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The Paradox of In-group Love: Narcissistic and Genuine Positive Group Regard Have
Reverse Effects on Out-Group Attitudes

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Abstract

The article looks at the relation between positive in-group regard (“in-group love”) and out-group negativity (“out-group hate”), a subject of ongoing controversy. Five studies performed in different cultural and national contexts, using different samples (including an adult representative sample) and different inter-group contexts examined the relationship between narcissistic versus genuine positive group regard and out-group negativity. Results reveal that collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) and positive group regard have opposite effects on out-group hostility. Moreover, they function as mutual suppressors. Controlling for their shared variance strengthens the positive relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity and reveals the significant negative association between out-group hostility and genuine positive group regard operationalized as high collective self-esteem (Study 1), positive in-group identification (Studies 2, 3 and 5) or constructive patriotism (Study 4). These results corroborate earlier findings differentiating between constructive and destructive forms of in-group favoritism. They also parallel at the inter-group level findings indicating that mature and stable, personal self-esteem and individual narcissism differentially predict interpersonal aggressiveness.

Keywords: collective self-esteem, group identification, patriotism, collective narcissism, prejudice

“He who loves not his country, can love nothing” wrote George Byron in one of his historical tragedies (1822: 80). Such ideas were widespread among romantic poets, writers and philosophers who linked positive regard for one’s own group with positive attitudes toward other nations. In psychology, self-liking is often seen as a pre-condition of forming secure, positive attachment to others because those who love and respect themselves can show love and respect to others (e.g. Bowlby, 1982). This reasoning seems, however, very distant from the key theoretical insights and the empirical findings of contemporary psychological research on inter-group relations. From this perspective, positive attitudes towards one’s in-group, conceptualized as high in-group identification (e.g. Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002; Leach et al, 2008), private collective self-esteem (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990) or “in-group love” (Brewer, 1999) is rarely perceived as a potential for positive attitudes toward other groups. Positive feelings for in-groups are expected, and often demonstrated, to result in negative attitudes towards members of other groups.

Admittedly, not all forms of in-group attachment are necessarily accompanied by hostility towards out-groups (e.g. Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1999; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Although specific forms of positive regard for one’s nation that systematically relate to out-group negativity have been described—such as nationalism (de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), blind patriotism (Schatz, Staub & Lavine, 1999), in-group glorification (Roccas, Klar & Liviatan, 2006) and essentialist national identification (Pehrson, Brown & Zagefka, 2009)—less is known about the psychological mechanism underlying this relationship. Moreover, many of the same studies have identified “benevolent” forms of national attachment (e.g. patriotism, constructive patriotism, or non-essentialist national identification) that are *not* associated with out-group hostility and that are even related to openness and tolerance in some cases.

Nevertheless, the “benevolent” forms of national attachment are far less systematically related to out-group positivity as the “destructive” forms are associated with out-group negativity.

This paper presents and discusses data indicating that only *narcissistic* in-group love is reliably related to negative attitudes towards out-groups. It is suggested that this relationship is driven by a tendency to react with defensive hostility to the signs of threat to in-group’s positive image that is embedded in *collective narcissism* (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010a). Importantly, when the overlap between narcissistic and *genuine* group regard is controlled, the genuine, positive regard for one’s group is *negatively* related to hostility towards other groups. Moreover, the mutual suppression of narcissistic and genuine positive regard for the in-group can be extended beyond the context of national in-group. This same suppression pattern was demonstrated in two different cultural contexts, among students as well as a representative sample of adults, in the context of different national groups and other types of groups (e.g., students of the same university), and across different conceptualizations and operationalizations of positive group regard.

In-group Positivity, Self-Esteem and Attitudes Towards Out-groups

One of the basic tenets of social identity theory is that people discriminate out-groups because they strive for positive social identity and positive self-esteem. In an important part, personal self-esteem is derived from positive social identities based on favorable comparisons with other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Three conclusions follow from these basic assumptions: (1) social identity is based on positive inter-group distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Ellemers et al., 2002), (2) in-group bias and out-group discrimination are positively related to the strength of group identification (e.g. Brown & Ross, 1982; Brown, 2000), and (3) discrimination against other groups is related to personal self-esteem, as discrimination increases self-esteem and low self-esteem motivates inter-group bias (e.g. Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Hogg & Abrams, 1990).

Several studies have supported the first claims indicating that high identifiers display higher levels of in-group bias, xenophobia and prejudice (Lindeman, 1997; Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Feather, 1994; Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996; for review see Aberson, Healy & Romero, 2000). However, one of the earliest review papers concluded that this relationship averages close to zero (.08, based on 14 studies; Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Also, analyses of 15 national samples from the 1997 Eurobarometer survey conducted by Jackson, Brown, Brown & Marks (2001) showed no clear relationship between pride in the national in-group and anti-immigrant sentiments (standardized betas ranged from .03 to $-.09$). A more recent examination of the relationship between positive in-group regard and in-group bias was conducted using ISSP survey data from 37,030 individuals in 31 countries (Pehrson et al., 2009). The correlation between positive regard for national in-group (operationalized as pride in one's nationality and feeling close to one's country) and anti-immigrant prejudice ranged from weakly negative ($-.06$) to moderately positive (.37), with a median correlation of .13.

Results are also inconsistent with regard to the assumptions regarding the positive relationship between self-esteem and out-group negativity. Some empirical evidence indicates that discrimination increases self-esteem, but the proposition that low self-esteem is related to out-group negativity receives less straightforward support. High, rather than low, personal self-esteem (however, in its fragile, rather than stable and mature, form) tends to be associated with inter-group bias and discrimination. This appears to be the case with respect to threatened high self-esteem (Fein & Spencer, 1997), high but unstable self-esteem (Kernis, Grannemann & Barclay, 1989), and "defensive" self-esteem (when high explicit self-esteem co-exists with low implicit self-esteem; Jordan, Spencer & Zanna, 2005). More importantly, the empirical evidence indicates that private *collective* self esteem – the part of one's self esteem that reflects positive personal evaluations of the in-group – is positively related to inter-group bias (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990), especially among members of low-status

groups (Aberson & Howanski, 2002). However, further research on collective self-esteem has brought mixed findings, variously indicating positive, negative, or non-significant relationships between collective self-esteem and out-group negativity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1991; Hunter et al., 2004; Hunter et al., 2005; Long & Spears, 1998; Long, Spears & Manstead, 1994; for a review, see Rubin & Hewstone, 1998).

More successful in describing “in-group love” that leads to “out-group hate” are political psychologists who differentiate between more and less belligerent forms of *national* esteem or attachment (e.g. Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Schatz et al., 1999). Nationalism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989) and blind patriotism (Schatz et al., 1999) tend to be reliably associated with negativity towards out-groups. On the other hand, patriotism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1999) or, more specifically, constructive, critical patriotism (as proposed by Schatz et al., 1999) shows no systematic relationship with out-group attitudes (see de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2002).

Thus, positive in-group regard, whether conceptualized as in-group identification, collective self-esteem, or a specific phenomenon such as nationalism, seems to be a pre-condition for out-group derogation rather than ‘out-group love’ as suggested by romantic philosophers and poets. Nevertheless, as the preceding review suggests, a clear link between in-group feelings and out-group attitudes has not yet been established. We attempt to shed a new light on the puzzled relation between “in-group love” and “out-group hate” by proposing that positive group-regard does indeed promote *positive* inter-group relations in and of itself but that it is often conflated with narcissistic, exaggerated forms of group esteem that promote *negative* inter-group relations. We propose that the various operationalizations of in-group positivity oftentimes capture both the genuine and narcissistic components of positive group regard and will thus show null or inconsistent results in predicting out-group attitudes. Therefore, in order to better understand the complex relationship between positive group

regard and out-group attitudes it is crucial to theoretically and empirically differentiate between genuine and narcissistic group regard.

Genuine versus Narcissistic Positive Regard for a Group

Our explanation for the inconsistent relationship between positive group regard and out-group derogation derives from the literatures on individual and collective narcissism. Individual narcissism—an excessive self love or inflated, grandiose view of oneself that requires continual external validation (e.g. Crocker & Park, 2004; Emmons, 1987; Horney, 1937; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Raskin & Terry, 1988; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Rhodewalt & Sorrow, 2003)—is reliably linked to interpersonal aggressiveness and hostility (Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996; Baumeister, Bushman & Campbell, 2000; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Raskin, Novacek & Hogan, 1991; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995), interpersonal dominance (Ruiz, Smith & Rhodewalt, 2001), and an inability to forgive wrongs done by others to the self (Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell & Finkel, 2004), often accompanied by a tendency to seek vengeance (Brown, 2004).

Narcissistic exaggerated self-regard—in comparison to healthy self-esteem—is inflated, contingent on admiration by others, fragile, and unstable (Crocker & Park, 2004; Kernis & Waschull, 1995; Kernis, 2005; cf. Bosson et al., 2008; Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro & Rusbult, 2004). Narcissists emotionally invest themselves in their high self-opinion, demand that others confirm that opinion, and punish those who seem unlikely to do so. Since they require constant validation of their unrealistic level of self-regard, narcissists continually encounter threats to their self image and are chronically intolerant of those threats (Baumeister et al., 1996). Thus, narcissistic self-esteem is high but unstable and vulnerable to sudden drops that produce heightened sensitivity to ego threats, in turn leading to hostility (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Kernis, 1993). Thus, narcissism is related to cognitive,

motivational and emotional functioning that contributes to a violent and aggressive response to lack of external validation of exaggerated self-image.

Importantly, studies indicate that individual narcissism and genuine stable self-esteem function as mutual suppressors reducing the association each has with aggressiveness and antisocial behaviour. When their common variance is accounted for, high narcissism and low self-esteem independently contribute to self-reported interpersonal anger and aggressiveness and anti-social behaviour among adults (Locke, 2009; Paulhus, Robins, Trzesniewski & Tracy, 2004), as well as a self-reported tendency to externalize problems through aggressiveness and delinquent behaviour among adolescents (Barry, Grafeman, Adler & Pickard, 2007; Donellan, Trzesniewski, Robins, Moffitt & Caspi, 2005).

We claim that individual narcissism has an equivalent at the level of social identity—which we refer to as *collective narcissism*—and that collective narcissism and genuine positive group regard function much like their individual-level counterparts: they are positively related but they have opposite effects on out-group negativity that cancel each other out. Collective narcissism— in-group identification tied to an emotional investment in an unrealistic belief about the unparalleled greatness of an in-group—captures the capacity of positive group esteem to inspire out-group negativity and intergroup aggressiveness (Golec de Zavala, 2007). Collective narcissism predicts intergroup aggressiveness over and above such robust predictors as social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, blind patriotism, nationalism, in-group glorification, or a belief in the in-group's superiority (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, 2007). Collective narcissists retaliate against threats to the in-group's positive image (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010b) and interpret ambiguous out-group actions as insulting and offensive to the in-group (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). Collective narcissism is also associated with enduring negative attitudes towards social

groups with whom the in-group shares a history of interdependence and mutual grievances (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010a).

Collective narcissism combines a grandiose group image with unacknowledged doubts about the group's greatness (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). It is the very nature of these beliefs about the in-group that inspires sensitivity to any sign of threat to the in-group's exaggerated image. Collective narcissism thus involves unrealistically high group esteem that is contingent on constant external validation. At the individual level, people with contingent self-worth exaggerate failures and underestimate successes in the domains of contingency (Baumeister & Vohs, 2001; Crocker & Park, 2004; Kernis, 2003; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Similarly, collective narcissists rarely see the acknowledgement of the in-group by others as satisfactory. They quickly develop 'tolerance' to known sources of support for the exaggerated in-group's image and they are constantly on the lookout for the new signs of threat and they are sensitive to anything that may undermine their group. They tend to overreact to what they perceive as a threat to the in-group's positive image.

In the present studies, we explore the argument that collective narcissism and positive group regard suppress each other's relationship with negative attitudes towards other groups. Specifically, we propose that controlling common variance of collective narcissism and each form of positive group esteem should strengthen the positive effect of collective narcissism and, more importantly, reveal negative relationship between genuine, positive group esteem on out-group derogation. We test this prediction in five studies where we operationalize positive group regard in different ways: as collective self-esteem, in-group identification, and patriotism. We demonstrate the predicted suppression pattern using a variety of dependent measures that tap several forms of out-group derogation.

Study 1

In Study 1 we explored the relationship between collective self-esteem, collective narcissism, and negative attitudes towards out-groups in the context of identification with a national in-group—the Polish nation, in this case. In a sample of Poles, we looked at attitudes towards typical national minorities in Poland: Jews and Germans. Also, we included a measure of attitudes towards two other groups that were salient and negatively evaluated at the time when the study was conducted: Arabs, because of salient terrorist threat; and Chinese, because the Olympics in Beijing brought the aggressive actions of Chinese government in Tibet to broader public attention. To capture positive group regard, we operationalize ‘genuine’ positive regard as positive collective self-esteem.

Method

Participants and procedure.

Study 1 was conducted among 85 undergraduate students of a large Polish university. The age of the participants ranged from 17 to 24 ($M = 21.19$; $SD = 1.53$). There were 61 women and 24 men. They were asked to take part in an on-line survey in return for research participation credit. They were asked to provide demographic information and then were asked to fill in the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) and Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). At the end, participants were asked to respond to items measuring their attitudes towards out-groups.

Measures.

Collective self-esteem. Collective self-esteem ($\alpha = .86$; $M = 4.66$; $SD = .83$) was assessed using the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Participants were asked to think about their national group while responding to its items. They used a 6-point scale (1 = *I strongly disagree* and 6 = *I strongly agree*). We

created a composite measure of private subscale (e.g., “I feel good about my national group” and “I often regret that I belong to my national group,” with the latter reverse-coded; $\alpha = .82$; $M = 5.53$; $SD = 1.11$) and the identity subscale (e.g. “My national group is an important reflection of who I am” and “Overall, being a member of my national group has very little to do with how I feel about myself,” with the latter reverse-coded; $\alpha = .82$; $M = 4.00$; $SD = 1.26$) to capture positive group regard as a combination of positive evaluation of the national group and its importance for one’s identity ($r = .65$, $p < .001$; $M = 4.75$; $SD = 1.08$).

Collective narcissism. Collective narcissism ($\alpha = .86$; $M = 3.52$; $SD = .80$) was measured using the Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009). The items in this scale were generated based on the definition of the construct and existing inventories of individual narcissism, mostly the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI, Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988). The scale contains items reflecting the belief in the in-group’s greatness and lack of its proper recognition: (1) “If my group had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place”; (2) “I wish other groups would more quickly recognize the authority of my group.”; (3) “My group deserves special treatment”; (4) “Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of my group”; (5) “I will never be satisfied until my group gets all it deserves”; (6) “I do not get upset when people do not notice the achievements of my group” (reversely coded); (7) “I insist upon my group getting the respect that is due to it”; (8) “It really makes me angry when others criticize my group” or (9) “The true worth of my group is often misunderstood”. Participants were instructed to think about their national group while responding to these items. They used a 6-point scale (1 = *I strongly disagree* and 6 = *I strongly agree*).

Out-group negativity. We used a procedure proposed by Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Tropp (1997; see also Butz, Plant, & Doerr, 2007) to

measured out-group attitudes. Participants were asked to indicate their feelings towards different out-groups using six semantic differentials describing the following emotions: *cold–warm, unfriendly-friendly, trustful-distrustful, positive-negative, respect-contempt, admiration-disgust*. Scores could range from 1 to 8 (Germans: $\alpha = .94$; $M = 3.87$; $SD = 1.55$; Jews: $\alpha = .94$; $M = 3.56$; $SD = 1.41$; Chinese: $\alpha = .94$; $M = 3.84$; $SD = 1.40$; Arabs: $\alpha = .93$; $M = 4.46$; $SD = 1.30$). Since scores for all nationalities were moderately or highly correlated (Pearson's r s ranged from .32 to .51; all p s < .05), we created a composite index of out-group negativity by averaging scores for each out-groups ($\alpha = .75$; $M = 3.94$; $SD = 1.05$). The same pattern of results emerged when the attitudes towards different groups were analyzed separately.

Results

In the first step of our analysis we computed correlations between the variables. The analyses indicate that national collective narcissism was positively related to negative attitudes towards out-groups, $r(83) = .26, p = .02$; while the relationship between positive regard for the national group and out-group negativity was negative and non-significant, $r(83) = -.07, p = .54$. Collective narcissism and collective self-esteem were positively correlated, $r(83) = .50, p < .001$.

Then, we tested the suppression hypothesis. We base our analyses on the argument that mediation and suppression effects are mathematically equivalent. They can be both considered examples of indirect effects and can be tested using similar procedures (MacKinnon, Krull & Lockwood, 2000; Preacher & Hayes, 2004). Mediation and suppression effects are only differentiated by the pattern of associations between the variables (MacKinnon et al., 2000). A mediation effect takes place when an inclusion of a third variable in the model weakens the direct relationship between the original independent and dependent

variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986; MacKinnon et al. 2000). A suppression effect takes place when an inclusion of a third variable strengthens the direct relationship between the independent and dependent variable. In this case, the indirect effect via the third variable works in the opposite direction of the direct effect, driving the latter down. Controlling for the indirect effect by including the third variable in the equation thus allows the direct effect to rise to its “genuine” level (MacKinnon et al., 2000; Paulhus et al., 2004). Since both mediation and suppression thus involve an indirect effect that produces a change in the direct effect of the independent variable in the presence of the third variable, the standard tests used to examine indirect effects in the context of mediation can also be used to test for suppression.

In all presented studies, to test for suppression effects we use the bootstrapping procedure proposed by Preacher and Hayes (2004; 2008) as a method of analysis of indirect effects. We assume that collective narcissism and genuine positive group regard will act as mutual suppressors (Tzelgov & Henik, 1991; Paulhus et al., 2004). When collective narcissism is included in the equation, the direct relationship between positive group regard and out-group attitudes should become significant. At the same time, inclusion of positive group regard should enhance the direct relationship between collective narcissism and out-group attitudes. Therefore, in all studies we examine suppression effects twice - each time testing the significance of the indirect effect via collective narcissism *and* via genuine positive group regard.

In Study 1 we performed a series of multiple regression analyses using out-group negativity as the dependent variable. First, we regressed the out-group negativity composite on collective self-esteem and on collective narcissism independently. Then we regressed out-group negativity on both predictors entered simultaneously. The full model fit significantly, $F(2, 80) = 5.38; R^2 = .12, p = .01$. When both predictors were entered into the equation the positive relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity strengthened ($b =$

.34; $SE = .14$; $p = .05$ when collective narcissism was entered as a sole predictor to $b = .54$; $SE = .16$; $p = .01$ when collective narcissism and collective self-esteem were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $p = .03$, from the model containing only collective narcissism), while the negative relationship between positive esteem for the national group and out-group negativity became stronger and significant ($b = -.07$; $SE = .11$; $p = .054$ when collective self-esteem was entered as sole predictor to $b = -.26$; $SE = .12$; $p = .05$ when collective narcissism and collective self-esteem were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .11$, $p = .002$, from the model containing only collective self-esteem).

---INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE ---

To probe these indirect effects, we used the bootstrapping method suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2004; 2008) in order to obtain the bias corrected 95 % confidence intervals for each of the total indirect effects. We requested 10,000 bootstrap samples. The indirect effect via collective narcissism was significant, with a confidence interval of .0621 to .3750 (Figure 1). The indirect effect via positive group identification was also significant, with a confidence interval of -.3731 to -.0405. Pattern of results was the same when age and gender were controlled for. Similar analyses were conducted for the full Collective Self-Esteem Scale and for all subscales of the scale separately (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). All analyses confirmed the suppression effect.

Discussion of Study 1

Results of Study 1 support our proposition that controlling for narcissistic aspect of positive group regard will help to clarify inconsistent findings regarding the relationship between 'in-group love' and 'out-group hate'. While being positively related, collective narcissism and collective self-esteem act as mutual suppressors. Taken together, national narcissism and positive regard for a national group have different associations with out-group

attitudes. When the overlap between collective narcissism and ‘genuine’ collective self-esteem was accounted for, the positive relationship between narcissism and out-group negativity was strengthened and a *negative* association between genuine collective self-esteem and negative attitudes towards out-groups became more pronounced indicating a case of mutual suppression (Tzelgov & Henik, 1991). Thus, with collective narcissism partialled out, stable and genuine positive regard for the national group is related to tolerance and positive attitudes towards out-groups.

Although encouraging, the results of Study 1 demonstrated the suppression effects of collective narcissism and only one form of positive group regard out of several discussed in literature (i.e., collective self-esteem). Thus, in Study 2, we aimed to replicate these results operationalizing positive group regard differently: i.e., as strength of in-group identification. We also used a different measure of out-group negativity. In addition, in order to provide further evidence of generalizability across social contexts, we conducted the study using participants of another nationality.

Study 2

Study 2 was conducted among British participants whose national collective narcissism and identification with a national group were measured. We examined how these variables predicted negative attitudes towards several European out-groups.

Method

Participants and procedure.

Study 2 was conducted in Great Britain using 91 undergraduate students. Since the focus of the study was British identification, participants were first asked about their nationality. Data from 10 participants who identified their nationality as other than British

were excluded from the analysis. The final sample thus included 81 participants. Fifteen participants from this final sample were male and 66 were female. Their age ranged from 18 to 47 ($M = 22.33$; $SD = 5.64$). Sixty three percent of participants reported themselves to be ethnically White, 15 % identified as Black, and 22 % as “other.” The study was conducted online. Participants were encouraged to take part in the study by a prize draw. Participants were first asked to provide demographic data. They were also asked about their identification with Britain. Finally, participants’ collective narcissism and feelings towards different out-groups were measured.

Measures.

Strength of national group identification. Strength of national identification ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.73$) with the British in-group was measured with one item: “Being British is an important part of my identity.” Participants were asked to what extent they agree with this statement on a scale from 1 (*I strongly disagree*) to 7 (*I strongly agree*).

Collective narcissism ($\alpha = .83$, $M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.04$). The Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009) was again used in order to measure this variable. Participants were asked to indicate how much they agree with statements with respect to the British national in-group using a 7-point scale (1 = *I strongly disagree* to 7 = *I strongly agree*).

Out-group negativity. Participants were asked to indicate their feelings towards other groups with a “feeling thermometer.” The scale ranged from 0 (indicating 0° = *extremely unfavorable*) to 10 (indicating 100° = *extremely favorable*). To maintain coherence with Study 1, data were recoded so that higher scores indicate more negative feelings toward out-groups. Feelings towards the following European groups were measured: Spanish ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 2.22$), Belgians ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 2.43$), Poles ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 2.77$) and Germans ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 2.70$). Since scores for out-groups were positively and significantly correlated

(Pearson's r s ranged from .52 to .79; all p s < .001), we created a composite score of out-group attitudes ($\alpha = .87$, $M = 3.50$, $SD = 2.17$).

Results

The data were first explored using correlational analyses. Collective narcissism was significantly and positively related to strength of national identification, $r(79) = .39$, $p < .001$. Out-group negativity was correlated with collective narcissism, $r(78) = .22$; $p = .05$. Finally, in-group identification was unrelated to distancing from out-groups, $r(78) = -.14$; $p = .23$.

Since national identification and collective narcissism were significantly related, we conducted a multiple regression analysis to test the hypothesis that they act as mutual suppressors in predicting out-group negativity. As in Study 1, we first regressed out-group negativity on national identification and on national collective narcissism independently. Then, we regressed negativity scores on both predictors together. The full model was significant, $F(2, 77) = 4.46$; $R^2 = .10$, $p = .02$. The relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity became positive and significant when positive national identification was added to the equation containing only collective narcissism ($b = .45$; $SE = .23$; $p = .05$ when collective narcissism was entered as a sole predictor to $b = .66$; $SE = .24$; $p = .01$ when collective narcissism and national identification were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $p = .03$ from the model containing only collective narcissism). The indirect effect was significant with bias corrected 95% bootstrap confidence intervals ranging from -.4855 to -.0328. Moreover, when collective narcissism was added to the equation containing only national identification, the relationship between national identification and out-group negativity became negative and significant ($b = -.17$; $SE = .14$; $p = .23$ when national identification was entered as sole predictor to $b = -.33$; $SE = .15$; $p = .05$ when collective narcissism and national identification

were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .09, p = .01$ from the model containing only national identification; 95% bias corrected bootstrap CI from .0473 to .3316, Figure 2).

---INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE ---

Discussion of Study 2

Study 2 corroborated the results of Study 1 in a different national context and with a different operationalization of positive group regard. Results confirmed that collective narcissism and positive group identification—the latter operationalized as the importance of the national group to the self—act as mutual suppressors in predicting out-group attitudes. Controlling for the variance shared by British collective narcissism and British group identification allowed us to demonstrate their differential relationship with feelings towards European out-groups. Identification with the national in-group became significantly related to out-group positivity, while collective narcissism became a stronger significant predictor of out-group negativity.

The results of Studies 1 and 2 provide support for our theoretical claims. However, they were obtained from relatively small samples that might be limited in their representativeness. Moreover, Studies 1 and 2 used student samples, potentially further limiting the generalizability of our findings. Thus, in Study 3 we replicate our results in a larger, more representative adult sample. Study 3 also used yet another operationalization of out-group attitudes, i.e., a measure of social distance. Also, because group identification in Study 2 was measured using one item only, we used a more elaborate measure of positive national identification.

Study 3

In Study 3 we tested our mutual suppression hypothesis 2 using a representative sample of Polish adults. We assessed their national collective narcissism and strength of positive identification with a national group. We examined how these variables predicted negative attitudes towards most salient national and ethnic minorities in Poland.

Method

Participants and procedure.

Study 3 was administered as part of the Polish Prejudice Survey conducted in 2009. In the survey, computer assisted personal interviews were conducted with a representative sample of 979 Polish adults. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 89 ($M = 46.26$; $SD = 18.25$); 52.5% were women. Measures of national identification, collective narcissism and distance towards minorities were incorporated in the survey.

Measures.

Positive national group identification. National identification ($\alpha = .81$; $M = 4.00$; $SD = .62$) was measured using the social identification scale proposed by Cameron (2004). Participants were asked to think about their national group while responding its items and provide their responses using a scale from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*). The final score is an average of scores for three subscales: In-group Affect ($\alpha = .76$, $M = 4.36$, $SD = .72$), Centrality ($\alpha = .62$, $M = 3.55$, $SD = .85$), and In-group Ties ($\alpha = .75$, $M = 4.07$, $SD = .81$).

Collective narcissism ($\alpha = .84$; $M = 3.98$; $SD = 1.18$). A short version of the Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009) composed of items 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8 (see Study 1) from the full scale was used in order to measure this variable. Participants were asked think

about their national group while indicating their answers on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 6 = *strongly agree*).

Out-group negativity. Negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities in Poland were measured using a Bogardus-type social distance scale (e.g., Goff, Steele & Davies, 2008; Bogardus, 1925). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they would accept a minority member as their co-worker, neighbor, or spouse of a family member on four point scales ranging from 1 (*definitely against*) to 4 (*definitely accept*). Scores were re-coded so that higher scores indicate higher negative attitudes towards minorities. The measure was administered seven times, with the following ethnic minorities as target groups: Germans, Jews, Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Gypsies, and Vietnamese. The scale showed good reliability, with alphas for separate target groups ranging from .78 to .83. Since scale scores for all minorities were strongly correlated (Pearson's r s ranged from .63 to .90, all p s < .001), we created a composite index of out-group negativity by averaging scores for all out-groups ($\alpha = .97$; $M = 1.10$; $SD = .68$).

Results

Preliminary correlational analyses indicated that collective narcissism was significantly, positively related to both in-group identification, $r(974) = .33$, $p < .001$; and distance from minorities, $r(970) = .27$; $p < .001$. In-group identification was unrelated to distancing from minorities, $r(971) = -.04$; $p = .21$.

Since group identification and collective narcissism were significantly related, we conducted a multiple regression analysis to test whether they had independent effects on attitude towards minority groups. As in previous studies, we first regressed out-group distance scores on in-group identification and collective narcissism independently. Then we regressed social distance scores on both predictors together. The full model containing both predictors

was again significant, $F(2, 968) = 44.37$; $R^2 = .08$, $p < .001$. The relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity was significantly strengthened when group identification was included in the equation containing only collective narcissism ($b = .16$; $SE = .02$; $p = .001$. when collective narcissism was entered as a sole predictor to $b = .18$; $SE = .02$; $p = .001$ when collective narcissism and positive group identification were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $p = .001$ from the model containing only collective narcissism). The indirect effect was significant with bias corrected 95% bootstrap confidence intervals ranging from $-.0460$ to $-.0167$. More importantly, when collective narcissism was added to the equation containing only national identification, the relationship between national identification and out-group negativity became negative and significant ($b = .05$; $SE = .04$; $p = .21$ when positive group identification was entered as a sole predictor to $b = -.16$; $SE = .04$; $p = .001$ when collective narcissism and positive group identification were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .09$, $p < .001$ from the model containing only positive group identification; 95% bias corrected bootstrap CI from $.0831$ to $.1509$ (Figure 3). Similar analyses were conducted separately for all three subscales of the group identification scale. Also, analysis controlling for demographic variables (sex, age, income, years of education) was executed. The pattern of results held across all the analyses.

---INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE ---

Discussion of Study 3

The results of Study 3 replicate the findings of Studies 1 and 2, confirming that positive group regard and collective narcissism act as mutual suppressors. When their common variance is controlled the results reveal independent and opposed relationships of high collective narcissism and low group regard with out-group negativity. Collective

narcissism reliably predicts out-group negativity, whereas positive national identification net of its narcissistic aspects predicts positive attitudes towards minorities.

Studies 1, 2, and 3 looked at ‘genuine’ positive regard for a national group, operationalized as the importance of the national in-group to one’s identity and positive opinions about the national in-group. This conceptualization stems from the research tradition started by social identity theory and the subsequent differentiation between personal and social or collective self esteem (see Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). A separate and vast literature explores forms of national group attachment that have different consequences for out-group attitudes and intergroup relations (e.g., Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Schatz et al., 1999; Mummendey, et al., 2001; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Castano, 2008). In Study 4, we refer to this literature and examine the relationship between collective narcissism, more and less belligerent forms of national attachment (e.g. Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Schatz et al., 1999). We expect that collective narcissism will suppress the negative relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group hostility and, at least partially, mediate the positive relationship between blind patriotism and out-group hostility (see Golec de Zavala et al, 2009)

Study 4

The aim of Study 4 was to demonstrate suppression effects with the use of another conceptualization of positive group regard. In this study, we refer to the distinction between constructive and blind of patriotism proposed by Schatz and colleagues (1999). *Blind patriotism* refers to an uncritical idealization of one’s nation (Schatz et al., 1999; see also Bar-Tal, 1996; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003). *Constructive patriotism*, in contrast, is a high regard for one’s nation that does not avoid criticism but welcomes it as a spur toward betterment. Blind patriotism is systematically related to out-group negativity, prejudice, and aggressiveness, while results regarding constructive patriotism are less consistent and indicate

that is either negatively related or unrelated to prejudice (Schatz & Staub, 1997; Schatz et al., 1999). Blind patriotism, following the above definition, is conceptually close to collective narcissism. However, collective narcissists are also likely to be primarily preoccupied with validating and protecting the in-group's image, which is not necessarily a concern for blind patriots. In addition, collective narcissism is a broader concept than blind patriotism. People can narcissistically identify with groups other than their nation. We predict that collective narcissism and constructive patriotism will act as mutual suppressors in predicting out-group attitudes. Moreover, we conduct our analysis considering both collective narcissism and blind patriotism as two forms of belligerent national identification. We allow the two variables to compete against each other to act as suppressors for constructive patriotism and as predictors of negative attitudes towards out-groups.

Method

Participants and procedure.

Study 4 was conducted using 267 Polish undergraduate students whose age ranged from 19 to 53 ($M = 24.96$; $SD = 5.72$). There were 239 women and 22 men among the participants (the remaining participants did not indicate their sex). Participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire that included measures of constructive and blind patriotism, collective narcissism scale and out-group negativity. The order of the scales was counterbalanced.

Measures.

Constructive and blind patriotism. Constructive and blind patriotism were assessed using a Polish version of the scale developed by Schatz and his colleagues (1999). A sample item for blind patriotism is "I would support my country right or wrong," while an example item for constructive patriotism is "If you love Poland, you should notice its problems and work to correct them." Participants were asked to provide their answers on a 7-point scale (1

= *I strongly disagree* and 7 = *I strongly agree*). Both subsets of items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .76$, $M = 2.29$, $SD = 1.02$, for blind patriotism; $\alpha = .73$, $M = 4.76$, $SD = 1.06$, for constructive patriotism).

Collective narcissism. The 9-item Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; $\alpha = .84$, $M = 3.21$, $SD = .75$) was used. Participants were instructed to think about their national group while responding to these items. They used a 6-point scale (1 = *I strongly disagree* and 6 = *I strongly agree*).

Out-group negativity. To measure out-group attitudes we used the same semantic differentials used in Study 1. We measured negative feelings towards three national out-groups: Jews ($\alpha = .95$; $M = 3.39$; $SD = 1.35$), Germans ($\alpha = .95$; $M = 3.86$; $SD = 1.47$), and Russians ($\alpha = .95$; $M = 4.20$; $SD = 1.45$). Because scores for the three out-groups were correlated (with correlations ranging from .33 to .45, all $ps < .001$), a composite score of negative out-group attitudes was computed ($\alpha = .94$; $M = 3.82$; $SD = 1.11$).

Results

We again began with a series of preliminary correlational analyses. National collective narcissism was positively related to blind patriotism, $r(259) = .55$; $p < .001$, and to constructive patriotism, $r(259) = .52$; $p < .001$. Blind and constructive patriotism were positively related, $r(259) = .35$; $p < .001$. Moreover, both collective narcissism, $r(259) = .21$; $p = .001$; and blind patriotism, $r(259) = .14$; $p = .02$, were positively associated with out-group negativity, while the relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity was negative and non-significant, $r(259) = -.04$; $p = .54$.

The results of a hierarchical regression analysis indicated that constructive patriotism alone had no significant effect on out-group negativity (see Table 1, Step1). When out-group negativity was regressed on constructive and blind patriotism, a significant indirect effect via

blind patriotism was obtained (bias corrected 95% bootstrap CI from .0207 to .1298). Blind patriotism suppressed the negative relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity. The negative path between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity was strengthened; however, it failed to reach the statistical significance. Blind patriotism was positively associated with out-group negativity alone and when constructive patriotism was controlled for (Step 2). When collective narcissism was entered to the equation the positive relationship between blind patriotism and out-group negativity was reduced and became non-significant. Collective narcissism significantly mediated the effects of blind patriotism on out-group negativity (bootstrap CI for collective narcissism, controlling for constructive patriotism from .0724 to .2683). In addition, after collective narcissism was entered, a significant *negative* relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity emerged ($b = -.10$; $SE = .07$; $p = .12$ without collective narcissism to $b = -.21$; $SE = .07$; $p = .004$ when collective narcissism, constructive and blind patriotism were all entered; $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $p = .001$ from the model containing only constructive and blind patriotism; bootstrap CI for collective narcissism, controlling for blind patriotism from .0682 to .2505). Thus, collective narcissism suppressed the relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity (Step 3). After controlling for collective narcissism, the suppressing effect via blind patriotism was no longer significant (bootstrap CI from $-.0275$ to $.0823$). After controlling for blind and constructive patriotism, the relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity was strengthened ($b = .31$; $SE = .09$; $p = .001$ when only collective narcissism and blind patriotism were entered as predictors to $b = .42$; $SE = .12$; $p = .001$ when collective narcissism, constructive and blind patriotism were all entered; $\Delta R^2 = .03$, $p = .01$ from the model containing only collective narcissism and blind patriotism). The total indirect effect via blind patriotism and collective narcissism is significant and has a bootstrap confidence interval of .0916 to .2712 (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The same pattern of mutual

suppression of the effects of collective narcissism and constructive patriotism on out-group negativity held after blind patriotism was excluded from the analyses.

---INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE ---

Discussion of Study 4

Results of Study 4 corroborate the pattern of findings obtain in Studies 1 - 3 using different conceptualization of positive regard for an in-group. The results reveal an overlap between blind and constructive patriotism and national collective narcissism. Narcissistic aspects of blind patriotism are responsible for the positive association of blind patriotism with out-group negativity. These results corroborate and partially replicate our earlier findings obtained in an American sample (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009). Importantly, the present results confirm that when the overlap between national narcissism and constructive patriotism is accounted for, the negative association between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity emerges. Although, blind patriotism significantly suppresses the negative relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity, controlling for blind patriotism only does not reveal the significant negative relationship between constructive patriotism and out-group negativity. Only after narcissistic aspects of national attachment are controlled form this relationship emerges whether or not blind patriotism is also accounted for.

Thus far, our studies provide support for our theoretical proposition. They generalize to different national contexts. All of our studies investigated the relationships between collective narcissism, positive group regard, and out-group negativity in the context of national groups. Nonetheless, we propose that this pattern of relationships can be extended beyond this context. People form positive attachments to different social groups and we should be able to differentiate between genuine and narcissistic in-group love with reference

to groups other than nations. Previous studies demonstrated that people form narcissistic identifications not only with national groups (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010a) but also with ethnic groups (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009) and ideological and religious groups (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). We were also able to identify collective narcissism with reference to students from one's university (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010b). Thus, in Study 5 we examined the relationship between two forms of university attachment (collective narcissism and positive in-group identification) and negative attitudes towards students from other universities perceived as comparable and competing with one's own. We expected to find the same pattern of mutual suppression as revealed in studies regarding national group regard.

Study 5

In Study 5 we measured collective narcissism and strength of group identification with reference to a social group defined as students of the same university. We examined how these variables predicted attitudes towards students from different universities that are geographically close, represent similar level with reference to the prestige and recognition and are perceived as competing with own university.

Method

Participants and procedure.

Study 5 was conducted in Great Britain using 241 undergraduate students. Fifteen participants in the final sample were male and 66 were female. Their ages ranged from 18 to 54 ($M = 23.10$; $SD = 5.65$). Forty two percent of participants reported themselves to be ethnically White, 23 % identified as Black, 5 % indicated a mixed identity, 27% identified as "other," and 3 % did not report their ethnicity. The study was conducted in the laboratory. Participants were given research credit for their participation and could take part in a prize

draw upon completion. Participants first provided demographic data, and they were then asked about their identification with their university. Afterwards, participants' collective narcissism and attitudes towards students of rival universities were measured.

Measures.

Strength of group identification. Strength of identification with the group of university students ($M = 5.45$; $SD = 1.79$) was measured with one item, "Do you identify with your university?" Participants were asked to what extent they agreed with this statement, on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*very much*).

Collective narcissism ($\alpha = .82$; $M = 3.33$; $SD = 1.16$). The Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009) was used in relation to students from one's own university. Participants were asked to indicate how much they agreed with the statements from the item using a 7-point scale (1 = *I strongly disagree* and 7 = *I strongly agree*).

Out-group negativity. Participants were asked to indicate their feelings towards other groups with a feeling thermometer similar to that used in Study 2. Participants were asked how they felt about students of other universities studying at their universities as exchange students. The scale ranged from 0° (*extremely unfavorable*) to 100° (*extremely favorable*). To maintain coherence with other studies, data were recoded so that higher scores indicate more negative feelings toward out-groups. Feelings towards students of two comparable level, competing universities in the same area were measured. Since scores were positively significantly correlated, $r(229) = .64$, $p < .001$, we created a composite score of out-group attitudes ($M = 47.32$; $SD = 23.68$).

Results

As before, we began with a series of preliminary correlational analyses. Collective narcissism was significantly and positively related to the strength of group identification, $r(230) = .13; p = .046$ and out-group negativity, $r(228) = .16; p = .02$. The relationship between in-group identification and out-group negativity was negative but not significant, $r(230) = -.11; p = .10$.

Since in-group identification and collective narcissism were significantly related, we conducted a multiple regression analysis to test the hypothesis that they act as mutual suppressors in predicting out-group negativity. As in all other studies, we first regressed out-group negativity on group identification and on collective narcissism independently. Then, we regressed negativity scores on both predictors together. The full model containing both predictors was significant, $F(2, 226) = 4.08; R^2 = .04, p = .01$. The relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity strengthened when group identification was added to the equation already containing collective narcissism ($b = 3.27; SE = 1.34; p = .02$ when collective narcissism was entered as a sole predictor to $b = 3.62; SE = 1.34; p = .01$ when collective narcissism and group identification were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .02, p = .05$ from the model containing only collective narcissism). The indirect effect was significant with bias corrected 95% bootstrap confidence intervals ranging from -1.1015 to .0088. Moreover, when group identification was added to the equation already containing collective narcissism, the relationship between group identification and out-group negativity became significant ($b = -1.44; SE = .88; p = .10$ when strength of group identification was entered as a sole predictor to $b = -1.75; SE = .88; p = .05$ when collective narcissism and group identification were both entered; $\Delta R^2 = .03, p = .01$ from the model containing only group identification; 95% bias corrected bootstrap CI from 0.409 to .8530; Figure 4).

---INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE ---

Discussion of Study 5

The results of Study 5 confirm that the same pattern of mutual suppression involving the relationships between narcissistic and genuine positive group regard and out-group derogation can be found also in the context of social groups other than the national in-group. The present results indicate that people can form “narcissistic” and “genuine” attachments to the social group of students from the same university. The different forms of positive group regard, when their common variance is controlled for, have opposed relationships with out-group negativity. Students who hold their university in-group in genuinely high regard welcome the idea of students of competing universities studying at their campus and joining them in classrooms. Students who are narcissistically identified with their university reject the proposition that students of other universities should be allowed to study at their campus and share classes with them.

General Discussion

The aim of this article is to shed a new light on our understanding of the relationship between positive group regard and out-group derogation. In order to answer the question whether in-group love is related to out-group hate or out-group love we differentiate between narcissistic and genuinely positive group regard and claim that the positive relationship between the latter two variables suppresses the opposed relationships they have with out-group negativity. Results from five studies, conducted in two different countries using both students and adult samples, demonstrate a remarkably consistent pattern of support for our mutual suppression hypothesis.

Collective narcissism was positively related to different forms of positive group regard: collective self esteem (Study 1), in-group identification (Studies 2, and 5), positive in-group affect, high centrality of the in-group to the self, and strong ties with the in-group

(Study 3), and constructive patriotism (Study 4). When narcissistic and genuine forms of group esteem are not differentiated and their relationship is not controlled for, their opposite effects on out-group attitudes cancel each other out. The relationship between each of the variables and out-group negativity is weakened. The significant positive relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity can usually be demonstrated. Importantly, the genuine positive group regard shows no consistent relation with out-group negativity, corroborating the results of previous reviews and meta-analyses (e.g., Hinkle & Brown, 1990, Jackson et al., 2001, Pehrson, et al., 2009, Aberson et al., 2000; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003). However, when the common variance of collective narcissism and positive group regard is partialled out, narcissistic and genuine group regard have independent, significant and *opposed* relationships with out-group derogation. When the malignant narcissistic component is controlled for, positive group regard in its genuine form emerges as a predictor of positivity towards other groups. Importantly, the same pattern of suppression can be demonstrated in the context of both national and non-national groups.

Our results confirm theoretical suggestions that not all forms of in-group love are related to out-group hate (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1999). They confirm that positive group regard can promote both benevolent and hostile intergroup relations—an observation made earlier, at least in the context of national groups (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Schatz et al., 1999; Pehrson et al, 2009; see also Amiot & Hornsey, 2010;). The present results corroborate the propositions that a specific form of in-group love reliably predicts out-group negativity. They confirm the link between narcissistic group regard and out-group negativity (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010b; for other conceptualizations of the ‘malignant’ in-group love see for example Amiot & Hornsey, 2010; Roccas, Klar & Liviatan, 2006; Schatz et al., 1999). Importantly, collective narcissism is not only systematically, across numerous studies, associated with out-group negativity. It seems to cover particularly crucial

aspects of the belligerent group attachment. It is the only form of malignant group identification that when differentiated and controlled for fully uncovers the potential of in-group love to inspire positive attitudes towards other groups.

Thus, the present results also indicate when the hypothesized positive relationship between in-group and out-group love can be observed. Existing operationalizations of positive group regard, either as high collective self-esteem, positive group affect, strong in-group identification, or patriotism, may tap both genuine and narcissistic group regard. Only when we conceptually and empirically differentiate between these two forms of positive group regard and control for their overlap can we find a positive relationship between genuine in-group love and tolerant and positive attitudes towards other groups. Moreover, the present findings also indicate that this differentiation between more or less malignant forms of group regard can be extended beyond the context of national groups to groups as mundane as one's university. To our knowledge, this is the first evidence to this effect.

Collective Narcissism and Out-Group Derogation

The present findings also contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon of collective narcissism. When the overlap with genuine positive group esteem is accounted for, the positive relationship between collective narcissism and out-group derogation and prejudice is strengthened. These results are in line with earlier findings indicating that national narcissism is related not only to inter-group aggressiveness in response to threatening inter-group situations (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010) but also to chronic prejudice against social groups with whom the in-group shares a common history of mutual grievances (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010b; Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). The present results confirm that there is an important difference between collective narcissism and mere positive group regard. Inflated, narcissistic

regard for an in-group is not just 'stronger' esteem. It seems to be esteem of a different kind. It is also not just another form of destructive in-group love such as nationalism, in-group justification or blind patriotism. Firstly, it refers not only to a national group. Secondly, only controlling for the narcissistic in-group love, not other of its forms, uncovers the negative relationship between the constructive group attachment with positive out-group attitudes.

Our earlier findings indicate that narcissistic opinion about the in-group is not only highly positive but also insecure (see Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). We claim that because of this complex nature of the in-group feelings it entails, collective narcissism will lead individuals to interpret ambiguous inter-group situations as threatening the in-group's image. Aggressive responses to the perceived threat serve as means of protecting the in-group's image and maintaining the in-group's positive esteem. The social identity literature provides evidence that it is not mere identification, but rather situationally threatened identification, that explains people's attitudes and behaviour towards out-groups (Ellemers et al., 2002; Branscombe & Wann, 1994). Our research sheds some light on the specific form of social identification that is based on constant perceptions of inter-group threat. Thus, genuine group identification—apart from narcissistic attachment—is the part of one's identification that is less vulnerable to the social identity threat, providing a basis for secure relations with out-groups.

Genuine Positive Group Regard and Tolerance

Our studies indicate that when the overlap between narcissistic and genuine positive group regard is accounted for, a negative relationship between genuine group regard and out-group negativity emerges. This means that genuine in-group love predicts out-group positivity and supports a claim derived from social identity theory that low self-esteem will motivate

inter-group bias (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Abrams & Hogg, 1988). The significant additions to this proposition that our studies offer is that this low self-esteem refers to social rather than individual self and emerges only when narcissistic aspects of positive group regard are controlled for. In other words it is low *social* (or collective, Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990) rather than personal self-esteem that motivates out-group negativity after the effects of collective narcissism were accounted for. This relationship has not been systematically indicated by earlier studies that did not account for the overlap between narcissistic and genuine group regard.

These findings also confirm theory and empirical results regarding secure attachment to others on interpersonal level. This body of work indicates that mature self-esteem, not exaggerated but well-grounded self-liking is a pre-condition of safe attachment to others (e.g., Bowlby, 1982). It is plausible that such secure group attachment is related to greater openness to inter-group trust and respect (Brewer, 1999) and thus out-group positivity. It is also possible that mature love for an in-group might be a developmental achievement that requires overcoming of group-centrism as suggested by some authors (e.g. Amiot & Hornsey, 2010; Reykowski & Golec de Zavala, 2006). However, the nature of this relationship needs further empirical examination.

Interestingly, the present results confirm the tendency for narcissism and genuine self-esteem to mutual suppress each other's relationships of with interpersonal anger, aggression and delinquent behavior, this time at the inter-group level (Barry, et al, 2007; Donellan, et al, 2005; Locke, 2009; Paulhus, et al, 2004). In this way they corroborate theorizing and empirical evidence indicating that psychological processes related to personal identity have their parallels in processes related to social identity (Bizman & Yinon, 2004; Bizman, Yinon & Krotman, 2001; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003; Hornsey, 2003; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

National Narcissism, Blind and Constructive Patriotism

Finally, the present results extend also our understanding of the literature regarding constructive and malignant forms of national attachment. Controlling for the overlap between national narcissism and constructive and blind forms of patriotism reveals a positive association between constructive patriotism and positive attitudes towards other national groups. In addition, the narcissistic aspect of blind patriotism seems to be responsible for the effects of blind patriotism on prejudice and suppresses the negative relationship between constructive patriotism and prejudice. The present results deepen our understanding of the nature of inter-group hostility related to blind patriotism. If the narcissistic aspect of patriotism is responsible for the relationship between blind patriotism and out-group negativity, there are reasons to think that this negativity is in fact defensive and retaliatory. Unlike nationalism, it does not serve the purpose of achieving a dominant in-group position born out of competitiveness (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Limitations and Further Directions

In the present paper, we provide sound evidence for our claim that collective narcissism and genuine positive group regard has dual, opposed influences on out-group attitudes. Admittedly, our evidence is correlational, however, and further studies should replicate the present results using experimental manipulations of genuine and narcissistic positive regard for groups. Such studies would have high applied value as it would help us differentiate the conditions in which in-group love motivates harmonious and positive inter-group relations and help avoid situations that stir narcissistic in-group sentiments. Thus, further research should investigate the complex relationship between narcissistic and genuine aspects of in-group positivity and try to establish ways in which the benevolent aspect of group regard could be strengthened.

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Table 1

Multiple regression analysis of effects of constructive and blind patriotism, and collective narcissism on negative attitudes towards minorities (Study 4, N = 267)

| Variable | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | Step 3 | |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| | <i>B</i> | <i>SE B</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE B</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE B</i> |
| Constructive patriotism | -.04 | .06 | -.10 | .07 | -.21** | .07 |
| Blind patriotism | - | - | .24** | .09 | .08 | .10 |
| Collective narcissism | - | - | .- | - | .42*** | .12 |
| R^2 | .001 | | .03 | | .08 | |
| ΔR^2 | .001 | | .03** | | .05*** | |
| <i>F</i> | .39 | | 3.92* | | 7.04*** | |

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

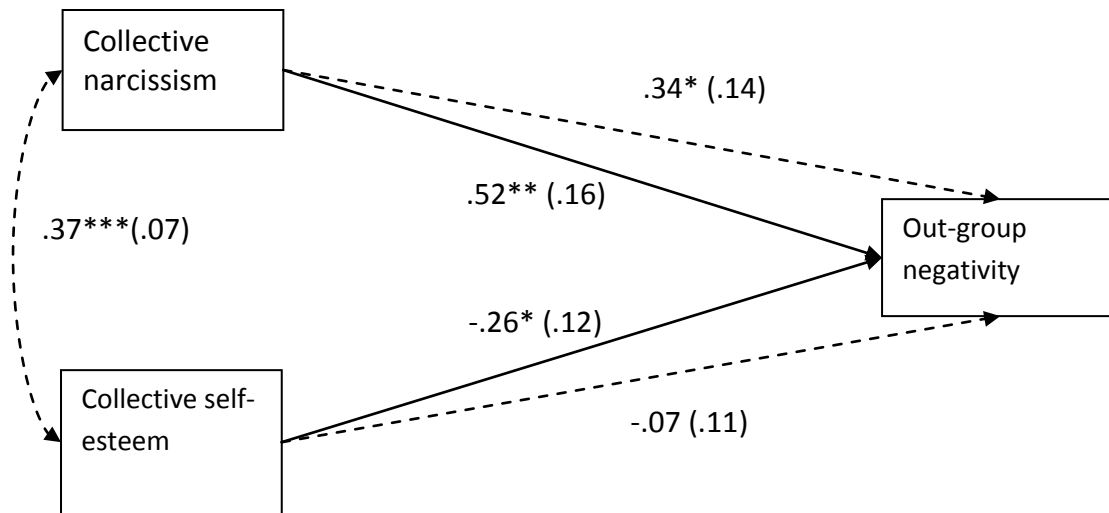


Figure 1. Suppressor effect of collective self-esteem and collective narcissism on out-group negativity (Study 1; $N = 85$).

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Dotted lines indicate paths for simple regression (not controlling for the third variable).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

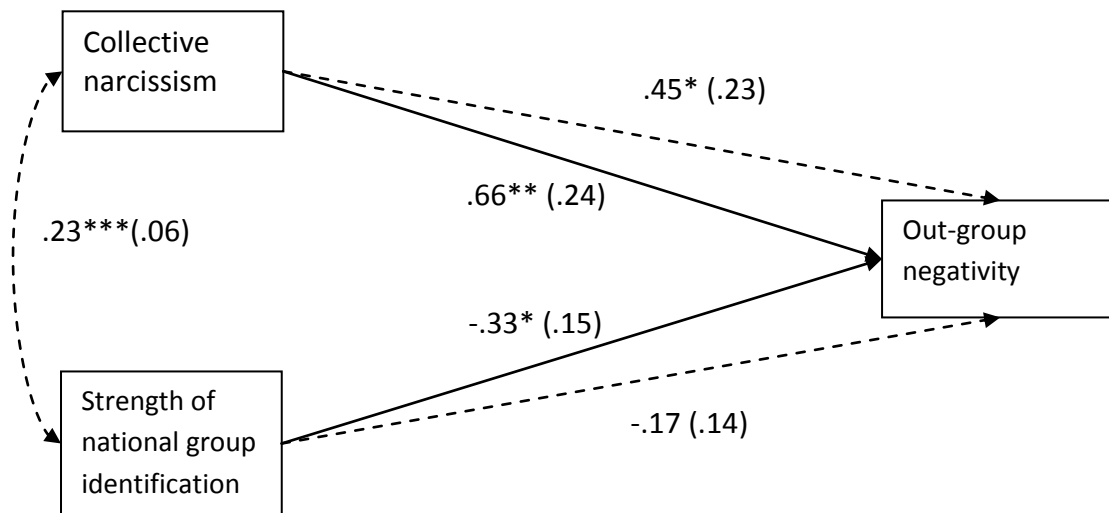


Figure 2. Suppression effects of strength of national group identification and collective narcissism on-group negativity (Study 2; $N = 81$).

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Dotted lines indicate paths for simple regression (not controlling for the third variable).

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

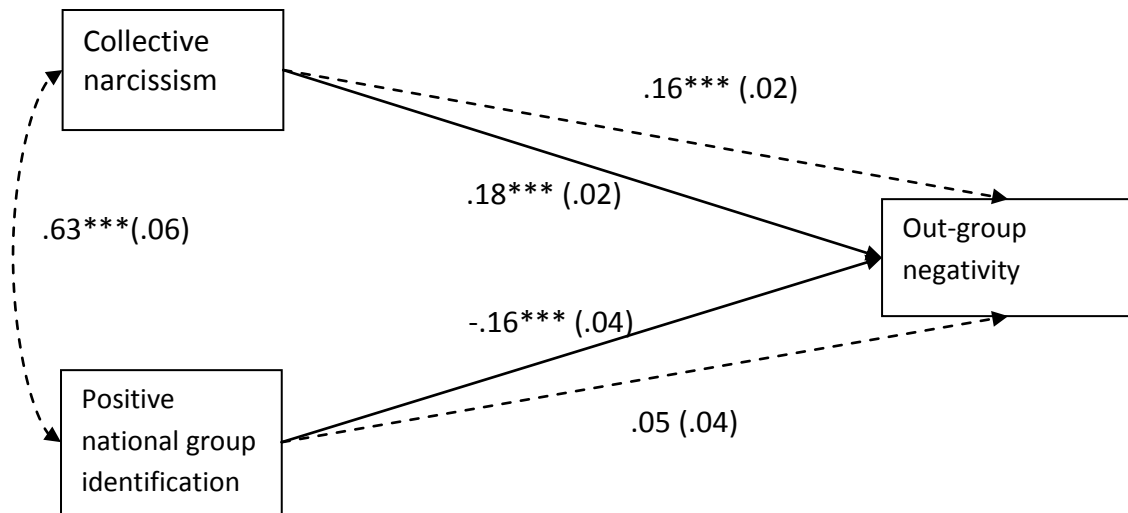


Figure 3. Suppression effects of positive national group identification and collective narcissism on out-group negativity (Study 3; $N = 979$).

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Dotted lines indicate paths for simple regression (not controlling for the third variable).

*** $p < .001$.

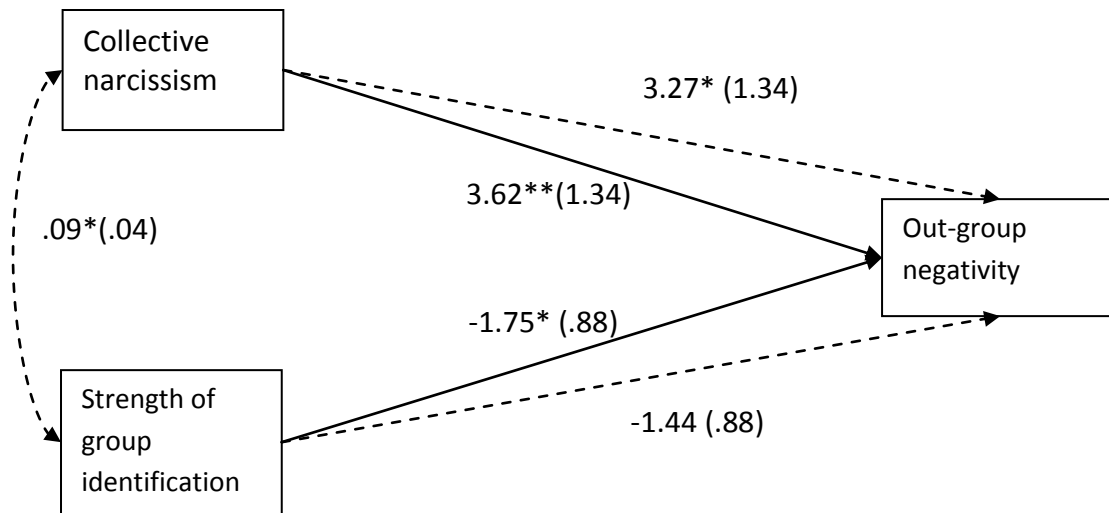


Figure 4. Suppression effects of strength of group identification and collective narcissism on out-group negativity (Study 5; $N = 241$).

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Dotted lines indicate paths for simple regression (not controlling for the third variable).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.