

Conceptualizing and Measuring Social Identity

Radosław Rogoza^{1,2}, Marta Marchlewska¹, Zuzanna Molenda¹,
Oliwia Maciantowicz^{1,3}, Marta Rogoza¹, Dagmara Szczepańska¹,
and Dominika Maison³

¹ Institute of Psychology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

² VIZJA University, Warsaw, Poland

³ Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland

ABSTRACT

Recent advancements in empirical research differentiate the behavioral pathways and document the existence of either more authentic or narcissistic phenotypical manifestations of the ingroup identity. Although research on social identity is flourishing, there is little crosstalk between these two research branches. Thus, the goal of the current paper was to develop a new theoretical model, which would deal with the existing limitations. In a series of four studies (total $N = 3284$) we proposed and validated a new measure of authentic and narcissistic national identity – the Complete Identity Scale. The results supported the factorial, convergent, discriminant, construct, and ecological validity. The current study attempts to integrate research on in-group identity within one comprehensive framework.

KEYWORDS

social identity
collective narcissism
outgroup negativity
validity

Every human being has their own and unique individual self and identity, which largely determine one's behaviors, attitudes, and cognitions (Swann & Bosson, 2010). While the individual differences in these self-cognitions are of great relevance, the way one identifies with different social groups (e.g., family, friends, or nation, just to name a few) also have broad consequences on the overall level of functioning within society (Ellemers et al., 2002). Similar to individual identity, there are many possibilities in how one can identify with different social groups (Turner et al., 1987). To date, most research focused on more individual and group-positive outcomes of being identified with a group, such as satisfying basic psychological needs of belonging, improvements in well-being and personal control, or reducing the experienced anxiety and the feelings of vulnerability of the disadvantaged groups (e.g., Greenway et al., 2015; Haslam et al., 2014; Leach et al., 2010; Marchlewska et al., 2022).

Identity, however, could either be complex (i.e., perceived simultaneous social identities with different groups; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Roccas et al., 2022) or even fused (i.e., when the group is regarded as functionally equivalent with the personal self; Swann & Buhrmester, 2015), leading to acceptance of diversity (Brewer, 2010) versus extreme group behaviors, such as fighting or dying for the group, respectively (Swann et al., 2009). The consequences of such an extreme social identity are in fact mostly negative for both the self and society, leading to prejudice towards others, supporting populist policies or even violent extremism (Crocetti et al., 2021; Jaško et al., 2021; Lantos & Forgas, 2021; Marchlewska et al., 2018). Thus, in the current paper, we attempted to disentangle the authentic and narcissistic identity (Cichocka, 2016) and to demonstrate their different consequences.

Different Approaches to Social Identity

Individuals can belong to multiple, diverse, and nonoverlapping groups, and in each of these groups, they can develop a different social identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Within the social identity approach (comprised of social identity and self-categorization theories), group identity is a result of the complex interplay between the individual self and social reality (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). In this vein, individuals are frequently referred to as the ingroup (i.e., members of the group one identifies with) or outgroup (i.e., members of a different group) members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Regarding ingroup identity, people can differ in their level of group commitment, that is, how strongly one identifies with the group (Ellemers et al., 2002). Ingroup identity could be broadly described in terms of self-definition (i.e., how similar one sees oneself to the prototypical ingroup member and how much in common does one believe to have with other ingroup members) and self-investment (i.e., how much one feels positive feelings towards being a member of the group and how important the membership in this group is; Leach et al., 2008).

This commitment to the ingroup can either be more authentic and focused on the positive functioning of the ingroup itself or more self-centered and used to realize one's own unsatisfied needs (Jackson & Smith, 1999; Marchlewska et al., 2022). The consequences of authentic identity on individual and collective-level outcomes are mainly positive. For example, it is linked to higher personal control, lower attachment anxiety, expressing more empathy to the marginalized groups,

Corresponding author: Radosław Rogoza, Institute of Psychology, Polish Academy of Sciences; VIZJA University, Warsaw, Poland.

Email: r.rogoza@psych.pan.pl

or demonstrating more general positive emotionality (Cichocka et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala, 2019; Górska et al., 2020; Marchlewska et al., 2023). Although traditionally ingroup identity has been theorized to be related to the discrimination of out-groups (e.g., Brown, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), existing research demonstrates that ingroup favoritism can occur without outgroup derogation (Brewer, 2017).

Self-centered identity is frequently labelled as collective narcissism (specifically defined as an exaggerated emotional investment in an unrealistic belief about the ingroup's superiority; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Collective narcissism is hypothesized to reflect a compensation for the frustration of different individual psychological needs, such as low self-esteem or fear of abandonment (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; Marchlewska et al., 2022). This type of ingroup identity is frequently found to be defensive and destructive, not only for the outgroups, but also for the members of the ingroup (Cichocka, 2016; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). For instance, those scoring high on collective narcissism are more prone to leave the ingroup for a personal gain (Marchlewska et al., 2020). In a similar vein, collective narcissism is not only associated with the beliefs in outgroup conspiracies, representing the paranoid threat-based character of this type of social identity (Cichocka et al., 2016), but also in willingness to conspire against one's own group members (Biddlestone et al., 2022; Molenda et al., 2022).

Existing Ambiguities

The differentiation between authentic and self-centered identities expands the early accounts on the potential negative outcomes of social identity which were considered as separate behavioral pathways. Specifically, Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1986) argued that when the image of the ingroup is threatened, one could either disidentify, leave the ingroup or even derogate the threatening outgroup. Such approach, however, might oversimplify the complex issue of ingroup identity, focusing only on its defensive pathways (Cichocka et al., 2018; Jackson & Smith, 1999; Roccas et al., 2022). Existing empirical results also seem to support these claims only in part, as it is only collective narcissism that is related to outgroup negativity (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013). Thus, we stipulate that acknowledging the multidimensional structure of ingroup identity is a necessary step to move forward in understanding complex group processes.

Past research on social identity is also inconsistent as far as certain theoretical and empirical issues are concerned. For example, the theoretically expected negative relation between collective narcissism and self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) is interpreted as one of the core explanations of collective narcissism (i.e., collective narcissism is hypothesized to emerge to compensate low individual self-esteem). However, it never found support in zero-order relations, thus questioning the aforementioned interpretation. It has been found, however, that collective narcissism was indeed related with lower self-esteem only after partialing out the variance it shares with the measure of in-group identity (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016; 2020). To ease such an interpretation, it was proposed to label this residualized ingroup identity as a nonnarcissistic identity (which henceforth we argue to label "authentic," as the previously used label of "nonnarcissistic" did not reflected

the psychological content of this type of ingroup commitment) while the residualized collective narcissism was relabeled as narcissistic identity (Cichocka, 2016). Although collective narcissism and different measures of ingroup identity are repeatedly positively related, when entered into a regression model, their shared variance is partialled out, and as result, within the tested model, they are empirically orthogonal, thus supporting the notion that they represent two distinct pathways.

Therefore, to conclude about the correlates of narcissistic identity, researchers are forced to partial out the shared variance between collective narcissism and the measure of ingroup identity (e.g., Biddlestone et al., 2022; Cichocka et al., 2016; Cislak et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012; Marchlewska et al., 2022). This procedure creates several critical, methodological drawbacks. First, due to such a procedure, it is difficult to know what actually remains after removing the variance shared with ingroup identity. As such, the residualized variable can manifest different relations with constructs from its nomological network (Sleep et al., 2017). Second, researchers are using a wide array of measures of ingroup identity. Consider some of the studies (Biddlestone et al., 2022; Cichocka et al., 2016, 2018; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016; Marchlewska et al., 2020), where each used a distinct measure of ingroup identity. As a result, there is a high degree of uncertainty whether the residualized collective narcissism (i.e., the narcissistic identity) or ingroup identity (i.e., the authentic identity) are the same construct across different studies, as they cannot be evaluated in terms of measurement invariance. Third, some researchers (e.g., Rogoza et al., 2019; Žemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021) interpret the results without taking into account the issue of the shared variance within ingroup identity and analyze only the zero-order relations between collective narcissism and other variables. Thus, in fact, these interpretations do not regard collective narcissism (at least in its theoretical definition), but rather a blend of multiple different ways in-group identity and narcissistic identity are measured. Finally, while ingroup identity is described as a multidimensional construct (Cameron, 2004; Leach et al., 2008), collective narcissism, in contrast to literature (Montoya et al., 2020), is conceptualized as a one-dimensional construct (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Thus, there is also some degree of uncertainty about whether collective narcissism, as it is currently conceptualized and measured, sufficiently covers the theoretical breadth of the construct in regard to centrality, ties, and affect (Cameron, 2004).

Summing up, existing research supports not only the existence of the two distinct expressions of ingroup identities, authentic and narcissistic, but also clearly differentiates between these through the demonstration of different nomological networks. Nevertheless, both these constructs suffer from a considerable amount of theoretical and methodological drawbacks. These limitations constrain the possibilities to generalize the findings across different studies or to conduct meta-analyses. Thus, to move the field forward, there is a need to develop a comprehensive measure of different expressions of ingroup identity, and the current paper aimed to fill this gap.

Goals of the Current Paper

The overarching goal of the current paper was to propose and validate a new measure of social identity. To ease the interpretation, in all studies we considered the nation as a reference group, that is, the group around which identity was formed. According to extant literature, we expected that two distinct (i.e., uncorrelated) forms of ingroup identity could be differentiated – authentic and narcissistic (Cichocka et al., 2016; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Jackson & Smith, 1999; Marchlewska et al., 2022). Our central expectation was that each form of identity could be characterized in terms of centrality, ties, and affect (Cameron, 2004). For the purposes of such a goal, we conducted four studies. First, we began with the development of the new measure – the Complete Identity Scale (CIS). As a result, Study 1 addressed the issue of factorial validity (presented as supplementary material at OSF) and tackled some preliminary issues regarding the validity of the proposed measure, namely the relations to out-group negativity. A conceptual representation of the hypothesized measurement model is presented in Figure 1. The goal of the registered Study 2 was to test the convergent and the discriminant validity of the newly developed scale as well as to provide a head-to-head comparison with the existing measures. Furthermore, we also assessed the degree of the differences in zero-order versus residualized correlations between CIS and the existing measures of ingroup identity. We expected that the partialing procedure would diminish the magnitude of the differences in the strength of the correlation coefficients.

The goal of Study 3 was to extend the findings on the convergent and the discriminant validity through assessing the relationship with the attitudes towards war and peace within the context of the war in Ukraine. Poland is a country that accepted most of the war refugees (since the start of the war, the Polish border has been crossed more than 10 million times; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2023), and as a result, there is a visible presence of Ukrainian citizens in Poland, as almost 1.5 million "Ukraine refugees remain in the country one year on from Russia's full-scale invasion" (Ptak, 2023). Thus,

we were able to analyze real-life perceptions, rather than hypothetical evaluations. For this purpose, we evaluated the attitudes towards war and peace, as well as assessed attitudes towards providing help to the Ukrainians. We expected to observe that the authentic ingroup identity would be positively related to orientation towards peace, while the narcissistic identity would be positively related to orientation towards war. Furthermore, we expected that whereas the authentic ingroup identity would predict more favorable attitudes towards Ukrainians, the narcissistic identity would predict a more adverse approach (i.e., would be related negatively to attitudes towards Ukrainians). Such expectations were in line with the existing literature stressing that national narcissism, for instance, was related to support for the war in Iraq (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009).

Finally, within Study 4 we assessed the construct's validity through the evaluation of the interrelations of the self- and observer-reports. That is, we assessed the degree to which the self-reported scores in the authentic and narcissistic ingroup identity could predict the scores of the observers. In other words, we tested, whether the possessed identity level would be related to the evaluation of the same variables in the eyes of the observer. For this purpose, we studied individuals in romantic relationships and asked them both to rate: (a) their own level of the self-reported scores of identity and (b) their perception of the identity of their romantic partner (i.e., how they thought their partner would score on authentic and narcissistic identity measures). Our main expectation was that how one identified with the ingroup should be known to the individuals who were well-acquainted with them. Thus, we expected that the self-reported scores in authentic and narcissistic identity would be strongly and positively related to the perceptions of these forms of identity as seen by their romantic partner.

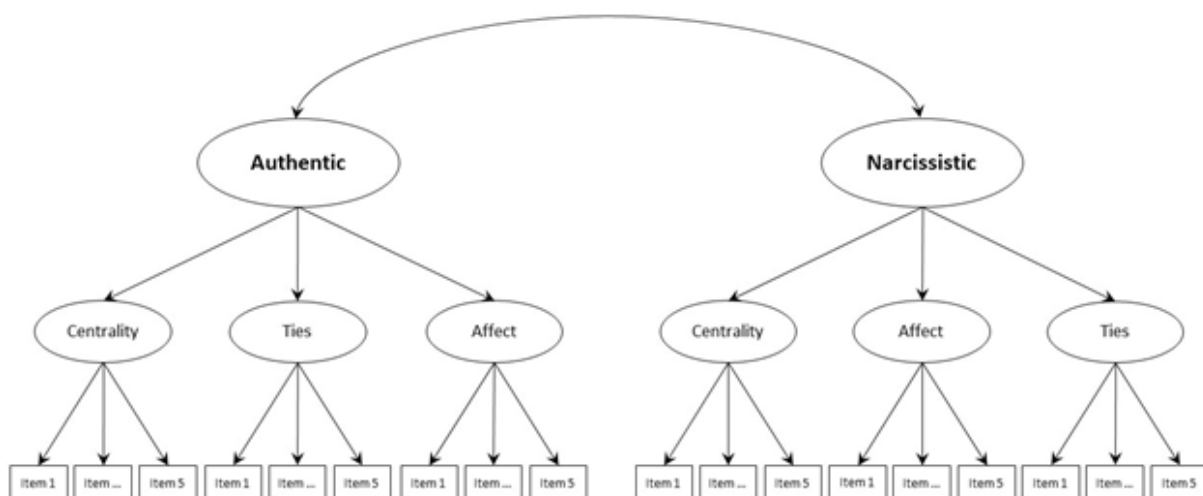


FIGURE 1.

Graphical Conceptual Representation of the Tested Measurement Model of the Complete Identity Scale.

METHOD

Open Science Statement

The studies have been approved unreservedly by the local ethics committee (decision: IP.403.19.2022). The hypotheses presented in Studies 1, 3, and 4 were not registered. All the hypotheses presented in Study 2 have been registered prior to data collection (<https://osf.io/p8czt>). Data, statistical script, and supplementary materials from all studies are available at the OSF project site: <https://osf.io/24xg5/>.

Power Considerations

Within Study 1, given that the goal was to develop a new measure, to determine the required sample size we relied on the item to participant rule of thumb (Costello & Osborne, 2005). For each item, we attempted to gather at least 30 participants. The initial item pool comprised 42 items, thus, we aimed to gather data from at least 1260 participants. In Study 2 and 3, to detect a small effect size ($f^2 = .10$) with the level of $\alpha = .01$, and power = .95 in a model with two predictors (i.e., collective narcissism and national identity), we needed to gather the data from at least 212 participants. However, as correlation coefficients tend to stabilize when the N approaches 250 (Schönbrodt & Perugini, 2013), this was the minimum sample size we considered as adequate. For Study 4, to detect a strong effect ($d = .50$) with the level of $\alpha = .01$, and power = .80, a minimum of $N = 212$ dyads was required. Given that we also considered the stabilization of correlations as in previous studies, we also considered the minimum sample size as $N = 250$ dyads.

Measures

AUTHENTIC AND NARCISSISTIC IN-GROUP IDENTITY

In all studies, these were measured by the Complete Identity Scale (CIS), developed for the purpose of this project. Both subscales of CIS comprise three facets – centrality, ties, and affect. The CIS uses a five-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*). In Study 1, the measure consisted of 42 items, since it aimed to assess the structure of the CIS and tested all statements generated by the authors. Study 2 comprised the final 30-item version developed in Study 1, while Studies 3 and 4 employed a brief, six-item version. The content of all items is available at the OSF.

CONVENTIONAL IN-GROUP IDENTITY

In Studies 1 and 2, in-group identity was measured by the Social Identification Scale with reference to the nation (Cameron, 2004; sample item: I often think about being Polish) and the Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; sample item: Poles deserve special treatment). Hence, when referring to ingroup identity, we refer it to as national identity and when referring to collective narcissism we refer to it as national narcissism. Whilst the former consists of 12 items, the latter comprises five items (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013). For both measures, participants were asked to rate

their agreement using a five-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*).

INGROUP AND OUTGROUP NEGATIVITY

To assess the degree of negativity towards the ingroup and different outgroups in Study 1, we used the blatant dehumanization task (Kteily et al., 2015). Each participant was displayed an image presenting different stages of human evolution and was asked, using a nine-point scale, to rate their ingroup's level of evolutionary development (Poles), as well as that of several out-groups' (Jews, Afro-Americans, and LGBTQ+ community members). In Study 2, outgroup negativity was assessed through the thermometer of feelings (Alwin, 1997), on which participants assessed their feelings towards the outgroup (i.e., Jews) and used a response scale ranging from 1 (*very cold, negative*) to 9 (*very warm, positive*).

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP-LEVEL OUTCOMES

In Study 2, we used a range of validity measures. Self-esteem was measured using Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), comprising ten statements rated on a five-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*; sample item: I feel that I'm a person of worth). Right-wing authoritarianism was measured using the brief, six-item version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Górska et al., 2020; based on Funke, 2005). Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with each statement using a five-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*; sample item: Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn). Social dominance orientation was measured by the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al., 2013). The measure consisted of four items using a five-point response scale, from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*; sample item: Superior groups should dominate inferior groups). Ingroup disloyalty, as previously reported in the empirical literature, was measured by one item (Marchlewska et al., 2020). Respondents were asked to rate on a five-point scale (1 = *definitely disagree* to 5 = *definitely agree*) if they agreed with the following statement: If I could earn much more in another European Union country, I would leave Poland for good. Willingness to conspire was measured using the five-item scale capturing willingness to engage in conspiracy activities regarding the COVID-19 pandemic (sample item: If I would be in place of the Polish government, I would manipulate the information about the coronavirus to increase own influences; Marchlewska et al., 2022; Molenda et al., 2022; based on Douglas & Sutton, 2011). Finally, conspiracy beliefs were measured using the fourteen-item scale assessing the endorsement of COVID-19 conspiracy theories (sample item: Coronavirus is injected to people through vaccines; Marchlewska et al., 2022).

ATTITUDES TOWARD PEACE AND WAR

In Study 3, the participants were administered the Attitudes Toward Peace and War Scale (Bizumic et al., 2013). The scale consists of two dimensions, an 8-items subscale describing attitudes supporting

war (sample item: War is sometimes the best way to solve a conflict), and a 9-items subscale concerning attitudes supporting peace (sample item: We must devote all our energy to securing peace throughout the world). Also, to measure attitudes towards Ukrainian refugees in Study 3, we used a set of 14 statements (Maciantowicz et al., 2023; sample item: I believe that Ukrainians who are fleeing the war should be given shelter; full questionnaire available at the OSF) with a five-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 5 (*definitely agree*).

Participants and Procedure

All studies were carried out by external research companies via Computer-Assisted Web Interviews. The samples, briefly described in Table 1, in all studies were representative of the population of Polish adults in terms of age, gender, and place of residence. Participants in all reported studies were offered compensation for participation (internal survey credits or cash). In all studies, as exclusion criteria we considered age (i.e., participants who were younger than 18 years) and nationality (i.e., as the study regarded Polish identity and the measures were all administered in Polish, we only considered permanent Polish residents whose first language was Polish). Moreover, in Study 4, we imposed an additional exclusion criterion such that we only considered heterosexual couples which had been in a romantic relationship for at least six months at the start of the study. The participants were prescreened for the exclusion criteria and only the eligible individuals were invited to complete the set of self-report measures.

Statistical Analyses

STUDY 1

To assess the relations between the compared variables, we examined the Pearson's correlation coefficient.

STUDY 2

As registered, to assess the relations of the CIS to other convergent and discriminant validity variables in Study 2, we relied on the examination of the standard Pearson's correlation coefficient. In regard to the existing measures of national identity, we used either Pearson's correlation coefficients, but also, we assessed the partial correlation coefficients to account for their shared variance. Finally, we also assessed the differences in strength between the correlation coefficients of existing and new scales to our validity variables, which was done using Z-tests.

STUDY 3

Within the Study 3, we only analyzed the relations between authentic and narcissistic identity towards orientations to war and peace and attitudes towards Ukrainians. Thus, our analyses were limited to the examination of the Pearson's correlation coefficient.

STUDY 4

Given that we collected data from partners staying in romantic relationship, to test the assumed hypothesis, we relied on the evaluation of the actor partner interdependence model (APIM). The APIM models were tested through the means of the structural equation modeling approach with maximum likelihood estimation. The code was based on lavaan syntax (Rosseel, 2012) and was executed through the shiny app (Stas et al., 2018).

RESULTS

Study 1 – Initial Validation of the Authentic and Narcissistic Identity

The detailed report on the development and psychometric evaluation of the scale is available at the OSF project site. In Table 2, we also report the initial evidence on the validity of the proposed measure, as confronted with the existing scales in regard to their relations to ingroup and outgroup negativity. Authentic identity was positively related to national identity ($r = .76, p < .001$) and national narcissism ($r = .36, p < .001$). Narcissistic identity, in turn, was related only to national narcissism ($r = .58, p < .001$) but not to national identity ($r = .05, p = .053$). Authentic identity in all compared scenarios was related to lesser prejudice than a standard measure of ingroup identity. Of importance, the standard measure was unrelated to the dehumanization of Jews, and positively related to the dehumanization of the LGBTQ+ community. The proposed measure of authentic identity in turn, was either negatively related to the dehumanization of Jews or not related to the dehumanization of the LGBTQ+ community, which provides initial preference of the newly developed scale over the existing measures of ingroup identity. In regard to narcissistic identity, there were also notable differences. More specifically, while the newly developed scale was related more strongly to the dehumanization of Jews and Afro-Americans than national narcissism was, we did not find any differences in how these scales were related to the dehumanization of the LGBTQ+ community. However, national narcissism was unrelated to the dehumanization of the ingroup (i.e., Poles), while narcissistic identity, consistent with

TABLE 1.

Participants Across the Studies Overview

Study	Age				Total	N	
	M	SD	Min.	Max.		Males	Females
1	46.10	16.06	18	96	1504	718	786
2	48.52	16.17	19	83	366	182	184
3	46.20	16.22	18	97	864	424	460
4	45.59	13.70	20	81	550	275	275

TABLE 2.

Relations to the In-Group and Out-Group Negativity (Study 1)

Dehumanization of:	Authentic identity	National identity	Z	Narcissistic identity	National narcissism	Z
Poles	-.32***	-.26***	3.53***	.17***	.01	6.81***
Jews	-.12***	-.04	4.49***	.35***	.29***	2.71**
Afro-Americans	-.13***	-.07**	3.38***	.33***	.26***	3.13**
LGBTQ+	.00	.07**	3.92***	.38***	.38***	0.00

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

theory, was related positively. Thus, both scales provided a considerable amount of initial evidence of measurement validity.

Study 2 – Assessment of the Validity and a Head-to-Head Comparison to Collective Narcissism Scale and the Social Identification Scale – A Registered Report

ZERO-ORDER RELATIONS

Descriptive statistics, internal consistencies, and zero-order correlations of all variables with authentic, narcissistic, and national identity, and national narcissism are presented in Table 3. As predicted, authentic identity was strongly and positively related to national identity while narcissistic identity was moderately positively related to national narcissism. National narcissism was related in the same extent to authentic identity and national identity as it was related to narcissistic identity, $Z = 0.32$, $p = .374$; $Z = 0.82$, $p = .205$, respectively. Authentic and national identities revealed a nearly identical pattern of relations, with the only exception of social dominance orientation, which was related negatively to authentic identity, while national identity was unrelated to it. The observed correlations also supported all our hypotheses, except for outgroup negativity, which was unrelated neither to authentic nor to ingroup identity (registered hypothesis regarded a negative relation). Of all compared pairs of correlation coefficients, we have found moderate differences in right-wing authoritarianism, outgroup negativity, ingroup disloyalty, and a notable difference in social dominance orientation. These results partially supported our expectations. In regard to narcissistic identity, all of the results were congruent with our predictions. National narcissism, however, was found to be unrelated to self-esteem and willingness to conspire as well as negatively related to ingroup disloyalty. Except for outgroup negativity and conspiracy beliefs, we found moderate differences in how narcissistic identity and national narcissism were related to social dominance orientation, and notable differences in regard to self-esteem, right-wing authoritarianism, ingroup disloyalty, and willingness to conspire.

RESIDUALIZED RELATIONS

Comparison of correlation strength between authentic and narcissistic identity versus residualized national identity (i.e., conventionally measured authentic identity) and national narcissism (i.e., conventionally measured narcissistic identity) are presented in Table 4. In

regard to authentic and national identity, there were three significant differences. After partialing out the shared variance with national narcissism, national identity was marginally more strongly related to self-esteem than authentic identity. While there were no differences in regard to outgroup negativity, social dominance orientation, ingroup disloyalty, and willingness to conspire, which were all supporting our expectations, we noticed two unexpected results of the partialing procedure. More specifically, after excluding the variance shared with national narcissism, the strength of the relation of national identity to right-wing authoritarianism significantly decreased. Moreover, residualized national identity was negatively related to conspiracy beliefs. Thus, while our hypothesis was supported, we also noticed some unexpected consequences of the partialing procedure. For residualized national narcissism, the effects of the partialing procedure were even more salient. While we noticed some moderate differences (in regard to social dominance orientation, ingroup disloyalty, and willingness to conspire), the differences were all lower as compared to the zero-order relations. The only exception was the relation to conspiracy beliefs, where the observed effect was greater than the one reported in zero-order relations, however, the magnitude of this effect (i.e., change from .32 to .35) was negligible. Of importance, we observed other effects of the partialing, such as a nonsignificant relation to self-esteem turning as significant and negative. The effects of partialing resulted in a pattern of relation largely congruent with the one already demonstrated by the narcissistic identity. Thus, our expectations found support in the empirical investigation by not only supporting the validity of the authentic and narcissistic identity, but also by revealing that the newly developed scales are able to solve the limitations of the measurement of national identity and national narcissism.

Study 3 – Assessment of Convergent and Discriminant Validity in the Context of War in Ukraine

Descriptive statistics, internal consistencies, and zero-order correlations of all variables are presented in Table 5. As expected, authentic identity was weakly positively related to attitudes towards peace, while narcissistic identity was also weakly positively related to attitudes towards war. We also observed negative relations between authentic identity to pro-war attitudes as well as between narcissistic identity and pro-peace attitudes, however, the strength of these relations was weak. In accordance with our expectations, we also observed a diverg-

TABLE 3.

Descriptive Statistics, Internal Consistencies, Zero-Order Correlations, and Assessment of the Differences in Correlation Strength (Study 2)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	Authentic identity	National identity	<i>Z</i>	Narcissistic identity	National narcissism	<i>Z</i>
Authentic identity	3.94	0.78	.95						
National identity	3.50	0.62	.89	.74***					
Narcissistic identity	2.47	0.93	.95	.01	.03				
Collective narcissism	3.01	0.86	.89	.45***	.48***		.43***		
Self-esteem	3.03	0.59	.88	.23***	.26***	0.82	-.15**	.02	3.05***
Right-wing authoritarianism	3.29	0.96	.85	.33***	.41***	2.30*	.42***	.58***	3.49***
Out-group negativity	7.42	1.93	-	.09	.02	1.85*	-.15**	-.15**	0.00
Social dominance orientation	1.99	0.82	.75	-.12*	.01	3.45***	.25***	.13*	2.20*
In-group disloyalty	3.91	2.13	-	-.37***	-.45***	2.35**	.11*	-.22***	5.96***
Willingness to conspire	2.20	1.29	.96	-.23***	-.21***	0.54	.29***	.02	4.93***
Conspiracy beliefs	2.07	1.00	.96	-.01	.03	1.06	.25***	.32***	1.32

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.**TABLE 4.**

Differences in Correlation Strength between the Zero-Order Authentic and Narcissistic Identity versus. Residualised National Identity and National Narcissism (Study 2)

Variable	Authentic identity	Residualized national identity	<i>Z</i>	Narcissistic identity	Residualised national narcissism	<i>Z</i>
Self-esteem	.23***	.29***	1.65*	-.15**	-.13*	0.36
Right-wing authoritarianism	.33***	.18***	4.13***	.42***	.47***	1.03
Out-group negativity	.09	.10	0.27	-.15**	-.18***	0.54
Social dominance orientation	-.12*	-.06	1.59	.25***	.15**	1.83*
Ingroup disloyalty	-.37***	-.40***	0.87	.11*	-.01	2.15*
Willingness to conspire	-.23***	-.26***	0.82	.29***	.15**	2.59**
Conspiracy beliefs	-.01	-.15**	3.72***	.25***	.35***	1.90*

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.**TABLE 5.**

Descriptive Statistics, Internal Consistencies, and the Zero-Order Relations (Study 3)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	1	2	3	4
1. Authentic identity	3.78	0.99	.90				
2. Narcissistic identity	2.59	1.02	.81	.14***			
3. Pro-war attitudes	20.44	7.45	.86	-.10**	.48***		
4. Pro-peace attitudes	33.19	5.92	.87	.32***	-.14***	-.45***	
5. War attitudes towards Ukrainians	3.01	1.00	.95	.16***	-.12***	-.15***	.26***

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

ing pattern of relations to attitudes towards the presence of Ukrainians in Poland. More specifically, authentic identity was characterized by higher tolerance, acceptance, and providing help, while narcissistic identity was characterized by hostile attributions of Ukrainians and seeing them as a burden for Poland and its economy. Thus, our expectations about the convergent and discriminant validity in the context of the war in Ukraine were supported in full.

Study 4 – Assessment of Construct Validity through Observer Reports

Descriptive statistics, internal consistencies, and zero-order correlations of all variables are presented in Table 6 and the standardized estimates of the tested APIM models for authentic and narcissistic identity are given in Figures 2 and 3, respectively. For authentic identity, the partners' self-reported scores were positively correlated, thus,

individuals staying within a romantic relationship tended to have similar levels of authentic identity towards the nation. As hypothesized, both for men and women, we found a strong relationship between the self-reported scores in authentic identity to the perceptions of their romantic partners (presented as partner effect). We also found that self-reported scores in authentic identity were positively related to own perceptions of the level of authentic identity of the partner (presented as actor effect). Noteworthy, although both partner and actor effects were significant, the strength of the former effects was notably stronger. That is, the degree of one's own level of authentic identity, was only moderately related to the perception of the partner's authentic identity. For narcissistic identity, we observed a similar pattern of relations. That is, the self-reported scores in narcissistic identity were also positively related one to the other. As expected, we found a moderately strong relationship between self-reported scores in narcissistic identity and the perception of narcissistic identity by the romantic partner (i.e., partner effects). We also observed a moderate relationship between self-reported scores in narcissistic identity and the evaluation of the narcissistic identity of their partners (i.e., actor effects). In contrast to authentic identity, the magnitude of the differences in the strength of the partner and actor effects was negligible. That is, own level of narcissistic identity predicted to a similar extent how one saw their partner's level of narcissistic identity, but also how the partner perceived the individual.

DISCUSSION

Individuals develop either a secure or a nonsecure attachment in close relationships (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002). Existing research suggests that these attachment styles are not unique solely for how one shapes relations with others, but also for how one identifies and shapes relations with different groups (Marchlewska et al., 2022). In the current paper, we attempted to disentangling these secure and nonsecure expressions of social identity, which would encompass authentic and narcissistic manifestations (Jackson & Smith, 1999; Marchlewska et al., 2022). This goal was motivated, on the one hand, by the fact that ongoing research on both of these is proceeding, but there is little crosstalk between them (e.g., Crocetti et al., 2021; Ellemers et al., 2002; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Lantos & Forgas, 2021; Marchlewska et al., 2018).

On the other, research on the types of in-group identity is burdened with methodological drawbacks. For instance, some research on in-group identity does not differentiate the narcissistic aspects (e.g., Crocetti et al., 2021), while research on collective narcissism suffers from using a measure that is a simultaneous indicator of both authentic and narcissistic identity (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). To realize the goal of the current manuscript, we developed a new measure of authentic and narcissistic identity and analyzed its psychometric properties in a series of four studies.

Evidence of Validity of Measurement

The major goal of the current paper was to provide evidence for measurement validity and reliability of the newly proposed scale. Given both the theoretical and the empirical ambiguities within the field, there was a need to develop a scale that would be a step forward towards refinement of the measurement of authentic and narcissistic identity. For this purpose, in accordance with theory, we developed a large pool of items that captured the theoretically delineated dimensions of centrality, ties, and affect (Cameron, 2004; Swann Jr et al., 2015). Through the means of confirmatory factor analysis (see the OSF page), we found support for the specified measurement model (see Figure 1). According to our theoretical expectations, and in contrast to the empirical literature on collective narcissism (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2016), authentic and narcissistic identity, as measured by the proposed scale, appeared to be orthogonal and not positively interrelated (see also Cichočka et al., 2018). Using the item response theory, we also proposed a brief version of the measure, which also appeared to be a factorially valid measure. Thus, the current research provides solid evidence on structural validity, emphasizing the distinctiveness of the authentic and narcissistic identity.

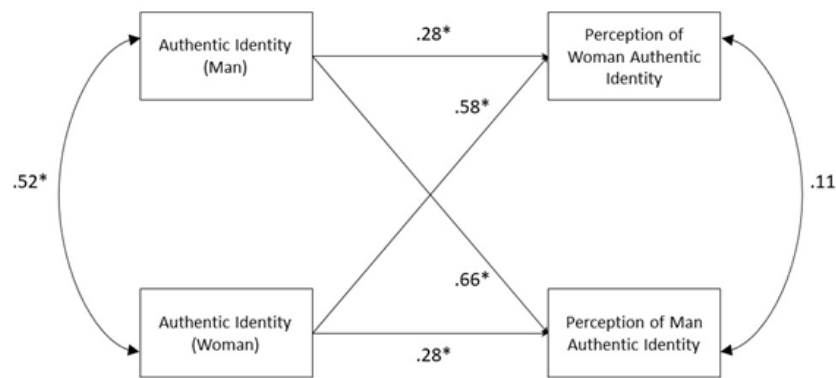
In the subsequent studies, we provided broad evidence on the convergent, discriminant, and construct validity of the proposed measure. Out of 16 registered hypotheses in Study 2, we only failed to find support for one, namely, a negative relation between authentic identity and outgroup negativity. The negative relation of authentic identity is documented in Study 1, however, we used a different methodological approach (i.e., the blatant dehumanization task in Study 1, Kteily et al., 2015, versus a feeling thermometer in Study 2), which might have impacted the observed results. Within the study, we used a nine-point

TABLE 6.

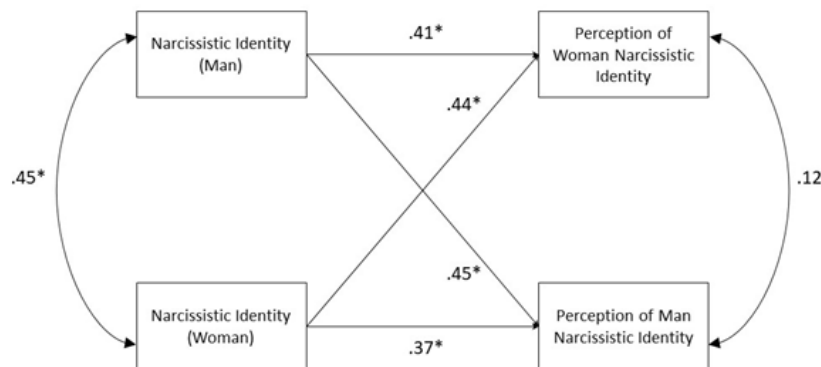
Descriptive Statistics, Internal Consistencies, and the Zero-Order Relations (Study 4)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Authentic identity (self-woman)	3.80	0.89	.87							
2. Authentic identity (partner-woman)	3.50	1.12	.93	.62*						
3. Narcissistic identity (self-woman)	2.38	0.94	.83	.11	.16					
4. Narcissistic identity (partner-woman)	2.46	0.99	.81	.16	.09	.57*				
5. Authentic identity (self-man)	3.64	1.05	.92	.52*	.81*	.16	.05			
6. Authentic identity (partner-man)	3.76	0.95	.92	.73*	.63*	.09	.11	.59*		
7. Narcissistic identity (self-man)	2.49	0.97	.78	.14	.19	.45*	.62*	.17	.17	
8. Narcissistic identity (partner-man)	2.41	0.95	.80	.12	.15	.63*	.57*	.16	.13	.61*

Note. All correlations were significant at $p < .001$. Partner woman = how the woman perceives the man; Partner-man = how the man perceives the woman.

**FIGURE 2.**

Standardized estimates of the actor-partner interdependence model for the authentic identity. Note. The estimates marked with * were significant at $p < .001$.

**FIGURE 3.**

Standardized estimates of the actor-partner interdependence model for the narcissistic identity. Note. The estimates marked with * were significant at $p < .001$.

Likert-type scale and while this method has been previously used in research assessing attitudes towards different groups, long response scale (e.g., ranging from -50 to +50) have been found superior to the shorter (i.e., Likert-type) versions (Alwin, 1997; Górska et al., 2022). Of note, national identity supported six out of eight hypotheses (also failing to provide support for a negative link to out-group negativity), while national narcissism supported five out of eight hypotheses, failing to demonstrate the expected negative relation to self-esteem (nonsignificant; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016).

Results of Study 3 provided further evidence for the convergent and discriminant validity. In this study, we asked the participants about their attitudes towards peace and war (Bizumic et al., 2013), as well as their attitudes towards Ukrainian citizens (Maciantowicz et al., 2023), whose presence in Poland was large at the time of data collection (Ptak, 2023). The results were congruent with our expectations. While authentic identity was positively related to peace orientation, narcissistic identity was related to war orientation. Also, authentic and narcissistic identity revealed a divergent pattern of perceptions of the Ukrainian citizens residing in Poland. That is, while authentic identity was related to compassion and willingness

to help, narcissistic identity was related to hostility and willingness to expel the refugees. These findings are congruent with the current literature, as authentic identity is generally related to more favorable perceptions of the outgroups, while narcissistic identity is related to hostile attributions, especially if considered as threatening (Cichocka et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala, 2019; Górska et al., 2020; Marchlewska et al., 2022).

Finally, results of Study 4 provided evidence that the authentic and narcissistic identity is accurately captured in the eyes of well-acquainted individuals. In this study, we collected self-reported scores in authentic and narcissistic identity, and also asked, using the very same items, to rate the identity of their romantic partner. The results demonstrated that romantic partners were able to accurately describe the level of both. The results of this study demonstrated that the levels of the identity could be accurately described by others.

A Head-to-Head Comparison

We stated that our measure could be considered as reliable and valid, however, these analyses did not regard the question whether the proposed measure outperforms the existing ones. The developed

scales of authentic and narcissistic identity were confronted in Studies 1 and 2 with frequently analyzed measures: Social Identification Scale (Cameron, 2004) and Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, Cichočka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013), respectively. The results of both studies revealed that on the zero-order level, authentic and national identity are highly related one to another and that narcissistic identity, as expected, is unrelated neither to authentic nor to national identity. Despite this high correlation, there were some notable differences in how authentic and national identity were related to a range of variables. First, the authentic identity scale was related to greater ingroup and outgroup positivity as compared to the national identification scale. The only exception was in regard to the perception of the LGBTQ+ community, which was neither positive nor negative for authentic identity, while the national identity scale was related to greater negativity towards this particular group. In respect to other criterion validity variables, authentic and national identity were similarly related to self-esteem, willingness to conspire, and conspiracy beliefs. We observed some notable differences in regard to social dominance orientation, as national identity was not related, while authentic identity was related negatively to it. An interesting, albeit previously reported issue emerged with respect to right-wing authoritarianism and conspiracy beliefs, as after controlling for the shared variance with collective narcissism, the strength of the relation between national identity and right-wing authoritarianism dropped by .23 and the relation to conspiracy beliefs became negative and significant (Marchlewska et al., 2022). Such a drop in relation to right-wing authoritarianism seems to emphasize that the issues of the residualized estimates also does regard the estimates of national identity. In other words, while on the zero-order level, both scales operate at a similar level, when residualized, national identity appears to be stripped of important aspects of variance leading to theoretically unexpected relations (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022). Thus, it might be concluded that both authentic and national identity scales can be considered as good indicators of authentic identity, however, using residualization of the variance shared with collective narcissism to conclude about authentic identity is not a recommended approach, as it may distort the expected results.

An interesting pattern was revealed for national narcissism. That is, it was simultaneously related to narcissistic and authentic identity, as well as to conventionally measured national identity. This finding, however, is not unexpected as there is a large body of literature documenting a positive relation between collective narcissism and in-group identity (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; Marchlewska et al., 2022). These findings emphasize that the variance captured by the collective narcissism scale taps into aspects of both authentic and narcissistic identity. This is against the expectations of those researchers who are interested in assessing narcissistic identity itself, and to do so with the collective narcissism scale, they were forced to partial out the variance shared with in-group identity (Biddlestone et al., 2022; Cichočka et al., 2016, 2018; Golec de Zavala & Cichočka, 2012; Golec de Zavala, Cichočka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016; Marchlewska et al., 2020). This is well documented in regard to the relation of national narcissism to self-esteem. In contrast to theory,

but in congruence with empirical results (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016; 2020), the relation of national narcissism to self-esteem within the current Study 2 was nonsignificant at the zero-order level, but it appeared as significant when related to residualized national narcissism. Of note, the relation to residualized national narcissism was at the very same extent as it was on zero-order level to our narcissistic identity scale. Another example was highlighted in Study 1, where national narcissism was not related to negativity towards the ingroup, while narcissistic identity was. Theoretical accounts on national narcissism assume it is ultimately harmful not only for the outgroups, but also for the ingroups (Marchlewska et al., 2020), thus, the results gathered from our proposition are more parsimonious than the ones for national narcissism. The proposed narcissistic identity scale is free of these limitations, as the results between narcissistic identity and the residualized national narcissism are mostly congruent. Thus, the development of this scale eliminates the necessity to use dubious methodological practices to draw inference about narcissistic identity (Cichočka et al., 2018). Therefore, the proposed scale offers a continuation of the research tradition on collective narcissism (as the observed results to the residualized estimates are congruent), however, we also propose a solution to the existing methodological pitfalls, providing a scale which taps only on the narcissistic identity.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the results included within the current paper provide evidence that more antagonistically oriented collective attitudes (e.g., out-group negativity) are more typical to narcissistic identity, these findings do not unambiguously answer the claims that under certain circumstances, especially when the positive image of the ingroup is threatened (Brown, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals authentically identified with the ingroup might exhibit narcissistic behaviors. This could be verified in future studies in two ways. First, researchers might experimentally assess whether the presence of a threat to the positive image of the ingroup would diminish the level of authentic and increase the level of the narcissistic identity. Second, future studies might also adopt a different approach, which would be characterized by greater ecological validity, namely, ecological momentary assessments. Future research might investigate not only whether authentic and narcissistic identities are related to lesser/greater variability and instability, respectively over time, but also, whether feeling more authentically identified in one moment could predict feeling more narcissistically identified in another. Finding that these fluctuations might occur on one way (i.e., from narcissistic to authentic) but not the other way around (i.e., from authentic to narcissistic) might clarify this process.

We did not assess the authentic and narcissistic identities' reliability over time. Although there is some evidence suggesting that national identity is relatively stable over time (Marchlewska et al., 2022), we did not report on this issue. Future studies are encouraged to do so, which would facilitate planning longitudinal studies. Another limitation of the current work is that the scale has been developed within a single cultural context and is limited to the Polish population. Although Poland, due to having been under control of the Soviet Union, is historically excluded,

which is an interesting cultural context, according to the results of general census, Poland is also a homogenous country in terms of ethnicity. Thus, future studies might attempt to validate the proposed scale in a different cultural background and put an emphasis on the assessment of authentic and narcissistic identity in minoritized groups. By assessing measurement invariance with the data reported (and available) in the current paper, future studies may conclude about the potential effects of cultural differences in how different groups identifies.

Finally, a major limitation of the current paper is that we were only assessing one form of social identity, namely, national identity. Although this approach allowed us to conclude about a long-lasting research tradition (Ellemers et al., 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Swann Jr et al., 2015), past work on collective narcissism emphasizes that narcissistic identity is not necessarily limited to the national group. For instance, using the collective narcissism scale, researchers assessed the identity with marginalized (e.g., religious group; Marchlewska et al., 2023) or minoritized groups (e.g., sexual minority; Górska et al., 2023). Assessing whether the structure of the proposed model would reproduce across different groups of reference, which could be achieved also through the means of investigating measurement invariance, could have a broad impact on the understanding of group processes occurring in the minoritized and marginalized groups.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work was supported by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (Science for Society Grant, No. Nd5/529303/2021/2022; financing amount PLN 1,714,305.00, total project value PLN 1,714,305.00). The third study was funded by grant no. BOB IDUB 622 134/2022 awarded to the fourth author.

The Authors report the following potential conflict of interest: Radosław Rogoza serves as a Section Editor of *Advances in Cognitive Psychology*.

DATA AVAILABILITY

Data is available on the Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/24xg5/>).

REFERENCES

- Alwin, D. F. (1997). Feeling thermometers versus 7-point scales: Which are better? *Sociological Methods & Research*, 25(3), 318–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124197025003003>
- Biddlestone, M., Cichocka, A., Główczewski, M., & Cislak, A. (2022). Their own worst enemy? Collective narcissists are willing to conspire against their in-group. *British Journal of Psychology*, 113(4), 894–916. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12569>
- Bizumic, B., Stubager, R., Mellon, S., Van der Linden, N., Iyer, R., & Jones, B. M. (2013). On the (in) compatibility of attitudes toward peace and war. *Political Psychology*, 34(5), 673–693. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12032>
- Brewer, M. B. (2010). Social identity complexity and acceptance of diversity. In R. J. Crisp (Ed.), *The psychology of social and cultural diversity* (pp. 11–33). SPSSI-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444325447.ch2>
- Brewer, M. B. (2017). Intergroup discrimination: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? In C. G. Sibley & F. K. Barlow (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice* (pp. 90–110). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316161579.005>
- Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30(6), 745–778. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-0992\(200011/12\)30:6%3C745::AID-EJSP24%3E3.0.CO;2-O](https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-0992(200011/12)30:6%3C745::AID-EJSP24%3E3.0.CO;2-O)
- Cameron, J. E. (2004). A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and Identity*, 3(3), 239–262. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1357650044000047>
- Cichocka, A. (2016). Understanding defensive and secure in-group positivity: The role of collective narcissism. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 27(1), 283–317. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1046328.3.2016.1252530>
- Cichocka, A., Golec de Zavala, A., Marchlewska, M., Bilewicz, M., Jaworska, M., & Olechowski, M. (2018). Personal control decreases narcissistic but increases non-narcissistic in-group positivity. *Journal of Personality*, 86(3), 465–480. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12328>
- Cichocka, A., Marchlewska, M., Golec de Zavala, A., & Olechowski, M. (2016). ‘They will not control us’: Ingroup positivity and belief in intergroup conspiracies. *British Journal of Psychology*, 107(3), 556–576. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12158>
- Cislak, A., Marchlewska, M., Wójcik, A., Śliwiński, K., Molenda, Z., Szczepańska, D. & Cichocka, A. (2021). National narcissism and support for anti-vaccination policy: The mediating role of conspiracy beliefs. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 24(5), 701–719. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220959451>
- Costello, A. B., & Osborne, J. W. (2005). Best practices in exploratory factor analysis: Four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 10, 7. <https://doi.org/10.7275/jyj1-4868>
- Crocetti, E., Albarello, F., Prati, F., & Rubini, M. (2021). Development of prejudice against immigrants and ethnic minorities in adolescence: A systematic review with meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *Developmental Review*, 60, 100959. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2021.100959>
- Douglas, K. M., & Sutton, R. M. (2008). The hidden impact of conspiracy theories: Perceived and actual influence of theories surrounding the death of Princess Diana. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 148(2), 210–222. <https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.148.2.210-222>
- Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (2002). Self and social identity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 161–186. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135228>
- Funke, F. (2005). The dimensionality of right-wing authoritarianism: Lessons from the dilemma between theory and measurement. *Political Psychology*, 26(2), 195–218. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00415.x>
- Golec de Zavala, A. (2019). Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction are associated with different emotional profiles and psychological wellbeing. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01611>

- org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00203
- Golec de Zavala, A., Bierwaczzonek, K., & Ciesielski, P. (2022). An interpretation of meta-analytical evidence for the link between collective narcissism and conspiracy theories. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 47, 101360. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101360>
- Golec de Zavala, A., & Cichocka, A. (2012). Collective narcissism and anti-Semitism in Poland. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 15(2), 213–229. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211420891>
- Golec de Zavala, A., Cichocka, A., & Bilewicz, M. (2013). The paradox of in-group love: Differentiating collective narcissism advances understanding of the relationship between in-group and out-group attitudes. *Journal of Personality*, 81(1), 16–28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2012.00779.x>
- Golec de Zavala, A., Cichocka, A., & Iskra-Golec, I. (2013). Collective narcissism moderates the effect of in-group image threat on intergroup hostility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(6), 1019–1039. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032215>
- Golec de Zavala, A., Cichocka, A., Eidelson, R., & Jayawickreme, N. (2009). Collective narcissism and its social consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(6), 1074–1096. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016904>
- Golec de Zavala, A., Federico, C. M., Sedikides, C., Guerra, R., Lantos, D., Mroziński, B., Cyprińska, M., & Baran, T. (2020). Low self-esteem predicts out-group derogation via collective narcissism, but this relationship is obscured by in-group satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 119(3), 741–764. <http://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000260>
- Golec de Zavala, A., Peker, M., Guerra, R., & Baran, T. (2016). Collective narcissism predicts hypersensitivity to in-group insult and direct and indirect retaliatory intergroup hostility. *European Journal of Personality*, 30(6), 532–551. <https://doi.org/10.1002/per.2067>
- Górska, P., Stefaniak, A., Malinowska, K., Lipowska, K., Marchlewska, M., Budziszewska, M., & Maciantowicz, O. (2020). Too great to act in solidarity: The negative relationship between collective narcissism and solidarity-based collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(3), 561–578. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2638>
- Górska, P., Stefaniak, A., Lipowska, K., Malinowska, K., Skrodzka, M., & Marchlewska, M. (2022). Authoritarians go with the flow: Social norms moderate the link between right-wing authoritarianism and outgroup-directed attitudes. *Political Psychology*, 43(1), 131–152. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12744>
- Górska, P., Stefaniak, A., Matera, J., & Marchlewska, M. (2023). The different effects of collective narcissism and secure ingroup identity on collective action and life satisfaction among LGBTQ+ individuals. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 27(2), 366–392. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302221147125>
- Greenway, K. H., Cruwys, T., Haslam, S. A., & Jetten, J. (2015). Social identities promote well-being because they satisfy global psychological needs. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 46(3), 294–307. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2169>
- Harel, T. O., Jameson, J. K., & Maoz, I. (2020). The normalization of hatred: Identity, affective polarization, and dehumanization on Facebook in the context of intractable political conflict. *Social Media + Society*, 6(2), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120913983>
- Haslam, C., Haslam, S. A., Ysseldyk, R., McCloskey, L. G., Pfisterer, K., & Brown, S. G. (2014). Social identification moderates cognitive health and well-being following story- and song-based reminiscence. *Aging & Mental Health*, 18(4), 425–434. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2013.845871>
- Jackson, J. W., & Smith, E. R. (1999). Conceptualizing social identity: A new framework and evidence for the impact of different dimensions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25(1), 120–135. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167299025001010>
- Jaško, K., Webber, D., Kruglanski, A. W., Gelfand, M., Taufiqurrohman, M., Hettiarachchi, M., & Gunaratna, R. (2020). Social context moderates the effects of quest for significance on violent extremism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 118(6), 1165–1187. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000198>
- Kteily, N., Bruneau, E., Waytz, A., & Cotterill, S. (2015). The ascent of man: Theoretical and empirical evidence for blatant dehumanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(5), 901–931. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000048>
- Lantos, D., & Forgas, J. P. (2021). The role of collective narcissism in populist attitudes and the collapse of democracy in Hungary. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, 5, 65–78. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.80>
- Leach, C. W., Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Vliek, M. L. W., & Hirt, E. (2010). Group devaluation and group identification. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(3), 535–552. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01661.x>
- Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(1), 144–165. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.144>
- Maciantowicz, O., Choinski, M., & Skrodzka, M. (2023). *The Russian invasion of Ukraine in eyes of Poles: Role of dispositions and characteristic adaptations in explaining Poles' attitudes and narratives*. SPSP 2023 [Conference presentation]. Annual Convention, Group Processes and Intergroup Relations Preconference, Atlanta, USA.
- Marchlewska, M., Cichocka, A., Jaworska, M., Golec de Zavala, A., & Bilewicz, M. (2020). Superficial ingroup love? Collective narcissism predicts ingroup image defense, outgroup prejudice, and lower ingroup loyalty. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 59(4), 857–875. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12367>
- Marchlewska, M., Cichocka, A., Panayiotou, O., Castellanos, K., & Batayneh, J. (2017). Populism as identity politics: Perceived in-group disadvantage, collective narcissism, and support for populism. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9(2), 151–162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617732393>
- Marchlewska, M., Górska, P., Green, R., Szczepańska, D., Rogoza, R., Molenda, Z., & Michalski, P. (2022). From individual anxiety to

- collective narcissism? Adult attachment styles and different types of national commitment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 50(4), 495–515. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672221139072>
- Marchlewska, M., Górska, P., Molenda, Z., Lipowska, K., & Malinowska, K. (2023). The fear of confession? High catholic collective narcissism and low identification with Catholics predict increased pedophilia myth acceptance. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 53(2), 354–366. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2907>
- Molenda, Z., Marchlewska, M., & Rogoza, M. (2022). Nothing hurts like (in-group) love? National narcissism, conspiracy intentions, and non-prosocial managing emotions of others. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 201, 111947. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2022.111947>
- Montoya, R. M., Pittinsky, T. L., & Rosenthal, S. A. (2020). A multidimensional model of collective narcissism. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, 4, 169–193. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.71>
- Pratto, F., Çıdam, A., Stewart, A. L., Zeineddine, F. B., Aranda, M., Aiello, A., Chrysochoou, X., Cichocka, A., Cohrs, J. C., Durrheim, K., Eicher, V., Foels, R., Górska, P., Lee, I.-C., Licata, L., Liu, J. H., Li, L., Meyer, I., Morselli, D., ... Henkel, K. E. (2013). Social dominance in context and in individuals: Contextual moderation of robust effects of social dominance orientation in 15 languages and 20 countries. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 4(5), 587–599. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550612473663>
- Ptak, A. (2023). Over 1.3 million Ukrainian refugees remain in Poland one year since Russia's invasion. <https://notesfrompoland.com/2023/02/23/over-1-3-million-ukrainian-refugees-remain-in-poland-one-year-since-russias-invasion/>
- Roccas, S., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 6(2), 88–106. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0602_01
- Roccas, S., Amit, A., Oppenheim-Weller, S., Hazan, O., & Sagiv, L. (2022). Inclusive and exclusive beneficiary attributions: The role of social identity complexity in interpretations of and punishment for dissents. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 25(6), 1653–1671. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211019479>
- Rogoza, R., Ciecuch, J., Strus, W., & Baran, T. (2019). Seeking a common framework for research on narcissism: An attempt to integrate the different faces of narcissism within the Circumplex of Personality Metatraits. *European Journal of Personality*, 33(4), 437–455. <https://doi.org/10.1002/per.2206>
- Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton University Press.
- Rossee, Y. (2012). lavaan: An R package for structural equation modeling. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 48(2), 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v048.i02>
- Schönbrodt, F. D., & Perugini, M. (2013). At what sample size do correlations stabilize? *Journal of Research in Personality*, 47(5), 609–612. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2013.05.009>
- Shaver, P. R., & Mikulincer, M. (2002). Attachment-related psychodynamics. *Attachment & Human Development*, 4(2), 133–161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616730210154171>
- Sleep, C. E., Lynam, D. R., Hyatt, C. S., & Miller, J. D. (2017). Perils of partialing redux: The case of the Dark Triad. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 126(7), 939–950. <https://doi.org/10.1037/abn0000278>
- Stas, L., Kenny, D. A., Mayer, A., & Loeyts, T. (2018). Giving dyadic data analysis away: A user-friendly app for actor-partner interdependence models. *Personal Relationships*, 25, 103–119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pere.1223>
- Swann Jr., W. B., & Buhrmester, M. D. (2015). Identity fusion. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 24(1), 52–57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721414551363>
- Swann, W. B., Jr., & Bosson, J. K. (2010). Self and identity. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 589–628). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470561119.socpsy001016>
- Swann, W. B., Jr., Gómez, Á., Seyle, D. C., Morales, J. E., & Huici, C. (2009). Identity fusion: The interplay of personal and social identities in extreme group behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(5), 995–1011. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013668>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Brooks-Cole.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Blackwell.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2023). Ukraine refugee situation. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>
- Żemojtel-Piotrowska, M., Piotrowski, J., Sedikides, C., Sawicki, A., Czarna, A. Z., Fatfouta, R., & Baran, T. (2021). Communal collective narcissism. *Journal of Personality*, 89(5), 1062–1080. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12636>

RECEIVED 17.01.2025 | ACCEPTED 10.06.2025