Collective narcissism of White supremacy and minority resistance

Abstract

In four cross-sectional studies ($N = 2{,}228$; three preregistered), we hypothesized and found that U.S. American and White collective narcissism is associated with opposition to racial equality, whereas racial collective narcissism among Blacks and Latinx in the U.S. is associated with support for racial equality. In Studies 1 & 2, American national and White racial collective narcissism was positively associated with support for state repression of Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, anti-egalitarianism and legitimization of racial inequality. Black racial collective narcissism was negatively associated with the same variables. In Studies 3 & 4, American national and White racial collective narcissism was positively associated with anti-egalitarianism, support for the alt-right movement and opposition to policies to advance racial minorities. Latinx racial collective narcissism was negatively associated with the same variables. In sum, in the U.S., national collective narcissism among Whites and racial minorities and White racial collective narcissism hinder the pursuit of racial equality. However, Black and Latinx racial collective narcissism is associated with pursuit of racial equality.

Keywords: American collective narcissism, racial collective narcissism, racial equality, Black Lives Matter, alt-right

Collective narcissism of White supremacy and minority resistance

"Prejudice needs power to be effective" Reni Eddo-Lodge

"Your silence will not protect you" Audre Lorde

In 2020, domestic terrorism – hate crimes against national minorities - has been identified as a primary threat to national security in the United States, superseding the threat from other forms of terrorism (2021 Hate Crime Statistics). Acts of domestic terrorism have been predominantly perpetrated by White right-wing extremists motivated by the divisive populist rhetoric (Nacos et al., 2020). For example, the Buffalo shooter who targeted and killed Black people in 2022, proclaimed allegiance to the alt-right movement (an anti-liberal, White male supremacist movement; Forscher & Kteily, 2020). He endorsed the *"great replacement"* conspiracy theory which sees White people purposively being demographically and culturally replaced by racial minorities. The Buffalo attack was explicitly intended to terrorize racial minorities (Rose, 2022). It was motivated by the belief that the racial majority's entitlement is endangered by the existence of racial minorities. We claim that such a belief reflects a projection of the narcissistic need to be recognized as better than others on one's own racial identity (Golec de Zavala, 2011; 2023). In this paper, we argue that White racial collective narcissism and American national collective narcissisms are associated with the conviction that Whites should be granted preferential representation, treatment and protection in the United States. However, racial collective narcissism among racial minorities is associated with active resistance to racial discrimination.

Collective narcissism is an evaluative belief about an ingroup (e.g., national, racial) held with relative within-person stability. A tendency to hold the collective narcissistic belief about one social identity (e.g., a nation) is associated with a tendency to hold the collective narcissistic belief about other social identities (e.g., race, Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2019; Golec de Zavala, 2023). National collective narcissism is a belief that the nation's exaggerated greatness is not sufficiently admired by others. Racial collective narcissism is a belief that the exaggerated importance of the racial ingroup is not granted sufficient privilege

and external recognition (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Collective narcissism differs from collective relative deprivation, perceived injustice, disadvantage and unequal treatment of the ingroup in comparison to the other groups (Smith & Pettigrew, 2015), which motivates the pursuit of social equality (van Zomeren et al., 2018). Crucial to collective narcissism is the unrealistic exaggeration of the ingroup's importance and associated entitled demand of its special rather than equal treatment (Golec de Zavala, 2023; 2024).

To better understand how collective narcissism is implicated in attitudes towards racial equality, we consider that (1) people simultaneously identify with the nation and hierarchically organized racial groups within the nation and (2) among racial minorities, the associations of national and racial collective narcissism with attitudes towards racial equality may have opposite signs. Thus, in order to observe the unique contributions of national and racial collective narcissism to explaining attitudes towards racial equality, we need to take the overlap between national and racial collective narcissism into account. Moreover, we also consider that (3) collective narcissism is an aspect of ingroup identification whose unique predictions are often suppressed by its overlap with non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction, unpretentious, positive but not exaggerated, evaluation of the ingroup (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; 2020). Thus, while examining the association of national and racial collective narcissism with attitudes towards racial equality, we also need to differentiate national and racial collective narcissism from national and racial ingroup satisfaction. Studies that do not do that may produce inconsistent or unclear findings.

Collective narcissism, ethnocentric projection and White supremacy

We expect that American national collective narcissism and White racial collective narcissism will be associated with negative attitudes towards racial equality. This expectation is derived from the literature suggesting that advantaged groups within a nation claim the ownership of national identity at the exclusion of disadvantaged groups (Devos & Mohamed, 2014). Members of advantaged groups have a greater sense of ownership of the nation than members of traditionally disadvantaged groups (e.g. women) and minorities (Hodson et al., 2022; Molina et al., 2015). They are also perceived as more prototypical for the national

group than members of disadvantaged groups and minorities. Moreover, members of traditionally advantaged groups are more likely to present their ingroup's interests as national interests (Brewer et al., 2013). This phenomenon, labelled *ethnocentric projection* (Brewer et al., 2013), was demonstrated among men and women (Van Berkel et al., 2017) as well as Whites and racial minorities (Devos & Mohamed, 2014). Studies conducted in Poland indicate that ethnocentric projection of male identity on Polish national identity happens specifically at high levels of national and male collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024).

Capitalizing on such findings, we expect that racial ethnocentric projection happens especially at high levels of racial collective narcissism in contrast to non-narcissistic racial ingroup satisfaction. This expectation is supported by research indicating that collective narcissism is associated with antagonistic and coercive pursuit of the ingroup's interests (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024). Collective narcissism is associated with a tendency to perceive other groups as a threat and a preference for aggressive retaliation to perceived threats (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala, 2023; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). In asymmetric social contexts, collective narcissistic antagonism is expressed as prejudice and discrimination of members of traditionally disadvantaged groups by members of traditionally advantaged groups. For example, research shows that White collective narcissism in United Kingdom predicts symbolic anti-Black racism, indirect and covert form of racism expressed in denial of existence of racism in the U.K., and unwillingness to listen to the perspective of the Black people (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). In the United States, White collective narcissism predicts support for alt-right movements such as the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville against the removal of a statue of Confederate General Robert Lee (Marinthe et al., 2022). White collective narcissism is also associated with reframing racism as legitimate protection of Whites' group interests (Cichocka et al., 2022a) and it predicts self-serving double standards in interpreting the same actions as racist depending on whether they were committed by a White person against a Black person or vice versa (West et al., 2022). In contrast, non-narcissistic racial identification among Whites, even under threat, is not reliably associated with negative attitudes towards racial equality (Stewart &

Willer, 2022). Thus, we expect White collective narcissism but not racial ingroup satisfaction among Whites to be associated with opposition to racial equality.

Moreover, we argue that propagation of American collective narcissism by conservative and populist leaders (Federico & Golec de Zavala, 2018; Golec de Zavala et al., 2017) may be seen as an expression of White's racial antagonism, an adversarial strategy to legitimize the advantaged position of their racial ingroup within the national hierarchy. Indeed, national collective narcissism stood behind repressions of racial minorities and increasingly harsh means of controlling ethnically diverse immigration, which won voters in ethnically diverse societies like the United States or United Kingdom (Federico et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala et al., 2017). In contrast to national collective narcissism, non-narcissistic national ingroup satisfaction is not associated with prejudice towards disadvantaged groups, especially when its overlap with collective narcissism is partialled out (Golec de Zavala, 2011; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Instead, non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction is associated with greater acceptance of diversity and pursuit of racial equality (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2020). Thus, we expect national collective narcissism but not national ingroup satisfaction to be associated with opposition to racial equality.

Collective narcissism and pursuit of racial equality among racial minorities

We expect that racial collective narcissism will be associated with support for racial equality among racial minorities. Research shows that collective narcissism – but not non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction - predicts antagonistic attitudes towards outgroups among members of advantaged and disadvantaged, high and low status groups (Bagci et al., 2023; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024; Guerra et al., 2023). This includes differential, parochial reactions to social exclusion of the ingroup. For example, gender collective narcissism predicts feeling distressed while witnessing exclusion of the gender ingroup but not while witnessing exclusion of the gender outgroup. Thus, women (the traditionally disadvantaged group) feel distressed by exclusion of women but not men, whereas men (the traditionally advantaged group) feel distressed by exclusion of men but not women (Golec de Zavala, 2022). Such findings suggest that racial collective narcissism may predict bias in the perception of racial discrimination and attitudes toward racial equality depending on whether

greater racial equality aligns or goes against the motivation to have one's own racial ingroup recognized as better than others (Golec de Zavala, 2024).

Pursuit of equality presents different challenges to advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Power asymmetries require members of disadvantaged groups to organize and challenge discrimination from advantaged groups, whereas members of advantaged groups face a challenge sharing power and giving up privileges. Collective narcissists are likely to approach those challenges antagonistically: in traditionally advantaged groups, they are likely to protect the status quo and the ingroup's privileged position (as demonstrated above), in disadvantaged groups, they are likely to actively challenge and fight against inequality. Clearly, collective narcissism is not the only motivation to challenge inequality. Other motivations are described in detail, for example in the collective action literature (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; Radke et al., 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2018). Nevertheless, as we explain below, racial collective narcissism may be one of the motivations to pursue racial equality (at least temporarily) that needs to be recognized and explored.

The expectation that racial collective narcissism among racial minorities is associated with attitudes supporting racial equality aligns with the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2018). The model indicates that identification with disadvantaged groups is necessary but not sufficient to motivate its members to engage in collective action challenging inequality. People also need to identify with a specific social movement, feel angered by perceived injustice to the ingroup, endorse ideology that moralizes pursuit of the ingroup's interests and beliefs about ingroup's ability to enact change (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2018).

We argue that collective narcissism captures all the above preconditions for collective action. It is laden with anger and resentment for the ingroup being deprived of what it believes it deserves (Golec de Zavala & Keenan 2023; 2024). It is associated with heightened sense of ingroup efficacy (Bagci et al., 2022) and the moralization of the ingroup's actions but refusal to moralize the same actions of the outgroup (Bocian et al., 2021; see also Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; West et al., 2022). Collective narcissism orientates and prepares group

members for conflict (Hase et al., 2021; Yustisia et al., 2020) and facilitates retaliation and revenge (Dyduch-Hazar & Mrozinski, 2021; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2013). Thus, collective narcissistic hostility is likely to be triggered when disadvantaged groups face outgroup antagonism, state violence and repression. We expect that collective narcissism in racial minority groups will be associated with antagonistic pursuit of the ingroup's emancipation. Indeed, collective narcissism among members of political minority groups is associated with endorsement of ideological extremism and terrorist violence in response to repression of the ingroup's political engagement (Jasko et al., 2020). This suggests that desire for recognition of the ingroup's superiority may motivate some of those who ostensibly endorse egalitarian positions (Costello et al., 2022; Lindström et al., 2024).

Existing findings in the collective narcissism literature align with our expectation that minorities' racial collective narcissism is associated with pursuit of racial equality. Among Blacks in the UK, racial collective narcissism predicts challenging anti-Black racism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Among Black participants in the US, racial collective narcissism predicts support for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement (Marinthe et al., 2022). Among the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey, collective narcissism predicts engagement in collective action challenging discrimination against sexual minorities (Bagci et al., 2022). Majority of those studies also demonstrated that the results are specific to collective narcissism in comparison to other aspects of ingroup identification, especially ingroup satisfaction. Thus, we expect that racial collective narcissism, but not non-narcissistic racial ingroup satisfaction, among racial minorities should be associated with support for racial equality and the rejection of supremacist attitudes among racial minorities in the United States.

Overview

In four cross-sectional studies in the U.S., we test 14 specific hypotheses (10 pre-registered[1], with different specific predicted variables illustrating attitudes towards racial

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[1] Due to a clerical error we did not preregister specific hypotheses for the specific predicted variables tested in Study 4. Nevertheless, we think it is worthwhile to present findings of Study 4 because of their considerable consistency with findings of pre-registered Studies 1-3.

equality) corresponding to two basic expectations that (1) American and White collective narcissism is associated with attitudes against racial equality but (2) racial minorities' collective narcissism is associated with attitudes in favour of racial equality (Table 1). Put otherwise, we expect that participants' self-identified racial group should produce cross-over interactions with racial collective narcissism in predicting attitudes towards equality. However, national collective narcissism should be associated with negative attitudes toward racial equality across participants' self-identified race.

To test our hypotheses, we first ascertained that national and racial collective narcissism are distinct variables and that their measures tap the same phenomena among Whites, Blacks and Latinx Americans[2]. We validated the concept as equivalent in all tested racial groups by demonstrating that although racial collective narcissism and racial ingroup satisfaction are positively associated, only racial collective narcissism uniformly predicts (3) support for antagonistic actions to advance the interests of the racial ingroup; and (4) perceived ingroup's relative deprivation similarly among Whites and Blacks (Study 2); and (5) perceived ingroup deprivation and support for violent collective action for the racial ingroup similarly among Whites and Latinx participants (Study 3). Those analyses and results are presented in detail in Supplemental Materials for the sake of brevity. They validate the concept of racial collective narcissism among Whites and racial minorities demonstrating its associations with racial ingroup satisfaction and intergroup antagonism are consistent across all racial groups.

Table 1

Hypotheses 1-14 Tested Across Studies 1-4 With Reference to Specific Predicted Variables.

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[2] To do so we established: (1) the measurements of national and racial collective narcissism form distinct latent variables (we established the same structure for national and racial ingroup satisfaction) and (2) the metric measurement invariance of the measurements of national and racial collective narcissism (and ingroup satisfaction) between the racial groups.

		National CN	White CN	Minority CN
Study 1	State repression of BLM (H1-H2)	+	+	-
N=526	Support for BLM (H3-H4)	-	-	+
Study 2	Legitimization of racial inequality (H5-H6)	+	+	-
N=800	Egalitarianism (H7-H8)	-	-	+
Study 3	Egalitarianism (H9-H10)	-	-	+
N=401				
Study 4	Alt-right support (H11-H12)	+	+	-
N=501	Support for racial minorities (H13-H14)	-	-	+

Note: CN: collective narcissism; + : expected positive association, - : expected negative association. The hypotheses with reference to American collective narcissism are indicated by odd numbers across studies (H1,3, 5,7,9,11, and 13). The hypotheses with reference to racial collective narcissism are indicated by even numbers (H2,4,6,8,10,12 and 14).

All studies were reviewed and accepted by the Research Ethics Committee at Goldsmiths, University of London. All participants provided informed consent and were fully debriefed. All sample size estimations are in Supplemental Materials, together with tables with descriptive statistics, reliabilities and correlations for each study. All studies were sufficiently powered. We oversampled to account for possible missing data. All studies were cross-sectional and follow the same data collection procedure described in detail in Study 1. In all studies measures were scored on a scale from (1) *Strongly disagree* to (6) *Strongly agree* unless otherwise specified. All R codes and data can be found at https://osf.io/8vj4s/?view_only=68c4a6a0597645dfb6f91a24720c2c7c. The preregistration of hypotheses and analyses for Study 1 is at https://aspredicted.org/KYD_J3D , Study 2 at https://aspredicted.org/PNN_D89, Study 3 at https://aspredicted.org/PQD_5GV.

Analytical strategy

To test H1-H14, we performed the OLS multiple regression and simple slopes analyses using R (R Core Team, 2013). We performed robust regression to correct for outliers. We adjusted the standard errors for heteroskedasticity and non-normality (hc4). The variable representing racial group was dummy-coded (0 = minorities, 1 = Whites). To test the hypotheses, we entered national collective narcissism, racial collective narcissism, racial group and two two-way interactions: between the national collective narcissism and the racial group and between the racial collective narcissism and the racial group (Model 1). To specify the hypotheses, we added national ingroup satisfaction, racial ingroup satisfaction and their two-way interactions with racial group as covariates (Model 2).

Study 1

Study 1 tested H1-4. H1 predicted that national collective narcissism will be positively associated with support for state repressions against the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, as seen, for instance, in the excessive use of force to clear protestors from Lafayette Square on June 1st, 2020 (Linton, 2020). H2 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and the support for repressions against the BLM. Specifically, we predicted that White collective narcissism will be positively associated with support for the repressions, whereas Black collective narcissism will be negatively associated with support for the repressions. H3 predicted that national collective narcissism will be negatively associated with anticipated participation in the BLM supporting collective action. H4 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and intentions to participate in the BLM collective action. Specifically, we predicted that White collective narcissism will be negatively associated with anticipated participation in the BLM collective action, whereas Black collective narcissism will be positively associated with anticipated participation.

Methods

Participants

Participants (N= 526; 261 males, 233 females, 7 non-binary/unidentified, Age: M = 37.5, SD = 13.95, range = 18-82) were 263 self-identified Black and 263 self-identified White U.S. adults provided through Academic Prolific's pre-screening service.

Procedure

Participants provided informed consent followed by demographic information. They 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 measures of predicted variables which were presented in a randomized order with items also randomized within measures. Finally, participants responded to the measures of national collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction. These measures were presented last to minimize confusion with the measures of racial collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction. Order of those measures and items within the measures was randomized for each participants. All subsequent studies followed the same design and procedure.

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 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".*

State repression of Black Lives Matter was adapted from a political intolerance measure (Skitka et al., 2004), e.g., *"I would support the government if it tapped the phones of BLM activists."*

Participation in Black Lives Matter was measured with a 5-item scale adapted from Hong & Peoples (2021) asking how often you took part in actions supporting Blacks Lives Matter. Data collection happened in early 2022, which was part of a period of high activity for Black Lives Matter following the murder of George Floyd by the police officer Derek Chauvin in May 2020. Participants were asked to indicate their frequency of involvement in the BLM movement in each of the following ways, e.g., *"Actively comment opinions on Facebook/social media in support of BLM."*, *"Participate in BLM protests or marches."* on scale from (1) *Not at all* to (6) *All the time.*

Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations for all studies are in Supplemental Materials. To test H1 and H3 we examined the association between American collective narcissism with support for state repression and participation in the BLM movement among American Blacks and Whites. To test H2 and H4, we examined the interaction of racial collective narcissism and racial group in predicting the support for state repression and participation in the BLM movement. In line with H1, American collective narcissism predicted support for state repression against the Black Lives Matter (Table 2).

The interaction between American collective narcissism and racial group was not significant. In line with H2, racial collective narcissism predicted opposite attitudes towards repressions of BLM by the state. White collective narcissists supported them, whereas Black collective narcissists disapproved of them (Table 2, Figure 1). Contrary to H3, American collective narcissism was positively associated with anticipated engagement with the Black Lives Matter among Whites and Blacks alike (Table 3). In line with H4, White collective narcissism predicted lower anticipated participation in BLM movement, whereas Black collective narcissism predicted higher anticipated participation in BLM movement (Table 3, Figure 2).

Results in Model 2, indicated that all predictions were specific to national collective narcissism. In contrast to national collective narcissism, national ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated with support for repressions against BLM movement and negatively associated with anticipated participation in BLM movement. Similarly to national collective narcissism, those associations were not moderated by participants' self-identified race. Analyses in Tables 2 and 3 revealed two significant cross-over interactions of racial ingroup satisfaction with race. Simple slopes analyses showed that the specific associations with support for repression of BLM were in the direction predicted by H2, but non-significant among Whites ($b(SE) = 0.12(0.10)$, $p = .221$, $95\%CI$[-0.073, 0.31]) and Blacks ($b(SE) = -0.17(0.09)$, $p = .073$, $95\%CI$[-0.35, 0.016]). In line with H4, White ingroup satisfaction predicted disengagement with the BLM collective action, ($b(SE) = -0.20(0.09)$, $p = .029$, $95\%CI$[-0.38, -0.02]) but Black ingroup satisfaction was not associated with anticipated participation in BLM ($b(SE) = 0.11(0.08)$, $p = .169$, $95\%CI$[-0.05, 0.26]). Thus, the association of racial ingroup satisfaction with the predicted variables followed the same pattern as the associations of racial collective narcissism, but were not as strong and mostly did not reach the conventional level of statistical significance.

In sum, results of Study 1 are in line with H1, H2 and H4. However, contrary to H3, American collective narcissism predicted anticipated participation in collective action organized by the BLM movement. This may mean that support for this movement became normative in the United States and demanded by national ingroup loyalty. Alternatively, this result may suggest that American collective narcissism is associated with support for any disruptive collective action. This interpretation aligns with findings linking national collective narcissism to support for right- and left-wing authoritarian aggression (Golec de Zavala et al., 2024) and the generic need for disruption and chaos (Federico & Golec de Zavala, 2024). We conducted Study 2, to clarify whether American collective narcissism is universally associated egalitarian beliefs advocated by BLM.

Table 2

Multiple Regression Analyses Of State Repression Of BLM, Study 1

	Model 1				**Model 2**			
Predictors	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*P*	*β*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	0.32(0.06)	0.21,0.43	<.001	0.36	0.46(0.09)	0.27,0.64	<.001	0.51
Racial CN	-0.29(0.07)	-0.43,-0.15	<.001	-0.37	-0.28(0.09)	-0.46,-0.09	.003	-0.36
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-1.72(0.37)	-2.44,-0.99	<.001	0.45	-3.54(0.50)	-4.53,-2.55	<.001	0.40
National CN X Group	-0.12(0.13)	-0.37,0.14	.370	-0.13	-0.30(0.16)	-0.62,0.01	.061	-0.34
Racial CN X Group	0.80(0.14)	0.54,1.07	<.001	1.03	0.74(0.16)	0.42,1.05	<.001	0.94
National IS					-0.22(0.08)	-0.39,-0.06	.007	-0.23
Racial IS					-0.17(0.09)	-0.35,0.02	.073	-0.16
National IS X Group					0.27(0.11)	0.05,0.49	.016	0.28
Racial IS X Group					0.29(0.14)	0.02,0.55	.034	0.28
Observations	526				526			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.230 / 0.223				0.271 / 0.259			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Table 3

*Multiple Regression Analyses Of Anticipated Participation in BLM, Study 1*

	Model 1				Model 2			
Predictors	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*P*	*β*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.01(0.07)	-0.16,0.13	.838	-0.02	0.21(0.09)	0.03,0.38	.019	0.23
Racial CN	0.58(0.08)	0.42,0.74	<.001	0.72	0.44(0.09)	0.26,0.62	<.001	0.54
Racial group (Whites = 1)	2.62(0.39)	1.85,3.38	<.001	-0.12	3.04(0.50)	2.04,4.03	<.001	-0.09
National CN X Group	0.05(0.12)	-0.19,0.28	.694	0.05	-0.02(0.14)	-0.30,0.25	.864	-0.03
Racial CN X Group	-0.92(0.12)	-1.15,-0.69	<.001	-1.14	-0.67(0.13)	-0.93,-0.42	<.001	-0.84
National IS					-0.32(0.08)	-0.47,-0.16	<.001	-0.32
Racial IS					0.11(0.08)	-0.05,0.26	.169	0.10
National IS X Group					0.12(0.11)	-0.11,0.35	.298	0.12
Racial IS X Group					-0.31(0.12)	-0.55,-0.07	.011	-0.29
Observations	526				526			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.173 / 0.165				0.240 / 0.227			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Figure 1
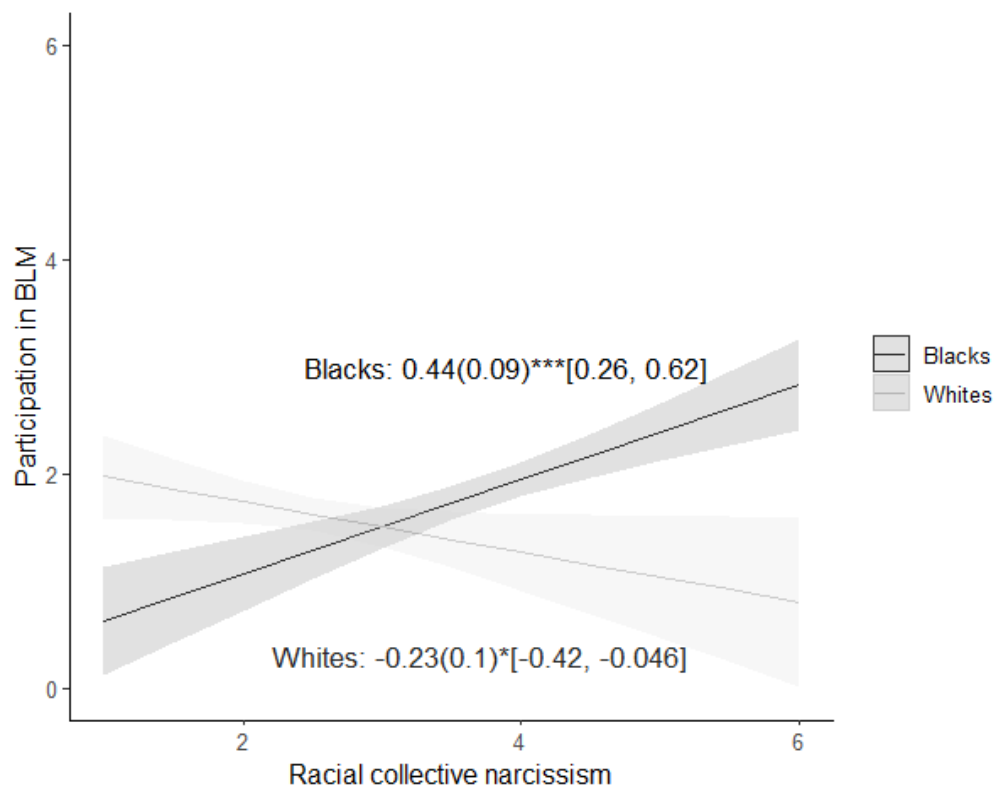
Simple Slopes Analyses Of Racial Collective Narcissism With State Repression Of BLM,

*Study 1. Note. *** p < .001, ** p = .003.*
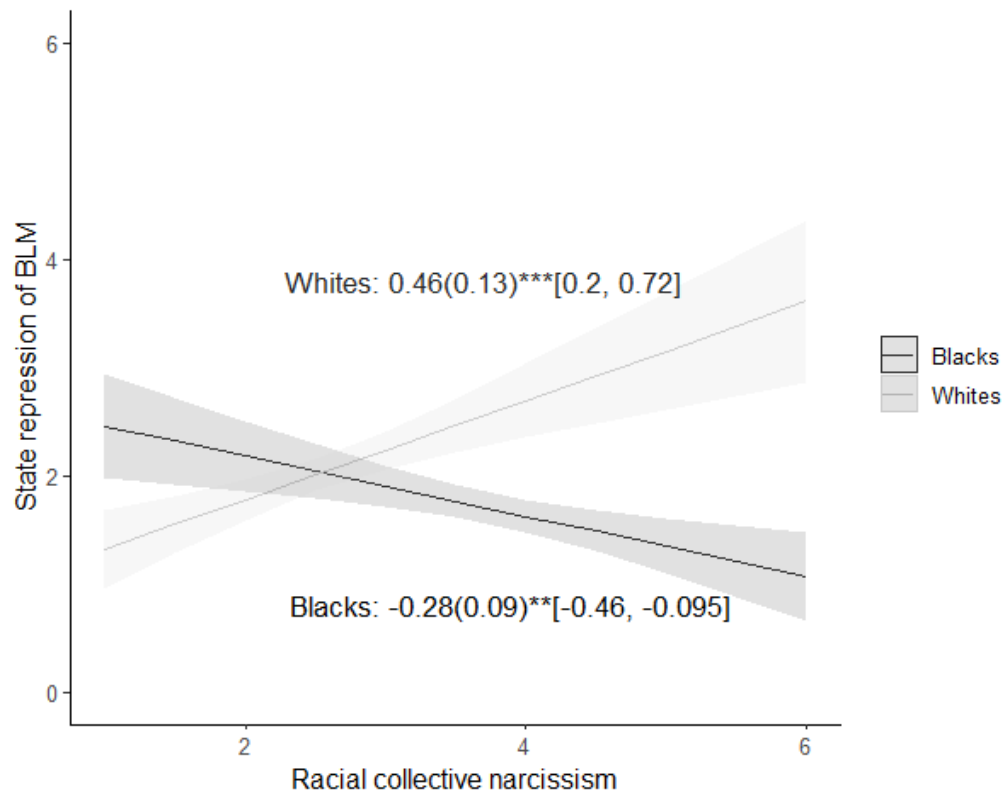
Figure 2

Simple Slopes Analyses Of Racial Collective Narcissism With Participation In BLM, Study 1.

*Note. *** p < .001, * p = .015.*

Study 2

Study 2 tested H5-8. H5 predicted that national collective narcissism will be positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality. H6 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and legitimization of racial inequality. Specifically, White collective narcissism will be positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality, whereas Black collective narcissism will be negatively associated with legitimization of racial inequality. H7 predicted that national collective narcissism will be negatively associated with egalitarianism. H8 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and egalitarianism. Specifically, White collective narcissism will be negatively associated with egalitarianism, whereas Black collective narcissism will be positively associated with egalitarianism.

Method

Participants and design

Participants (*N* = 800 U.S. adults; 367 males, 432 females, 1 non-binary/unidentified, 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.

Measures

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

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*".

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.*"

Results

In line with H5, American collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality similarly among American Blacks and Whites (Table 4). In line with H6, the predicted interaction was significant. White collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality but Black collective narcissism

was negatively associated with legitimization of racial inequality (Table 4, Figure 3).

Contrary to H7, the results revealed a significant interaction between American collective

narcissism and participants' self-identified race in predicting egalitarianism (Table 5).

Qualifying H7, simple slopes analyses revealed that American collective narcissism was

negatively associated with egalitarianism among Blacks, whereas among Whites, American

collective narcissism was positively associated with egalitarianism (Figure 4). The results

were partially consistent with H8. The predicted cross-over interaction was significant. White

collective narcissism was negatively associated with egalitarianism. The relationship between

Black collective narcissism and egalitarianism was not significant ($p = .052$, Figure 5). As in

Study 1, those results were specific to collective narcissism. In contrast to collective

narcissism, national and racial ingroup satisfaction was positively associated with

egalitarianism among both Blacks and Whites (Table 5) and unrelated to endorsement of

beliefs legitimizing racial inequality among both Blacks and Whites (Table 6).

In sum, results of Study 2 largely align with H5-8 and corroborate results of Study 1.

They indicate that White collective narcissism is negatively associated with egalitarianism,

but positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality, whereas Black collective

narcissism is positively associated with egalitarianism but negatively associated with beliefs

legitimizing racial inequality. Echoing results of Study 1, American collective narcissism is

positively associated with endorsement of beliefs legitimizing racial inequality, but

negatively associated with egalitarianism. In contrast, national ingroup satisfaction is

positively associated with egalitarianism. Additionally and unexpectedly, in Study 2, national

collective narcissism was negatively associated with egalitarianism among Blacks, but

positively associated with egalitarianism among Whites. Support for egalitarianism was

generally high among Blacks and Whites. At low levels of national collective narcissism

Blacks were more egalitarian than Whites, but at high levels of national collective narcissism

Blacks became less egalitarian than Whites. This result may suggest that at high levels of national collective narcissism, Black participants internalize the beliefs that discriminate against their self-identified racial group and reject egalitarianism. A similar effect was found among women internalizing benevolent sexism and opposing gender equality at high levels of national collective narcissism in Poland (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiaczonek, 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). In Study 3, we test whether the associations among collective narcissism, ingroup satisfaction and egalitarianism generalize beyond one method of assessment of egalitarianism and outside of White-Black racial relations to White to Latinx racial relations.

Table 4

Multiple Regression Analyses Of Legitimization Of Racial Inequality, Study 2

Predictors	Model 1				Model 2			
	b(SE)	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	0.62(0.07)	0.49,0.76	<.001	0.53	0.54(0.10)	0.35,0.73	<.001	0.46
Racial CN	-0.23(0.08)	-0.40,-0.07	.005	-0.22	-0.18(0.12)	-0.42,0.06	.140	-0.17
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-0.44(0.43)	-1.28,0.40	.303	0.47	-0.86(0.51)	-1.86,0.14	.093	0.47
National CN X Group	-0.20(0.11)	-0.41,0.01	.064	-0.17	-0.26(0.14)	-0.53,0.01	.056	-0.22
Racial CN X Group	0.49(0.11)	0.28,0.71	<.001	0.46	0.50(0.14)	0.21,0.78	.001	0.47
National IS					0.14(0.10)	-0.06,0.33	.164	0.10
Racial IS					-0.08 (0.12)	-0.32,0.15	.478	-0.07
National IS X Group					0.07(0.12)	-0.17,0.31	.562	0.05
Racial IS X Group					0.06(0.15)	-0.22,0.35	.665	0.05
Observations	800				800			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.377 / 0.373				0.386 / 0.379			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Table 5

*Multiple Regression Analyses Of Egalitarianism, Study 2*

Predictors	Model 1				Model 2			
	b(SE)	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.07(0.04)	-0.15,0.01	.072	-0.10	-0.15(0.06)	-0.26,-0.04	.008	-0.21
Racial CN	0.21(0.05)	0.11,0.32	<.001	0.33	0.11(0.06)	-0.00,0.23	.056	0.18
Racial group (Whites = 1)	0.25(0.31)	-0.36,0.85	.424	-0.27	1.13(0.51)	0.13,2.12	.027	-0.19
National CN X Group	0.23(0.08)	0.07,0.39	.006	0.33	0.28(0.10)	0.08,0.48	.006	0.40
Racial CN X Group	-0.35(0.08)	-0.51,-0.20	<.001	-0.55	-0.32(0.09)	-0.49,-0.15	<.001	-0.50
National IS					0.15(0.07)	0.02,0.28	.026	0.19
Racial IS					0.24(0.08)	0.09,0.40	.002	0.32
National IS X Group					-0.15(0.09)	-0.33,0.03	.107	-0.19
Racial IS X Group					-0.09(0.10)	-0.28,0.10	.368	-0.12
Observations	800				800			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.063 / 0.057				0.120 / 0.109			

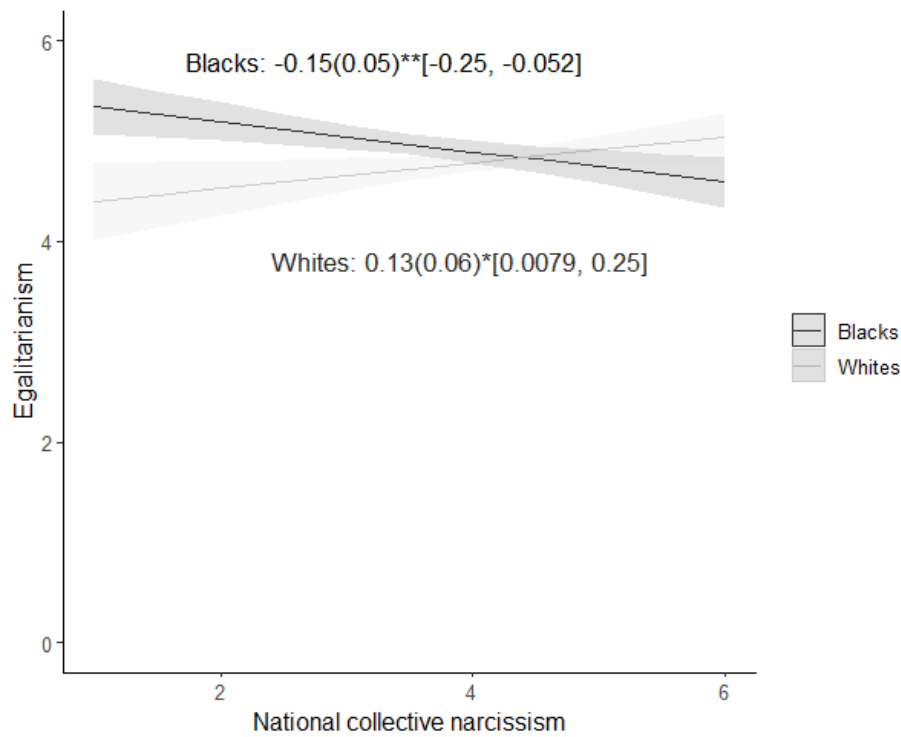*Note*. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Figure 3

Simple Slopes Analysis Of Racial Collective Narcissism And Legitimization Of Racial

Inequality, Study 2. Note. ***p < .001, * p = .026.*
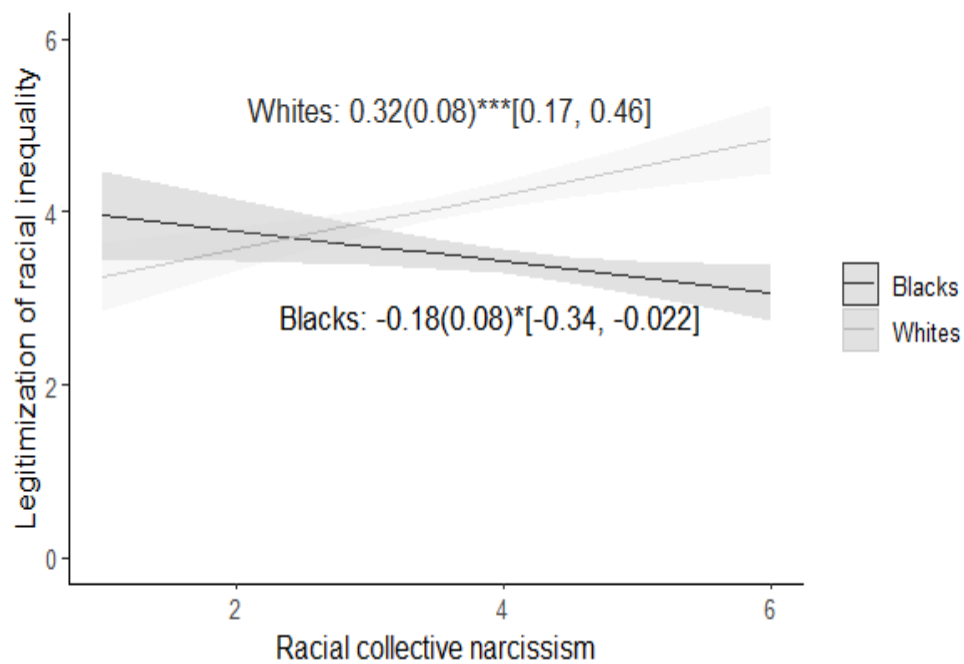
Figure 4

Simple Slopes Analysis Of National Collective Narcissism And Egalitarianism, Study 2. Note.

** Blacks: *p* = .003, * Whites: *p* = .037.

Figure 5

Simple Slopes Analysis Of Racial Collective Narcissism And Egalitarianism, Study 2. Note.

*** $p < .001$, ^ p = .052.

<div align="center">
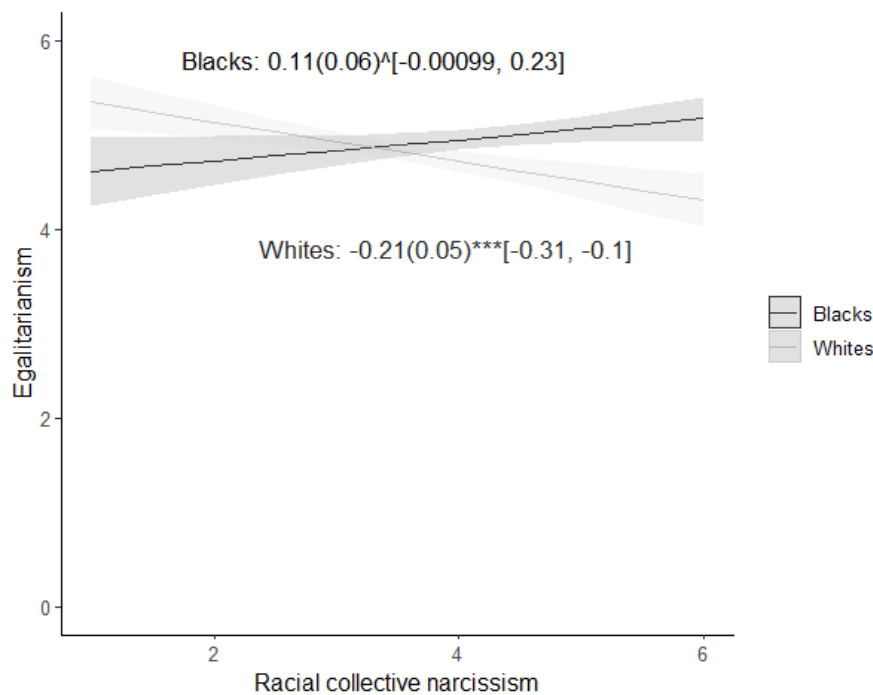
Study 3

</div>

Study 3 tested H9-10. H9 predicted that national collective narcissism will be negatively associated with egalitarianism. H10 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and egalitarianism. Specifically, White collective narcissism will be negatively associated with egalitarianism, whereas Latinx collective narcissism will be positively associated with egalitarianism.

<div align="center">

Method

</div>

Participants and design

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

Measures

National and racial collective narcissism and ***national and racial ingroup satisfaction*** were measured as in Study 2.

Egalitarianism was measured with 5 items were used from the short critical consciousness scale (Rapa et al., 2020) chosen at face validity to tap egalitarianism. 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*".

Results

In line with H9, American collective narcissism was negatively associated with egalitarianism among Whites and Latinx alike (Table 6). In line with H10, race moderated the association between racial collective narcissism and egalitarianism (Table 6). As expected, White collective narcissism was negatively associated with egalitarianism, whereas Latinx collective narcissism was positively associated with egalitarianism (Figure 5). Unlike in Study 2, national and racial ingroup satisfaction was unrelated to egalitarianism

In sum, the results pertaining to racial collective narcissism replicate between Studies 2 and 3. White and Latinx collective narcissism make opposite predictions for egalitarianism. Unlike in Study 2, American collective narcissism is consistently negatively associated with

egalitarianism in racial majority and minority. Thus, the results regarding the role of American collective narcissism are less consistent across studies, which warrants further investigation. In Study 4, we looked further into specific attitudes supporting inequality via empowering Whites or supporting equality via empowering racial minorities.

Table 6

Multiple Regression Analyses Of Egalitarianism, Study 3

Predictors	Model 1				Model 2			
	b(SE)	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.23(0.04)	-0.31,-0.14	<.001	-0.28	-0.20(0.09)	-0.37,-0.03	.018	-0.25
Racial CN	0.39(0.07)	0.25,0.53	<.001	0.54	0.38(0.11)	0.17,0.59	<.001	0.53
Racial group (Whites = 1)	1.97(0.33)	1.32,2.62	<.001	-0.27	2.19(0.40)	1.39,2.98	<.001	-0.26
National CN X Group	-0.13(0.12)	-0.37,0.10	.271	-0.16	-0.02(0.15)	-0.32,0.27	.874	-0.03
Racial CN X Group	-0.63(0.12)	-0.87,-0.39	<.001	-0.87	-0.64(0.15)	-0.94,-0.33	<.001	-0.88
National IS					-0.02(0.07)	-0.16,0.12	.744	-0.04
Racial IS					-0.00(0.09)	-0.18,0.18	.968	-0.00
National IS X Group					-0.13(0.10)	-0.32,0.07	.203	-0.19
Racial IS X Group					0.00(0.14)	-0.28,0.28	.999	0.00
Observations	401				401			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.248 / 0.239				0.264 / 0.247			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Figure 6

*Simple Slopes Analysis Racial Collective Narcissism And Egalitarianism, Study 3. Note. ****
p < .001, * *p* = .024.
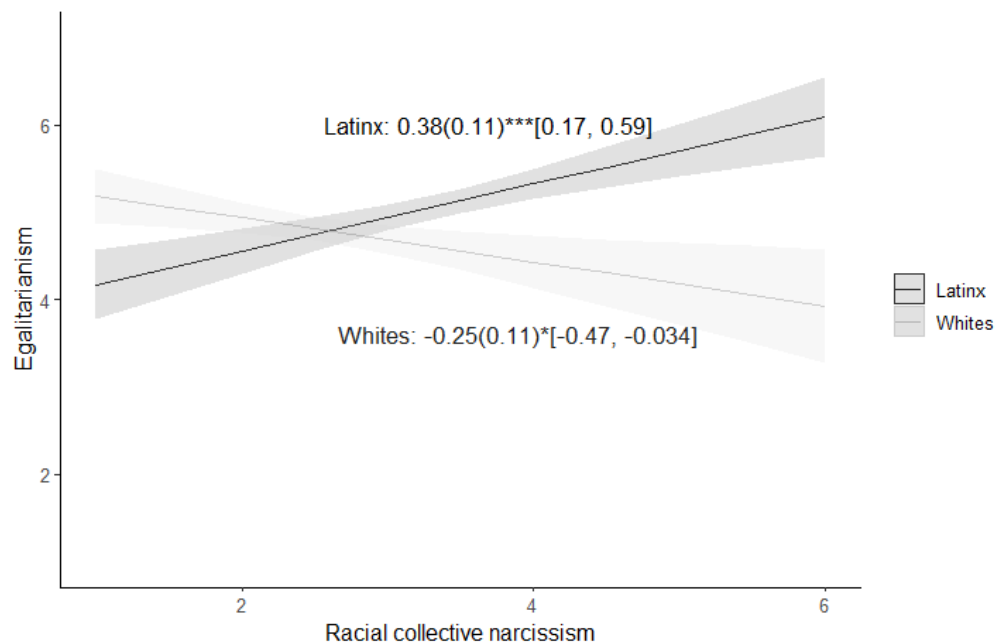
Study 4

Study 4 tested H11-14. H11 predicted that national collective narcissism will be positively associated with support for the alt-right movement. H12 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and support for the alt-right. Specifically, White collective narcissism will be positively associated with support for the alt-right, whereas Black collective narcissism will be negatively associated with support for the alt-right. H13 predicted that national collective narcissism will be negatively associated with support for policies advancing racial minorities. H14 predicted that race will moderate the association between racial collective narcissism and support for those policies. Specifically, White collective narcissism will be negatively associated with support for racial

minorities, whereas Latinx collective narcissism will be positively associated with support for racial minorities.

Method

Participants and design

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 Latinx and 252 self-identified White U.S. adults provided through Academic Prolific's pre-screening service.

Measures

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

Support for the alt-right was measured with three items adapted from the literature (e.g., Forscher & Kteily, 2020) 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 racial minorities were measured with 6 items created for the purpose of this. The items were based on attitudes on the salient issues at the time regarding police killings of Black people in the U.S. and Latin American immigration. This items were: "*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.*", "*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.".

Results

In line with H11, American collective narcissism was positively associated with

support for alt-right movement among Latinx and White participants alike (Table 7). In line

with H12, White collective narcissism was positively associated with support for the alt-right,

whereas Latinx collective narcissism was negatively associated with support for the alt-right

(Table 7, Figure 7). In line with H13, American collective narcissism was negatively

associated with support for policies empowering racial minorities among Latinx and White

participants alike (Table 8). Partially consistently with H14, Latinx collective narcissism was

positively associated with support for policies advancing racial minorities (Table 8), whereas

the association of White collective narcissism with support for policies advancing racial

minorities was non-significant (Figure 8).

In contrast to national collective narcissism, national ingroup satisfaction was

unrelated to support for the alt-right. It was also unrelated to support for policies advancing

racial minorities. Racial ingroup satisfaction was also unrelated to support for those policies.

Racial ingroup satisfaction interacted with racial group to predict alt-right support (Table 7).

Simple slopes analyses showed that Latinx ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated

with alt-right support ($b(SE)$ = -0.21(0.10), p = .036, *95%CI*[-0.41, -0.013]), whereas the

association was not significant among Whites, ($b(SE)$ = 0.067(0.08), p = .385, *95%CI*[-0.084,

0.22]).

Results of all studies are schematically summarized in Table 9. They align with most

of our specific hypotheses consistently replicating the findings that American collective

narcissism and White collective narcissism are associated with support for racial inequality, whereas collective narcissism among racial minorities is associated with support for racial equality. The predictions of national and racial ingroup satisfaction (assessed with two different scales) were different than the specific predictions of collective narcissism. They were also not consistent across studies. Thus, to better understand how processes of ingroup identification are involved in pursuit of racial equality it is important to observe the role of collective narcissism specifically.

Table 7

Multiple Regression Analyses Of Alt-Right Support, Study 4

Predictors	Model 1				Model 2			
	b(SE)	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	0.45(0.06)	0.33,0.57	<.001	0.44	0.36(0.10)	0.16,0.56	<.001	0.35
Racial CN	-0.38(0.07)	-0.52,-0.23	<.001	-0.37	-0.24(0.10)	-0.43,-0.05	.015	-0.23
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-1.42(0.31)	-2.02,-0.82	<.001	0.61	-2.12(0.47)	-3.05,-1.19	<.001	0.61
National CN X Group	0.04(0.11)	-0.18,0.26	.741	0.04	0.06(0.15)	-0.23,0.36	.668	0.06
Racial CN X Group	0.66(0.12)	0.42,0.90	<.001	0.65	0.51(0.15)	0.23,0.80	<.001	0.50
National IS					0.10(0.09)	-0.07,0.28	.247	0.10
Racial IS					-0.21(0.10)	-0.41,-0.01	.036	-0.17
National IS X Group					-0.04(0.12)	-0.28,0.20	.758	-0.03
Racial IS X Group					0.28(0.13)	0.03,0.52	.029	0.23
Observations	501				501			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.459 / 0.454				0.468 / 0.458			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Table 8

Multiple Regression Analysis Of Support For Racial Minorities, Study 4

	Model 1				**Model 2**			
Predictors	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.28(0.04)	-0.37,-0.20	<.001	-0.34	-0.24(0.07)	-0.38,-0.10	.001	-0.28
Racial CN	0.56(0.06)	0.44,0.67	<.001	0.66	0.49(0.08)	0.33,0.64	<.001	0.58
Racial group (Whites = 1)	1.69(0.26)	1.18,2.21	<.001	-0.41	2.13(0.45)	1.25,3.01	<.001	-0.41
National CN X Group	0.03(0.11)	-0.19,0.25	.805	0.03	-0.00(0.15)	-0.30,0.30	.990	-0.00
Racial CN X Group	-0.70(0.13)	-0.95,-0.44	<.001	-0.83	-0.59(0.15)	-0.88,-0.30	<.001	-0.70
National IS					-0.06(0.06)	-0.18,0.07	.371	-0.06
Racial IS					0.11(0.09)	-0.06,0.27	.217	0.11
National IS X Group					0.05(0.12)	-0.19,0.29	.696	0.05
Racial IS X Group					-0.20(0.12)	-0.44,0.05	.112	-0.20
Observations	500				500			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.314 / 0.308				0.320 / 0.307			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

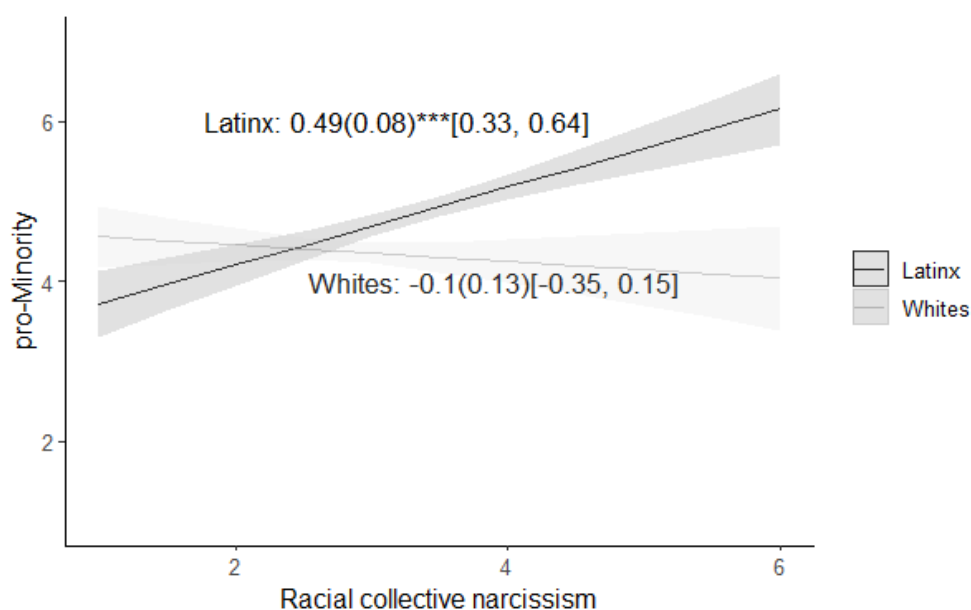**Figure 7**

Simple Slopes Analyses Of Racial Collective Narcissism And Alt-Right Support, Study 4.

Note. * Whites: *p* = .012, Latinx: *p* = .015.
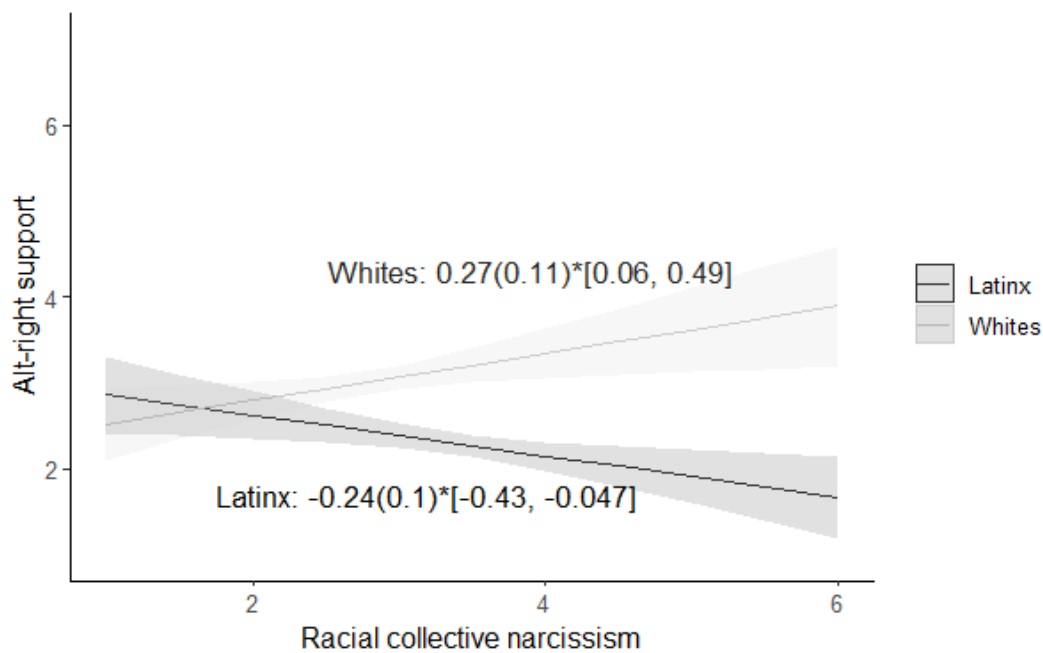
Figure 8

Simple Slopes Analyses Of Racial Collective Narcissism And Support For Racial Minorities, Study 4. Note. *** *p* < .001, Whites: *p* = .415.

Table 9

Summary Of Results Across Studies 1-4

		National CN		Racial CN × Racial group		Simple slopes			
						White CN		Minority CN	
		b	*p*	*b*	*p*	*b*	*p*	*b*	*p*
Study 1 N=526	State repression of BLM (H1-H2)	0.46	<.001	0.74	<.001	0.46	<.001	-0.28	.003
	Support for BLM (H3-H4)	0.21	.019	-0.67	<.001	-0.23	.015	0.44	<.001
Study 2 N=800	Legitimization of racial inequality (H5-H6)	0.54	<.001	0.50	.001	0.30	<.001	-0.18	.026
	Egalitarianism (H7-H8)	-0.15	.008	-0.32	<.001	-0.21	<.001	0.11	.052
Study 3 N = 401	Egalitarianism (H9-H10)	-0.20	.018	-0.64	<.001	-0.25	.024	0.38	<.001
Study 3 N=501	Alt-right support (H11-H12)	0.36	<.001	0.51	<.001	0.27	.012	-0.24	.015
	Support for racial minorities (H13-H14)	-0.24	.001	-0.59	<.001	-0.10	.415	0.49	<.001

Note. b: unstandardized beta coefficients, *p: p* values.

Discussion

Summary of findings

Results of four studies align with our expectation that White collective narcissism is associated with support for racial inequality, whereas racial collective narcissism among racial minorities is associated with support for racial equality. The results also largely support our expectation that American national narcissism is associated with support for racial inequality among Whites and racial minorities alike.

Across all studies, all expected cross-over interactions between racial collective narcissism and self-identified racial group were significant. The examined associations had opposite signs among Whites and racial minorities. Specifically, White collective narcissisms was positively associated with support for the repression of the BLM movement and its activists by the force of the state. Black collective narcissism was negatively associated with this variable. White collective narcissism was negatively associated with anticipated engagement in the Black Lives Matter movement, whereas Black collective narcissism was positively associated with anticipated engagement in the Black Lives Matter movement. White collective narcissisms was negatively associated with egalitarianism, whereas Latinx collective narcissism was positively associated with egalitarianism (the association was not significant among Blacks). In turn, White collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality, whereas Black collective narcissism was negatively associated with legitimization of racial inequality. White collective narcissisms was positively associated with support for alt-right attitudes and not associated with support for policies to advance racial minorities. In contrast, Latinx collective narcissism was negatively associated with support for alt-right attitudes and positively associated with support for policies to advance racial minorities. Those associations were specific to racial collective

narcissism in contrast to racial ingroup satisfaction whose associations were inconsistent across studies and mostly not significant.

Across the four studies, American national narcissism was associated with rejection of egalitarianism, legitimization of racial inequality, support for the alt-right movement, support for state repressions against the Black Lives Matter movement, and rejection of policies advancing racial minorities. Those associations were specific to national collective narcissism and they were not moderated by the self-identified racial group. In other words, national narcissists among American Whites and racial minorities alike endorsed racial inequality. National ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated with anticipated participation in the BLM movement and with support for the state repressions against this movement, and not associated with other predicted variables.

One unexpected finding was that national collective narcissism – contrary to expectations - was positively associated with anticipated participation in the BLM collective action. Another unexpected finding, that White collective narcissism is associated with egalitarianism, was not replicated across alternative samples and assessments of egalitarianism. While in Study 2 national narcissism was negatively associated with egalitarianism among Blacks but positively associated among Whites, in Study 3 it was negatively associated with egalitarianism among White and Latinx participants.

White collective narcissism and ethnocentric projection

The present results indicate that participants high on American and White collective narcissism reject racial equality. This supports our argument that, at high levels of racial collective narcissism, American Whites project the interests of their racial ingroup onto American national identity. A similar idea is tapped by the concept of American White nationalism defined as threatened "*sense of racial and national greatness and entitlement*", a

belief that White people in the United States are inherently superior to other racial groups and should demand preferential treatment and protection (Reyna et al., 2022, p. 80-81). The present results suggest that Whtie nationalism taps the alignment of collective narcissism in two social identities: national and racial. American White nationalism literature uses the concept of 'nationalism' in a similar way we use the concept of 'collective narcissism' – as an antagonistic aspect of ingroup identification that can refer to both national and racial group. Typically, nationalism is defined as an antagonistic, ethnocentric aspect of national identification specifically, and differentiated from more communal patriotism (Huddy & Kathib, 2007; Huddy & Del Ponte, 2019; Koesterman & Feshbach, 1989). Based on extant research (Federico et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2016), we argue that using the concept nationalism with reference to national identity specifically and differentiating it from national collective narcissism is useful (cf. Cichocka & Cislak, 2020). It helps uncover that nationalism is positively related to national narcissism but negatively related to patriotism (Federico et al., 2022). Keeping definitions clear and measurements precise helps us uncover the complex relations between different forms of ingroup identification.

More generally, the present results align with previous findings that national narcissism is associated with inequality-justifying prejudice towards disadvantaged groups. Previous studies linked national collective narcissism to sexism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiaczonek, 2021), anti-Semitism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020), homophobia (Lantos et al., 2024; Mole et al., 2022); prejudice towards immigrants and refugees (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2024) or religious minorities (Verkuyten et al., 2022). By endorsing prejudice, national narcissists in traditionally advantaged groups legitimize their claim to representation of national community at the expense of the interests of traditionally disadvantaged groups. Thus, the present results qualify previous findings regarding the phenomenon of *ethnocentric projection* (Brewer et al., 2013; Devos & Mohamed, 2014) by

specifying that it happens especially at high levels of collective narcissism in traditionally advantaged groups. Whites who endorse racial collective narcissism engage in such projection. They are the most likely to feel they represent and own the nation. Whites who do not endorse racial collective narcissism may be more likely to support racial minorities and engage in pursuit of racial equality.

National collective narcissism and system justification

The present findings that American national narcissism is associated with rejection of racial equality among Whites and racial minorities alike align with the social identity model of system attitudes (Rubin et al., 2023) and system justification theory (Jost, 2019). Both models expect that members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups should legitimize and accept unequal social systems. System justification theory assumes that system justification motive (i.e., the need to support the societal organization that constitutes the known, though unequal status quo) outweighs the importance of the ingroup justification motive (i.e., positive ingroup identification and fostering of the ingroup's interests) among members of traditionally disadvantaged groups. Members of traditionally disadvantaged groups experience dissonance between desired and actual position of their ingroup in the social hierarchy. They reduce this dissonance by endorsing the very hierarchy as fair, just and legitimate. The social identity model of system attitudes proposes that members of disadvantaged groups endorse the system that disadvantages them out of the need for positive ingroup distinctiveness (i.e., the need for a positive social identity that is different than other social identities) and social accuracy (i.e. the need to accurately recognize and represent the social system as it is). Members of disadvantaged groups understand that the system disadvantages their specific group, but they identify with the group that represents the whole system. Both models assume that members of disadvantaged groups should justify the system more at high levels of national identification (assuming the nation embodies the system).

The present results qualify this expectation. They show that American collective narcissists among racial minorities legitimize the social system that disadvantages their racial ingroup. This suggests that system justification may have a narcissistic tint to it. Similar findings were reported among Polish women who endorse national narcissism and beliefs that legitimize gender inequality (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiaczonek, 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). In both cases, members of disadvantaged groups justified unequal social systems at high levels of national collective narcissism, but not at high levels of national ingroup satisfaction. Thus, members of disadvantaged groups who use their national identity to satisfy the need to be recognized as better than others are likely to embrace the unequal system that disadvantages their racial ingroup. This is unless or until they can use their racial ingroup to the same purpose.

In one of our studies, American national narcissism was associated with rejection of egalitarian outlook by Black participants, but acceptance of egalitarianism by White participants. While this result was not replicated and should be interpreted with caution, it is not at odds with our argument. It aligns with other findings that members of disadvantaged groups internalize societal oppression of their disadvantaged ingroup by endorsing the very beliefs that justify their ingroup's disadvantaged position (see also Mikołajczak et al., 2022; Owuamalam et al., 2024; Szczepańska et al., 2022). The present results provide a tentative suggestion that internalizing oppression is more likely among members of disadvantaged groups who endorse national narcissism. Further studies are needed to establish how reliable is the association between national narcissism and anti-egalitarianism among American racial minorities. However, in line with the discussed results, extant research indicates that women who endorse national narcissism are more likely to internalize benevolent sexism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiaczonek, 2021), support anti-abortion attitudes (Szczepanska et al., 2022),

endorse beliefs legitimizing gender inequality and the social movement that pursues it (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024).

The finding that national collective narcissism is positively associated with egalitarianism among American Whites is at odds with other findings of the present research. It has not been replicated across studies. In the context of other findings, it may suggest that White national narcissists may be the most invested in the meritocratic belief that America is the country of equal chances. It may also reflect the tendency among the traditionally advantaged groups to ostensibly embrace egalitarian ideals to maintain a positive ingroup image and deniability of their role in reproducing inequality (Shuman et al., 2024), without implementing the egalitarian ideals in everyday societal practice (Dixon et al., 2017).

Nevertheless, we also should consider the association of national narcissism and egalitarianism among Whites in the context of other findings pointing to American collective narcissism being simultaneously positively associated with anticipated engagement in the BLM collective action and with support for state forceful repression against the BLM collective action. Together those findings suggest that collective narcissism may be related to preference for political violence as a phenomenon, with the ideological content of the conflict and reasons for political violence being of secondary, superficial importance. In other words, collective narcissists may be willing to support disruption for disruption's sake. Such interpretation is supported by recent findings indicating that national collective narcissism is simultaneously associated with right-wing and left-wing authoritarian aggression (Golec de Zavala & Federico, 2024), a general need for chaos (Federico & Golec de Zavala, 2024; Golec de Zavala, 2024) and support for undemocratic, ruthless political leaders who wage political violence (Golec de Zavala, 2024; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). Such interpretation is also in line with findings linking national collective narcissism to instrumental, exploitative use of group identity (Cichocka et al., 2022b; Eker et al., 2023).

Collective narcissism and pursuit of racial equality

The present findings suggest, for the first time, a potentially constructive aspect of collective narcissism (cf. Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020; see Golec de Zavala, 2024). Across all studies, racial collective narcissism among racial minorities was consistently associated with support for racial equality, rejection of inequality legitimizing beliefs, and anticipated engagement in collective action to challenge racial inequality. As collective narcissism predicts preference for antagonistic, coercive and violent means to advance the ingroup's goals (Golec de Zavala, 2024), this suggests that such collective action is likely to include non-normative and descriptive actions.

This is not necessarily a bad thing. Although collective action is seen more favourably when it relies solely on normative and legal means (Orazani & Leidner, 2019; Teixeira et al., 2020), intergroup antagonism and willingness to fight for the disadvantaged ingroup's interests and goals are necessary to pursue social justice. Historical evidence indicates that advantaged groups entrench in the protection of their privileges (Moghaddam, 2023) and equality is more often won than voluntarily given away (e.g., Dixon & McKeown, 2021). Research shows that the combination of normative and disruptive collective action is more likely to elicit concessions from advantaged groups than normative collective action. Protests are more effective when they mix peaceful and confrontational strategies in pursuit of egalitarian values (Shuman et al., 2020). In this sense, collective narcissism may be a factor of social change towards equality. It may may motivate members of traditionally disadvantaged groups to use confrontational strategies for egalitarian goals. Specifically, collective narcissism may be inspiring the so-called 'radical flank' of social movements, activists that accept the use violence and destruction as part of their protest actions (Dasch et al., 2024). Future studies would do well further exploring this prediction among activists.

However, evidence already exists that in extremist organizations those who embrace collective narcissism also endorse political violence (Jasko et al., 2020; Yustisia et al., 2020).

To be clear, we do not claim that collective narcissism is the only motivation behind egalitarianism or collective action. We merely suggest that the consequences of collective narcissism being implicated in collective action should be considered. Extant research indicates that reactionary backlash prevents disadvantaged group members from pursuing reconciliation and allyship with advantaged groups (Hässler et al., 2022; Shnabel & Ullrich, 2013; Urbiola et al., 2022). We argue that such a backlash is likely to radicalize collective narcissists in disadvantaged groups towards political violence. Collective narcissists in traditionally disadvantaged groups see the intergroup relations with traditionally advantaged groups in zero-sum terms (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023; 2024), and are likely to see the reactionary backlash as hostile provocation and engage in violent retaliation (Dyduch-Hazar & Mrozinski, 2021; Golec de Zavala et al., 2013). Thus, we argue that while collective narcissists in disadvantaged groups may drive collective action for the social change towards equality, they are unlikely to be that change. Unless, they themselves also change during the course of collective action.

Indeed, one aspect of collective action may have a disarming effect on radicalization of collective narcissists. Salience of egalitarian values underscores the moral aspect of collective action as well as the importance of solidarity, compassion and other communal, selfless emotions that sustain collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). 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., 2024). Thus, the typical collective narcissistic preference for violence may be neutralized by communal normative context that accompanies collective pursuit of social equality.

Is it collective narcissism?

        The demand that the ingroup is universally recognized as better than others is crucial to collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala, 2023; 2024). As such, collective narcissism should not be confused with collective relative deprivation (Abrams & Grant, 2012; Smith & Pettigrew, 2015) that is concerned with fairness and equality rather than special recognition. The fact that members of traditionally disadvantaged groups have objective reasons to feel unfairly deprived in comparison to members of traditionally advantaged groups does not mean that they are unable to endorse collective narcissism.

        According to collective narcissism theory, people can use any excuse to exaggerate the importance of their ingroup and demand special recognition of any social group they belong to with similar consequences for ingroup and outgroup attitudes and behaviours (Golec de Zavala, 2011; 2023; 2024). Extant research demonstrates that collective narcissism is similarly positively associated with ingroup satisfaction and outgroup antagonism when assessed with reference to various national groups (Guerra et al., 2022), gender groups (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024), political parties (Bocian et al., 2021; Gronfeldt et al., 2023), groups defined by university affiliation (Golec de Zavala, et al., 2013), sexual orientation (Bagci et al., 2022), even fictional groups (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021).

        Previous studies also demonstrated that ethnic collective narcissism is similarly associated with ethnic ingroup satisfaction, negative emotionality and ingroup bias among ethnic Turks (traditionally advantaged ethnic group) and Kurds (traditionally disadvantaged ethnic group) in Turkey (Bagci et al., 2023). Moreover, gender collective narcissism is associated with endorsement of normative and non-normative collective action to advance the gender ingroup similarly among men and women (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). Present results (presented in detail in Supplemental Materials) showed that racial collective narcissism is similarly associated with racial ingroup satisfaction and intergroup antagonism

among American White, Black and Latinx participants. Thus, according to theory and evidence, collective narcissism is endorsed with similar consequences by members of traditionally advantaged and disadvantaged groups. However, collective narcissism is associated with preference for different specific strategies to advance ingroup's goals in asymmetric intergroup contexts.

We argue that in disadvantaged groups, collective narcissism is still the desire for the ingroup to be recognized as *more worthy of privilege* than other groups (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023) even if it is ostensibly associated with pursuit of egalitarianism. While the desire for intergroup equality motivates actions towards hierarchy attenuation, the narcissistic desire to have the ingroup recognized as better than others motivates actions towards hierarchy reversal. This suggest that collective narcissism in disadvantaged groups should stop motivating pursuit of equalitarian ideals as soon as equality is approached. There are four interrelated lines of evidence that indicate that collective narcissism may be implicated in pursuit of equality. First, egalitarianism is sometimes strategically endorsed depending on relative group status. Experimental evidence indicates that as ingroup status increases attitudes shift towards anti-egalitarianism (Guimond et al., 2003; Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007). Second, analyses show that solidarity between disadvantaged groups advocating egalitarianism is limited by parochial ingroup interests (Burson & Godfrey, 2018; Chaney & Forbes, 2023; Craig et al., 2020), which leads to conflicts between disadvantaged groups (Caricati, 2018; e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012) and emergence of factions within emancipatory social movements (e.g., Maxwell et al., 2024). Third, disadvantaged groups are capable of use of political violence to damage the outgroups and advance their political interests (Obaidi et al., 2023). This suggests that some fractions of disadvantaged groups advocating equality may want to forcibly flip rather than reduce social hierarchy. Lastly,

revolutionary collective action sometimes results in new hierarchies rather than counter-hierarchical, democratic systems (Moghaddam & Hendricks, 2020).

What about non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction?

Importantly, our findings are specific to collective narcissism. Nevertheless, the present results also shed some light on the role of ingroup satisfaction in asymmetric intergroup relations. Extant research suggests that the role of non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction is often more constructive than the role of collective narcissism. In contrast to collective narcissism, non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction predicts intergroup tolerance (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2020), preference for intergroup harmony over antagonism (Golec de Zavala, 2023), concern for ingroup members wellbeing (Gronfeldt et al., 2022), support for democracy (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021; Marchlewska et al., 2022), rationality (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022), rejection of populist, authoritarian leaders (Golec de Zavala, 2024; Golec de Zavala et al., 2024; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). In contrast to this literature, the present studies found no consistent association between racial ingroup satisfaction and support for racial equality. Similar null finding also occurred in previous research that investigated support for gender equality. In contrast to gender collective narcissism, gender ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated with support for collective action for gender equality and negatively associated with egalitarianism (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024).

Interestingly, such null findings are in line with research on the social identity model of collective action, that has quickly established that positive identification with the disadvantaged group is not sufficient to inspire engagement in collective action (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2018). The present research suggests that racial collective narcissism, instead of racial ingroup satisfaction, comprises more preconditions of

collective action: positive evaluation of the disadvantaged ingroup, group-based entitlement, resentment, a sense of collective efficacy, clearly directed grievance etc.

The present results also suggest an ambivalent or at best unclear role of national ingroup satisfaction in pursuit of racial equality. Although in line with extant research (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiaczonek, 2021; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024), national ingroup satisfaction was negatively associated with support for state repression against the BLM movement and activists, it was also negatively associated with anticipated participation in the BLM collective action. It was not consistently associated with egalitarianism or beliefs legitimizing inequality. Those findings are in line with previous results indicating that national ingroup satisfaction is not associated with support for collective action for gender equality (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2024). Together, those results suggest that while national ingroup satisfaction plays a mitigating role in intergroup conflict (Golec de Zavala, 2023), it may play a stifling role in asymmetric intergroup relations and prevent social change towards greater equality. National ingroup satisfaction seems to be associated with preference for intergroup harmony over preference for equality. As a variable fostering conflict avoidance, it may be an obstacle to social change that requires acknowledging of conflicts of interests and an active and constructive approach to their resolution (Dixon & McKeown, 2021; Dixon et al., 2017). From this perspective neither conflict avoidant ingroup satisfaction, nor antagonistic collective narcissism are beneficial.

Limitations

While the present research provided valuable insights into the role of national and racial collective narcissism in pursuit of racial equality, it has limitations that need to be considered while interpreting the findings. This research was conducted in the United States in the context of racial inequality. Future studies would do well to address the generalizability of our findings beyond this national context and with reference to different group hierarchies.

Along those lines, extant studies have suggested that racial collective narcissism predicts bias against racial outgroup similarly among racial majorities and racial minorities in the United Kingdom (Bagci et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Marinthe et al. 2022) and gender collective narcissism predicts bias against gender outgroup among men and women in Poland (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Thus, the present results are likely to generalize across different group hierarchies.

Future studies would also do well examining the inconsistent findings related to national collective narcissism. While it was associated with support for beliefs legitimizing racial inequality, it was also associated with one measure of egalitarianism among Whites and with support for the BLM collective action among American Whites and Blacks. More data are needed to better understand the reasons for this inconsistency.

All present and past studies that examined the relationship between collective narcissism and attitudes towards equality are correlational, thus we cannot draw any conclusions about collective narcissism's causal role. The relationship between collective narcissism and legitimization of inequality may be reciprocal. There is longitudinal and experimental evidence suggesting collective narcissism conduces to prejudice that justifies inequality (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). Furthermore, the social identity perspective emphasises the causal role of ingroup identification in motivating ideological positions (Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007) and collective action (Thomas et al., 2020). However, collective narcissism may well be used to justify coercive pursuit of the group interests: maintenance of inequality mong advantaged groups and greater equality or hierarchy reversal in disadvantaged groups. In the latter case, collective narcissism may be useful in fighting oppression, but less so in envisioning alternatives. Further research should examine this proposition.

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SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS

Collective narcissism of White supremacy and minority resistance

Sample size estimation for all studies

Sample size estimation for all studies was carried out using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) for the most complicated analysis with 9 predictors: national and racial collective narcissism, racial group, their interactions as well as covariates: national and racial ingroup satisfaction and their interactions with racial group (Model 2). The sample estimate was based 80% power with alpha = .05. The sample was doubled because of the expected reversal of the effect of racial collective narcissism when moderated by racial group (Giner-Sorolla, 2018). For study 1, we assumed an effect size of $f^2 = .18$ based on a multiple regression assessing national and gender collective narcissism and collective action for gender equality (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). The gave a final sample estimate of $n = 192$ sufficient to test the hypothesized main effect of national collective narcissism and interaction effect of racial collective narcissism and racial group. For study 2, we assumed an effect size of $f^2 = .10$ based on a multiple regression assessing national and gender collective narcissism and egalitarianism (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). This gave a final sample estimate of $n = 332$ sufficient to test both the hypothesized main and interaction effects. For Study 3, we ran a sensitivity power analysis for $n = 401$, with 80% power and $\alpha = .05$ which indicated a minimum detectable effect size of $f^2 = .04$. The sample was sufficient to detect the effect found of $f^2 = .11$. For Study 4, we used the smallest effect from Study 1, $f^2 = .20$, which gave a final estimate of $n = 176$ sufficient to test the hypothesized main and interaction effects.

Additional Measurements

In all studies, we used additional measures to test and validate the racial collective narcissism concept and measurement. Below we describe what concepts were measured with information which study contained the specific measurement.

Willingness to engage in collective action for one's racial ingroup was measured in Study 1 with the 8-item Activism-Radicalism Intentions Scale in reference to the racial ingroup to assess willingness to partake in 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.*". "*I would volunteer my time working (e.g., write petitions, distribute flyers, recruit people) for an organization that fights for my racial group's political and legal rights.*"

Perceived racial ingroup deprivation was measured in Study 2 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.*". It was measured in Study 3 by two 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 was measured in Study 3 with a three item scale adapted from van Prooijen and Kuijper (2020) which assessed willingness to use violence to promote the racial ingroup. E.g., "*I am prepared to disturb the social order so the important ideals of my ethnic group are realized.*". "*I am prepared to use violence against other people so the important ideals of my ethnic group are realized.*"

Factor structure and measurement invariance of racial collective narcissism scale

We first aimed to ascertain that national collective narcissism is a different variable that racial collective narcissism. We also differentiated those concepts from national and racial ingroup satisfaction. While extant research demonstrated that national collective narcissism and national ingroup satisfaction are distinct variables with distinct nomological

networks (Federico et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala, 2023), the same distinction has not been made equally clear in the context of racial identity. Importantly, the invariance of racial collective narcissism scale among different racial groups has never been empirically demonstrated.

Thus we first tested the assumptions that all aspect of positive ingroup evaluation - collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction on national and racial levels- represent separate latent factors. Next, we tested whether the four scales assessing the four factors are invariant among Whites and racial minorities. To this end, we first 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 1 indicate the four factor model showed the best fit to the data in all four samples.

Table 1

Factorial Comparisons Of The National And Racial Collective Narcissism And Ingroup Satisfaction Scales, Studies 1- 4

Model	df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	χ^2	p
				Study 1			
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 2			

	df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	χ²	p
Four factor (Model 1)	129	0.928	0.939	0.083	0.057	886.192	
Two factor (Model 2)	134	0.532	0.590	0.211	0.223	4,949.712	<.001
Two factor (Model 3)	134	0.736	0.769	0.158	0.126	2,874.379	<.001
One factor (Model 4)	135	0.438	0.504	0.231	0.190	5,961.473	<.001
			Study 3				
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 4				
Four factor (Model 1)	129	0.878	0.897	0.108	0.064	907.638	
Two factor (Model 2)	134	0.591	0.642	0.198	0.157	2783.332	<.001
Two factor (Model 3)	134	0.707	0.743	0.167	0.106	2043.508	<.001
One factor (Model 4)	135	0.499	0.558	0.219	0.151	3403.453	<.001

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.

Next, we tested whether predictions of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction (racial and national) can be compared between racial groups by measurement invariance of the scales assessing all four variables among racial majority and racial minorities. 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 ΔCFI < .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. As can be seen in Table 2, invariance was found at the metric level shown by changes in CFI between the configural and metric models being less than .01 across studies. Metric invariance allows comparing the predictions and associations of racial collective narcissism and racial ingroup satisfaction between racial groups (Hirschfeld & von Brachel, 2014). It does not allow for reliable comparisons of the mean levels of both variables across racial groups (Putnick & Bornstein, 2016, but see Robitzsch & Lüdtke, 2023).

Table 2

Measurement Invariance Analyses Of The Four Factor Model National And Racial Collective Narcissism Vs. Ingroup Satisfaction, Studies 1-4

Model	χ^2	df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR
Four factor group identification model						
Study 1						
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 2						
Overall	886.192	129	0.928	0.939	0.083	0.057
US Whites	682.307	129	0.918	0.930	0.096	0.069
US Blacks	431.882	129	0.920	0.932	0.074	0.063
Configural	1,114.189	258	0.918	0.931	0.087	0.063
Metric	1,162.168	272	0.919	0.928	0.086	0.069
Study 3						
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 4					
Overall	907.638	129	0.878	0.897	0.108	0.064
US Whites	578.881	129	0.875	0.895	0.114	0.071
US Latinx	435.524	129	0.893	0.910	0.094	0.075
Configural	1,014.405	258	0.883	0.901	0.105	0.070
Metric	1,073.287	272	0.882	0.895	0.105	0.082
Overall	907.638	129	0.878	0.897	0.108	0.064

Note. Robust fit indices are presented.

Differentiating racial collective narcissism from racial ingroup deprivation

We argue that racial collective narcissism manifests in demanding special external recognition for one's racial ingroup whose greatness is exaggerated. We argue racial collective narcissism is a different phenomenon than perceived racial ingroup deprivation, recognizing deficits in external recognition of the racial ingroup in comparison to another racial group and demanding equal recognition. Conceptually the two phenomena have been distinguished (Golec de Zavala, 2023; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024). Here, we demonstrate that distinction empirically.

To this end, using data from Studies 2 and 3, we carried out confirmatory factor analyses, specifying a one factor model where all items of the collective narcissism scale and perceived racial ingroup deprivation scale loaded on one latent factor, and a two factor model where collective narcissism scale and perceived racial ingroup deprivation scale loaded on two separate factors. To distinguish the scales, we compared the fit of one factor and two factor models. Across both studies, the two factor model showed better fit suggesting that the two scales assess separate concepts (Table 3).

Table 3

Factorial Comparisons of the Racial Collective Narcissism Scale and Perceived Racial Ingroup Deprivation Scale, Studies 2 & 3

Model	df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	χ^2	p
	Study 2						
Two factor	13	0.984	0.990	0.063	0.020	62.434	
One factor	14	0.793	0.862	0.227	0.062	599.988	<.001
	Study 3						
Two factor	13	0.972	0.982	0.081	0.025	50.032	
One factor	14	0.934	0.956	0.124	0.039	103.085	<.001

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 two factor model.

Validation of the racial collective narcissism scale across racial groups

In order to demonstrate that we assess the same variable among racial majorities and minorities, in Studies 1-3, we tested whether the variable assessed by the racial Collective Narcissism Scale in each group is similarly associated with variables predicted from collective narcissism theory: ingroup satisfaction, intergroup hostility to advance the interests of own racial ingroup and perceived relative deprivation. In Study 1, we expected that racial collective narcissism (but not racial ingroup satisfaction) among Whites and Blacks alike should predict willingness to engage in collective action – normative and non-normative for the racial ingroup. This expectation is based on previous findings indicating that collective narcissism but not ingroup satisfaction is associated with intergroup hostility (Golec de Zavala, 2023), pursuit of equality when it is in the interest of own ingroup but not of other groups (Golec de Zavala, 2022; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2024; Gorska et al., 2022; Marinthe et al,. 2023). In Study 2 we tested whether racial collective narcissism (but not racial ingroup satisfaction) predicts perception of racial ingroup as being deprived and unfairly treated in comparison to racial outgroup. We expected the same predictions among Whites and Blacks and no interaction with racial group. This expectation is supported by previous findings indicating that collective narcissism but not ingroup satisfaction is related

to attributing hostile intentions to other groups (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019) and perceiving

the ingroup as targeted by hostility of others (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala

& Cichocka, 2012; Guerra et al., 2023) and deprived of resources in comparison to others

(Marchlewska et al., 2018). Based on the same literature, In Study 3, we tested whether the

Collective Narcissism Scale with reference to race assesses the same variable among

American White and Latinx participants. We tested whether in both groups, racial collective

narcissism (but not racial ingroup satisfaction) predicts perceived ingroup deprivation and

support for violent collective action for the racial ingroup.

Study 1

The psychometric propensities and group-wise correlations of all variables assessed in

Study 1 are in Table 4. Complementing the analyses in the main document, zero-order

correlations for Study 1 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.

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.

With reference to willingness to engage in collective action for one's racial ingroup,

racial collective narcissism and racial ingroup were positively associated with this variable

among Blacks and Whites. The associations of racial ingroup satisfaction were notably

weaker. In line with our expectation, the results of multiple regression analysis indicate that

racial collective narcissism predicted support for collective action to pursue the racial ingroup

interests similarly among Blacks and Whites. The analyses to specify that this association is

specific to collective narcissism indicated that racial ingroup satisfaction did not predict

willingness to engage in collective action for the racial ingroup. Notably, national ingroup

satisfaction was negatively associated with willingness to engage in collective action for the

racial ingroup (Table 5).

Table 4

Psychometric Propensities And Correlations Between Variables, Study 1

	A	*M*	*SD*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*8*	*9*
1. National Collective Narcissism	.90	2.78	1.21	—	.62***	.36***	.04	.26***	.14*	.13*
2. National Ingroup Satisfaction	.89	4.26	1.13	.55***	—	.03	.24***	.04	-.14*	-.13*
3. Racial Collective Narcissism	.91	3.14	1.39	.79***	.47***	—	.43***	-.11	.42***	.45***
4. Racial Ingroup Satisfaction	.88	4.70	1.06	.48***	.78***	.52***	—	-.26***	.16*	.18**
5. State repression	.93	1.69	1.09	.54***	.40***	.59***	.43***	—	.04	-.03
8. Participation in BLM	.91	1.94	1.12	-.22***	-.40***	-.29***	-.42***	-.25***	—	.63***
9. Collective action	.92	2.55	1.18	.47***	.16*	.49***	.20**	.26***	.09	—

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

Table 5

*Multiple Regression Analyses Of Collective Action Intentions, Study 1*

Predictors	**Model 1**				**Model 2**			
	b(SE)	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.04(0.06)	-0.16,0.08	.547	-0.04	0.13(0.09)	-0.05,0.31	.147	0.13
Racial CN	0.54(0.07)	0.40,0.69	<.001	0.64	0.44(0.10)	0.24,0.64	<.001	0.51
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-0.25(0.34)	-0.91,0.41	.462	-0.27	-0.44(0.54)	-1.50,0.61	.410	-0.26
National CN X Group	0.25(0.16)	-0.06,0.55	.113	0.25	0.16(0.15)	-0.15,0.46	.313	0.16
Racial CN X Group	-0.24(0.18)	-0.60,0.12	.185	-0.28	-0.13(0.19)	-0.50,0.24	.483	-0.16
National IS					-0.24(0.09)	-0.41,-0.06	.007	-0.23
Racial IS					0.09(0.10)	-0.12,0.29	.411	0.08
National IS X Group					0.09(0.15)	-0.21,0.38	.564	0.08
Racial IS X Group					-0.05(0.15)	-0.35,0.24	.722	-0.05
Observations	526				526			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.461 / 0.455				0.478 / 0.469			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Figure 1

Simple Slopes Analyses Of Racial Ingroup Satisfaction With State Repression And Participation In BLM, Study 1

*Note. * p = .029*
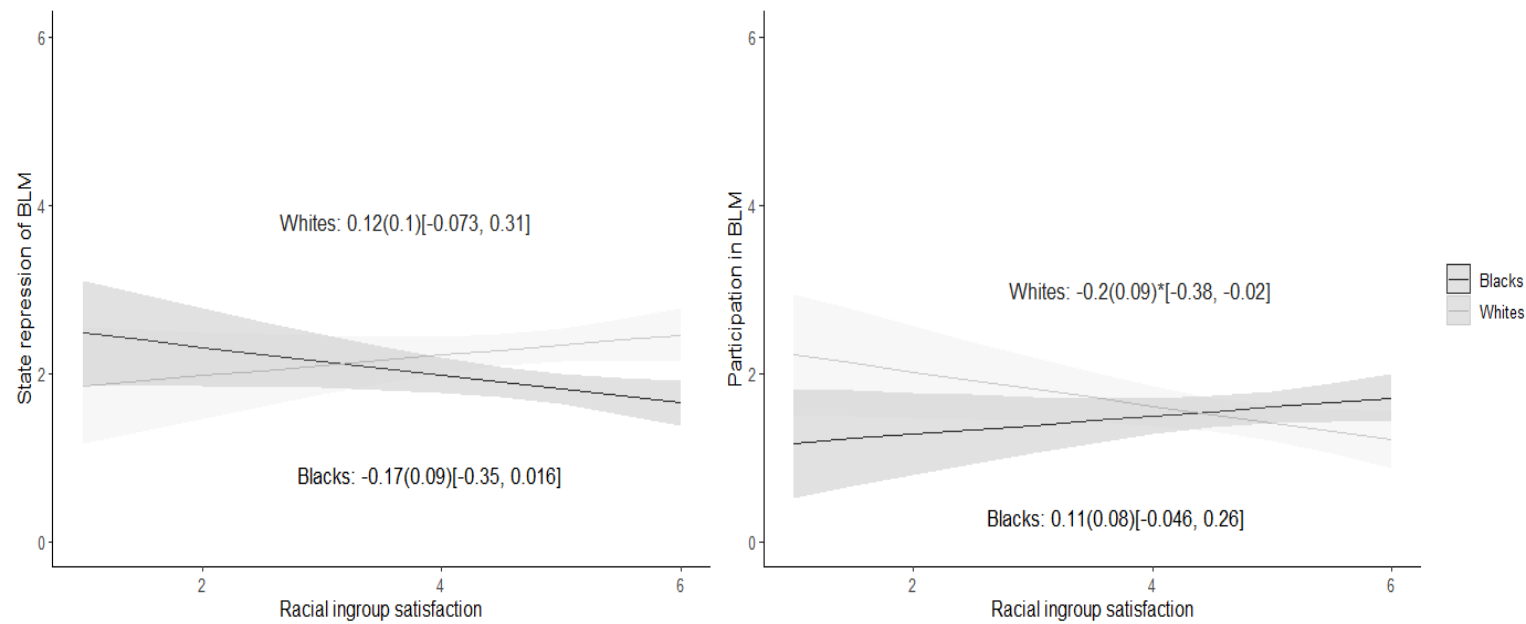
Study 2

The psychometric propensities and group-wise correlations of all variables in Study 2 are in Table 6. Complementing the results presented in the main manuscript, 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, racial collective narcissism was positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality.

In line with our expectation to validate the racial collective narcissism scale, racial collective narcissism correlated positively with perceived ingroup deprivation similarly among Whites and Blacks. The correlations of racial ingroup satisfaction were also positive. 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 7). As expected, racial ingroup satisfaction did not share unique variance with perceived racial deprivation. 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 with perceived ingroup deprivation among Whites ($b(SE) = $ -0.21(0.07), $p = .003$, *95%CI*[-0.35, -0.07]) and unrelated among Blacks ($p = .395$).

Those results indicate that while racial collective narcissism biases the perception of intergroup hierarchy, deprivation and status, while racial ingroup satisfaction does not.

Table 6

Psychometric Propensities And Correlations Between Variables, Study 2

	α	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. National Collective Narcissism	.88	3.78	1.24	—	.61***	.30***	.11*	.46***	-.03	-.00
2. National Ingroup Satisfaction	.94	4.76	1.10	.57***	—	.09	.34***	.34***	.16**	-.04
3. Racial Collective Narcissism	.91	3.82	1.37	.79***	.32***	—	.53***	.00	.21***	.52***
4. Racial Ingroup Satisfaction	.92	4.70	1.13	.62***	.55***	.69***	—	-.03	.35***	.32***
5. Legitimization of racial inequality	r = .64	3.67	1.46	.63***	.43***	.60***	.49***	—	-.14**	-.31***
6. Egalitarianism	.88	4.95	0.87	0.05	.11*	-.05	0.09	-.07	—	.32***
7. Perceived ingroup deprivation	r = .86	3.82	1.66	.55***	.18***	.67***	.38***	.49***	.00	—

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

Table 7

Multiple Regression Analysis Of Perceived Ingroup Deprivation, Study 2

	Model 1				**Model 2**			
Predictors	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.17(0.04)	-0.26,-0.08	<.001	-0.13	-0.16(0.06)	-0.29,-0.04	.011	-0.12
Racial CN	0.69(0.06)	0.56,0.82	<.001	0.57	0.65(0.08)	0.50,0.81	<.001	0.54
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-1.85(0.35)	-2.54,-1.15	<.001	-0.58	-1.07(0.50)	-2.05,-0.08	.034	-0.60
National CN X Group	0.26(0.09)	0.08,0.43	.004	0.19	0.32(0.11)	0.10,0.55	.004	0.24
Racial CN X Group	-0.02(0.09)	-0.21,0.16	.816	-0.02	0.10(0.12)	-0.13,0.32	.408	0.08
National IS					-0.01(0.07)	-0.15,0.14	.915	-0.01
Racial IS					0.07(0.09)	-0.09,0.24	.386	0.05
National IS X Group					-0.03(0.11)	-0.25,0.19	.757	-0.02
Racial IS X Group					-0.29(0.13)	-0.53,-0.04	.025	-0.20
Observations	800				800			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.558 / 0.555				0.566 / 0.561			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Study 3

The psychometric propensities and correlations between all variables in Study 3 are presented in Table 8. Complementing the results in the main manuscript, zero-order correlations showed that, 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 narcissisms were both negatively associated with egalitarianism.

In line with our expectations, racial collective narcissism was positively correlated with perceived ingroup deprivation and violent collective action among White and Latinx American. Racial ingroup satisfaction was also positively associated with those variables, except of support for violent collective action. Multiple regression analysis clarified that racial collective narcissism uniquely predicted perceived ingroup deprivation (racial ingroup satisfaction was unrelated, Table 9) and violent collective action intentions (racial ingroup satisfaction was unrelated, Table 10). These associations were not moderated by racial group. National collective narcissism was positively associated with support for violent collective action for one's racial ingroup, whereas national ingroup satisfaction was associated negatively.

Table 8

Psychometric Propensities And Correlations Between Variables, Study 3

	α	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. National Collective Narcissism	.91	2.55	1.06	—	.72***	.27***	.04	-.20**	.10	.22**
2. National Ingroup Satisfaction	.93	3.81	1.30	.58***	—	-.01	.14*	-.25***	-.14	-.01
3. Racial Collective Narcissism	.95	2.95	1.19	.69***	.37***	—	.45***	.33***	.58***	.34***
4. Racial Ingroup Satisfaction	.88	4.39	1.07	.48***	.69***	.53***	—	.17*	.27***	.04
5. Egalitarianism	.86	5.09	0.86	-.49***	-.41***	-.46***	-.37***	—	.41***	.16*
6. Perceived ingroup deprivation	r = .62***	3.40	1.55	.19**	-.02	.26***	-.03	-.08	—	.27***
7. Violent collective action	.83	1.89	1.02	.49***	.24***	.53***	.30***	-.28***	.31***	—

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

Table 9

Multiple Regression Analyses Of Perceived Ingroup Deprivation, Study 3

| | **Model 1** | | | | **Model 2** | | | |
Predictors	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	-0.05(0.05)	-0.15,0.05	.307	-0.04	0.14(0.13)	-0.11,0.39	.272	0.10
Racial CN	0.75(0.07)	0.60,0.90	<.001	0.58	0.64(0.11)	0.42,0.86	<.001	0.49
Racial group (Whites = 1)	-0.30(0.37)	-1.02,0.42	.408	-1.01	0.07(0.56)	-1.02,1.17	.893	-1.02
National CN X Group	0.06(0.12)	-0.17,0.30	.589	0.04	-0.05(0.17)	-0.38,0.29	.791	-0.03
Racial CN X Group	-0.48(0.15)	-0.78,-0.18	.002	-0.37	-0.29(0.18)	-0.63,0.06	.101	-0.22
National IS					-0.20(0.11)	-0.41,0.01	.066	-0.17
Racial IS					0.10(0.11)	-0.12,0.31	.367	0.07
National IS X Group					0.16(0.14)	-0.11,0.43	.244	0.13
Racial IS X Group					-0.29(0.15)	-0.59,0.00	.051	-0.20
Observations	401				401			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.691 / 0.687				0.704 / 0.697			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Table 10

Multiple Regression Analyses Of Violent Collective Action, Study 3

	Model 1				**Model 2**			
Predictors	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*B*	*b(SE)*	*95%CI LL,UL*	*p*	*β*
National CN	0.14(0.09)	-0.02,0.31	.093	0.15	0.30(0.12)	0.07,0.54	.012	0.32
Racial CN	0.40(0.10)	0.20,0.60	<.001	0.47	0.39(0.13)	0.15,0.64	.002	0.46
Racial group (Whites = 1)	0.05(0.36)	-0.66,0.75	.897	-0.33	-0.80(0.48)	-1.75,0.15	.098	-0.37
National CN X Group	0.02(0.11)	-0.21,0.24	.876	0.02	-0.11(0.14)	-0.39,0.17	.450	-0.11
Racial CN X Group	-0.15(0.13)	-0.40,0.11	.264	-0.17	-0.16(0.15)	-0.45,0.14	.295	-0.18
National IS					-0.18(0.08)	-0.33,-0.02	.027	-0.22
Racial IS					-0.12(0.11)	-0.33,0.09	.274	-0.12
National IS X Group					0.13(0.09)	-0.04,0.31	.140	0.17
Racial IS X Group					0.15(0.12)	-0.09,0.39	.229	0.16
Observations	401				401			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.375 / 0.367				0.394 / 0.380			

Note. CN: collective narcissism, IS: ingroup satisfaction

Study 4

The psychometric propensities and correlations between all variables in Study 4 are presented in Table 11. Complementing the findings presented in the main manuscript, zero-order correlations indicate that 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.

Table 11

Psychometric Propensities And Correlations Between Variables, Study 4

	α	*M*	*SD*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1. National Collective Narcissism	.90	2.87	1.21	—	.72***	.44***	.26***	.34***	-.11
2. National Ingroup Satisfaction	.92	4.10	1.13	.66***	—	.16*	.27***	.32***	-.19**
3. Racial Collective Narcissism	.89	3.15	1.22	.87***	.51***	—	.61***	-.12	.44***
4. Racial Ingroup Satisfaction	.90	4.48	1.03	.55***	.70***	.59***	—	-.16*	.32***
5. Alt-right support	.79	2.55	1.25	.73***	.52***	.70***	.49***	—	-.54***
6. Support for racial minorities	.88	4.74	1.02	-.45***	-.32***	-.43***	-.32***	-.57***	—

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

Additional analyses of unexpected findings

Study 1

      The analyses for Study 1 presented in the main manuscript indicated an interaction of racial ingroup satisfaction and racial group in predicting the attitude towards the repression of BLM and the self-reported participation in support of the BLM. Here we analyse these interactions. Those unexpected interactions have the same cross-over shape as the one's predicted for collective narcissism. However, the simple slopes are non-significant, apart from the negative association between White ingroup satisfaction and participation in the BLM (Figure 1, right panel). Thus, 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.

      In Study 1, we also found a significant interaction of national ingroup satisfaction and racial group predicting the attitude towards the repression of the BLM. Simple slopes analysis revealed that national ingroup satisfaction predicted the rejection of state repression among Blacks (Figure 2). This pattern of results is opposite to the pattern obtained for national collective narcissism that was associated with support for repression of BLM especially among American Blacks.

Figure 2

Simple Slopes Analysis Of National Ingroup Satisfaction With State Repression Of BLM,
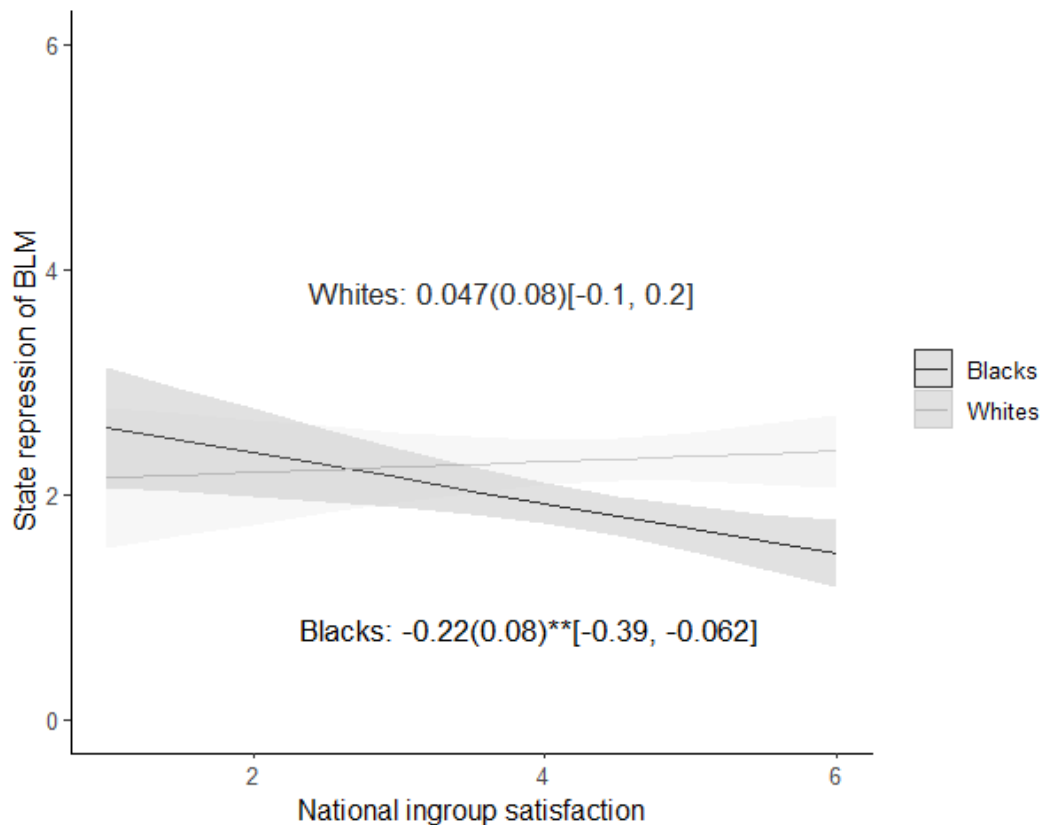
Study 1

Note. ** *p* = .007

Study 2

In Study 2, we also found a significant interaction of national collective narcissism

with racial group and perceived ingroup deprivation (Table 7). Simple slopes analysis

showed that national collective narcissism was positively associated with perceived ingroup

deprivation among Whites (*b(SE)*=0.16(0.08), *95%CI*[0.00072, 0.32], *p* = 0.049) but

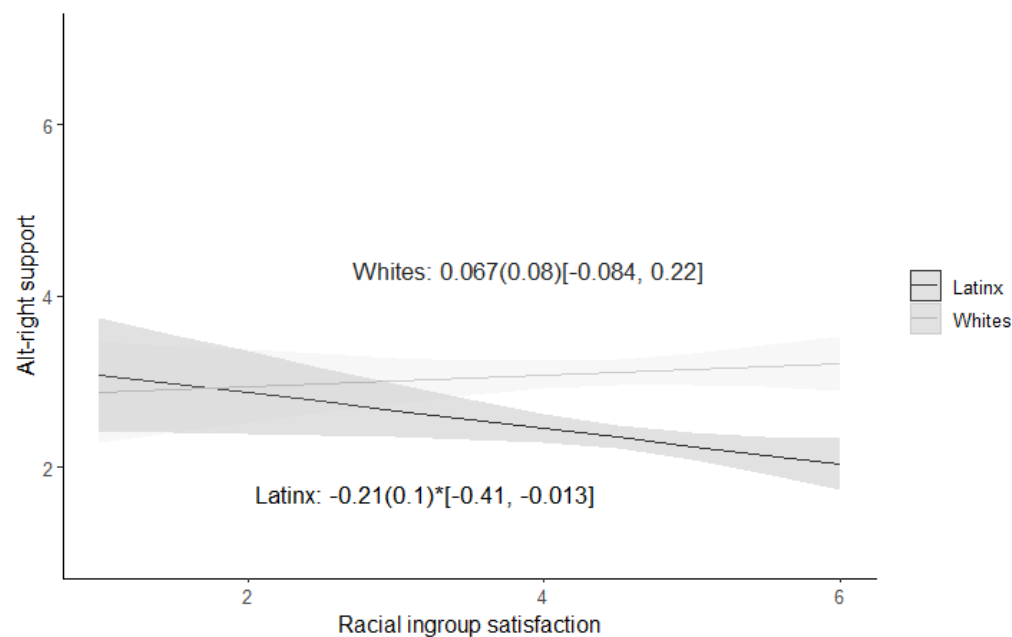negatively among Blacks (*b(SE)*=-0.16(0.07), *95%CI*[-0.29, -0.031], *p* = 0.015).

Study 4

Results presented in the main manuscript point to an unpredicted moderation of the

association between racial ingroup satisfaction and alt-right support by racial group. Simple

slopes analyses indicated that Latinx ingroup satisfaction predicted the rejection of the alt-

right (Figure 3), but not as strongly as Latinx collective narcissism. White ingroup

satisfaction was unrelated to support for the alt-right ($p = .385$).

Figure 3

Simple Slopes Analysis Of Racial Ingroup Satisfaction With Alt-Right Support, Study 4

*Note. * p = .036*