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Collective Narcissism and Anti-Semitism in Poland: the Mediating Role of Siege Beliefs and the  
Conspiracy Stereotype of Jews

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Abstract

Two studies examined the relationship between collective narcissism - an emotional investment in an unrealistic belief about unparalleled greatness of an in-group (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) - and anti-Semitism in Poland. The results indicate that this relationship is simultaneously mediated by (a) a belief that the in-group is constantly threatened by hostile intentions of other groups (Polish siege beliefs; Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992) and (b) a belief that the Jewish out-group is particularly threatening because its members secretly aim to dominate the world (the conspiracy stereotype of Jews; Bergmann, 2008; Kofta & Sędek, 2005). The results confirm earlier findings that collective narcissism is linked to increased sensitivity to intergroup threat which drives its association with intergroup hostility. The sensitivity to intergroup threat is composed of beliefs about vulnerability of the in-group and hostility of the out-group.

Keywords: collective narcissism, anti-Semitism, siege beliefs, conspiracy stereotype of Jews

In a comprehensive meta-analytic review of research on the relationship between intergroup threat and prejudice, Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006) suggest that in order to better understand the aetiology of prejudice it is important to identify variables that increase the likelihood of interpreting intergroup situations as threatening. We propose that collective narcissism – in-group identification tied to an emotional investment in an unrealistic belief in exaggerated greatness of an in-group (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson & Jayawickreme, 2009) - is related to high susceptibility to signs of intergroup threat and enduring prejudice against out-groups stereotypically perceived as threatening.

Previous studies indicate that collective narcissism predicts intergroup hostility in response to perceived threat to in-group's image. Collective narcissism predicts retaliatory intergroup hostility over and above such robust predictors of intergroup violence as social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, high in-group identification or 'destructive' forms of idealization of a national in-group such as blind patriotism, nationalism, or in-group glorification (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010; Imhoff, Erb & Wohl, 2010). Importantly, collective narcissism has been shown to reliably predict *enduring* negative attitudes towards certain, but not all, out-groups. For example, Polish collective narcissism predicts anti-Semitism (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka & Bilweicz, 2010) but it is not related to negative attitudes towards the French or British people (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2010). American national narcissism predicts negative attitudes towards Arabs but not towards Asians, Europeans or Latinos. Arabs are perceived as more threatening than the other out-groups (Lyons, Kenowrthy & Popan, 2010). The above results suggest that collective narcissism may be related to prejudice *because* it increases sensitivity to intergroup threat. In addition, it is likely to predict negative attitudes only towards social groups stereotypically construed as threatening.

In this paper, we present results of two studies that indicate that the relationship between collective narcissism and prejudice is driven by chronic beliefs that the in-group is exposed and vulnerable in intergroup relations (*the siege beliefs*) and that the particular out-group targeted by prejudice is a source of threat (*the conspiracy stereotype*). Our studies focus on the relationship between Polish collective narcissism and anti-Semitism: one of the most prevalent forms of prejudice in Poland and across Europe, particularly curious because in most countries it is a case of “anti-Semitism without Jews”, i.e. prejudice against an almost non-existent minority, however stereotypically perceived as threatening to the national self-image (Bergmann, 2008; see also Kofta & Sędek, 2005; Krzemiński, 2004).

### **Collective narcissism and exaggerated regard for self and in-group**

The concept of collective narcissism extends into the intergroup domain the concept of individual narcissism, a grandiose view of self that requires continual external validation<sup>1</sup> (e.g. Crocker & Park, 2004; Emmons, 1987; Horney, 1937; Morf, & Rhodewalt, 2001; Raskin & Terry, 1988), and is related to unstable and defensive personal self-esteem (e.g. Bosson, Lakey, Campbell, Zeigler-Hill, Jordan & Kernis, 2008; Jordan et al., 2003; Kernis, Abend, Shrira, Goldman, Paradise & Hampton, 2005; Zeigler-Hill, 2006). Individual narcissists are emotionally attached to the belief in their own greatness and they are preoccupied with protecting it. Collective narcissists believe in unique prominence of the social group with which they identify (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). Collective and individual narcissism, although positively correlated, are functionally separate variables. Their relationship across studies ranges from weak to moderate (from  $r = .15$  to  $r = .27$ ; Cai & Gries, 2010; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Lyons et al, 2010). Importantly, collective narcissism predicts inter-group attitudes and behaviors that individual narcissism does not account for and individual narcissism predicts interpersonal anger and aggressiveness that is not related to collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; Studies 2 and 3).

The concept of collective narcissism corresponds directly to the research that differentiates between ‘belligerent’ vs constructive forms of positive regard for one’s nation. This research has been successful in describing several forms of “in-group love” that is systematically accompanied by “out-group hate” (see Brewer, 1999): 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). However, the concept of collective narcissism is in several important ways distinct from the above conceptualizations of extensive in-group favouritism and, unlike them, it offers an insight into the psychological mechanism underlying the relationship between the preferential positivity for an in-group and out-group hostility<sup>2</sup>.

Firstly, previous studies indicate that people can be narcissistic about various social groups, not only about their nation (e.g. Golec de Zavala, et al., 2009). To our knowledge, this is the only ‘belligerent’ form of in-group attachment that has been empirically demonstrated to extend beyond international context. Nevertheless, national collective narcissism, blind patriotism and national in-group glorification do overlap in the uncritical approach towards the national in-group and concern with protection of the in-group’s positive image. However, unlike blind patriotism and in-group glorification that avoid criticism; collective narcissism is preoccupied with it<sup>3</sup>. Collective narcissism, just like the narcissistic idealization of self, is contingent on external validation. Therefore, collective narcissists are constantly vigilant to threat to the in-group’s image. In addition, only the narcissistic exaggerated image of the in-group is shadowed by internal doubts regarding in-group’s assumed greatness (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009).

National collective narcissism and nationalism share the belief in the nation’s inherent superiority. Unlike nationalist, however, narcissistic intergroup aggressiveness is defensive

and retaliatory. It does not serve the purpose of achieving a dominant in-group position born out of competitiveness, crucial for nationalism (Schatz et al., 1999; see also Bar-Tal, 1996; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003).

Studies confirm that collective narcissism predicts intergroup hostility over and above other ‘destructive’ national attachments and it partially mediates the effects of blind patriotism, in-group glorification and nationalism on intergroup negativity (Cichocka & Golec de Zavala, 2010; Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; Imhoff, et al., 2010). Moreover, when the common variance between collective narcissism and constructive patriotism is controlled, only collective narcissism (but not blind patriotism or nationalism) emerges as a suppressor of the *negative* relationship between genuine patriotism and prejudice (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka & Bilewicz, 2010).

We argue that it is the very nature of the beliefs about the in-group which make up collective narcissism that inspires the sensitivity to intergroup threat and links it to out-group hostility. People with contingent self-worth exaggerate failures and underestimate successes in the domains of contingency (Baumesiter & Vohs, 2001; Crocker & Park, 2004; Kernis, 2003; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Therefore, collective narcissists rarely see the acknowledgement of the in-group by others as satisfactory. They quickly develop “tolerance” to known sources of external validation and are constantly on the lookout for new signs of anything that may undermine the in-group. They retaliate against what they perceive as a threat to the in-group’s positive image.

### **Collective narcissism and Polish siege beliefs**

We propose that collective narcissism, with its extraordinary sensitivity to anything that can undermine the in-group’s image, is likely to inspire the *siege beliefs system* about the in-group. The *siege mentality* prompts generally distrustful and negative attitudes towards other groups as it is “[a] belief held by group members stating that the rest of the world has

*highly negative behavioural intentions toward them*“(Bar-tal & Antebi, 1992a, pp.49; see also Bar-Tal, 2000).

Siege beliefs explain and justify hardships suffered in the name of the in-group in intractable conflicts and legitimize the hostility and violence perpetrated by the in-group (Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992a, b). Importantly, people differ with respect to how much conflict they perceive (e.g. Bar-Tal, Kruglanski & Klar, 1993; Golec & Federico, 2004) and how much they find the siege beliefs convincing. The siege beliefs offer an explanation and justification for the constant monitoring of the signs of the mistreatment associated with collective narcissism. They are also likely to satisfy narcissistic need for the sense of in-group’s uniqueness, special status and moral superiority because they maintain that the misunderstood and righteous in-group stands alone against the hostile and dissolute world. Most importantly, the siege beliefs may appeal to collective narcissists because they confirm what the narcissists seem continuously to suspect: that other groups do not properly acknowledge their greatness.

We propose that because of its association with the siege beliefs about the nation, Polish national narcissism will be related to anti-Semitism. Polish studies indicate that Jews (or, more specifically, Poles of Jewish origin) are perceived as an out-group (e.g. Bilewicz, 2007). More than any other minority, this out-group is salient to Poles and inspires ambivalent emotions: guilt, anger and fear. Importantly, the Jewish people are seen as a threat to the positive national image (because of the criticism regarding Polish anti-Semitism), to Poland’s national interest (because of the claims of Polish Jews or their families regarding financial retributions for the properties confiscated by the communist government in Poland) or to national security (because of the conspiracy beliefs attributing hostile intentions against the Polish state to Jews) (e.g. Bilewicz, 2007; Kofta & Sędek, 2005; Krzemiński, 2004; Wójcik, 2008). Thus, collective narcissists are likely to be prejudiced against Jews because this is a particularly salient out-group in Polish national context. In addition, this out-group is seen as



particularly threatening. As such it is well equipped to be seen as a model example of the hostile intentions of the external world towards the in-group.

### **Collective Narcissism and the conspiracy stereotype of Jews**

The relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism is likely to be independently driven by stereotypical beliefs about the Jewish out-group. Intergroup threat can be embedded in a negative stereotype of an out-group conveying the prediction of its hostile intentions towards the in-group (Stephan & Stephan 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). Although anti-Semitic beliefs and attitudes in Europe are under-studied, several studies indicate that the Jewish minority is quite universally perceived as threat to national identity, especially the regions where the Jewish minority was large before WWII (Bergmann, 2008). No matter how well assimilated, Jews tend to be perceived as a group that stands “*outside the national order of the world*” remaining “*essentially alien to the surrounding societies*” (Bergmann, 2008; p. 346). In addition, the in-group’s ambivalent position during the Holocaust is experienced as threat to the national self-image (e.g. Bergmann, 2008). Poland is a good example of the ambivalent position towards the Holocaust. There are reported cases of pogroms of Polish Jews perpetrated by Poles during the WWII and shortly afterwards (e.g. Gross, 2008). At the same time many Polish soldiers (of the Home Army, *Armia Krajowa*) fought in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and Poles represent the biggest number of people who rescued Jews during the Holocaust and were awarded the ‘Righteous among the Nations’ medal by Israel (YadVashem, 2009).

In addition to being perceived as alien to the national in-group, in Poland and other European countries Jews are stereotypically perceived as a dangerous out-group. They are seen as motivated by a common intention to dominate the world (Bergmann, 2008; Cohen, & Golub, 1991; Kofta & Sędek, 2005). The alleged dominant and controlling intentions are executed by means of indirect and deceptive methods, hidden and non-obvious ways whose

negative consequences can only be observed. This makes the Jewish out-group particularly dangerous and threatening. According to the conspiracy stereotype, past, present and even future harm and hardship experienced by the in-group can be explained by the veiled actions of the Jewish out-group. The conspiracy stereotype of Jews predicts anti-Semitism in Poland and support for this stereotype increases in times of elections and intense political campaign (Kofta & Sędek, 2005).

We expect that collective narcissists, sensitive to signs of potential threat to the in-group, will be likely to find the conspiracy stereotype of Jews convincing and threatening. A tendency to uphold the conspiracy stereotype of Jews will mediate the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitic prejudice. The mediation through the beliefs about the out-group will be parallel to and independent of the mediation through the Polish siege beliefs that emphasize the vulnerable position of the in-group. In other words, we expect that collective narcissism will be associated with anti-Semitism either because it is related to perceived vulnerability of an in-group or because it is related to the perception of the out-group as threatening. This assumption is different than the expectation that collective narcissism is associated with perceived vulnerability of an in-group which leads to a tendency to construe the Jewish out-group as threatening.

Thus, we assume that the multiple mediations – via the siege beliefs and via the conspiracy stereotype of Jews - are parallel, i.e. simultaneous and independent, rather than chain i.e. consecutive and depended. Even though the siege beliefs about the in-group and the conspiracy beliefs about the out-group may share common components, we assume that each of these variables should have a unique ability to mediate between Polish national narcissism and anti-Semitism above and beyond the other variable. Siege beliefs and the conspiracy beliefs about Jews are stereotypical beliefs that may exist in socio-cultural repertoire separately and they are two discrete reasons why collective narcissism is likely to be linked to

prejudice. One reason pertains to the beliefs about the characteristics of the in-group, whereas the other pertains to attributes of the out-group.

### **Overview of the studies**

In Study 1 we test the prediction that Polish collective narcissism is associated with the Polish siege beliefs, the set of convictions indicating that the national in-group is constantly threatened by the hostile intentions of other groups (Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992a, b). We expect that Polish siege beliefs will mediate the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism. The Jewish out-group, with whom they share a long and complicated history of competitive relations, is particularly salient to Polish participants.

In Study 2 we seek to replicate the results of Study 1. We also test the hypothesis that the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism is independently mediated by the conspiracy stereotype of Jews. The conspiracy stereotype conveys the image of Jews as a powerful and skilful out-group whose competitive intentions threaten the interests, image, if not the mere existence of, the in-group. The stereotype of the Jewish out-group poses the intergroup threat. We test the parallel against the chain multiple mediation hypothesis. In addition, in Study 2 we seek to demonstrate that collective narcissism, rather than the mere strength of national group identification (e.g. Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Branscombe & Wann, 1994), predicts the perception of intergroup threat and out-group negativity.

## **Study 1**

### **Method**

#### **Participants and Procedure**

Participants of Study 1 were 148 undergraduate students of a large Polish university. The study was conducted on-line. Participants obtained a research participation credit and the

possibility to take part in a prize draw in return for participation. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 45 ( $M = 23.12$ ,  $SD = 4.89$ ). There were 135 women and 13 men among the participants.

### Measures

**Collective narcissism** ( $\alpha = .77$ ,  $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = .67$ ). The 9-item Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009) was used in order to measure this construct. The items for 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). Only the items that corresponded to the core aspects of the concept of individual narcissism but at the same time could be meaningfully translated onto the group level were used. For selected items, beliefs about the self were replaced with beliefs about one's in-group. The 9 items that make up the Collective Narcissism Scale were selected on the basis of their face validity as evaluated by experts, the results of Confirmatory and Exploratory Factor Analyses, and the strength of their contribution to the overall reliability of the scale assessed in three studies. 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 the items of the scale. Participants were

asked to indicate how much they agree with statements using a 6-point scale (1 = “*I strongly disagree*” and 6 = “*I strongly agree*”).

**Siege beliefs** ( $\alpha = .77, M = 2.81, SD = .76$ ). The 12-item General Siege Mentality Scale proposed by Bar-Tal & Antebi (1992a) was used to measure this construct. The scale was translated from English to Polish by a bilingual translator. It was then back translated by a bilingual expert in social psychology in order to ensure the equivalence of meaning of items on both scales. The scale contains items reflecting the belief that the in-group is constantly threatened (e.g. “*Most nations will conspire against us, if only they have the possibility to do so.*” or “*There have always been countries which looked for closeness and friendship with us.*” (reversely coded) and has to protect itself in this time of need (e.g. “*Only unity will save us from external enemies.*”). Participants were asked to indicate how much they agree with each statement using a 7-point scale from 1 = “*definitely disagree*” to 7 = “*definitely agree*”.

**Anti-Semitism** ( $\alpha = .71, M = 2.37, SD = 1.02$ ). In Study 1 we defined anti-Semitic prejudice in terms of social distance, i.e. unwillingness to engage in contacts with the Jewish out-group (see e.g. Goff, Steele & Davies, 2008; Struch & Schwartz, 1989; Bogardus, 1925). We used a 4-item scale measuring preferred social distance from Jews: “*Would you like a Jew to be your neighbor?*” (reversely coded), “*Would you like a Jew to be your friend?*” (reversely coded), “*Would you mind your child playing with a Jewish child?*”, “*Would you mind your child marrying a person of Jewish origin?*”. Participants were asked to respond to these items using a scale from 1 - “*definitely no*” to 7 - “*definitely yes*”.

## Results

In the first step of data analysis we compute zero-order correlations among variables. Collective narcissism was significantly positively related to the Polish siege beliefs ( $r(147) = .48, p = .001$ ) and anti-Semitism ( $r(146) = .20, p = .02$ ). Siege beliefs were significantly correlated with anti-Semitism ( $r(147) = .37, p = .001$ ).

In order to test the main hypothesis that siege beliefs mediate the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism, we used the bootstrapping method recommended by Preacher and Hayes (2004) to obtain bias corrected 95% bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effect of the mediator. Bootstrapping does not require assumptions about the shape of the sampling distribution of the indirect effect and is considered as a suitable method for assessing indirect effects in smaller samples (Preacher and Hayes, 2004; for information on required sample size for detecting effects with the use of different tests of mediation see also Fritz and MacKinnon, 2007).

The mediation model is presented in Figure 1. The total effect of collective narcissism on the tendency to keep one's distance from Jews was positive and significant,  $B = .29$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t = 2.37$ ,  $p = .02$ . The relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism was reduced and became non-significant after the mediator was added to the model. The direct effect amounted to  $B = .04$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t = .31$ ,  $p = .76$ . Collective narcissism was positively associated with siege mentality,  $B = .54$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t = 6.52$ ,  $p < .001$ . Siege mentality was positively associated with anti-Semitism,  $B = .47$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t = 3.91$ ,  $p < .001$ . The difference between the total and direct effects of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism is the total indirect effect via the siege beliefs. We computed its confidence interval with 10,000 bootstrap samples. The indirect effect had a 95% bootstrap bias corrected confidence interval of .12 to .40, which indicates that the indirect effect of the mediator was significant. The whole mediation model was also significant,  $R^2 = .14$ ,  $F(4,142) = 5.66$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Although considered the most appropriate method of assessment of indirect effects (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Preacher & Hayes, 2008), bootstrapping is also a relatively new approach. Thus, we performed the mediation analysis also using a more familiar (although less accurate) Sobel (1982) test to provide an alternative test of the significance of the indirect effect of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism via siege beliefs.

The Sobel test indicated that collective narcissism had a significant indirect effect on anti-Semitism via the siege beliefs ( $z = 3.30; p < .001$ ).

### **Discussion of Study 1**

The results of Study 1 confirm the positive relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism (see Golec de Zavala, et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, et al., 2010; Golec de Zavala, 2010). Most importantly, as hypothesized, the present results reveal that this relationship is mediated by the siege beliefs portraying the national in-group as constantly threatened by hostile intentions of other groups. Thus, collective narcissism is associated with the perception of the in-group as exposed and vulnerable in the context of intergroup relationships. Such a perception is likely to increase susceptibility to intergroup threat. This perception drives the relationship between collective narcissism and prejudice against Jews: the out-group stereotypically perceived as threatening.

In Study 2 we test the assumption that the stereotypical belief that the Jewish out-group is particularly threatening and hostile mediates the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism, over and above the mediation through the siege beliefs. We expect that a belief that the in-group is particularly threatened and a belief that the out-group is especially threatening will mediate the relationship between collective narcissism and prejudice independently. In Study 2 we use more direct indicators of anti-Semitism in order to conceptually replicate the results of Study 1, namely negative emotions and hostile behavioural intentions towards Jews. In Study 2 we also compare the role of collective narcissism and the strength of in-group identification as predictors of perceived intergroup threat and anti-Semitism.

## **Study 2**

### **Method**

### **Participants and procedure**

Study 2 was conducted among 89 undergraduate students of a large Polish university. Participants were asked to take part in an on-line survey in return for research participation credit. The age of the participants ranged from 17 to 24 ( $M = 21.17$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ). There were 63 women and 26 men among the participants.

### **Measures**

**Collective narcissism** ( $\alpha = .84$ ,  $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = .78$ ). The Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) was used in order to measure this variable as in Study 1.

**Group identification** ( $M = 5.38$ ,  $SD = 1.70$ ). The overlap in-group identification measure proposed by Tropp & Wright (2001) was used. Participants were asked to indicate the degree of their identification with the national in-group as represented by two overlapping circles, one representing the self and the other representing national in-group. The circles formed an 8-point scale from a set of two separate circles (1 – “no identification at all”) through degrees of overlap to full overlap (8 – “total identification”).

**Siege Beliefs** ( $\alpha = .77$ ,  $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = .87$ ). The same Polish translation of the General Siege Mentality Scale (Bar-Tal, Antebi, 1992a) as in Study 1 was used.

**Conspiracy Jewish stereotype** ( $\alpha = .90$ ,  $M = 5.41$ ,  $SD = 1.99$ ). This variable was measured with a 6-item Jewish Conspiracy Stereotype Scale proposed by Kofta and Sędek (2005). The scale measures the belief that secret and deceptive actions of the Jewish out-group are aimed at taking control over the world. The Jewish out-group is seen as an entity driven by one common motivation to dominate others. The conspiracy stereotype is considered a central characteristic of anti-Semitism in Poland (Kofta & Sędek, 2005). The items of the scale reflected the belief that Jews strive for power (e.g. “Members of this group strive to rule the world”, “Members of this group attempt to take over the world’s economy”, “Members of this group would like to hold decisive votes in international financial



*institutions*") and that their actions are secretive and well co-ordinated (e.g. "*Members of this group meet secretly to discuss important issues*", "*Actions of members of this group are often clandestine*", "*Members of this group reach their goals through secret agreements*").

Participants were asked to indicate how much they agree with each statement using a 9-point scale from 1 = "*definitely disagree*" to 9 = "*definitely agree*".

**Negative evaluation of Jews** ( $\alpha = .95, M = 3.57, SD = 1.41$ ). This variable was measured following the procedure proposed by Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp (1997; see also Butz, Plant, & Doerr, 2007). Participants were asked to indicate their feelings towards Jews using six semantic differentials: *cold - warm, unfriendly - friendly, trustful - distrustful, positive - negative, respect - contempt, admiration - disgust*. Scores could range from 1 to 8. Higher scores indicated greater out-group negativity.

**Hostility towards Jews** ( $\alpha = .92, M = 1.45, SD = .99$ ). Aggressive behavioral intentions against Jews were measured by four items adopted from Struch and Schwartz (1989). Hypothetical aggressive acts towards Jews were listed, e.g. refusing to hire Jews because of their origins, convincing friends not to rent flats to Jews, listening to noisy music in order to irritate a Jewish neighbor. Participants were asked to indicate how much they agree with each action and would perform it themselves, using a scale from 1 = "*definitely reject it*" to 7 = "*agree with the action and would perform it myself in certain conditions*".

The negative evaluation of Jews and support for aggressive actions against them were positively correlated ( $r = .38, p < .001$ ). We created a composite score of anti-Semitism that encompassed the two direct indicators of anti-Semitism. Because the two components of the composite score were measured on different scales, responses were first transformed into  $z$  scores before the composite indicator of anti-Semitism was computed.

## Results

Correlational analyses presented in Table 1 indicate that collective narcissism is positively related to siege mentality, the conspiracy stereotype of Jews and anti-Semitism. National in-group identification is related to siege beliefs but not to the conspiracy stereotype or to prejudice against Jews. In order to control for the common variance between collective narcissism and in-group identification we regressed collective narcissism and group identification on siege mentality (controlling for age and gender). Collective narcissism was positively and significantly associated with siege mentality,  $B = .73$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t = 6.83$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas the relationship between in-group identification and perceived threat from hostile intentions of others was reduced and became non-significant,  $B = -.04$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = -.078$ ,  $p = .44$ ;  $R^2 = .40$ ,  $F(4,83) = 14.04$ ,  $p < .001$ . Once the common variance of the strength of in-group identification and collective narcissism is controlled, collective narcissism emerges as the unique predictor of the siege beliefs.

-----Insert Table 1 about here-----

In order to test the hypothesis that siege beliefs and the Jewish conspiracy stereotype independently mediate the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism we used the bootstrapping method suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2008). This approach allows us to assess the extent to which each of these variables mediates the effect of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism, conditional on the presence of the other variable in the model. Since siege beliefs and conspiracy stereotype were positively correlated, analyzing them simultaneously in a multiple mediator model teased apart their individual mediating abilities that could be attributed to their content overlap (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

To assess the independent indirect effects of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism via the siege beliefs and the conspiracy stereotype of Jews, we used bootstrapping to obtain the bias corrected 95 % confidence intervals for the total indirect effect and the specific indirect effects of each mediator analyzed together. The analyses controlled for age and

gender.<sup>3</sup> The coefficients of the model are presented in Figure 2 and the bootstrapping confidence intervals are presented in Table 2.

-----Insert Figure 2 and Table 2 about here-----

The total effect of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism amounts to  $B = .23$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t = 1.99$ ,  $p = .05$ , while its direct effect is  $B = -.21$ ,  $SE = .14$ ,  $t = -1.53$ ,  $p = .13$ . The difference between the total and direct effects is the total indirect effect via the two mediators. It had a 95% bootstrap confidence interval of .25 to .69, i.e. the total indirect effect of both mediators is significant.

The path from collective narcissism to siege mentality had a coefficient of  $B = .69$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t = 7.28$ ,  $p < .001$  and the path from collective narcissism to conspiracy stereotype had a coefficient of  $B = 1.18$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $t = 5.11$ ,  $p < .001$ . The direct effects of mediators on anti-Semitism were also significant:  $B = .27$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t = 2.34$ ,  $p = .02$  for siege mentality and  $B = .21$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = 4.33$ ,  $p < .001$  for conspiracy stereotype. The predictors included in the full model accounted for a significant portion of variance in anti-Semitism,  $R^2 = .30$ ,  $F(5,81) = 7.04$ ,  $p < .001$ .

An examination of the specific indirect effects indicated that both siege beliefs and the conspiracy stereotype of Jews were statistically significant and independent mediators of the effect of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism. The specific indirect effect via the siege beliefs had a confidence interval of .05 to .40 and the specific indirect effect via the conspiracy stereotype had a confidence interval of .13 to .41. In order to establish whether the effects of mediators differ significantly in magnitude we conducted a pairwise contrast of the two indirect effects. Since the siege mentality minus conspiracy stereotype contrast had a confidence interval of -.18 to .26, we cannot infer that the two effects differed in magnitude.

Finally, we used the Sobel test (1982) to confirm the significance of the indirect effects of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism via siege beliefs and via the conspiracy

stereotype. Collective narcissism had significant indirect effects on negativity towards Jews both via siege mentality ( $z = 2.14, p = .03$ ) and via the conspiracy stereotype of Jews ( $z = 3.25, p = .001$ ).

Since siege mentality and the conspiracy stereotype of Jews were positively correlated, it is also plausible that they influenced each other in driving anti-Semitic sentiments. For example, one could argue that collective narcissism is related to siege mentality, which in turn leads to conspiracy stereotyping and, thus, to hostility towards Jews. To verify this possibility we tested the multiple-step multiple mediator model proposed by Hayes, Preacher & Myersa (in press). We used the MODTHREE macro that allows for a simultaneous test of specific indirect effects of each mediator alone and a specific indirect effect through both mediators. In the first analysis we tested the collective narcissism  $\rightarrow$  the siege beliefs  $\rightarrow$  conspiracy stereotyping  $\rightarrow$  anti-Semitism multi-step mediation. While the independent specific indirect effects of siege mentality and the conspiracy stereotype remained significant, the indirect effect of both mediators became insignificant (95% bootstrap confidence intervals ranged from  $-.01$  to  $.16$ ). Similar results were obtained when we tested a model with collective narcissism  $\rightarrow$  conspiracy stereotyping  $\rightarrow$  siege beliefs  $\rightarrow$  anti-Semitism multi-step mediation. Both indirect effects of single mediators were significant and the indirect effect of the two mediators was not significant (its 95% bootstrap confidence intervals ranged from  $-.01$  to  $.05$ ). These analyses provide further support for our hypothesis that the siege mentality and conspiracy stereotype are two independent links between narcissistic attachment to the Polish national group and anti-Semitism.

## **Discussion of Study 2**

The results of Study 2 replicate the findings of Study 1. In addition, they confirm the hypothesis that siege beliefs and the belief that Jews secretly conspire to achieve economic and political power and dominate the world independently mediate the relationship between

Polish collective narcissism and anti-Semitism. Collective narcissism is associated with a tendency to perceive the in-group as threatened and the out-group as particularly threatening. Both tendencies independently predict out-group negativity. The strength of in-group identification is not related to prejudice against Jews. It is related to the Polish siege beliefs but this relationship is driven by the overlap between the strength of in-group identification and collective narcissism. Once the narcissistic aspect of positive in-group identification is teased out, the relationship between the strength of in-group identification and siege beliefs disappears. These results support our claim that it is not the strength of in-group identification in general, but rather the individual level of specific, narcissistic identification that is related to the perception of intergroup threat. Consequently, it is not the strength of in-group identification but collective narcissism that is related to out-group negativity.

### **General Discussion**

According to social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 1986), a tendency to derogate out-groups intensifies under perceived threat to the social identity and increased salience of group membership. An intergroup threat may be realistic and concern group interests (e.g. Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian & Hewstone, 2001) or symbolic and concern difference in worldviews, values and beliefs (e.g. Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Greenberg, et al, 1990; McGregor et al., 1998; McLaren, 2003; Pyszczynski, et al, 2006; Sears, 1988). It can come from out-group aggression, embarrassing rejection, unjustified discrimination (Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat & Brown, 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Corenblum & Stephan 2001) or uncertainty and awkwardness in the presence of out-group members (e.g. Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Importantly, intergroup threat can be also embedded in a negative stereotype of an out-group that attributes threatening features and intentions to the group and its members (Stephan & Stephan 2000; Stephan, et al., 2002).

It has been suggested that the strength of in-group identification is one of the important antecedents of perceived intergroup threat. The more people identify with their group, the more they are chronically aware of their group membership (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns & Christ, 2007) and the more sensitive they are to anything that can harm the in-group (e.g. Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). In addition, high identifiers are more likely to see the threats to the in-group as personally threatening (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). However, the meta-analytic review indicates that the relationship between the strength of positive in-group identification and perceived intergroup threat, although statistically significant, is inconsistent and on average rather weak (Riek et al., 2006). Moreover, the relationship between positive group identification and prejudice is not consistent and across numerous studies averages close to zero (e.g. Hinkle & Brown, 1990; see also Jackson, Brown, Brown & Marks, 2001; Pehrson et al., 2009)

We propose that it may be not the strength of in-group identification that reliably predicts the perception of inter-group threat and prejudice, but rather its specific, narcissistic form. The results of two studies presented here confirm that people who narcissistically identify with their national in-group perceive more intergroup threat, stereotype a stigmatized out-group as particularly threatening and report more prejudice. Results of Study 1 show that Polish collective narcissism is related to the Polish siege beliefs pertaining that the national group is threatened by aggressive intentions of other groups and stands along against the hostile world. This relationship mediates the link between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism. Results of Study 2 replicate these findings. In addition they indicate that the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitism is independently mediated by increased narcissistic sensitivity to the intergroup threat embedded in the negative stereotype of Jews as a particularly threatening out-group that conspires to dominate and rule the world. The perceptions of the in-group as vulnerable to intergroup threat and the out-group as

threatening independently drive the relationship between collective narcissism and anti-Semitic prejudice.

The present results complement earlier findings indicating that collective narcissism predicts retaliatory hostility in response to the threat from out-group aggressiveness, out-group distancing and rejection of the in-group (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009) or out-group criticism of the in-group (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2009a). The present results go beyond the earlier findings revealing an intriguing novel aspect of the relationship between collective narcissism and out-group negativity. They indicate that collective narcissism predicts not only retaliatory hostility in response to momentary intergroup threat but is also associated with enduring prejudice towards an out-group stereotyped as threatening.

The present results confirm suggestions that anti-Semitism is related to threat and narcissistic national pride (e.g. Bergmann, 2008; Krzemiński, 2004). They indicate that anti-Semitism is grounded in beliefs in national superiority that are insecure and narcissistic and fuel the sense of the in-group's vulnerability in an intergroup context and fear of the hostile intentions of the Jewish out-group. We suggest that a similar mechanism is likely to drive the relationship between collective narcissism and prejudice against other out-groups with whom the in-group shares competitive or conflictual relations. In such relations the opportunities to injure the collective pride are plenty. Collective narcissists neither forget nor forgive wrongs done to the in-group by out-groups (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). Thus, they are likely to see the out-groups that in the past transgressed against the in-group as potential threats, even if the transgression was mostly in 'the eye of the beholder'. Thus, the more frequent and less unequivocally positive the intergroup relations with a given group, the greater the chance is that this group will be targeted by prejudice. The examination of the generalizability of the present mediation model beyond anti-Semitic prejudice would be an important direction for further research. It is, however, noteworthy that the previous and present results indicate that

collective narcissism is not universally associated with prejudice. Instead, collective narcissism seems to describe a combination of group-based feelings that can fuel hostility in certain intergroup situations and in response to certain out-groups.

We propose that the relationship between collective narcissism and the sensitivity to intergroup threat can be explained by the nature of narcissistic in-group evaluation.

Collective narcissism is related to high regard for the in-group combined with a belief that the in-group is not sufficiently recognized by others and the lack of the positive evaluation of the in-group on the implicit level. Thus, collective narcissists are easily convinced that the image of their in-group is being undermined. Intergroup hostility in response to the perceived threat serve as means of protecting the in-group's image and maintaining the in-group's positive esteem (see Golec de Zavala et al, 2009).

In addition, our results reveal that collective narcissism is a better predictor of the perception of intergroup threat embedded in stereotype and prejudice than the mere strength of identification with the in-group. The positive relationship between the strength of in-group identification and perceived intergroup threat was reduced and became non-significant after collective narcissism was taken into account.

### **Limitations**

The present studies provide strong support for the hypotheses derived from the concept of collective narcissism. However, they have several shortcomings that should be considered. Firstly, in both samples, there is a disproportionate number of women among the participants. However, in all analyses we included gender as a control variable and found no significant effect of gender. In addition, we do not have any theoretical reasons to assume that men and women differ with respect to their individual levels of collective narcissism. Secondly, the present findings are based on university student samples, which may not be representative of the population as a whole (Sears, 1986). Future studies should extend the



investigation of collective narcissism and its correlates and effects to different populations.

However, it is worth noting that we found remarkably consistent patterns of relationships across both presented studies.

In addition, although the present studies provide support for the mediational hypotheses derived from the concept of collective narcissism, they are based on correlational data and do not allow for unequivocal conclusions about causality and order of the variables. In the present paper, we provide sound theoretical reasons to justify our assumption that collective narcissism is related to siege beliefs and the conspiracy stereotype of Jews and through these beliefs to anti-Semitism. In addition, most research in the social sciences confirm the direction of causality assumed in the proposed model, suggesting that broader ideological orientations and basic in-group identification constrain specific attitudes and beliefs, such as the siege belief or the conspiracy stereotype of Jews, and out-group hostility (rather than vice versa; see e.g. Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, & Kielmann, 2005; Duckitt, 2006; Duckitt & Sibley, 2006; Feshbach, 1994; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin & Pratto, 1997). However, further experimental studies are needed in order to examine the role of collective narcissism in eliciting increased sensitivity to intergroup threat and prejudice. Such studies will deepen our understanding of individual difference variables and situational conditions, increasing the likelihood of out-group negativity and intergroup aggression.

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Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> Collective and individual narcissism are positively associated, although this relationship is rather weak. Importantly, collective narcissism is related to intergroup hostility, whereas individual narcissism is associated with interpersonal aggressiveness, especially in the context of ego threat (Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2009a; see also Golec de Zavala, et al, 2009; for results on individual narcissism see Baumeister & Bushman, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> Collective narcissism is also distinct from social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) or authoritarianism (e.g. Altemeyer, 1998) and independently predicts out-group negativity. We discuss these differences in more detail in a separate paper (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009). Summing up, collective narcissism and social dominance orientation overlap in the preoccupation with the in-group's greatness. However, for collective narcissists, any excuse, not only power, social status or economic dominance, is sufficient to support the belief in the uniqueness and greatness of the in-group. Collective narcissism is not related to opposition to equality, an important aspect of the social dominance orientation. Collective narcissism and authoritarianism are related because of the concern with the coherence and homogeneity of the in-group. For authoritarians, cohesiveness secures a predictable social environment and reduced cognitive uncertainty (e.g. Duckitt, 2006; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski & Sulloway, 2003; Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). For collective narcissists, it confirms the assumed, unanimously accepted greatness of the in-group. Authoritarians aggress against others to protect the group as a predictable social environment, collective narcissists – to protect the in-group's positive image.

<sup>3</sup> For example, our data indicate that only collective narcissism, but not blind patriotism or high national in-group identification, is predicted by the interaction of high private (positive opinion about one's national group) and low public (a belief that others do not hold a positive

opinion about one's national group) collective self-esteem measured with reference to one's national group (Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Analysis controlling for group identification was also conducted. The pattern of results remained the same.

Table 1

*Correlations of collective narcissism, group identification, siege beliefs, the conspiracy stereotype and anti-Semitism (Study 2; N = 89)*

Measures	1	2	3	4
1. Collective narcissism	--			
2. Group identification	.47***	--		
3. Conspiracy stereotype	.43**	.12	--	
4. Siege beliefs	.62***	.24*	.41**	--
5. Anti-Semitism	.21*	-.05	.51***	.36**

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



Table 2

*Mediation of the effect of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism through siege mentality and the conspiracy stereotype (Study 2; N = 89)*

Variable	Bootstrapped 95% BC Confidence Intervals	
	Lower	Upper
Indirect effects		
Siege beliefs	.06	.54
Conspiracy stereotype	.04	.39
TOTAL	.16	.79
Contrast		
Siege beliefs vs conspiracy stereotype	-.38	.16

*Note.* BC=bias corrected, 10.000 bootstrap samples.

Figure Captions

*Figure 1.* Indirect effect of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism via siege beliefs (Study 1;  $N = 149$ ).

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

*Figure 2.* Indirect effects of collective narcissism on anti-Semitism via siege beliefs and the conspiracy stereotype (Study 2;  $N = 89$ ).

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

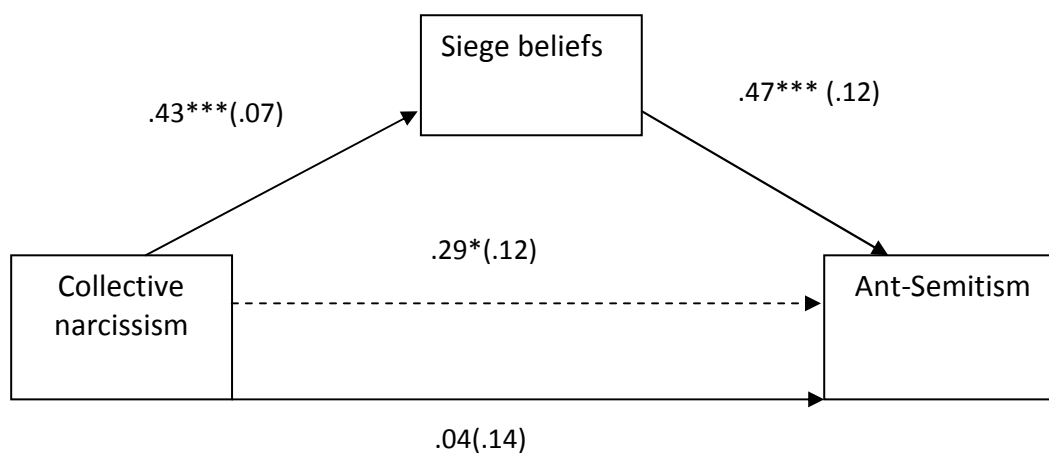


Figure 1

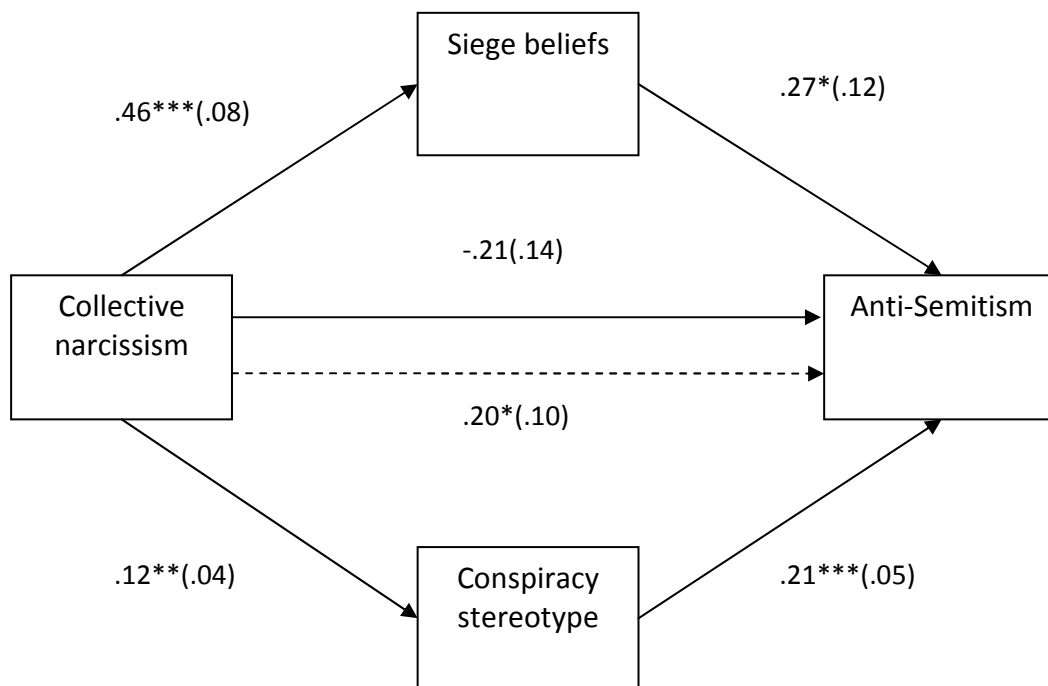


Figure 2