.55	1.06	—	0.72***	0.27***	0.04	-0.20**
2. National IS	.93	3.81	1.30	0.58***	—	-0.01	0.14*	-0.25***
3. Racial CN	.95	2.95	1.19	0.69***	0.37***	—	0.45***	0.33***
4. Racial IS	.88	4.39	1.07	0.48***	0.69***	0.53***	—	0.17*
5. Egalitarianism	.86	5.09	0.86	-0.49***	-0.41***	-0.46***	-0.37***	—

Note. Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

### 8.1.2.1. Testing the associations of American collective narcissism with egalitarianism among U.S. Whites and Latinx

In line with Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted anti-egalitarianism among Whites and Latinx (Table 8.2). The interaction effect with racial group was non-significant. There was a significant interaction effect of racial collective narcissism and racial group with egalitarianism.

**Table 8.2***Multiple regression analysis of egalitarianism, Study 3*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.23(0.04)	-0.31,-0.14	<0.001	-0.28	-0.20(0.09)	-0.37,-0.03	0.018	-0.25
Racial CN	0.39(0.07)	0.25,0.53	<0.001	0.54	0.38(0.11)	0.17,0.59	<0.001	0.53
Racial group (Whites = 1)	1.97(0.33)	1.32,2.62	<0.001	-0.27	2.19(0.40)	1.39,2.98	<0.001	-0.26
National CN X Group	-0.13(0.12)	-0.37,0.10	0.271	-0.16	-0.02(0.15)	-0.32,0.27	0.874	-0.03
Racial CN X Group	-0.63(0.12)	-0.87,-0.39	<0.001	-0.87	-0.64(0.15)	-0.94,-0.33	<0.001	-0.88
National IS					-0.02(0.07)	-0.16,0.12	0.744	-0.04
Racial IS					-0.00(0.09)	-0.18,0.18	0.968	-0.00
National IS X Group					-0.13(0.10)	-0.32,0.07	0.203	-0.19
Racial IS X Group					0.00(0.14)	-0.28,0.28	0.999	0.00
Observations	401				401			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.248 / 0.239				0.264 / 0.247			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

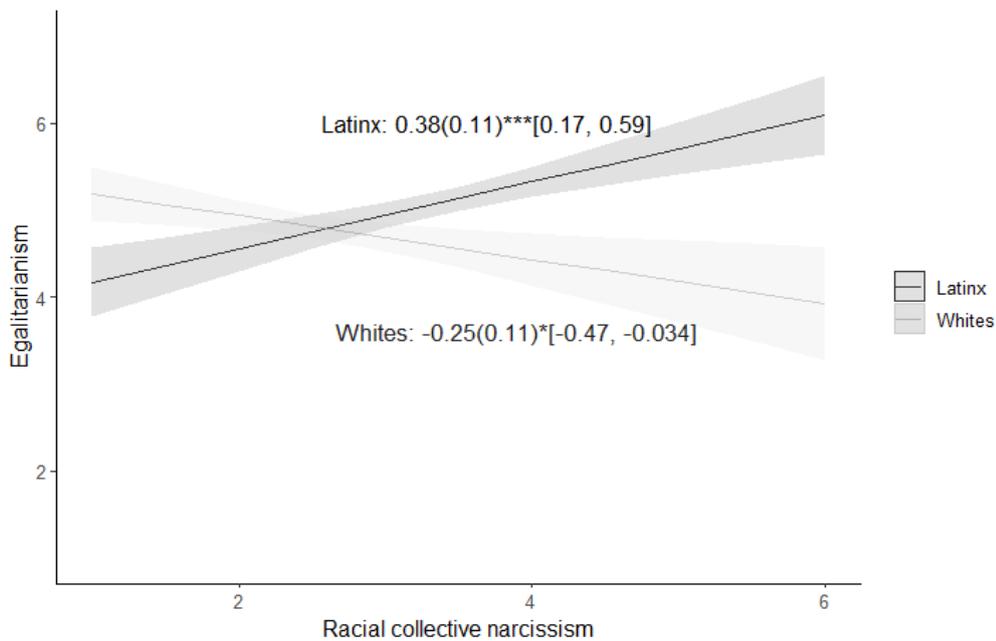
8.1.2.2. Testing the associations of racial collective narcissism with egalitarianism among U.S.

Whites and Latinx

In line with Hypothesis 3b, White collective narcissism predicted anti-egalitarianism and, in line with Hypothesis 3c, Latinx collective narcissism predicted egalitarianism (Figure 8.1). These results are specific to collective narcissism. American ingroup satisfaction and racial ingroup satisfaction were unrelated to egalitarianism.

Figure 8.1

Simple slopes analysis racial collective narcissism and egalitarianism, Study 3



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

### 8.1.3. Discussion

Consistent with Hypotheses 3a-c, the findings show that American and White collective narcissism predicts endorsing anti-egalitarianism, whereas Latinx collective narcissism predicts endorsing egalitarianism. This pattern was specific to collective narcissism over ingroup satisfaction, indicating that it is collective narcissism that specifies the social identity motive in attitudes towards equality across advantaged and disadvantaged racial group members.

In sum, only the results pertaining to subordinate-level collective narcissism and ideology replicate between Studies 1 and 3. The stronger associations of American collective narcissism with ideological support for reactionary social change does not extend to Latinx participants. Those results warrant further investigation into similarities and differences in the associations among national and racial collective narcissism and ideological attitudes towards equality. In Study 4, I intended to replicate the effects of collective narcissism on support for collective action movements among U.S. White and Latinx participants.

## 8.2. Study 4

In study 4, I seek to replicate the findings from Study 2 relating to reactionary and progressive collective action outcomes. Furthermore, I extend Studies 1 and 3, which looked at general egalitarianism (i.e., support for equality beyond the ingroup), to specific support for another disadvantaged racial minority (U.S. Blacks). This study predicts that American and White collective narcissism will show support for the alt-right, and reject Keep Families Together (a movement promoting the rights of Latin immigrants across the southern border) and reject BLM. Latinx collective narcissism will reject the alt-right but endorse Keep Families Together and BLM. For Study 4, the smallest effect,  $f^2 = .17$ , from the relationship between racial collective narcissism and BLM participation in Study 2 was used. This gave a final estimate of  $n = 202$ , sufficient to test the hypothesised main and interaction effects.

### 8.2.1. Methods

### 8.2.1.1. Participants

Participants ( $N = 501$ ; 261 males, 233 females, 7 non-binary/unidentified; Age:  $M = 32.63$ ,  $SD = 11.77$ , range = 18-77) were 249 self-identified Latino and 252 self-identified White U.S. adults. Data collection was carried out using Academic Prolific which provided for pre-screening.

### 8.2.1.2. Measures

**National and racial collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction** were measured as in Study 5.

**Support for the alt-right** was measured with 3 items adapted from the literature (e.g., Forscher & Kteily, 2020; Osborne et al., 2019) which related to support for the Alt-right: “*White people may no longer have a say in how the country is run because racial minorities are trying to take control.*”, “*If we do not control immigration, Whites will soon be replaced by minorities in the U.S.*”, “*More needs to be done so that people remember that “White lives” also matter*”.

**Support for Keep Families Together** were measured with 3 items constructed for the purposes of the study relating to supporting Latinx immigrants in the U.S.: “*More needs to be done to protect Latino immigrants from deportation.*”, “*Undocumented migrants from Latin America living in the U.S. should be allowed an opportunity to become citizens.*”, “*Latin American immigrants should not be separated from their families in the U.S.*”.

**Support for Black Lives Matter** were measured with 3 items adapted from the literature (Yoo et al., 2021), relating to supporting Black people against police violence: “*More needs to be done to protect Blacks from police violence in the U.S.*”, “*The police should be held accountable for using disproportionate force against Blacks in the U.S.*”, “*Blacks should not be treated so unfairly by the law in the U.S.*”.

### 8.2.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 8.3. Among Whites and Latinx, American collective narcissism was positively associated with American ingroup satisfaction, racial collective narcissism and racial ingroup satisfaction. It was positively associated with support for the alt-right. Among Latinx, racial collective narcissism was positively associated with American and racial ingroup satisfaction and support for racial minorities. Among Whites, American collective narcissism was negatively associated with support for racial minorities.

#### **8.2.2.1. Testing the associations of American collective narcissism with support for the alt-right, Keep Families Together, and BLM among U.S. Whites and Latinx**

In line with Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted supporting the alt-right (Table 8.4) and rejecting Keep Families Together (Table 8.5) and BLM (Table 8.6) similarly in both groups (the interactions with racial group were not significant).

**Table 8.3***Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 4*

	<i>α</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>1. National CN</i>	.90	2.87	1.21	—	0.72 <sup>***</sup>	0.48 <sup>***</sup>	0.26 <sup>***</sup>	0.36 <sup>***</sup>	-0.10	-0.09
<i>2. National IS</i>	.92	4.10	1.13	0.66 <sup>***</sup>	—	0.20 <sup>**</sup>	0.27 <sup>***</sup>	0.44 <sup>***</sup>	-0.16 <sup>*</sup>	-0.19 <sup>**</sup>
<i>3. Ethnic CN</i>	.85	3.16	1.22	0.86 <sup>***</sup>	0.51 <sup>***</sup>	—	0.58 <sup>***</sup>	-0.05	0.32 <sup>***</sup>	0.37 <sup>***</sup>
<i>4. Ethnic IS</i>	.90	4.48	1.03	0.55 <sup>***</sup>	0.70 <sup>***</sup>	0.60 <sup>***</sup>	—	-0.02	0.25 <sup>***</sup>	0.34 <sup>***</sup>
<i>5. Alt-right</i>	.79	2.55	1.25	0.73 <sup>***</sup>	0.52 <sup>***</sup>	0.70 <sup>***</sup>	0.49 <sup>***</sup>	—	-0.52 <sup>***</sup>	-0.48 <sup>***</sup>
<i>6. Black Lives Matter</i>	.88	5.05	1.09	-0.46 <sup>***</sup>	-0.29 <sup>***</sup>	-0.43 <sup>***</sup>	-0.29 <sup>***</sup>	-0.38 <sup>***</sup>	—	0.70 <sup>***</sup>
<i>7. Keep Families Together</i>	.77	4.43	1.13	-0.36 <sup>***</sup>	-0.30 <sup>***</sup>	-0.36 <sup>***</sup>	-0.31 <sup>***</sup>	-0.43 <sup>***</sup>	0.68 <sup>***</sup>	—

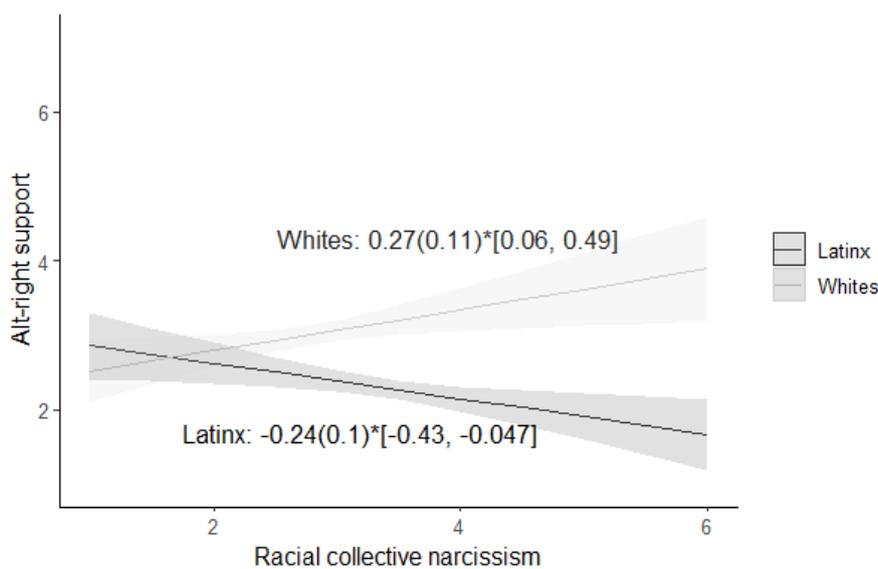
*Note.* Correlation estimates for Whites are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

**8.2.2.1. Testing the associations of racial collective narcissism with support for the alt-right, Keep Families Together, and BLM among U.S. Whites and Latinx**

In line with Hypothesis 3b, White collective narcissism predicted alt-right support (Figure 8.2), however it was unrelated to support for Keep Families Together ( $p = .502$ , Figure 8.3, left panel) and BLM ( $p = .415$ , Figure 8.3, right panel). In line with Hypothesis 3c, Latinx collective narcissism rejected the alt-right (Figure 8.2) and supported Keep Families Together (Figure 8.3, left panel) and BLM (Figure 8.3, right panel).

**Figure 8.2**

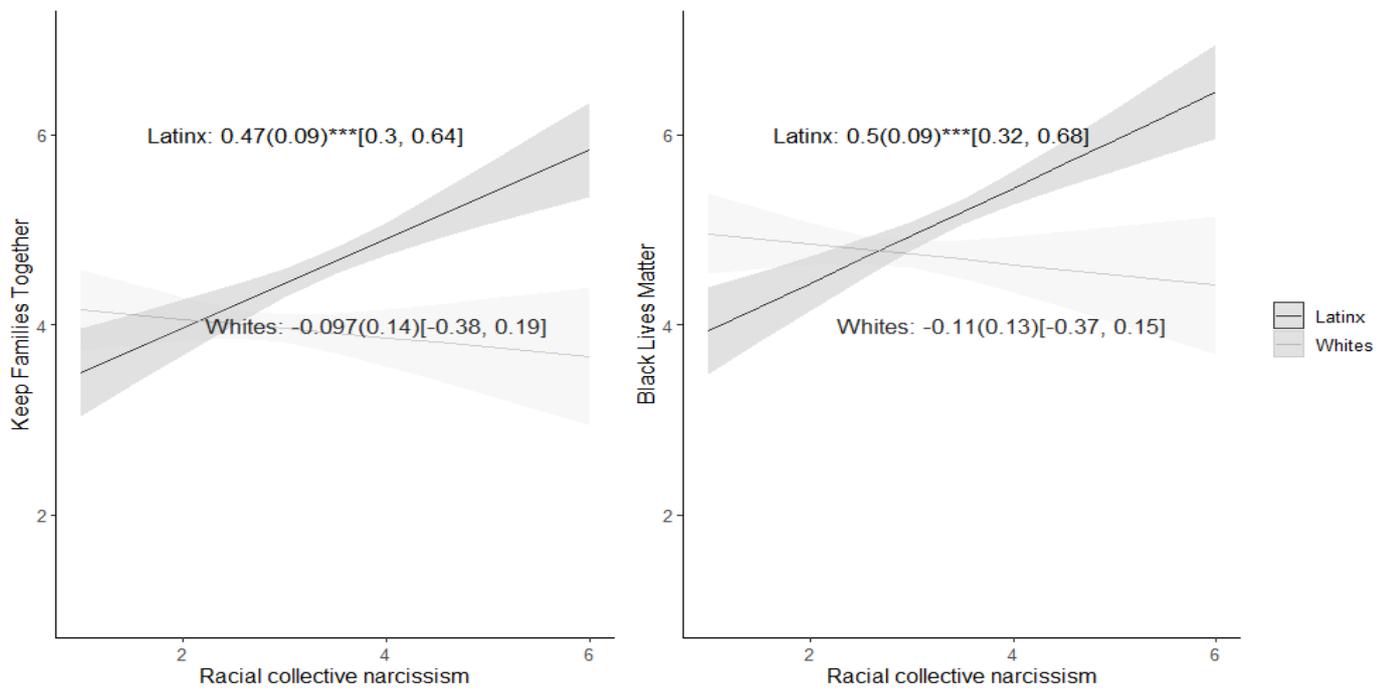
*Simple slopes analysis of racial collective narcissism and alt-right support, Study 4*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

**Figure 8.3**

*Simple slopes analyses of racial collective narcissism and support for Keep Families Together and BLM, Study 4*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

Additional analyses show that those relationships were specific to collective narcissism.

Racial ingroup satisfaction showed the same pattern of cross-over interactions but they were not robust. White ingroup satisfaction was unrelated ( $b(SE) = 0.067(0.08)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.084, 0.22]$ ,  $p = .385$ ), but Latinx ingroup satisfaction predicted rejection of alt-right support ( $b(SE) = -0.21(0.10)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.41, -0.013]$ ,  $p = 0.036$ ).

There was also a significant interaction of racial ingroup satisfaction and racial group with support for Keep Families Together. However, simple slopes analysis showed non-significant relationships among Whites ( $b(SE) = -0.14(0.1)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.33, 0.052]$ ,  $p = .155$ ) and Latinx ( $b(SE) = 0.16(0.1)$ ,  $95\%CI[-0.03, 0.35]$ ,  $p = .099$ ). American ingroup satisfaction was unrelated to all outcomes.

**Table 8.4***Multiple regression analysis of alt-right support, Study 4*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.45(0.06)	0.33,0.57	<0.001	0.44	0.36(0.10)	0.16,0.56	<0.001	0.35
Racial CN	-0.38(0.07)	-0.52,-0.23	<0.001	-0.37	-0.24(0.10)	-0.43,-0.05	0.015	-0.23
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-1.42(0.31)	-2.02,-0.82	<0.001	0.61	-2.12(0.47)	-3.05,-1.19	<0.001	0.61
National CN X Group	0.04(0.11)	-0.18,0.26	0.741	0.04	0.06(0.15)	-0.23,0.36	0.668	0.06
Racial CN X Group	0.66(0.12)	0.42,0.90	<0.001	0.65	0.51(0.15)	0.23,0.80	<0.001	0.50
National IS					0.10(0.09)	-0.07,0.28	0.247	0.10
Racial IS					-0.21(0.10)	-0.41,-0.01	0.036	-0.17
National IS X Group					-0.04(0.12)	-0.28,0.20	0.758	-0.03
Racial IS X Group					0.28(0.13)	0.03,0.52	0.029	0.23
Observations	501				501			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.459 / 0.454				0.468 / 0.458			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 8.5***Multiple regression analysis of support for Keep Families Together, Study 4*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.29(0.04)	-0.37,-0.20	<0.001	-0.31	-0.21(0.07)	-0.35,-0.07	0.004	-0.22
Racial CN	0.58(0.06)	0.46,0.69	<0.001	0.62	0.47(0.09)	0.30,0.64	<0.001	0.51
Racial group (Whites = 1)	1.52(0.29)	0.94,2.09	<0.001	-0.49	2.24(0.52)	1.22,3.26	<0.001	-0.50
National CN X Group	0.07(0.13)	-0.18,0.32	0.603	0.07	0.04(0.17)	-0.29,0.38	0.811	0.04
Racial CN X Group	-0.72(0.14)	-0.99,-0.44	<0.001	-0.77	-0.57(0.17)	-0.90,-0.24	0.001	-0.61
National IS					-0.09(0.06)	-0.21,0.03	0.146	-0.09
Racial IS					0.16(0.10)	-0.03,0.35	0.099	0.14
National IS X Group					0.05(0.14)	-0.23,0.32	0.733	0.05
Racial IS X Group					-0.30(0.14)	-0.56,-0.03	0.030	-0.27
Observations	500				500			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.288 / 0.281				0.301 / 0.288			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 8.6***Multiple regression analysis of support for Black Lives Matter, Study 4*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.28(0.05)	-0.38,-0.19	<0.001	-0.31	-0.27(0.09)	-0.44,-0.10	0.002	-0.30
Racial CN	0.54(0.07)	0.39,0.68	<0.001	0.60	0.50(0.09)	0.32,0.68	<0.001	0.57
Racial group (Whites = 1)	1.85(0.30)	1.26,2.44	<0.001	-0.26	1.95(0.49)	0.98,2.92	<0.001	-0.26
National CN X Group	-0.01(0.12)	-0.24,0.23	0.958	-0.01	-0.05(0.16)	-0.37,0.27	0.756	-0.06
Racial CN X Group	-0.67(0.14)	-0.95,-0.39	<0.001	-0.76	-0.61(0.16)	-0.93,-0.30	<0.001	-0.69
National IS					-0.02(0.08)	-0.17,0.13	0.802	-0.02
Racial IS					0.05(0.09)	-0.13,0.24	0.573	0.05
National IS X Group					0.06(0.13)	-0.20,0.32	0.637	0.07
Racial IS X Group					-0.09(0.14)	-0.36,0.18	0.493	-0.09
Observations	501				501			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.256 / 0.248				0.257 / 0.243			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 8.2.3. Discussion

In line with Hypothesis 3a, results of Study 4 show that American collective narcissism predicts the same support for reactionary social change among Whites and Latinx by supporting the alt-right (and rejecting Keep Families Together and BLM). However, racial collective narcissism predicts opposite attitudes among Whites and Latinx. Largely consistent with Hypothesis 3b, White collective narcissism predicted support for the alt-right, but was unrelated to Keep Families Together and BLM. Conversely, Latinx collective narcissism predicted the rejection of the alt-right, and support for Keep Families Together and BLM. This pattern of relationships was unique to collective narcissism, apart from Latinx ingroup satisfaction which predicted the rejection of the alt-right.

In line with Study 2, the findings support the expectation that U.S. American and White collective narcissism would jointly predict support for reactionary collective action, whereas Latinx collective narcissism would predict support for progressive action. These findings extend the previous studies to a further intergroup context, involving another disadvantaged group. Furthermore, it shows, beyond general egalitarianism, that Latinx collective narcissism predicts support for a fellow disadvantaged ingroup. This is consistent with research that shows disadvantaged groups who are aware of their shared disadvantage forge alliances (i.e., stigma-based solidarity) towards progressive social change (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2016). This makes sense in light of Latinx also facing racial bias by the police, including disproportionate lethal shootings (F. Edwards et al., 2019).

## Chapter 9.

### Studies 5 and 6 in the context of Polish men and women.

#### 9.1. Study 5

I next sought to replicate these findings in a further national and intergroup context among Polish men and women. Study 5 investigated Polish and gender collective narcissism's role in

support for legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism, particularly to replicate Studies 1 & 3. It is expected that Polish (Hypothesis 3a) and male collective narcissism (Hypothesis 3b) would predict support for legitimization of gender inequality and anti-egalitarianism. Conversely, female collective narcissism will predict de-legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism (Hypothesis 3c).

### 9.1.1. Method

#### 9.1.1.2. Measures

**Egalitarianism** was measured with 4 items from the short critical consciousness scale (Rapa et al., 2020) chosen at face validity to tap a general egalitarian outlook for society. The items were: *“It is important to correct social and economic inequality.”*, *“All groups should be given an equal chance in life”*, *“We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally”*, *“Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead”*.

**Legitimization of gender inequality** was assessed by the 8-item scale (Kay & Jost, 2003 e.g., *“Everyone, men and women, have equal chances to achieve wealth and happiness.”*).

#### 9.1.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 9.1. Among women, Polish collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of gender equality and was unrelated to egalitarianism among women. Female collective narcissism was negatively associated with legitimization of gender inequality and positively associated with egalitarianism. Among men, Polish collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of gender equality and egalitarianism. Male collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of gender inequality and unrelated to egalitarianism.

**Table 9.1***Psychometric propensities and correlations between variable, Study 5*

	<i>α</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>1. National CN</i>	.93	3.98	1.61	—	0.75***	0.24***	0.22***	0.51***	0.07
<i>2. National IS</i>	.94	4.82	1.55	0.75***	—	0.14***	0.40***	0.50***	0.16***
<i>3. Gender CN</i>	.92	4.05	1.61	0.56***	0.25***	—	0.39***	-0.09*	0.35***
<i>4. Gender IS</i>	.89	5.37	1.18	0.36***	0.44***	0.30***	—	0.16***	0.40***
<i>6. Gender system legitimization</i>	.78	3.91	1.01	0.47***	0.49***	0.31***	0.40***	—	-0.10*
<i>7. Egalitarianism</i>	.86	5.45	1.22	0.13**	0.15***	-0.01	0.22***	-0.10*	—

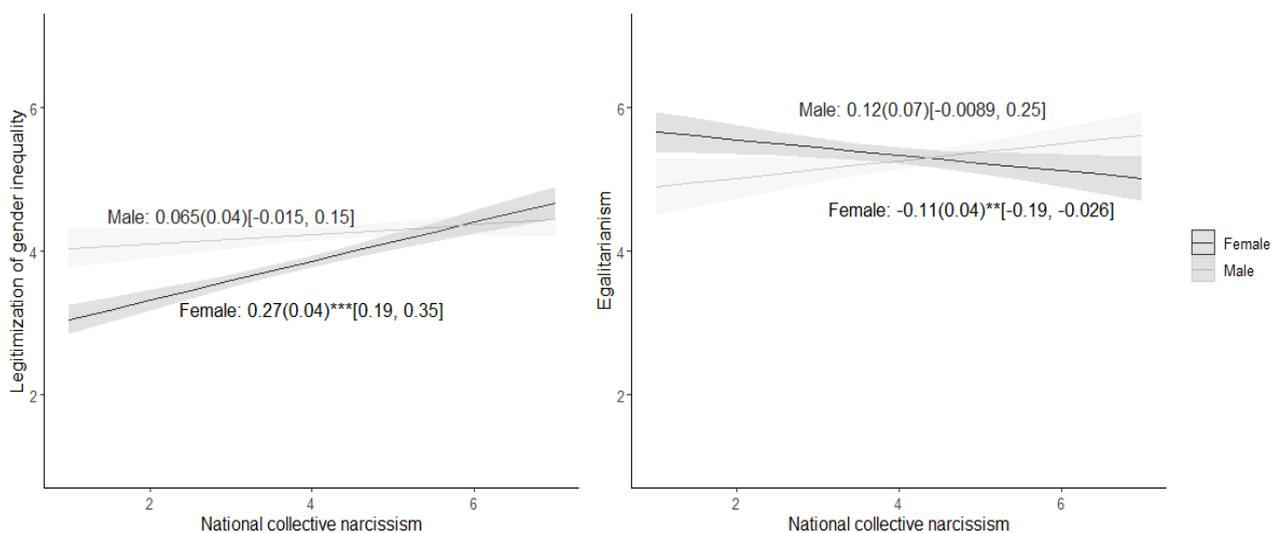
*Note.* Correlation estimates for men are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . CN: *collective narcissism*, IS: *ingroup satisfaction*

### 9.1.2.1. Testing the associations of Polish collective narcissism with legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism among Polish men and women

At odds with Hypothesis 3a, multiple regression analyses showed significant interaction effects of Polish collective narcissism and gender group with legitimization of gender inequality (Table 9.2) and egalitarianism (Table 9.3). Simple slopes analyses showed that national collective narcissism predicted legitimization of gender inequality (Figure 9.1, left panel) and anti-egalitarianism (Figure 9.1, right panel) among women only. National collective narcissism among men was positively but non-significantly related to legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism.

**Figure 9.1**

*Simple slopes analyses of national collective narcissism with legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism, Study 5*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

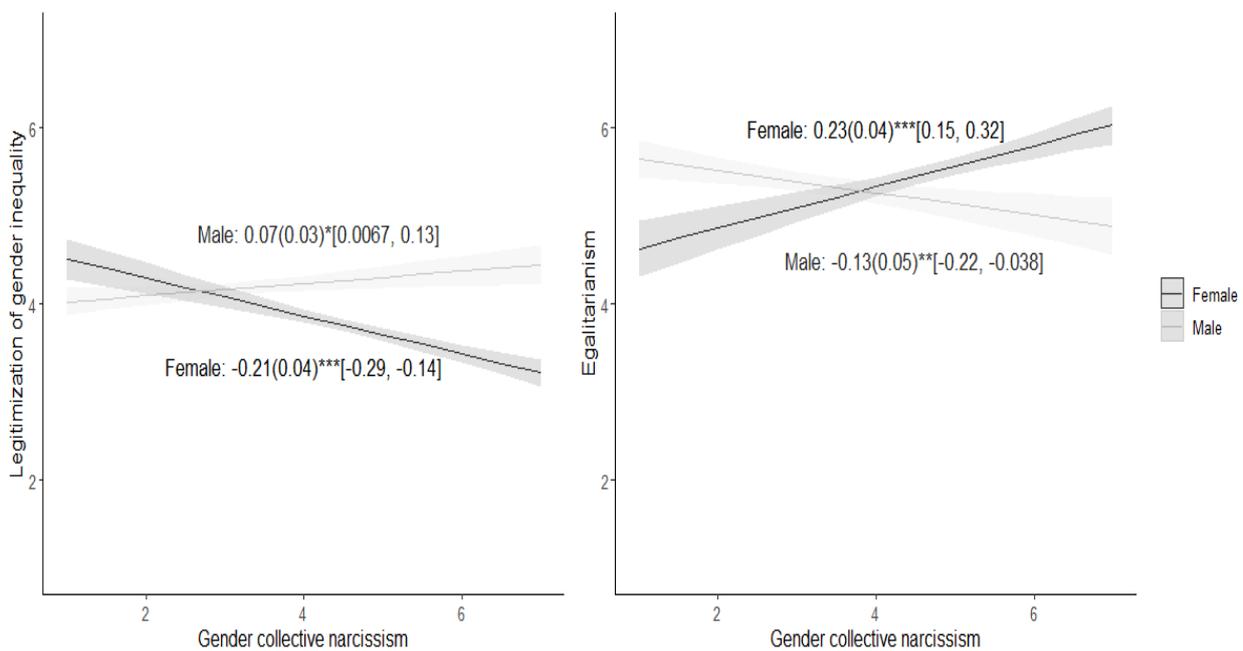
### 9.1.2.2. Testing the associations of gender collective narcissism with legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism among Polish men and women

There were significant interactions of gender collective narcissism and gender group with legitimization of gender equality (Table 9.2) and egalitarianism (Table 9.3). In line with Hypothesis

3b, simple slopes analyses showed male collective narcissism predicted legitimization of gender inequality (Figure 9.2, left panel) and anti-egalitarianism (Figure 9.2, right panel). In line with Hypothesis 3c, female collective narcissism predicted delegitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism.

**Figure 9.2**

*Simple slopes analyses of gender collective narcissism with legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism, Study 5*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

Additionally, national and gender ingroup satisfaction predicted legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism similarly among men and women. The effect of national ingroup satisfaction on legitimization of gender inequality was much weaker than national collective narcissism.

**Table 9.2***Multiple regression analyses of legitimization of gender inequality, Study 5*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.37(0.03)	0.32,0.42	<0.001	0.59	0.27(0.04)	0.19,0.35	<0.001	0.43
Gender CN	-0.19(0.03)	-0.26,-0.13	<0.001	-0.31	-0.21(0.04)	-0.29,-0.14	<0.001	-0.34
Gender group (Men = 1)	-0.14(0.20)	-0.54,0.26	0.491	0.32	-0.58(0.26)	-1.09,-0.06	0.028	0.38
National CN X Group	-0.13(0.04)	-0.21,-0.05	0.002	-0.20	-0.21(0.06)	-0.32,-0.09	<0.001	-0.33
Gender CN X Group	0.24(0.05)	0.15,0.33	<0.001	0.38	0.28(0.05)	0.19,0.38	<0.001	0.46
National IS					0.12(0.04)	0.04,0.20	0.003	0.18
Gender IS					0.09(0.04)	0.02,0.16	0.013	0.11
National IS X Group					0.06(0.05)	-0.05,0.16	0.289	0.09
Gender IS X Group					0.07(0.05)	-0.03,0.16	0.197	0.08
Observations	1084				1084			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.309 / 0.306				0.362 / 0.356			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 9.3***Multiple regression analyses of egalitarianism, Study 5*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.01(0.03)	-0.07,0.05	0.690	-0.02	-0.11(0.04)	-0.19,-0.03	0.009	-0.14
Gender CN	0.32(0.04)	0.24,0.40	<0.001	0.42	0.23(0.04)	0.15,0.32	<0.001	0.31
Gender group (Men = 1)	0.90(0.28)	0.34,1.45	0.002	-0.11	1.17(0.41)	0.36,1.98	0.004	-0.07
National CN X Group	0.16(0.05)	0.06,0.26	0.002	0.21	0.23(0.08)	0.08,0.38	0.003	0.30
Gender CN X Group	-0.41(0.06)	-0.53,-0.29	<0.001	-0.55	-0.36(0.06)	-0.49,-0.24	<0.001	-0.48
National IS					0.09(0.05)	0.00,0.18	0.044	0.12
Gender IS					0.28(0.05)	0.17,0.38	<0.001	0.27
National IS X Group					-0.12(0.09)	-0.28,0.05	0.176	-0.15
Gender IS X Group					-0.02(0.08)	-0.18,0.13	0.757	-0.02
Observations	1084				1084			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.083 / 0.079				0.146 / 0.138			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 9.1.3. Discussion

I sought to replicate the findings of Studies 1 and 3 in another intergroup and national context among Polish men and women. The findings are broadly in line with Study 1, and contrary to Hypothesis 3a, as the predictions of Polish collective narcissism among men did not align with male collective narcissism. Polish collective narcissism was associated with legitimization of inequality and anti-egalitarianism among women but it was unrelated among men. This is consistent with SIMSA's argument that disadvantaged group members can be more motivated to justify and make sense of inequality to alleviate the distress of their position (Rubin et al., 2023). Across studies 1 and 3, the findings specify that this effect only happens at high levels of national collective narcissism. Gender collective narcissism predictions were in line with Hypotheses 3b & c, male collective predicted legitimization of gender inequality and anti-egalitarianism where female collective narcissism predicted the opposite pattern.

Interestingly, Polish and gender ingroup satisfaction showed support for both legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism similarly in both groups. This is dissimilar to Study 1, which only showed relationships between national and racial ingroup satisfaction and egalitarianism. Such findings are consistent with a motivation to defend the status quo (Thomas & Osborne, 2022). The findings could be interpreted in light of research which suggests at the subtle ways inequality is perpetuated that does not involve overt oppression of disadvantaged groups. This involves the belief of already having reached a desirable level of social equality (therefore resolving any conflict between perceiving intergroup hierarchies as legitimate and endorsing egalitarianism). For instance, advantaged group members often show egalitarian attitudes but do not support normative social change (e.g., affirmative action) to bring greater equality (the principle-implementation gap; Dixon et al., 2017). Such passive alignment with prevailing inequality is also expressed by optimistic evaluation of current levels of equality in society (i.e., Panglossian ideology; Kay et al., 2007). Particularly for women it is consistent with SIMSA's dissonance hypothesis (see also Jost et al., 2003) which suggests people who are invested in the disadvantaged

ingroup will be more likely to legitimize the ingroup-specific intergroup hierarchy in order to make sense of their disadvantage (Rubin et al., 2023a) while still believing in egalitarianism (Sengupta et al., 2015). These findings clarify that it is only after distinguishing for collective narcissism that national and gender identification might lead to the subtle perpetuation of inequality.

## 9.2. Study 6

Study 6 investigates outcomes related to specific collective action to protect abortion rights by women in Poland following repeal of these rights by the populist *Law and Justice* government. This context is similar to BLM protesting against state mistreatment which saw reactionary backlash from the state and right-wing movements. This provided an opportunity to replicate findings of Studies 2 and 4 in a further intergroup and national context. It is expected that Polish (Hypothesis 3a) and male collective narcissism (Hypothesis 3b) will predict support for state repression of Women's Strike and non-participation in Women's Strike. Conversely, female collective narcissism will predict the rejection of state repression and participation in Women's Strike (Hypothesis 3c). For Study 6, an effect of  $f^2 = 0.20$  was used based on previous results regarding the association between male collective narcissism and solidarity with women protesting anti-abortion laws in Poland (Górska et al., 2020). This gave a final sample estimate of  $n = 176$  sufficient to test the hypothesized main and interaction effects.

### 9.2.1. Methods

#### 9.2.1.1. Participants

Participants were a nationally representative sample of 1089 Polish adults, 575 women and 514 men with ages ranging from 18 to 85 ( $M = 44.66$ ,  $SD = 16.25$ ). The random-quota sample was collected by the Ariadna Research Panel (<http://www.panelariadna.com>). The sample is nationally representative in terms of age, gender and place of residence. Data collection and study procedure was the same as Study 3.

### 9.2.1.2. Measures

**State repression of Women's Strike** was measured with one item constructed in the context of violence by the state against female protestors: "Do you support the police shutting down Women's Strike protests"

**Support for All-Poland Women's Strike** was assessed by 3 items created for this study: "Do you support the All-Poland Women's Strike?"; "Do you support actions in support of women's reproductive rights organized by the All-Poland Women's Strike?"; "Do you take part in actions in support of women's reproductive rights organized by the All-Poland Women's Strike? "

### 9.2.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 9.4. National collective narcissism was positively associated with state repression of Women's Strike and negatively associated with participation in Women's Strike among both men and women. Female collective narcissism was unrelated to state repression of Women's Strike and was positively associated with participation in Women's Strike.

#### 9.2.2.1. Testing the associations of Polish collective narcissism with state repression of, and participation in, All Poland's Women's Strike

In line with Hypothesis 3a, Polish collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of Women's Strike (Table 9.5) and non-participation in Women's Strike (Table 9.6) similarly among men and women. The interaction effects of national collective narcissism and gender group were non-significant.

**Table 9.4***Psychometric propensities and correlations between variables, Study 6*

	<i>α</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>1. National CN</i>	.93	4.09	1.57		0.73***	0.40***	0.27***	0.40***	-0.29***
<i>2. National IS</i>	.94	4.98	1.51	0.74***		0.22***	0.50***	0.32***	-0.29***
<i>3. Gender CN</i>	.93	4.01	1.55	0.59***	0.33***		0.31***	0.05	0.35***
<i>4. Gender IS</i>	.90	5.31	1.21	0.31***	0.47***	0.24***		0.07	0.05
<i>5. State repression of Women's Strike</i>	.81	3.35	1.95	0.46***	0.31***	0.49***	0.18***		-0.30***
<i>6. Women's Strike participation</i>	.88	3.98	1.77	-0.31***	-0.27***	-0.14**	-0.14**	-0.26***	

*Note.* Correlation estimates for men are below the diagonal. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . CN: *collective narcissism*, IS: *ingroup satisfaction*

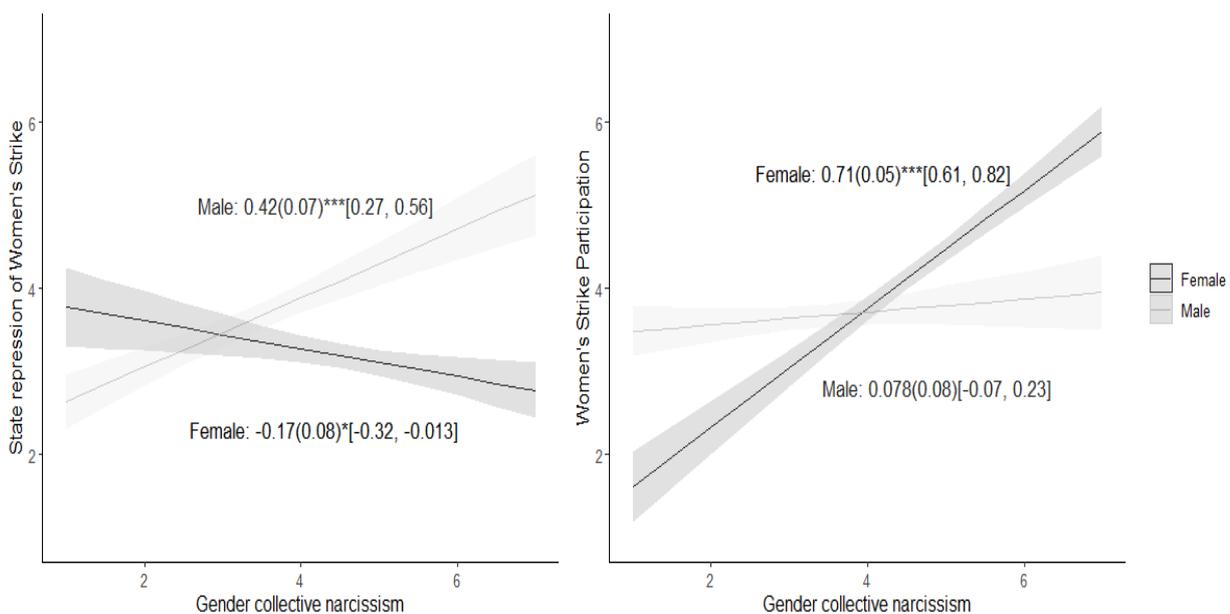
**9.2.2.2. Testing the associations of gender collective narcissism with state repression of, and participation in, All Poland’s Women’s Strike**

There were significant interactions of gender collective narcissism and gender group with state repression of Women’s Strike and participation in Women’s Strike. Partially in line with Hypothesis 3b, simple slopes analyses showed that male collective narcissism predicted state repression of Women’s Strike (Figure 9.3, left panel), however it was unrelated to participation in Women’s Strike ( $p = .302$ ; Figure 9.3, right panel). In line with Hypothesis 3c, female collective narcissism predicted the rejection of state repression of Women’s Strike (Figure 9.3, left panel) and predicted participation in Women’s Strike (Figure 9.3, right panel).

Additionally, national ingroup satisfaction predicted non-participation in Women’s Strike but this effect was much weaker than the effect of national collective narcissism (Table 9.6). The effects of national and gender ingroup satisfaction were otherwise non-significant.

**Figure 9.3**

*Simple slopes analyses of gender collective narcissism with state repression of Women’s Strike and participation in Women’s Strike, Study 6*



Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

**Table 9.5***Multiple regression analysis of state repression of Women's Strike, Study 6*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	0.58(0.06)	0.47,0.70	<0.001	0.47	0.52(0.09)	0.33,0.70	<0.001	0.42
Gender CN	-0.19(0.07)	-0.34,-0.05	0.009	-0.15	-0.17(0.08)	-0.32,-0.01	0.034	-0.13
Gender group (Male = 1)	-0.75(0.37)	-1.48,-0.02	0.044	0.31	-0.95(0.54)	-2.01,0.11	0.078	0.32
National CN X Group	-0.27(0.09)	-0.44,-0.10	0.002	-0.22	-0.20(0.13)	-0.46,0.05	0.117	-0.16
Gender CN X Group	0.61(0.10)	0.41,0.81	<0.001	0.49	0.58(0.11)	0.37,0.79	<0.001	0.47
National IS					0.10(0.10)	-0.09,0.30	0.306	0.08
Gender IS					-0.07(0.09)	-0.24,0.10	0.424	-0.04
National IS X Group					-0.11(0.13)	-0.36,0.15	0.415	-0.08
Gender IS X Group					0.11(0.11)	-0.11,0.33	0.316	0.07
Observations	1089				1089			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.234 / 0.231				0.236 / 0.229			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

**Table 9.6***Multiple regression analyses of participation in Women's Strike, Study 6*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Model 1</b>				<b>Model 2</b>			
	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>b(SE)</i>	<i>95%CI LL,UL</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
National CN	-0.59(0.05)	-0.68,-0.50	<0.001	-0.52	-0.47(0.07)	-0.60,-0.33	<0.001	-0.42
Gender CN	0.76(0.05)	0.66,0.85	<0.001	0.66	0.71(0.05)	0.61,0.82	<0.001	0.63
Gender group (Male = 1)	1.80(0.36)	1.10,2.50	<0.001	-0.02	2.20(0.51)	1.21,3.20	<0.001	-0.03
National CN X Group	0.21(0.08)	0.06,0.36	0.007	0.19	0.16(0.11)	-0.07,0.38	0.169	0.14
Gender CN X Group	-0.67(0.09)	-0.84,-0.50	<0.001	-0.59	-0.64(0.09)	-0.82,-0.46	<0.001	-0.56
National IS					-0.18(0.08)	-0.33,-0.03	0.022	-0.15
Gender IS					0.11(0.07)	-0.02,0.24	0.090	0.08
National IS X Group					0.11(0.12)	-0.12,0.34	0.362	0.09
Gender IS X Group					-0.16(0.10)	-0.37,0.04	0.119	-0.11
Observations	1089				1089			
R <sup>2</sup> / R <sup>2</sup> adjusted	0.249 / 0.245				0.255 / 0.249			

*Note.* CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

### 9.2.3. Discussion

In line with Hypothesis 3a, Polish collective narcissism predicted state repression of Women's Strike and non-participation in Women's Strike similarly among men and women. Broadly supporting Hypotheses 3b & c, male collective narcissism predicted state repression of Women's Strike but was unrelated to participation in Women's Strike. Female collective narcissism predicted the rejection of state repression of and participation in Women's Strike. Polish ingroup satisfaction also predicted non-participation in Women's Strike, but this effect was less strong than Polish collective narcissism. The pattern of relationships was otherwise unique to collective narcissism.

Across Studies 5 and 6, the findings related to national and gender ingroup satisfaction are roughly in line with Studies 1 and 2 in expressing a defence of the status quo across gender groups. However, they show a more conservative outlook than U.S. Blacks. National and gender ingroup satisfaction predicted support for egalitarianism and legitimization of gender inequality similarly among men and women. Polish ingroup satisfaction also predicted non-participation in Women's Strike. In this way, both Polish men and women who are satisfied with their national and gender identities (net of collective narcissism) have an optimistic view of current levels of gender equality and will not engage in action to promote gender equality.

PART IV.

GENERAL DISCUSSION,

IMPLICATIONS, FUTURE DIRECTIONS

## Chapter 10

### General Discussion, Implications, Future Directions

This thesis investigated the proposal that collective narcissism makes opposite predictions on reactionary and progressive social change depending on whether identification happens at the national (vs. subordinate) level and whether the subordinate ingroup is advantaged vs. disadvantaged. It predicted that national collective narcissism (among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups) (Hypothesis 3a) and subordinate-level collective narcissism (Hypothesis 3b) among advantaged groups would predict support for reactionary social change. Together these hypotheses speak to the claims that (1) there is an alignment in national collective narcissism and subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups in accounts the support of reactionary social change which promotes the privileges of advantaged groups; (2) disadvantaged groups who endorse national collective narcissism will also support reactionary social change even though it harms their disadvantaged ingroup. Conversely, subordinate-level collective narcissism among the disadvantaged would predict support for progressive social change (Hypothesis 3c). This hypothesis speaks to the claim that subordinate-level collective narcissism accounts for support of progressive social change as this is the best strategy to enhance the relative status of the ingroup. Lastly, these claims are grounded in the hypotheses that subordinate-level collective narcissism among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups predicts perceiving the ingroup as deprived and a willingness to engage violence to improve the status of the ingroup. These associations comprise the desire and will for radical social change to advance the ingroup.

#### 10.1. Summary of findings

Part Two empirically validated the framework presented in this thesis comparing collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction at the national and subordinate-levels of identity across advantaged and disadvantaged racial and gender groups, with each measure capturing a distinct form of ingroup identification. Furthermore, it showed that each measure is capturing the

same concept across advantaged and disadvantaged racial and gender groups. The predictive validity of racial and gender collective narcissism was also established with outcomes which relate to a social change orientation: perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions. This set the stage for a full investigation of national and subordinate-level collective narcissism predicting reactionary vs. progressive social change.

Part Three investigated the role of American and racial collective narcissism among U.S. Whites and racial minorities: U.S. Blacks and Latinx, in predicting support for reactionary and progressive social change. It also replicated these findings in Poland among men and women.

In Study 1, consistent with Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality similarly among U.S. Whites and Blacks. The positive relationship of American collective narcissism with legitimization of racial inequality was stronger among Blacks (although this was not significant interaction). Inconsistent with Hypothesis 3a, there was a significant interaction of American collective narcissism and racial group with egalitarianism. In partial support of Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted anti-egalitarianism among U.S. Blacks, but contrary to Hypothesis 3a, it predicted egalitarianism among Whites. Consistent with Hypothesis 3b & c, White collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality and anti-egalitarianism, whereas Black collective narcissism predicted the delegitimization of racial inequality and egalitarianism (albeit this effect was just shy of the conventional level of significance). This pattern of findings was unique to collective narcissism. National and racial ingroup satisfaction predicted egalitarianism among Blacks and Whites and were unrelated to endorsement of beliefs legitimizing racial inequality.

In Study 2, contrary to Hypothesis 3a, there was a marginally significant interaction effect between American collective narcissism and state repression of BLM. Simple slopes analysis showed it was positive but was non-significant among Whites. However, in partial support of Hypothesis 3a, state repression was only significantly predicted by American collective narcissism

among Blacks, whereas, national ingroup satisfaction predicted the rejection of state repression among Blacks. The effect was non-significant and less strongly positive among Whites, compared to national collective narcissism. Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted participation in BLM among Blacks, and this effect was non-significant among Whites. Consistent with Hypotheses 3b & c, White collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of BLM, whereas Black collective narcissism predicted the rejection of such repression. White collective narcissism predicted lower, but Black collective narcissism predicted higher, engagement with the Black Lives Matter movement. This pattern of associations was unique to collective narcissism, apart from White ingroup satisfaction which also predicted the rejection of participation in BLM.

In Study 3, in support of all Hypotheses, American and White collective narcissisms predicted anti-egalitarianism, whereas Latinx collective narcissism predicted egalitarianism. These associations were unique to collective narcissism. In Study 4, in support of Hypothesis 3a, American collective narcissism predicted support for alt-right and predicted the rejection of Keep Families Together and BLM among both Whites and Latinx. In partial support of Hypothesis 3b, White collective narcissism predicted support for the alt-right but showed non-significant relationships with the other outcomes. In support of Hypothesis 3c, Latinx collective narcissism predicted rejection of alt-right and support for Keep Families Together and BLM. Latinx ingroup satisfaction predicted rejecting the alt-right movement, otherwise this pattern of relationships was largely specific to collective narcissism.

In Study 5, inconsistent with Hypothesis 3a, Polish collective narcissism among men had non-significant relationships with legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism. However, in partial support of Hypothesis 3a, Polish collective narcissism among women predicted legitimization of gender inequality and anti-egalitarianism. In support of Hypotheses 3b & c, Male collective narcissism predicted legitimization of gender inequality and anti-egalitarianism, whereas

female collective narcissism predicted the opposite in both cases. This pattern of relationships was specific to collective narcissism. National and gender ingroup satisfaction predicted legitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism similarly in both groups. The effect of national ingroup satisfaction on legitimization of gender inequality was weaker than the effect of national collective narcissism.

In Study 6, in support of Hypothesis 3a, Polish collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of Women's Strike and rejected participation in Women's Strike among both men and women. Consistent with Hypothesis 3b, male collective narcissism predicted support for state repression of Women's Strike, but it was unrelated to participation in Women's Strike. In support of Hypothesis 3c, female collective narcissism predicted the rejection of state repression and participation in Women's Strike. National ingroup satisfaction predicted non-participation in Women's Strike, but the relationship was weaker than national collective narcissism.

Results of all studies are summarized in Table 10.1.

**Table 10.1**

*Summary of results across studies 1-6*

		National CN		Advantaged CN		Disadvantaged CN	
		<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
<b>U.S. Whites and Blacks</b>							
Study 1	Legitimization of inequality	0.54	***	0.32	***	-.18*	.026
	Egalitarianism	-0.15 <sup>C</sup> ,	.008	-0.21	***	0.11 <sup>N</sup>	.052
Study 2	Repression of BLM	0.46 <sup>N</sup>	***	0.46	***	-0.28	.003
	Participation in BLM	0.21 <sup>C</sup>	.019	-0.23	.015	0.44	***
<b>U.S. Whites and Latinx</b>							
Study 3	Egalitarianism	-0.20	.018	-0.25	.024	0.38	***
Study 4	Alt-right support	0.36	***	0.27	.012	-0.24	.015
	Keep Families Together	-0.21	.004	-0.097 <sup>N</sup>	.502	0.47	***
	Black Lives Matter	-0.27	.002	-0.11 <sup>N</sup>	.409	0.50	***
<b>Polish men and women</b>							

Study 5	Legitimization of inequality	0.27 <sup>N</sup>	***	0.07	.030	-0.22	***
	Egalitarianism	-0.11 <sup>N</sup>	.009	-0.13	.005	0.23	***
Study 6	Repression of Women's Strike	0.52	***	0.42	***	-0.17	.034
	Participation in Women's Strike	-0.47	***	0.08 <sup>N</sup>	.302	0.71	***

*Note.* *b* indicates beta coefficients, <sup>C</sup> indicates there was an effect contrary to the hypothesis, <sup>N</sup> indicates there was a non-significant effect not supportive of the hypothesis \*\*\*  $p < .001$

## 10.2. The alignment of national and advantaged groups' collective narcissism

As set out in Objective 3, Hypotheses 3a and b predicted there would be an alignment between national collective narcissism among both advantaged and disadvantaged group members, and subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged group members in predicting support for reactionary social change. This was first investigated across two samples of U.S. Whites and Blacks, and subsequent two samples of U.S. Whites and Latinx. A replication of these findings was then investigated in the Polish context among men and women, to assess the generalizability of the effects.

Hypothesis 3a received mixed support. However, the findings were still broadly consistent with the aligning predictions of national collective narcissism and subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged national subgroups. National collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality similarly among U.S. Whites and Blacks. It predicted anti-egalitarianism, support for the alt-right and the rejection of Keep Families Together and BLM similarly among U.S. Whites and Latinx. The effects of subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged Whites were more robust in predicting reactionary social change outcomes, broadly aligning with American collective narcissism. White collective narcissism predicted legitimization of racial inequality, as well as anti-egalitarianism (replicated across Studies 1 & 3), support for the state repressing, as well as non-participation in, BLM. It also predicted support for the alt-right, a reactionary social movement.

These effects were replicated for Polish and male collective narcissism's associations with reactionary collective action against gender equality. The alignment of national and gender

identities was stronger among Polish men in support for state repression of the progressive Women's Strike, both Polish and male collective narcissism strongly predicted state repression. The pattern was most robust in regard to collective action intentions which makes sense in light of the proposal that national and subordinate-level collective narcissism among the advantaged is behind the active pursuit of furthering inequality.

This accords with the argument that advantaged subgroups project their interests on to the national identity. National collective narcissism endorsed across national subgroups: advantaged and disadvantaged, and subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups accounts for the reactionary claim to national ownership and specifies when group members will be motivated towards social change in order to reassert the supremacy of historically advantaged groups. In the United States, this aligns with the concept of American White nationalism, a belief that “(...) *that White people are inherently superior to people from other racial and ethnic groups (...), a sense of racial and national greatness and entitlement*” (Reyna, Bellovary, et al., 2022, p. 80-81). This also aligns with findings that hostile sexism increased support for the Trump presidency (Glick, 2019) suggesting that fragile male entitlement is also associated with support for reactionary social change (O'Dea et al., 2022). Indeed, the results provide the first psychological investigation of an analogous role for Polish and male collective narcissism, as they serve to mobilise and legitimise that expansion of men's privileged position within the national hierarchy (Graff & Korolczuk, 2022). The results point to one plausible explanation of this phenomenon: the alignment of narcissistic superiority needs expressed via two important social identities: historically privileged White or male identities and national which functions in their interests.

Given the robust association between collective narcissism intergroup hostility, coercion and conflict escalation (Golec de Zavala, 2023), propagation of national collective narcissism may be seen as an adversarial strategy to legitimise expansion of White's and male privileged position within the national hierarchy. This is consistent with the role of right-wing populists propagating a narcissistic narrative about national decline and the need to remake the national group's greatness

(Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). This appeals to perceived precarity among advantaged groups and promises to tackle threatening groups, both inside (e.g., the ‘liberal elite’, queer people and sexual minorities) and out (e.g., immigrants and refugees), and to remake the group in the interests of historically advantaged groups (Hodson et al., 2022; S. D. Reicher & Ulusahin, 2020). National collective narcissism likely provides a shared basis and direction for the “inchoate feelings of decline and marginalization” (S. D. Reicher & Haslam, 2017, p. 48) among advantaged groups, which bolsters their support for right-wing populist leaders. This can be seen in the appeal of ‘racial nostalgia’ or thinking positively about the racial ingroup’s history among Whites and their support for White nationalism (Reyna, Harris, et al., 2022).

Similarly, research shows that perceived ingroup deprivation among advantaged Whites is associated with increased investment in the national group (Sengupta et al., 2019), and demographic threat (i.e., that Whites are becoming a minority) among Whites leads to endorsing extremism against racial minorities (Bai & Federico, 2021). These feelings of wishful desire to return to the glory days when the advantaged ingroup had societal primacy is likely explained by subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups, tapping both collective narcissism’s inflated sense of ingroup worth and perceived lack of recognition from others. Experimental studies should explore whether intergroup threat is perceived by advantaged groups and support for reactionary outcomes. For instance, whether racial collective narcissism accounts for perceived demographic shift threats among racial majorities, and outcomes relating to reactionary and extremist backlash against racial minority groups (Bai & Federico, 2021; Obaidi et al., 2021), or similar processes among men and reactionary backlash against women and sexual minorities (Graff & Korolczuk, 2022; O’Dea et al., 2022). The effects of subordinate-level collective narcissism (i.e., sensitivity to intergroup and status threat) will likely be expressed simultaneously with increases in national collective narcissism (Sengupta et al., 2019).

Furthermore, the present results align with and extend previous findings showing a persistent positive association between national collective narcissism and inequality-justifying

prejudice towards disadvantaged groups: sexism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021), anti-Semitism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; 2023b), prejudice towards immigrants and refugees (Górska et al., 2022), and religious minorities (Verkuyten et al., 2022). These current findings suggest it is the alignment of national collective narcissism and subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged groups which stands behind this prejudice. The narcissistic need for ingroup superiority and privilege is projected onto the national group by advantaged subgroups which become expressed as national norms, those who endorse national collective narcissism will endorse such exclusionary norms (Federico et al., 2021; Mole et al., 2021). Furthermore, this research extends previous findings beyond intergroup prejudice to political outcomes of reactionary social change, showing Polish and male collective narcissism predictions in support of sexism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). The current findings suggest that national collective narcissism's relationship with inequality is based in its alignment with subordinate-level collective narcissism of advantaged national subgroups and the associated supremacist interests.

As such, it is likely that the combination of collective narcissism at the national and subordinate-level of advantaged national subgroups stands behind the reactionary politics which is currently seen globally (see Graff et al., 2019). For instance, Agenda Europe (an organisation which combines religious fundamentalism with an anti-liberal and anti-egalitarian ideology) seeks to coordinate the radical right across Europe, wherein they:

*... intervene and work with dominant gender, sexual, and cultural norms to produce a nationalist, antifeminist, gender/heteronormative, xenophobic, and antiminority majoritarianism* (Graff et al., 2019, p. 547).

Thus, this research qualifies previous findings on *ethnocentric projection*, advantaged groups claiming national prototypicality (Brewer et al., 2013; Devos et al., 2010) and *relative ingroup prototypicality*, members of advantaged groups (more than members of disadvantaged

groups) projecting the characteristics, values and interest of their advantaged ingroups onto the nation (Wenzel et al., 2016).

Consistently, subordinate-level collective narcissism among advantaged Whites and men predicted support for reactionary social change. White collective narcissism predicted support for reactionary ideologies: legitimization of racial inequality and anti-egalitarianism (in two samples). It also predicted support for reactionary collective action: support for state repression of BLM and support for the alt-right. These effects were replicated in the gender samples: male collective narcissism predicted legitimization of gender inequality and anti-egalitarianism, and support for state repression of Women's Strike.

This research clarifies that not all but specifically, Whites and men who endorse White and male collective narcissism are the most likely to feel they represent and own the nation. Moreover, they are willing to support the repression of minorities and express violent intentions in order to maintain this ownership. Future research should investigate specifically whether advantaged group members who endorse collective narcissism restrict national identity to their own or other advantaged ingroups (i.e., ethnocentric projection; Devos et al., 2010), and also believe the advantaged ingroup to be more representative of the nation (i.e., relative ingroup prototypicality; Wenzel et al., 2016). Also implied is that Whites and men who reject racial and gender collective narcissism do not feel like they have exclusive rights to the nation. They express egalitarian attitudes and may be more likely to support racial minorities and women. A primary research agenda for those who want to minimise the mistreatment of disadvantaged groups should investigate how to reduce collective narcissism among advantaged group members.

There were some findings which were not consistent with expectations, showing null effects of collective narcissism. Such null effects might indicate that the salience of identities at each level might be important. American collective narcissism did not predict support for state repression of BLM among Whites, while White collective narcissism strongly predicted state repression. This

suggests that White identity salience is more important for eliciting this effect. However, this could be sample specific. This finding was not replicated in the Polish context, where both Polish and male collective narcissism predicted state repression of the Women's Strike. There were null effects of White collective narcissism (but significant for national collective narcissism among Whites) in rejecting support of progressive movements: Keep Families Together and BLM. Similarly, male collective narcissism showed a null relationship, whereas Polish collective narcissism predicted non-engagement in Women's Strike. It might be that national collective narcissism more strongly precludes engagement in progressive movements, and subordinate-level collective narcissism more strongly predicts reactionary attacks on progressive movements. Future studies could prime the level of identification to investigate salience effects.

Research could also extend these findings across further traditional hegemonies. For instance, extending research on Catholic collective narcissism (Marchlewska et al., 2019) and investigate the alignment between national and religious majorities' collective narcissism in the rejection of sexual and religious minorities. Particularly, via the endorsing of national norms which establish these groups as a threat (Mole et al., 2021). Indeed, there have been calls to understand the identity content (i.e., normative group-based beliefs) associated with political outcomes (van Zomeren et al., 2018). National collective narcissism likely pertains to a certain identity-content based on what allows historically advantaged groups to maintain their privilege (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020; Mole et al., 2021). For instance, collective nostalgia for the group identity can be based on a supremacist reading of the group's history but it can also be interpreted in terms of immigration and cultural openness (Wohl et al., 2023). If political leaders invested in more inclusive interpretations of the group while still emphasising its symbolic importance (i.e., entrepreneurs of solidarity; Reicher et al., 2005), the narcissistic motive among advantaged group would not be validated as a national norm while also satisfying the need for identity continuity and meaning. This could lead to more peaceful relations between societal groups (Wohl et al., 2023). Furthermore, the alignment between national collective narcissism and subordinate-level collective

narcissism among advantaged groups was not completely consistent. It could be that the content of national identity is contested (Cinnirella, 1998) even by those who endorse national collective narcissism, i.e., interpreted differently by advantaged and disadvantaged group members. Future research should investigate these potential differences across national subgroups.

### **10.3. Superordinate ingroup bias among the disadvantaged**

SIMSA posits that disadvantaged group members support inequality because they identify with the superordinate group (over the subordinate, disadvantaged ingroup) in order to achieve positive ingroup distinctiveness and consensual understandings of social reality at this level of group identity (Rubin et al., 2023a). This research found that American collective narcissism (and not ingroup satisfaction) predicted legitimization of racial inequality among U.S. Blacks and anti-egalitarianism among U.S. Blacks and Latinx. This was replicated in the gender case, where Polish collective narcissism predicted legitimization of gender inequality and anti-egalitarianism among Polish women. These findings clarify and extend SIMSA's hypothesis, support for inequality only happens at high levels of national collective narcissism (rather than national ingroup satisfaction). Moreover, not only does national collective narcissism account for disadvantaged group members endorsing ongoing inequality as legitimate and desirable, but also support for reactionary social change which actively seeks to deepen inequality and repress the emancipation of disadvantaged group members. This was expressed in American collective narcissism's support for state repression of BLM among Blacks, support for the alt-right among Latinx, and Polish collective narcissism's support for state repression of Women's Strike among women.

This indicates that the support for Donald Trump by Latinx in the U.S. and support for repeal of abortion rights including hostility towards pro-abortion protestors by Polish women can be explained in terms of superordinate ingroup identification processes (Reynolds et al., 2013), provided that national collective narcissism is differentiated as an aspect of ingroup identification. These results align with previous findings indicating that the association between national collective

narcissism and sexism was stronger among women than among men (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazek, 2021). This research is the first to extend those findings to broad operationalisations of support for inequality across both disadvantaged racial groups and women.

Furthermore, among U.S. Blacks and Polish women national collective narcissism's association with ideological support for reactionary social change was even stronger than Whites and men, respectively. Also, American collective narcissism was more strongly positively associated with state repression of BLM among Blacks. The findings further specify superordinate ingroup bias in line with SIMSA's reasoning that disadvantaged group members are more likely to rationalise inequality to make sense of their experiences of disadvantage (Rubin et al., 2023a).

Unexpectedly, American collective narcissism among Whites predicted egalitarianism - contrary to Hypothesis 3a. A possible explanation is that advantaged group members can take a more neutral (or even positive) view on equality as normative for the nation because, firstly, it's implicitly acknowledged that equality will not be enacted in practice (Dixon et al., 2017; Dovidio et al., 2016), and secondly, it allows for the denial of privilege as a subtle means to maintain that privilege (Lowery et al., 2007; Shuman, van Zomeren, et al., 2022). On the other hand, disadvantaged group members who endorse national collective narcissism might be especially motivated to endorse inequality as legitimate and normatively good in order to make sense of their disadvantage (e.g., construing inequality in terms of individual failure within an otherwise just social system) and out of reputational concern tied to their ingroup membership (i.e., concern over being seen as 'sore losers') (Jost, 2019; Rubin et al., 2023a). This allows a sense of, at least nominal, acceptance within the national group (Dovidio et al., 2016). Further research should include collective narcissism as an important covariate when considering support for inequality among the disadvantaged.

A further hypothesis put forward by SIMSA might explain the anomalous finding that American collective narcissism predicted BLM participation among Blacks. This hypothesis states disadvantaged group members can endorse anti-egalitarianism when they perceive hope for future

ingroup status (Rubin et al., 2023a). This is consistent with the idea discussed previously that BLM may have become a national norm expressed by American collective narcissism, especially as it confers political frustration and racial competition. The finding is consistent with results from Chapter Five that showed American collective narcissism predicted violent collective action intention for the racial ingroup among U.S. Blacks, showing a competitive motive for the disadvantaged ingroup is expressed by American collective narcissism.

Furthermore, the additional findings from Chapter Five regarding the outcomes of perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action intentions present an interesting pattern. National collective narcissism was negatively associated with perceived ingroup deprivation among U.S. Blacks and Polish women (it was unrelated among U.S. Latinx), while being positively associated with violent collective action intentions across all disadvantaged groups.

An interesting question remains – whether national collective narcissism plays a palliative role among disadvantaged groups. Research shows that collective narcissism is related to negative emotionality, low self-esteem and hypersensitivity to stimuli and low life satisfaction (Golec de Zavala, 2019; Golec de Zavala, Federico, et al., 2019; Górska et al., 2023). This is particularly relevant among disadvantaged group members as they face adverse life experiences with lower wellbeing and mental health outcomes (Bahamondes et al., 2019). However, disadvantaged group members who endorse legitimizing ideologies to explain their disadvantage can be buffered from the negative psychological consequences of structural disadvantage (Napier et al., 2020), as it protects them from perceived ingroup deprivation (Osborne & Sibley, 2013). Indeed, the current findings showing national collective narcissism's negative associations with perceived ingroup deprivation and positive associations with legitimizing ideologies among disadvantaged groups (U.S. Blacks and Polish women) suggest it might play a similarly palliative role. Future research should assess whether national collective narcissism's association with low wellbeing is specific to advantaged groups, and actually has a positive impact on wellbeing among disadvantaged groups.

#### 10.4. Collective narcissism and pursuit of equality

The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) suggests that primary for groups to engage in collective action (i.e., coordinated actions intended to achieve group-based political goals) requires ingroup identification in conjunction with moralising ideologies, perceived injustice and the belief the group can achieve its goals (Agostini & Van Zomeren, 2021). Indeed, as suggested by SIMSA, ingroup identification among the disadvantaged often leads to passive acceptance of inequality rather than challenges to it (Rubin et al., 2023a). The findings indicate that collective narcissism captures investment in the group which also comprises the necessary components for collective action. This includes a critical appraisal of the status quo involving perceived illegitimacy of current inequality and a desire to see more equal social arrangements, which provide the justification for disadvantaged groups to engage in collective action for greater equality (Ellemers, 1993). This is expressed by delegitimization of current group-based inequality and endorsing egalitarianism as a desirable form of social arrangement (Becker, 2020).

The present results qualify the previous findings which indicate that ingroup identification predicts positive attitudes towards equality among disadvantaged groups (Osborne et al., 2019; Thomas et al., 2020). The present results clarify that positive attitudes towards equality and progressive social change are the function of subordinate-level collective narcissism among disadvantaged group members specifically. They are not predicted by racial or gender ingroup satisfaction. Subordinate-level collective narcissism among the disadvantaged consistently showed support for progressive ideologies. Black collective narcissism predicted delegitimization of racial inequality and (marginally) egalitarianism, Latinx collective narcissism predicted egalitarianism. These effects were replicated in the gender case, indicating its generalizability, where female collective narcissism predicted delegitimization of gender inequality and egalitarianism. The findings were also consistent for progressive collective action: Black collective narcissism predicted participation in BLM, and rejected reactionary repression of BLM. Latinx collective narcissism predicted support for Keep Families Together and BLM, and rejected the alt-right. This was

replicated in the gender case: female collective narcissism predicted participation in Women's Strike and rejected state repression of Women's Strike.

These findings are in line with previous research that shows Kurdish and British Black collective narcissism to predict intergroup bias against the advantaged outgroup (i.e., Turks and British Whites, respectively; Bagci et al., 2023). Similarly, it aligns with the finding that female collective narcissism predicts distress and anger at women's exclusion by men (Golec de Zavala, 2022). It is consistent with research that finds LGBTQ+ collective narcissism (rather than ingroup identification) is associated with grievance and anger over treatment of the ingroup, as well as non-violent and violent collective action intentions (Górska et al., 2023), and finds these effects are reproducible in broader social contexts.

The present results align with and extend SIMCA. This model posits that positive ingroup identification, anger and grievances against the dominant ingroup and the sense of collective efficacy motivate members of disadvantaged groups to challenge inequality (Van Zomeren et al., 2008; 2016). The present results suggest that all three factors may be represented by the same concept that pertains to only one aspect of positive ingroup identification. The concept of collective narcissism comprises positive ingroup evaluation, the sense of group efficacy and entitlement as well as resentment for the lack of the ingroup's recognition. The same racial and gender collective narcissism motivates advantaged Whites and men to protect the privileges of their racial and gender ingroup. Thus, the same collective narcissistic dynamic operates similarly among advantaged and disadvantaged groups. It leads to different outcomes because the goals of those groups are in opposition as far as pursuit of power and privilege is concerned.

#### **10.4.1. Stigma-based solidarity**

Across national and intergroup contexts, Black, Latinx and female collective narcissism predicted a generalised egalitarian outlook suggesting that the effects of collective narcissism

among disadvantaged groups extends beyond promoting one's ingroup. This was further established in Study 4, where Latinx collective narcissism predicted support for Keep Families Together (a collective action promoting the interests of the ingroup) and Black Lives Matter (a collective action group promoting the interests of another disadvantaged racial minority). This could be because Latinx are also disproportionately shot and killed by the police (F. Edwards et al., 2019). However, the findings are consistent with literature on intergroup solidarity through shared disadvantaged (i.e., stigma-based solidarity; Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2016).

For instance, reminding US Black and Latinx participants that they were disadvantaged (i.e., were treated as second-class citizens) led Black participants to endorse more liberal stances on Latin immigration across the Southern border and Latinx participants to be more supportive of BLM (Pérez et al., 2023). The findings from Study 4 put this research in new light, and suggest a potential mechanism – by way of subordinate-level collective narcissism that encourages shared perceptions of disadvantage. Collective narcissism's strong propensity for perceiving intergroup threat likely leads to perceived shared disadvantage, particularly when there is a shared outgroup. This aligns with research that shows stigma-based solidarity occurs most reliably in intergroup contexts when there is clear benefit to the ingroup to engage in solidarity (Chaney & Forbes, 2023).

### **10.5. Collective narcissism among disadvantaged group members and social change**

The present findings demonstrate, for the first time, the potentially constructive social consequences of collective narcissism (cf. Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Racial collective narcissism among racial minorities is consistently associated with egalitarian worldview, support for collective pursuit of racial equality and rejection of beliefs legitimizing racial inequality. These relationships were replicated in the gender case. Those findings align with the argument that intergroup conflict, when managed, has a potential of bringing up a constructive social change and better, more equal organisation of societies (Dixon & McKeown, 2021). Intergroup antagonism and willingness to fight for the ingroup's goals are necessary to pursue equality, as historical evidence

indicates greater equality is more often won than deservingly received or voluntarily given away (e.g. Osborne et al., 2019).

Although collective action is seen more favourably when it uses normative and legal means than violent and illegal means (Orazani & Leidner, 2019; Teixeira et al., 2020), moderately disruptive, non-normative collective action when combined with transparent constructive intention, elicit concessions from advantaged groups (Shuman et al., 2020). This suggests that protests are more effective when they mix confrontational and coercive means with pursuit of egalitarian values. As racial collective narcissism is associated with preference for such means but also endorsement of egalitarian values and social movement for racial equality, it may be a factor inspiring pursuit of social justice among disadvantaged groups (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023).

While collective narcissism may motivate group members to pursue egalitarian values in socially acceptable, non-violent ways, it is likely to motivate their radicalization when the actions of the peaceful movement for social change are met with reactionary backlash. Reactionary backlash to pursuit of equality elicits pessimism regarding the possibility of systemic change in disadvantaged groups (Tabri & Conway, 2011; Tausch & Becker, 2013), and pushes them towards more extreme and disruptive collective action (Louis et al., 2020; Simon, 2020). The antagonistic mindset associated with collective narcissism is likely to facilitate radicalization, preventing members of disadvantaged groups from seeing the possibility of reconciliation or allyship with advantaged groups (Hässler et al., 2022; Noor et al., 2012; Shnabel & Ullrich, 2013; Urbiola et al., 2022). While collective narcissism in advantaged groups motivates the reactionary backlash to disadvantaged groups' pursuit of recognition (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021), in disadvantaged groups it motivates radicalization towards political violence and terrorism (Jasko et al., 2020; Yusitsia et al., 2020).

However, it is also important to acknowledge the potential of non-normative collective action to lead to progressive social change when accompanied by an explicitly egalitarian outlook

(Saguy, 2018; Shuman, Hasan-Aslih, et al., 2022). For instance, BLM protests which had both peaceful and violent action, elicited more support from conservatives for BLM policy initiatives than peaceful BLM protests alone (Shuman, Hasan-Aslih, et al., 2022). This is likely because although advantaged groups and conservatives do not share interests in the policy aims of social justice movements, they rely on social order so disruptions to such can incentivise them to allow for greater equality (Shuman, Hasan-Aslih, et al., 2022).

Furthermore, there is a possible disarming consequence of the fact that among disadvantaged groups the ingroup's goals align with egalitarian and communal goals (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). This underscores the moral aspect of the protests as well as the importance of communal, selfless emotions (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). Exposure to communal, self-transcendent emotions reduces the robust association between collective narcissism and intergroup hostility and helps collective narcissists to constructively deal with distress they experience in face of intergroup exclusion (Golec de Zavala et al., 2023). Thus, the typical collective narcissistic hostility may be neutralized by the communal normative context that accompanies collective pursuit of social equality.

### **10.6. The role of ingroup satisfaction**

Objective 4 sought the unique predictive power of collective narcissism over ingroup satisfaction. In accordance with expectations, the pattern of relationships was predominantly unique to collective narcissism, apart from non-participation in BLM which was predicted by American ingroup satisfaction not American collective narcissism. Polish ingroup satisfaction also predicted legitimization of gender inequality and non-participation in Women's Strike but these effects were weaker than Polish collective narcissism.

There were some indicative findings which are worth future investigation. Across the studies conducted in the U.S., national and racial ingroup satisfaction among Blacks and Latinx

likely expresses a liberal defence of the status quo. They were unrelated to legitimizing racial inequality but expressed general egalitarianism. Latinx ingroup satisfaction also predicted the rejection of the alt-right suggesting opposition to reactionary social change, indicating a liberal orientation (Thomas & Osborne, 2023). White ingroup satisfaction rejected participating in BLM, it likely expresses a conservative orientation which does not challenge the status quo, and could relate to subtle bias against disadvantaged groups (Dovidio et al., 2016; Radke et al., 2020).

Among Polish men and women, national and gender ingroup satisfaction showed a more conservative defence of the status quo orientation among both men and women. National and gender ingroup satisfaction predicted the legitimization of gender inequality while also supporting egalitarianism indicating a perception that favourable equality between men and women has already been reached. Among men, this likely indicates a subtle motivation to maintain a favourable intergroup hierarchy while strategically maintaining a moral social identity (Radke et al., 2020) in conjunction with a Panglossian, optimistic outlook on current levels of social inequality (Kay et al., 2007).

These findings show mixed support for the dissonance hypothesis formulated by SIMSA (i.e., a positive correlation between subordinate-level identification and legitimization of inequality) but not for system justification theory (SJT; i.e., a negative correlation; Jost et al., 2003). There is ongoing debate by proponents of SIMSA and SJT whether disadvantaged group members support inequality at high (as argued by SIMSA) vs. low (as argued by SJT) levels of identification with the disadvantaged ingroup (Jost et al., 2023). The current research findings are partially in line with SIMSA's dissonance hypothesis which specifies passive alignment with prevailing inequality among the disadvantaged. The findings support this among Polish women, where gender ingroup satisfaction was related to legitimization of gender inequality (at least while accounting for gender collective narcissism). However, this does not extend to Black and Latinx subgroup identities. Primarily, the current findings shed some light on when ingroup identification will and will not lead

to a social change orientation (vs. a defence of the status quo; Thomas & Osborne, 2022). This research suggests that national collective narcissism accounts for active support for reactionary social change in promoting inequality among advantaged and disadvantaged alike, while ingroup satisfaction is more likely associated with passive alignment with prevailing inequality, at least short of directly challenging inequality. Future work should account for collective narcissism when assessing the social identity basis for when advantaged and disadvantaged group members will act to defend the status quo, whether to defend the social equality gained thus far (i.e., liberal outlooks) or to defend the prevailing social *inequality* (i.e., conservative outlooks).

### **10.7. What could be done?**

There are possible avenues for mitigating societal conflict spurred by the reactionary backlash while allowing for peaceful social change towards greater equality. One avenue promotes need satisfaction during intergroup contact between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Studies show that under conditions which address the power imbalance, the demotivating effect of positive contact on disadvantaged group members can be mitigated. Moreover, it promotes allyship from advantaged groups towards progressive social change (Hässler et al., 2022). It requires advantaged group members to accept a dual representation (of the superordinate identity) and power sharing which allows for the satisfaction of disadvantaged group members to perceive respect for their subgroup identity and empowerment towards equality (Dovidio et al., 2015). At the same time, disadvantaged group members need to express moral acceptance of advantaged group allies. This satisfies advantaged group members' need for being perceived as accepted and moral by disadvantaged group members (Hässler et al., 2022). The dual representation of national identity might marginalise the narcissistic belief about advantaged groups' primacy within the national group, while leading to greater reconciliation between advantaged and disadvantaged groups, thereby attenuating the escalatory cycle the subordinate-level collective narcissism perpetuates.

A further option is to promote community-based social identities (Lindberg & Swearingen, 2020). Among U.S. Whites, a sense of feeling connected with one's community led to support for government redress of substandard conditions within an African American housing project and Native American reservation (Neufeld et al., 2019). Religious identities (a proxy for community identities) among majority groups (e.g., Christians) also lead to greater tolerance for religious minority outgroups and immigrants (e.g., Muslims) (Eskelinen et al., 2022; Shaver et al., 2016). Community involvement and identification satisfies personal needs for wellbeing (Haslam et al., 2022; Jetten et al., 2017) as well social identity needs for a sense of meaning and continuity in social life, as well the need for belonging (Renvik et al., 2023). This has two implications for collective narcissism and prejudice. A mindfulness intervention has shown to decrease the connection between collective narcissism and prejudice, with improvements in emotional regulation and self-transcendent emotion that collective narcissists have deficits in (Golec de Zavala et al., 2023). The social identity approach to wellbeing and community involvement would provide personal wellbeing benefits (Haslam et al., 2022; Jetten et al., 2017) which might serve the same emotional regulation effects as mindfulness training. At the same time, satisfying needs for ingroup affiliation would likely demote the social identity need for intergroup comparison that collective narcissism comprises (Renvik et al., 2023). Programs for increasing the positive basis of social identities (rather than narcissistic) will likely be crucial in diminishing intergroup conflict (Montoya & Pinter, 2016; Pittinsky & Montoya, 2016), including that which promotes reactionary social change and active opposition to equality, and facilitating collective resilience and acceptance across the superordinate group (Drury et al., 2019).

### **10.8. Limitations**

This research has limitations. All studies were correlational. Firm conclusions about collective narcissism's causal role in predicting attitudes towards equality cannot be made. Collective narcissism may well be used to justify coercive pursuit of the group interests: furthering of inequality among advantaged groups and greater equality or hierarchy reversal among

disadvantaged groups. There is longitudinal and experimental evidence suggesting collective narcissism leads to prejudice that justifies inequality (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; 2023). There is evidence that manipulating a threat to ingroup distinctiveness (i.e., that others' don't recognise the distinct qualities of one's ingroup, that differentiates it from outgroups) increases collective narcissism (Guerra et al., 2020). Future studies could use this manipulation to assess the causal role of collective narcissism. Importantly, the current research compared collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction, and makes a clarification of social identity literature which points to social identification as a key precursor to ideological beliefs and collective action (Thomas et al., 2020). These findings suggest that it is not ingroup identification per se, but collective narcissism which specifies active appraisals and reactions to inequality. At the national level, including collective narcissism as a form of ingroup identification extends SIMSA (Rubin et al., 2023a) by specifying when national identity will lead to active support for inequality and reactionary social change. At the subordinate-level, collective narcissism specifies when ingroup identification will lead to collective action and political radicalisation, thus extending SIMCA and nascent models of reactionary collective action (Agostini & Van Zomeren, 2021; Thomas & Osborne, 2023).

Furthermore, the findings clarify and extend recent correlational research on collective narcissism (Marinthe et al., 2022). In particular, Marinthe et al. (2022) found contradictory and null findings for Black collective narcissism and support for progressive collective action. The current research amends these findings by accounting for the overlap with national collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups – the current research suggests a robust effect of subordinate-level collective narcissism and support for progressive social change.

The results were also found with large sample sizes, and replicated within and across social contexts. This suggests that the effects are robust and generalizable. Indeed, there is research which suggests that similar relationships could be found in the context of racial relations in the United Kingdom (Bagci et al., 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; West et al., 2022). However, the research was conducted in the Western context. Future studies would do well to address the

generalizability beyond the WEIRD context (Henrich et al., 2010; Reyna et al., 2023). This could involve including further intergroup hierarchies within non-western national contexts, but also looking within the international context and whether national collective narcissism among members of structurally disadvantaged nations predicts progressive outcomes.

However, the data is all from surveys and self-report measures. Collective narcissism has been shown to moderate the eliciting of physiological threat responses to intergroup exclusion (Hase et al., 2021) – future research could adapt this approach to investigate status threat among advantaged and disadvantaged group members. Qualitative and mixed methods approaches could also assess themes of grievance and superiority among political activists (e.g., Haugestad et al., 2021).

Finally, due to the lack of experimental studies, the research cannot fully contribute to ongoing debate between proponents of system justification theory whether political outcomes (e.g., ideological attitudes and voting preferences) are caused by individual differences in ideological preferences or caused by group-based interests across multiple and intersecting identities (Jost et al., 2023). The social identity perspective adopted in this research emphasises the causal role of ingroup identification in motivating ideological positions (Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007) and collective action (Thomas et al., 2020). This is based on the view that socially shared beliefs (i.e., ideologies) and collective action are group-based phenomena that necessarily presuppose psychological group investment (i.e., ingroup identification) (Reynolds et al., 2010).

As evidence exists for both perspectives, some researchers suggest an integrative approach involving joint causal contributions of ideology and social identity (Jost et al., 2023). A complex systems approach has also been recommended, in line with the social identity meta-theory which suggests that identities shape and are shaped by individuals' interactions with their environment (Reynolds et al., 2010). This approach emphasises the bidirectionality of effects over time, as well as transformational and emergent processes during participation in collective action and social change movements (Bou Zeineddine & Leach, 2021; Homer-Dixon et al., 2013). Either way,

collective narcissism is a key factor associated with group members' attitudes and collective action towards political goals and should be included in these models.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A - Assumption checking

In the main manuscript, the analytical approach adjusted for pervasive heteroskedasticity and non-normality in the residuals with heteroskedastic adjusted standard errors. Additional assumption checking was carried using the *performance* (Lüdecke et al., 2021) R package. Linearity was between predictors and outcome variables was acceptable, and there were no problematic outliers or high leverage points. Due to interaction terms, there was high multicollinearity in the regression models. Although there is debate over whether models needed to be adjusted for (Shieh, 2011), linear regression models were ran with mean centred residuals using the *pequod* (Mirisola et al., 2016) R package. These models did not meaningfully differ from the regression with heteroskedastic adjusted standard errors.

### Appendix B

**Table 1A***Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Collective Narcissism and Ingroup Satisfaction Scales*

<i>Scale Item</i>	<b>Study 1</b>		<b>Study 3</b>		<b>Study 5</b>	
	<i>National</i>	<i>Racial</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Racial</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Gender</i>
<b><i>Collective Narcissism Scale</i></b>						
1. My [...] group deserves special treatment	0.703	0.718	0.866	0.804	0.874	0.866
2. Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of my [...] group.	0.828	0.854	0.763	0.659	0.859	0.798
3. It really makes me angry when others criticize my group.	0.792	0.798	0.875	0.878	0.842	0.850
4. If [group] had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place.	0.789	0.855	0.789	0.807	0.872	0.870
5. I will never be satisfied until my group gets the recognition it deserves	0.883	0.888	0.766	0.760	0.869	0.838
<b><i>Ingroup Satisfaction Scale</i></b>						
1. I am glad to be my [...] group.	0.737	0.775	0.874	0.838	0.926	0.893
I think that my [...] group have a lot to be proud of.	0.899	0.921	0.819	0.766	0.942	0.788
It is pleasant to be my [...] group.	0.674	0.624	0.904	0.901	0.831	0.843
Being my [...] group gives me a good feeling.	0.921	0.907	0.833	0.817	0.937	0.924

*Note.* [...]: [national/racial/gender]

**Table 2A***Latent variable correlations*

Variables	Study 1				Study 3				Study 5			
	1.	2.	3.	4.	1.	2.	3.	4.	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. National CN	—				—				—			
2. National IS	0.69	—			0.75	—			0.76	—		
3. Racial/Gender CN	0.72	0.33	—		0.68	0.32	—		0.45	0.24	—	
4. Racial/Gender IS	0.49	0.59	0.7	—	0.47	0.48	0.75	—	0.38	0.46	0.47	—