

**RUNNING HEAD:** Identity threat across group status

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**Social identity threat across group status: Links to psychological well-being and intergroup bias through collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction**

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## Abstract

**Objectives.** Through two correlational studies (Study 1: Turkish majority, Kurdish minority; Study 2: White British majority; Black minority), we examined the implications of social identity threat for majority and minority ethnic group members' psychological well-being and intergroup bias, using a social identity framework that incorporates the recently highlighted distinction between narcissistic and non-narcissistic positive evaluation of the ingroup (i.e., collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction, respectively).

**Method.** Online questionnaires were completed by 397 Turkish nationals (265 ethnic Turks and 132 ethnic Kurds,  $M_{age} = 32.81$ ,  $SD = 11.67$ ) in Study 1 and 351 British individuals (163 White and 188 Black British;  $M_{age} = 31.47$ ,  $SD = 10.84$ ) in Study 2.

**Results.** Social identity threat was consistently associated with collective narcissism among all ethnic groups, whereas it was either unrelated or related negatively to ingroup satisfaction. Collective narcissism was positively associated with intergroup bias among both majority and minority groups. Unexpectedly, ingroup satisfaction was also related to greater bias particularly among majority members. In all groups, ingroup satisfaction (but not collective narcissism) was directly associated with greater psychological well-being.

**Conclusions.** Findings highlight the importance of exploring the narcissistic component of positive ingroup evaluation to provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationships between social identity threat and personal well-being, as well as intergroup bias.

**Keywords:** Identity threat; collective narcissism; ingroup satisfaction; intergroup bias; psychological well-being

**Public significance statement:** We investigated the implications of social identity threat across group status (ethnic majority and minority) in two socio-cultural contexts (Turkey and United Kingdom). In all groups, social identity threat was related to greater collective narcissism (but not to greater ingroup satisfaction). In turn, both collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction related to more intergroup bias (particularly among majority group members), but only ingroup satisfaction was related to greater well-being.

## **Social identity threat across group status: Links to psychological well-being and intergroup bias through collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction**

Social identity threat (i.e., perceiving that one's social identity is devalued or undermined in a particular context, Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Ellemers et al., 2002) is psychologically costly (Meyer et al., 2008), regardless of which particular aspect of social identity is threatened; either one's ingroup morality and competence (Branscombe, Schmitt, et al., 1999), power and status (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015), or distinctiveness (Jetten et al., 1997). Given that social identities satisfy basic human needs such as belongingness and self-esteem (Vignoles, 2011), any impediment to the fulfilment of these needs is likely to result in negative outcomes for personal well-being (Bagci et al., 2020; Verkuyten et al., 2019). Social identity threat is also detrimental for intergroup relationships; perceiving devaluation, rejection, or other threats to the ingroup from an outgroup leads to hostile outgroup behaviors that range from active avoidance to overt derogation (e.g., Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Shelton et al., 2006). On the other hand, studies suggest that social identity threat can have a variety of ingroup-related outcomes that potentially contribute to psychological well-being (see the Social Cure Approach, Jetten et al., 2017), such as greater involvement (e.g., attachment, centrality) with the ingroup (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, et al., 1999; Verkuyten, 2009), greater ingroup pride (Bogart et al., 2018), satisfaction of psychological needs (Bagci & Olgun, 2019), or solidarity with ingroup members (Giamo et al., 2012).

We argue that these seemingly opposite implications of social identity threat for psychological well-being and intergroup outcomes can be reconciled, when we acknowledge that threat to one's ingroup is likely to evoke a darker aspect of ingroup evaluation, collective narcissism, the belief that the exaggerated greatness of the ingroup is not sufficiently appreciated

by others (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Unlike collective narcissism, ingroup satisfaction is the extent to which one holds positive feelings about belonging to the ingroup (Leach et al., 2008) and refers to a non-narcissistic positive ingroup evaluation, which parallels the construct of ‘private regard’ for the ingroup in Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) collective self-esteem scale. Hence, both collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction refer to ingroup positivity, but are associated with intergroup relationships and psychological well-being in opposite ways, especially when their overlap is accounted for (for review see Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Despite increased attention to this divergence in recent social identity research, previous studies investigating the outcomes of various forms of threats rarely make a distinction between these two forms of ingroup evaluation (but see Guerra et al., 2020, where symbolic, realistic, and distinctiveness threats are suggested as antecedents of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction). This distinction is critical to understand, given the variety of responses to social identity threat.

The social identity threat literature also rarely takes the perspective of both majority and minority group members into consideration (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005); while psychological benefits of ingroup-related processes as a response to social identity threat have been commonly studied among minority group members (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, et al., 1999), the different correlates of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction have been predominantly considered with reference to majority/dominant group membership and with reference to national groups (except Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). The importance of examining the consequences of perceived social identity threat among members of privileged groups has been emphasized in studies linking national collective narcissism, right-wing populism, and rejection of immigrants and minorities (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020). On the other hand, possible links between

identity threat and collective narcissism have been recently highlighted in studies relating collective narcissism to support for political violence among disadvantaged group members in radicalized networks (Jasko et al., 2020). The current research, therefore, aims to integrate these various findings by investigating how ethnic majority and minority group members' perceived threat to their ethnic identity is associated with intergroup bias (favoring the ingroup over the outgroup) and psychological well-being in two different socio-cultural settings (Study 1 in Turkey and Study 2 in the United Kingdom).

### **Identity threat as an antecedent of ingroup satisfaction and collective narcissism**

Social identity threat refers to the perception that one's ingroup value is questioned, undermined, or devalued (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Ellemers et al., 2002). While social identity threat may occur in different situations whereby one's ingroup is disadvantaged in comparison to another group or its distinctiveness is questioned, it is generally concerned with a threat targeting the *value* of the ingroup (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999). Unlike other types of intergroup threats, such as symbolic threat whereby one perceives the values and norms of the ingroup to be threatened (e.g., Stephan et al., 2000), social identity threat taps directly on the perception that the positive value of the group itself is threatened. While such threats to the ingroup value have negative implications for psychological well-being, a key strategy that could alleviate these potential harmful effects is to strongly identify with the ingroup (mostly known as the Rejection-Identification Model, RIM, Branscombe, Schmitt, et al., 1999; but also see for similar conceptualizations Threat-Identification Model, Schmid & Muldoon, 2015; Group Identity Reaction Model, Verkuyten, 2009). Accordingly, social identity threat has costs for psychological well-being, but these costs could be mitigated by the formation of a strong ingroup identity which has multiple benefits for well-being (Jetten et al., 2017).

Despite research findings supporting RIM among various minority groups, such as ethnic and racial minorities (Branscombe, Schmitt, et al., 1999), multiracial individuals (Giamo et al., 2012), disabled people (Bogart et al., 2018), and international students (Ramos et al., 2012), the relationship between social identity threat and the evaluation of the ingroup may be more complex. For example, research indicates that discrimination experiences may be associated with greater detachment from the devalued social identity, especially when the intergroup boundaries are permeable (Bobowik et al., 2017; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012), and perceived marginalization of the minority ingroup may be unrelated to ingroup identification when identification is already high (irrespective of rejection experiences, Wiley, 2013).

The predictions of RIM have been suggested to be possibly refined by investigating rejection experiences in relation to different aspects of ingroup identification (Brittian et al., 2015; Giamo et al., 2012; Ramos et al., 2012). For example, previous studies tested various dimensions of ingroup identification such as exploration, resolution, and affirmation (Brittian et al., 2015) or took a multicomponent approach by examining ingroup centrality, solidarity, and satisfaction separately (Giamo et al., 2012; Leach et al., 2008). In line with these propositions, we investigated the implications of social identity threat on the evaluation of the ingroup, by differentiating between narcissistic and non-narcissistic positive evaluation. Indeed, research on RIM has shown that when different components or identification processes are considered, rejection experiences are negatively associated with variables pertaining to the positive evaluation of the ingroup, including ingroup satisfaction (marginally, Giamo et al., 2012) and positive ingroup affect (Ramos et al., 2012). This means that when individuals perceive potential threats implying the devaluation of their social group, they may be less likely to value the worthy qualities of the ingroup. Therefore, we propose that when positive ingroup evaluation is

differentiated as narcissistic and non-narcissistic, social identity threat is likely to be associated with *less* satisfaction with the ethnic ingroup.

On the other hand, we predict that social identity threat would be uniquely and positively associated with collective narcissism. Indeed, recent research indicates that, unlike non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction, collective narcissism increases not only in response to threats to self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020) or unsatisfied human needs (especially personal control, Cichocka et al., 2018; Marchlewska et al., 2020), but also to intergroup threat (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Guerra et al., 2020) and ingroup image threat (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016). Collective narcissism also moderates the effects of the ingroup's image on intergroup hostility, and exacerbates the negative association between intergroup exclusion and retaliatory aggression (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013, 2016; Hase et al., 2021). Thus, we expect social identity threat to be associated with *greater* collective narcissism.

### **The role of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction on intergroup bias and well-being**

Collective narcissism reflects a combination of unrealistically high regard for the ingroup and a belief that others do not recognize the ingroup's exceptionality sufficiently. This belief is laden with the emotion of resentment for the lack of recognition of the ingroup's alleged exceptionality and greatness (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Studies consistently indicate negative consequences of collective narcissism and positive outcomes of ingroup satisfaction for intergroup relationships, after the two constructs' overlap is accounted for. Collective narcissism is associated with hostile outgroup attitudes and retaliatory aggressive behaviors in response to ingroup criticism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016; Guerra et al., 2020), whereas ingroup satisfaction is associated with positive outgroup attitudes (Dyduch-Hazar



et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2013, for a recent review see Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), and provides resilience to negative ingroup appraisal stemming from identity threat (Golec de Zavala, 2018). In line with these findings, we argue that collective narcissism should be related to greater intergroup bias, whereas ingroup satisfaction would be related to lower intergroup bias.

The association between collective narcissism and psychological well-being is less clear. Whereas deriving positivity from one's ingroup has been previously linked to greater psychological well-being (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al., 2017), less is known about the distinctive role of narcissistic and non-narcissistic ingroup evaluation on psychological well-being. Recently, collective narcissism was found to be uniquely associated with negative emotionality, low social connectedness and low life satisfaction (Golec de Zavala, 2019), low self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), and vulnerable individual narcissism (i.e., neurotic, frustrated presentation of narcissistic need for admiration, Golec de Zavala, 2018; Golec de Zavala et al., 2021), after its overlap with ingroup satisfaction was partialled out. Collective narcissism has also been associated with unsatisfied psychological needs (Cichocka, 2016). Such findings suggest that the psychological benefits provided by ingroup positivity are more likely to occur through ingroup satisfaction, which is devoid of the narcissism component.

### **Group status, identity threat and ingroup evaluation**

The negative intergroup consequences of perceived social identity threat among majority groups has become evident with the rise of right-wing populism. Populist leaders often convince members of advantaged groups that the privileged status of their ingroup is threatened by the emancipation of disadvantaged groups (Jetten, 2019). Nevertheless, research has commonly

tested the consequences of social identity threat among stigmatized and minority group members (Major & O'Brien, 2004) and has indicated such threat to impair minority group members' performance and well-being (Logel et al., 2009; Steele et al., 2002; Verkuyten et al., 2019). For disempowered minority group members, social identity threat may even denote a sense of existential threat, whereby one's ingroup may disappear (through assimilation) as a result of pervasive oppression from the dominant social group (Livingstone et al., 2009). Thus, although there are reasons to expect social identity threat to have similar consequences for majority and minority groups' ingroup evaluation, we expect that those consequences would be stronger among minority, in comparison to majority groups. In turn, ingroup evaluation is also likely to have similar, but stronger associations with intergroup bias and psychological well-being for minority group members, for whom identity related processes are often chronically more salient and constitute a more critical aspect of the overall identity (e.g., Phinney, 1992; Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007).

The expectation that social identity threat will imply stronger consequences for the minority groups may also derive when considering the collective narcissism literature. Collective narcissism emphasizes the unrealistic aspect of exaggerated claims of the ingroup's exceptionality and the preoccupation with the lack of external recognition of the ingroup's image (Golec de Zavala et al, 2009; 2019). The lack of external recognition is the lived experience for many minority group members. Ingroup recognition is chronically salient and needed among minority groups (e.g., Shnabel et al., 2009), who often report higher private regard for their ingroup (Verkuyten, 2009), but report lower public regard (i.e., how positively individuals feel their ingroup membership is evaluated by others) compared to majority group members (e.g., Kim et al., 1999). Nevertheless, regardless of group status, collective narcissism expresses

claims to special, not equal, treatment and recognition and therefore is likely to be positively related to intergroup bias in both minorities and majorities (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009).

### **Intergroup contexts under investigation**

In Study 1, we focused on Turkish-Kurdish interethnic relationships in Turkey where the Kurdish ethnic group constitutes the numerically dominant minority group (18% of the population, Konda, 2011). The conflict between ethnic Turks and Kurds has caused the death and displacement of many people from both sides over the years, and is mainly characterized as an interethnic conflict, despite the existence of various conflict narratives adopted by the two parties (Uluğ & Cohrs, 2019; Yavuz & Özcan, 2006). Previous empirical research has shown both majority Turks and minority Kurds to perceive a high level of interethnic conflict, attribute responsibility to the other party, and collectively victimize the ingroup (Bagci & Çelebi, 2017; Bagci et al., 2019). Ethnic ingroup identification, assessed by positive ingroup evaluation (such as belongingness and pride), has been previously found to predict greater psychological well-being (but not outgroup attitudes) among both Turks and Kurds (Bagci & Turnuklu, 2019). Here we test, for the first time, ethnic collective narcissism as a response to social identity threat in this context.

In Study 2, we focused on Black and White British people in the United Kingdom. The Black British population in England and Wales constitutes approximately 3.3% (1.9 million people) of the overall population, with the majority of individuals identifying with the Black African (1.8%) or the Black Caribbean (1.1%) ethnic origin ('Population of England and Wales', 2018). Ethnic disparities in domains such as education (Graham & Robinson, 2004), employment, housing and the justice system highlight the disadvantaged status of Black British

(as well as other minority ethnic) communities (Ethnicity facts and figures, n.d.), while a large proportion of Black British people (and other ethnic minorities) acknowledge that racism exists in the country and has affected them directly or indirectly (Abraham, 2020). Research with Black British adolescents found that they obtained more pride from their Caribbean/African identity than their British identity, stereotyped Caribbean/African people more positively than British people, and reported higher emotional significance from their ethnicity than their nationality (Lam & Smith, 2009, although see Nandi & Platt, 2015). Although internal motivation to control prejudice against Black people has been found to be high among White Britons (West & Hewstone, 2012), recent data from a representative British sample demonstrated that biological racism beliefs are still conspicuous (Heath & Richards, 2020).

Despite various differences between the two settings, such as ‘minority group membership’ constituting a greater disadvantage in Turkey compared to the United Kingdom (Ozeren & Aydin, 2016) and perceived conflict being a central aspect of Turkish-Kurdish relationships (Bagci et al. 2019), we argue that the two contexts include a similar intergroup setting where structural differences exist across the majority-minority status axis. We thereby expect that the suggested relationships would generalize regardless of differing characteristics of the two socio-cultural contexts. One difference may concern the relationship between collective narcissism and intergroup bias. In the context of a prolonged conflict in which both groups see each other as competing (Turkey), collective narcissism is likely to predict intergroup bias among members of both majority and minority groups (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). In the context of democracy and indirect marginalization rather than direct conflict, ethnic collective narcissism may be associated with intergroup bias especially among members of the underprivileged minority group, since privileges attached to ethnic/racial identities may be less

salient among majority groups (e.g., Dancy et al., 2020; Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009).

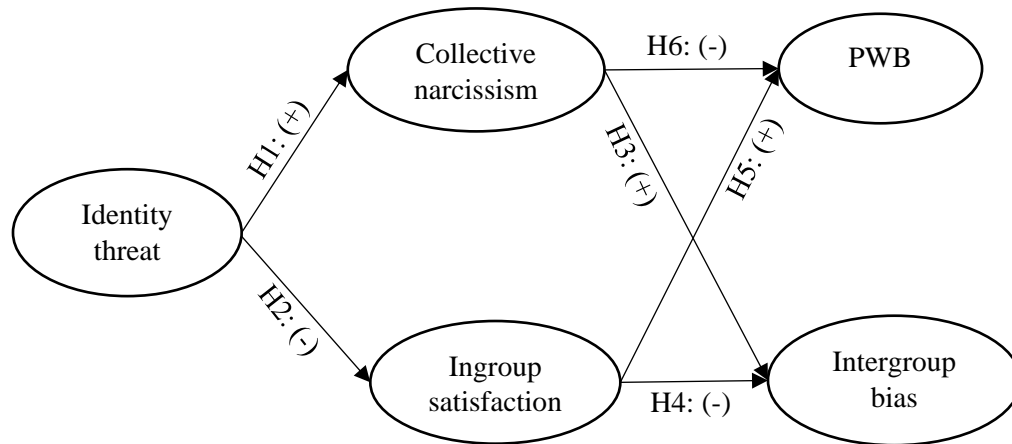
Therefore, in the British context, collective narcissism may play a stronger role in the formation of intergroup bias among the minority group.

### **Overview of studies and hypotheses**

We hypothesized social identity threat to be uniquely positively associated with collective narcissism (H1), but to be uniquely negatively associated with ingroup satisfaction (H2). We further expected collective narcissism to positively relate to intergroup bias (H3), but ingroup satisfaction to negatively relate to intergroup bias (H4) among both majority and minority status groups members. Finally, we expected ingroup satisfaction to be associated with greater psychological well-being (H5), but collective narcissism to be associated with lower psychological well-being (H6). The proposed conceptual model is displayed in Figure 1.

Although we predicted that the effects would be similar in terms of direction across group status, we expected that in general associations between social identity threat and both forms of ingroup evaluation (collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction), as well as between ingroup evaluation and the outcome variables (psychological well-being and intergroup bias) would be stronger for minority group members.

*Figure 1.* Conceptual Model Tested in Studies 1 and 2



*Note.* PWB = Psychological well-being

### **Analytic Strategy**

In both studies, we first investigated mean group differences on the main variables and bivariate correlations across groups. To test the main mediation model, we used a multigroup SEM analysis where social identity threat was related to narcissistic and non-narcissistic ingroup evaluations simultaneously and both ingroup evaluations were in turn associated with intergroup bias and psychological well-being. Data were analyzed with Mplus Version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2020). The fit of the models outlined in Figure 1 was assessed by the following cut-off values:  $\chi^2/df < 3$ ,  $CFI \geq .93$ ,  $RMSEA \leq .07$ , and  $SRMR \leq .07$  (Bagozzi & Yi, 2012; Marsh et al., 2004). All variables were demonstrated by latent variables except intergroup bias which was assessed by a single item measure. Items measuring collective narcissism and psychological well-being were randomly parceled into three observed variables (e.g., Bagozzi & Heatherton, 1994; Von der Heide & Scott, 2007). Indirect effects were assessed by 95% Confidence Intervals (5000 bootstraps). We first assessed measurement invariance by comparing unconstrained models to constrained models and then assessed the fit of structural models.

Additional analyses included suppression effects. The sample size for both studies was determined according to the availability of participants, but satisfied the general requirement of 100 participants per group in multigroup analysis using SEM (Kline, 2016; Wang & Wang, 2012).

## **Study 1**

### **Method**

#### **Participants and Procedure**

Data were collected from 397 Turkish nationals (265 ethnic Turks and 132 ethnic Kurds, 248 Females and 149 Males,  $M_{age} = 32.81$ ,  $SD = 11.67$ ) through online questionnaires. The mean subjective socio-economic status assessed by a single item ('Generally speaking, how would you describe your income?', ranging from 1=*very low* to 7=*very high*) was 3.91 ( $SD = 1.34$ ).

#### **Materials**

Unless otherwise stated, all response scales ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

*Social identity threat* was measured by three items assessing the extent to which Turks and Kurds feel their ethnic identities are threatened by the other group. The items were adapted from Schmid and Muldoon's (2015) perceived intergroup threat scale ('I beware of the power of Turks/Kurds in the country', 'When I see a Turkish/Kurdish person I don't know, I feel as though my ethnic identity is under threat', and 'I feel threat when Turks/Kurds express their

ethnic identities with their traditions'). The scale demonstrated good reliability (Cronbach's Alpha = .80).

We measured *ethnic collective narcissism* with the nine-item Collective Narcissism Scale developed by Golec de Zavala et al. (2009) and adapted the questionnaire to ethnic ingroup identification (e.g., 'My ethnic group deserves special treatment' and 'Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of my ethnic group'). Higher scores indicated a higher level of collective narcissism (Cronbach's Alpha = .85).

*Ethnic ingroup satisfaction* was measured by two items from the private collective self-esteem subscale of the Collective Self-esteem Scale developed by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992). Items (e.g., 'I feel good about the ethnic group I belong to' and 'In general, I am glad to be a member of my ethnic group',  $r = .80, p < .001$ ).<sup>1</sup>

*Intergroup bias* was assessed with feeling thermometers (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993) that measured the level of warmth felt towards the ingroup and the outgroup. The scores ranged from 0 degree (*Extremely unfavorable*) to 100 degrees (*Extremely favorable*), with 50 degrees indicating neutral attitudes. The bias score was computed by subtracting outgroup attitudes from ingroup attitudes, thus higher scores indicated greater intergroup bias (i.e., bias favoring the ingroup). We used this relative measurement to account for the comparative nature of intergroup relationships (e.g., Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

We assessed *psychological well-being* with the nine-item Flourishing Scale assessing eudaimonic (functional) psychological well-being (Diener et al., 2010, e.g., 'I am engaged and

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<sup>1</sup>Originally, Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) private regard scale included four items, however, for simplicity and ease of participants' understanding, we did not use the two reversed-coded items.



interested in my daily activities', Cronbach's Alpha = .89), and higher scores indicated greater psychological well-being.

## Results

### Group differences

Mean comparisons of the main variables across group status indicated that Kurds perceived a significantly higher level of intergroup threat and reported a higher level of ethnic collective narcissism compared to Turks. The difference between the two groups in terms of ingroup satisfaction and psychological well-being were not significant, whereas Kurds displayed significantly less intergroup bias than Turks (Table 1). Table 2 indicates bivariate correlations among the main variables.

Table 1. Independent t-tests showing the effect of group status on the main variables in Study 1

	<i>Mean (SD)</i> <i>Kurds</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i> <i>Turks</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Cohen's d</i>	<i>95% CI of the difference</i>
1.Identity threat	3.19 (1.71)	2.36 (1.31)	196.63	-4.69	<.001	.51	[-1.14, -.51]
2.Collective narcissism	4.54 (1.17)	3.46 (1.21)	360	-8.16	<.001	.91	[-1.34, -.82]
3.Ingroup satisfaction	5.64 (1.33)	5.35 (1.46)	369	-1.89	.06	.21	[-.59, .00]
4.Intergroup bias	18.81 (25.83)	25.18 (30.36)	282.11	2.08	.04	.23	[.33, 12.41]
5.Psychological well-being	5.45 (1.11)	5.60 (1.05)	387	1.32	.19	.14	[-.07, .38]

Table 2. Bivariate correlations among the main variables in Study 1

	1	2	3	4	5
1.Identity threat	-	.36***	.002	.22***	-.16*
2.Collective narcissism	.43***	-	.40***	.31***	.13*
3.Ingroup satisfaction	-.17*	.18*	-	.27***	.39***
4.Intergroup bias	.36***	.43***	.14	-	.10*
5.Psychological well-being	-.15*	-.05	.47***	-.02	-

*Notes.* The correlations presented above the diagonal represent Turks. \* $p \leq .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

### Mediation analyses

We initially tested measurement invariance across group status by comparing a model where factor loadings were set free to a model where factor loadings were constrained to be equal. Both models demonstrated good fit and the chi-square test of difference indicated that the model fit did not become significantly worse after the equality constraint,  $\Delta\chi^2(7) = 11.22$ ,  $p = .13$ ,  $\Delta CFI = .001$ . This allowed the use of a multi-group analysis. The measurement model including all latent variables demonstrated a good fit,  $\chi^2(90) = 184.53$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 2.05$ ,  $CFI = .95$ ,  $RMSEA = .07$ , 90% CI  $RMSEA = [.06, .09]$ , and  $SRMR = .06$ , with all items loading significantly on the associated latent factors (all factor loadings  $> .63$ ). The structural model where direct paths between threat and the outcome variables, as well as correlations amongst mediators were maintained demonstrated a good fit,  $\chi^2(104) = 215.37$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 2.07$ ,  $CFI = .95$ ,  $RMSEA = .07$ , 90% CI  $RMSEA = [.06, .09]$ ,  $SRMR = .06$ .

Confirming Hypothesis 1, among both Turks and Kurds, social identity threat was associated with greater collective narcissism ( $\beta = .44$  and  $\beta = .54$  respectively, both  $p < .001$ ).

While identity threat was not associated with Turks' ethnic ingroup satisfaction ( $\beta = -.004, p = .94$ ), it was related negatively to Kurds' ethnic ingroup satisfaction ( $\beta = -.24, p = .01$ ), which partially confirmed Hypothesis 2. For both groups, collective narcissism predicted greater intergroup bias ( $\beta = .21, p = .02$  among Turks and  $\beta = .27, p = .04$  among Kurds), fully confirming Hypothesis 3. As opposed to Hypothesis 4, however, ingroup satisfaction was also associated with greater bias strongly among Turks ( $\beta = .40, p < .001$ ) and non-significantly among Kurds ( $\beta = .15, p = .14$ ). Confirming Hypothesis 5, ingroup satisfaction provided psychological benefits, relating to greater psychological well-being among both Turks and Kurds ( $\beta = .40$  and  $\beta = .61$  respectively, both  $p < .001$ ). Collective narcissism, on the other hand, was not related to psychological well-being ( $\beta = .09, p = .35$ ) among Turks, and was associated with lower psychological well-being only marginally among Kurds ( $\beta = -.26, p = .06$ ).

Among Turks, perceived threat was also directly related to lower psychological well-being ( $\beta = -.23, p = .01$ ) and greater bias ( $\beta = .16, p = .05$ ). Indirect effects from threat to psychological well-being were not significant via collective narcissism (IE = .04, 95% CI [-.05, .18]) or ingroup satisfaction (IE = -.002, 95% CI [-.07, .06]). Indirect effects from threat to intergroup bias, on the other hand, were significant through greater collective narcissism (IE = 2.81, 95% CI [.37, 6.50]), but not through ingroup satisfaction (IE = -.05, 95% CI [-1.38, 1.34]).

Among the Kurds, the direct association between threat and well-being was not significant ( $\beta = .07, p = .62$ ), whereas the relationship between threat and bias was positive and significant ( $\beta = .29, p = .02$ ). A further look at the indirect associations showed that threat was indirectly associated with lower psychological well-being via reduced ingroup satisfaction (IE = -.11, 95% CI [-.26, -.01]), or via collective narcissism (IE = -.11, 95% CI [-.29, .005]).

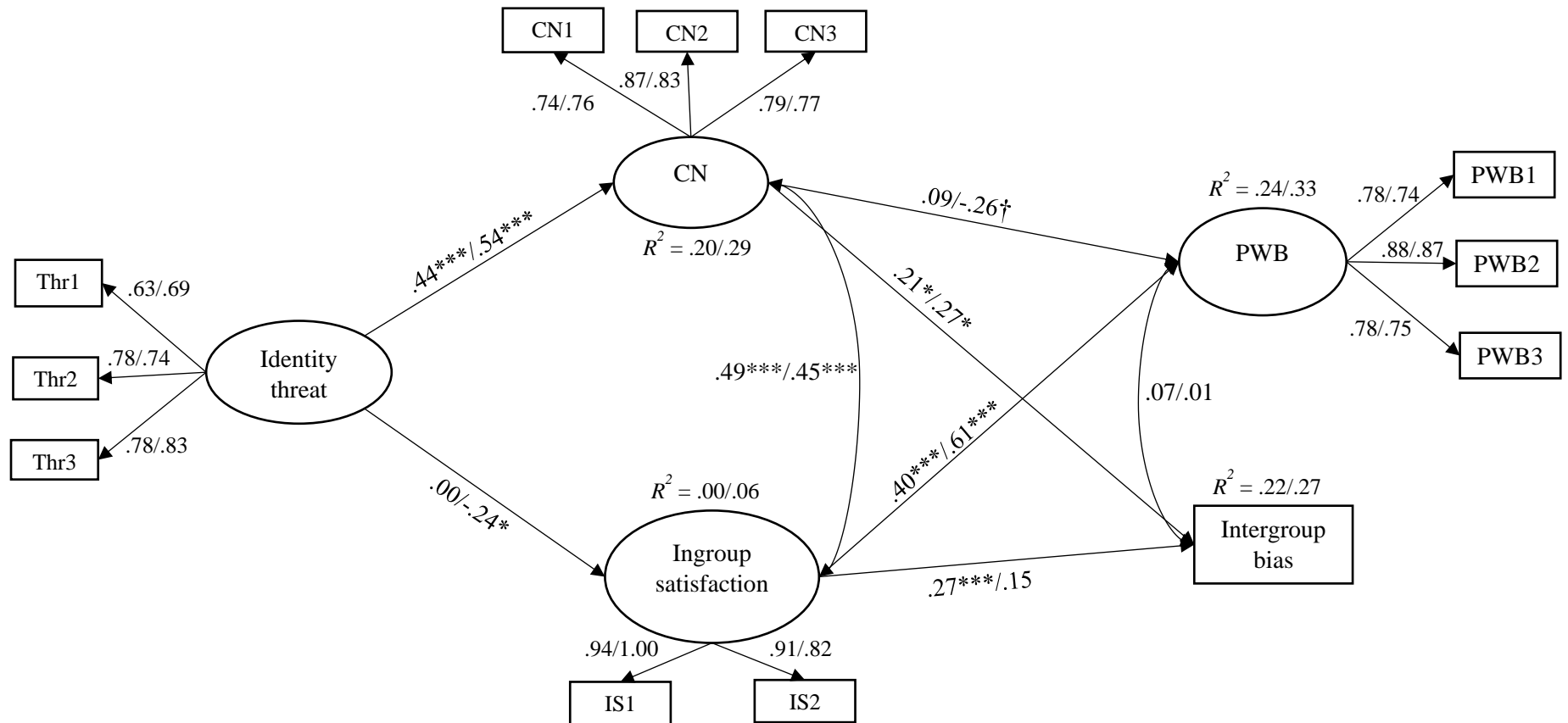
Associations between threat and intergroup bias were significantly mediated by collective

narcissism (IE = 2.83, 95% CI [.33, 6.84]), but not by ingroup satisfaction (IE = -.66, 95% CI [-2.82, .12]). Figure 2 displays the mediation model.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The model was also run with outgroup attitudes as the raw score. This model also fitted the data well,  $\chi^2(104) = 204.11$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 1.96$ , CFI = .95, RMSEA = .07, 90% CI RMSEA [.06, .09], SRMR = .06. This model demonstrated among Turks that neither collective narcissism nor ingroup satisfaction were not associated with outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = -.05$ ,  $p = .58$  and  $\beta = .05$ ,  $p = .55$ ), whereas social identity threat was directly and negatively associated with attitudes ( $\beta = -.22$ ,  $p = .01$ ). Among Kurds, only collective narcissism was associated with negative outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = -.26$ ,  $p = .057$ ), while ingroup satisfaction was not ( $\beta = .05$ ,  $p = .63$ ).

Figure 2. Structural Model in the Turkish-Kurdish Context



Notes. CN = Collective narcissism; PWB = Psychological well-being. On the left, standardized Beta coefficients for Turks are presented. Direct effects from threat to outcome variables are not presented in the figure for clarity.  $^\dagger p < .10$ ,  $^* p < .05$ ,  $^{***} p < .001$ .

### **Additional analyses**

Additional analyses testing potential suppression effects are provided in Supplementary Materials. Paths from collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction to the outcome variables did not change substantially in magnitude or direction when one of the variables was included as a suppressor. Among the Turks, when treating collective narcissism as a covariate, the indirect associations between threat and the outcome variables via ingroup satisfaction became significant, demonstrating perceived threat to be related to lower levels of intergroup bias and lower psychological well-being through lower ingroup satisfaction.

In summary, identity threat was associated only with greater collective narcissism, but not with greater ingroup satisfaction. While as expected, collective narcissism was related to greater intergroup bias, unexpectedly ingroup satisfaction was also associated with greater bias among Turks. This association was also positive, but non-significant among Kurds, demonstrating even a non-narcissistic positive ingroup evaluation to function as a potential driver of intergroup bias. Ingroup satisfaction was associated with greater psychological well-being, whereas collective narcissism was negatively and marginally significantly associated with lower psychological well-being among minority Kurds.

## **Study 2**

### **Method**

#### **Participants and Procedure**

A total of 351 participants were recruited through a university research credit system and Prolific Academic, an online platform for recruiting participants (163 White and 188 Black

British; 268 Females, 78 Males, 2 Others, and 3 unknown;  $M_{age} = 31.47$ ,  $SD = 10.84$ ). The mean socio-economic background ('Generally speaking, how would you describe your income?') was 3.34 ( $SD = 1.35$ ) on a range from 1 (*very low*) to 7 (*very high*).

## Materials

We used the same measures as in Study 1 in the context of White-Black British relationships in the United Kingdom. All reliabilities ranged between .69 and .92.

## Results

### Group differences

Similar to Kurds in Study 1, members of the minority group (Black British participants) perceived a higher level of social identity threat and reported higher ethnic collective narcissism than White British participants. However, in Study 2 they also reported greater ingroup satisfaction compared to White British participants. Black participants also reported greater intergroup bias, as well as greater psychological well-being compared to White participants (Table 3). Table 4 displays bivariate correlations across group status.

Table 3. Independent t-tests showing the effect of group status on the main variables in Study 2

	<i>Mean (SD) Blacks</i>	<i>Mean (SD) Whites</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Cohen's d</i>	<i>95% CI of the difference</i>
1.Social identity threat	2.86 (1.50)	1.60 (1.23)	348.04	-8.62	<.001	.92	[-1.54, -.97]
2.Collective narcissism	4.77 (.97)	2.48 (1.18)	313.87	-19.67	<.001	2.12	[-2.52, -2.06]
3.Ingroup satisfaction	5.98 (1.25)	4.55 (1.45)	321.32	-9.81	<.001	1.06	[-1.72, -1.14]

4. Intergroup bias	20.03 (23.41)	1.15 (20.05)	344.94	-8.09	<.001	.87	[-23.46, -14.29]
5. Psychological well-being	5.55 (1.06)	5.22 (1.02)	349	-2.93	.004	.32	[-.55, -.11]

Table 4. Bivariate correlations among the main variables in Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Social identity threat	-	.42***	.11	.41***	-.08
2. Collective narcissism	.39***	-	.37***	.38***	.08
3. Ingroup satisfaction	-.03	.27***	-	.49***	.28***
4. Intergroup bias	.23**	.46***	.30***	-	.02
5. Psychological well-being	-.08	.17*	.34***	.04	-

*Notes.* The correlations presented above the diagonal represent White Britons. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

### Mediation models

A comparison of a freely estimated model to the constrained model indicated that the latter did not have a significantly worse fit,  $\Delta\chi^2(7) = 9.54$ ,  $p = .22$ ,  $\Delta CFI = .002$ , indicating that items loaded on latent variables similarly and allowing for multigroup analyses. The initial measurement model demonstrated an acceptable fit, ( $\chi^2(90) = 197.50$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 2.23$ ,  $CFI = .96$ ,  $RMSEA = .08$ ,  $90\% CI RMSEA = [.07, .10]$ , and  $SRMR = .07$ , with all items loading significantly on the relevant latent variables (factor loadings  $> .77$ , all  $p < .001$ ). The structural model containing direct paths between the independent and dependent variables, as well as  $a$



*priori* correlations between the mediators fitted the data well ( $\chi^2(104) = 206.97$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 1.99$ , CFI = .96, RMSEA = .07, 90% CI RMSEA = [.06, .09], and SRMR = .07).

Among both White and Black participants, identity threat was positively associated with collective narcissism ( $\beta = .43$  and  $\beta = .43$ , respectively, both  $p < .001$ ), but not with ingroup satisfaction ( $\beta = .08$ ,  $p = .39$  for Whites and  $\beta = -.06$ ,  $p = .51$  for Blacks). This provided support for Hypothesis 1, but not for Hypothesis 2 which indicated a negative association between social identity threat and ingroup satisfaction. Hypothesis 3 was partially supported such that collective narcissism's association with intergroup bias was not significant among the White British group ( $\beta = .05$ ,  $p = .51$ ), whereas it was positive and strong for the Black British group ( $\beta = .40$ ,  $p < .001$ ). As opposed to our initial suggestion (Hypothesis 4), but in line with findings of Study 1, ingroup satisfaction was also related to greater bias among both groups, particularly strongly among the White British group ( $\beta = .47$ ,  $p < .001$  for Whites and  $\beta = .19$ ,  $p = .01$  for Blacks). Providing full support for Hypothesis 5, ingroup satisfaction predicted greater psychological well-being for both White British ( $\beta = .31$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and Black British participants ( $\beta = .32$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Collective narcissism, on the other hand, was not significantly associated with this outcome ( $\beta = .03$ ,  $p = .77$  for Whites and  $\beta = .12$ ,  $p = .21$  for Blacks), demonstrating no support for Hypothesis 6.

Among White British participants, threat was directly associated with greater intergroup bias ( $\beta = .34$ ,  $p < .001$ ), but not with well-being ( $\beta = -.13$ ,  $p = .16$ ) and none of the indirect effects from identity threat to the outcome variables were significant. For the Black group, while threat was not associated with either of the outcome variables directly ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $p = .31$  for intergroup bias and  $\beta = -.13$ ,  $p = .17$  for psychological well-being), its indirect association with psychological well-being through both mediators was non-significant, whereas collective

narcissism functioned as a significant mediator between threat and intergroup bias ( $IE = 2.93$ , 95% CI [1.47, 5.02]). Figure 3 displays path coefficients for the mediation model and Table 5 summarizes indirect effects in Study 1 and Study 2.<sup>3</sup>

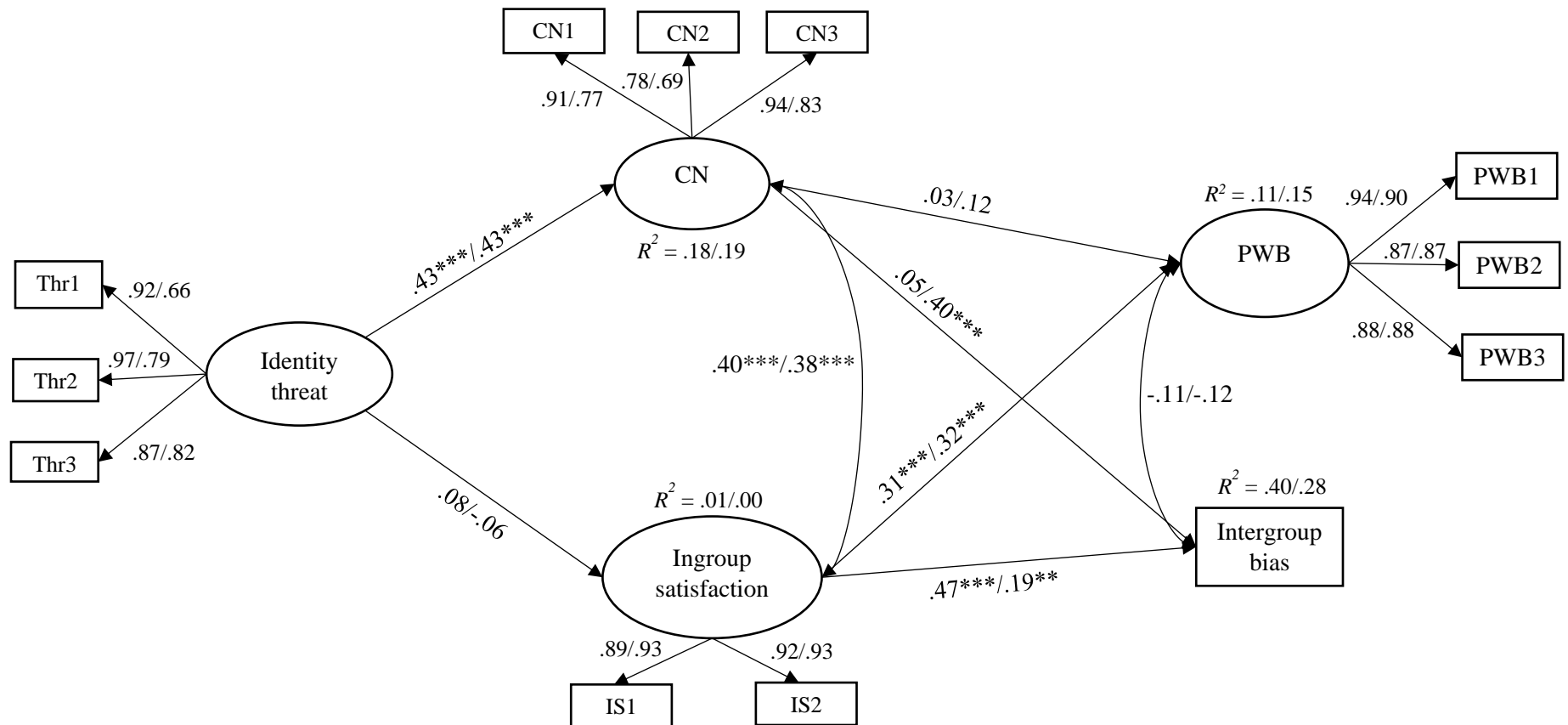
### **Additional analyses**

Further suppression analyses (presented in Supplementary analyses) indicated that when collective narcissism was treated as a covariate and ingroup satisfaction was included as the main mediator, the path from identity threat to ingroup satisfaction becomes significant, and we observed further negative indirect effects from threat to both well-being and intergroup bias through lower ingroup satisfaction, only for Black participants.

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<sup>3</sup>The model with outgroup attitudes as the raw score fitted the data well;  $\chi^2(104) = 216.59$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 2.08$ , CFI = .96, RMSEA = .08, 90% CI RMSEA = [.06, .09], and SRMR = .07. Accordingly, among White British participants, social identity threat was directly associated with more negative attitudes ( $\beta = -.34$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Collective narcissism was associated positively with outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = .20$ ,  $p = .04$ ) and ingroup satisfaction was not related to attitudes ( $\beta = .03$ ,  $p = .70$ ). Among Black participants, both identity threat and collective narcissism predicted more negative outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = -.31$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $\beta = -.26$ ,  $p = .004$ ), but ingroup satisfaction did not ( $\beta = .001$ ,  $p = .99$ ).

Figure 3. Structural Model in the White-Black British Context



Notes. CN = Collective narcissism; PWB = Psychological well-being. On the left, standardized Beta coefficients for White participants are presented. Direct effects from threat to outcomes are not presented in the figure for clarity.  $**p < .01$ ,  $***p < .001$ .

Table 5. Path coefficients for the indirect paths from threat to psychological well-being and intergroup bias among majority and minority group members in Study 1 and Study 2

	Turks		Kurds		Whites		Blacks	
	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
Threat -> Collective narcissism -> PWB	.04	[-.05,.18]	-.11	[-.29,.005]	.01	[-.07,.12]	.04	[-.02,.13]
Threat -> Ingroup satisfaction -> PWB	-.002	[-.07,.06]	-.11	[-.26,-.01]	.02	[-.03,.09]	-.01	[-.08,.03]
Threat -> Collective narcissism -> Bias	2.81	[.37,6.50]	2.83	[.33,6.84]	.37	[-.64,1.94]	2.93	[1.47,5.02]
Threat -> Ingroup satisfaction -> Bias	-.05	[-1.38,1.34]	-.66	[-2.82,.12]	.57	[-.88,2.30]	-.18	[-1.43,.28]

*Notes.* PWB = Psychological well-being. Unstandardized estimates are presented.

## **General discussion**

Across two studies conducted in two different socio-cultural contexts, we examined the implications of social identity threat on psychological well-being and intergroup bias, by testing the simultaneous mediating role of narcissistic and non-narcissistic positive ingroup evaluation. Moreover, we investigated these associations in both ethnic majority and minority groups in two different countries. Drawing upon various social identity theories (e.g., RIM, Branscombe, Schmitt, et al., 1999) in the context of collective narcissism literature (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Guerra et al., 2020), we expected social identity threat to be associated with lower ingroup satisfaction, but with greater collective narcissism. In line with previous findings (Golec de Zavala, 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), we argued that collective narcissism should be associated with greater intergroup bias and lower psychological well-being, whereas ingroup satisfaction should be associated with less bias and greater psychological well-being. Findings provided partial support for the expected associations and showed some generalizability across group status and contexts.

### **Social identity threat, collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction**

The first key finding is the hypothesized association between perceived social identity threat and collective narcissism, which was positive and significant in all ethnic groups. This finding is in line with previous research linking collective narcissism with perception of intergroup threat (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Guerra et al., 2020; Marchlewska et al., 2018), validating the centrality of the preoccupation with the ingroup's image in collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020). In contrast, threat was either not associated or negatively associated with ingroup satisfaction (among Kurds, as well as

Turks and Blacks - but only when collective narcissism was a suppressor), which is also in line with previous research (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016).

These findings provide a variety of implications for the RIM, which has received mixed support when ingroup identification has been conceptualized differently (e.g., Giamo et al., 2012; Ramos et al., 2012). In fact, RIM has two major tenets whereby a) rejection experiences are expected to result in stronger ingroup identification, b) a stronger ingroup identification discounts the negative association between rejection experiences and well-being, and thereby rejection experiences also have an indirect positive association with well-being through ingroup identification. Our findings suggest that the first tenet could be specified by distinguishing between the two constructs of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction. Our findings showed social identity threat to consistently predict greater collective narcissism, but not ingroup satisfaction and thereby extends the classical RIM. Hence, we showed that social identity threat is more likely to evoke an aspect of ingroup identification that pertains to the positive evaluation of the ingroup coupled with a narcissistic exaggeration of its image which is detrimental for intergroup relationships. However, threat was unlikely to be associated with greater ingroup satisfaction, which consists of a positive ingroup evaluation without a narcissistic component (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Therefore, we did not find support for the second assumption of the RIM whereby the associations between social identity threat and well-being are attenuated by positive ingroup identification processes that would promote psychological well-being. Findings indicate instead that social identity threat is associated with collective narcissism specifically, which does not promote psychological well-being, and instead fuels negative intergroup bias.

Regarding group status differences, unlike our initial assumptions, in both contexts social identity threat was equally strongly associated with greater collective narcissism among majority

and minority groups, whereas especially for minority Kurds in Turkey, identity threat was related to lower ingroup satisfaction. This may be because the Turkish-Kurdish relationship involves a conflict context whereby the value of social identities would be partly shaped by the perception of threat targeting their ingroup, especially among the disadvantaged group. We also found that social identity processes in general (with its positive and negative aspects) were higher among minority groups than majority groups in both contexts, which is in line with previous research demonstrating ethnic identities to be a more salient aspect of personal identities among minority group members (Phinney, 1992). Particularly collective narcissism was higher among minority group members in both settings, which is also in line with results reported previously for collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the lack of external recognition of the ingroup - the major preoccupation of collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2019) - is often an objective reality in disadvantaged versus advantaged groups. Thus, it is important to emphasize that collective narcissists are preoccupied with recognition of the ingroup's exaggerated exceptionalism, rather than the ingroup's equal status, or the very existence and distinctiveness of the ingroup (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020; Guerra et al., 2021). In disadvantaged groups, the concerns of ingroup recognition are more fundamental than the same concerns in advantaged groups (Shnabel et al., 2008). Disadvantaged groups often need to fight for recognition of an ingroup's separate autonomous existence or equal rights in distribution of resources (Kelman, 1999; Livingstone et al., 2009). Thus, among disadvantaged groups, what appear to be narcissistic claims for the recognition of the ingroup's exceptionalism may be confounded with non-narcissistic claims for recognition of the ingroup's equal status. Nevertheless, even in disadvantaged groups, recognition of the ingroup's equality versus exaggerated exceptionalism

can be differentiated, as the former fosters the groups' equal status, while the latter ultimately fosters the reversal of the group-based hierarchy (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2020; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020).

### **Outcomes of collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction**

In line with our predictions, collective narcissism was associated with greater intergroup bias among both Turks and Kurds in Study 1 and Blacks in Study 2, confirming previous collective narcissism research (for review and meta-analysis, Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). This is partly in line with our suggested group status differences, but fully confirms our expectation of differences across context; collective narcissism related to intergroup bias equally strongly among both groups in Turkey, but was particularly critical among minority groups in a context of disadvantaged group membership in a more democratic setting, United Kingdom. Notably, ethnic collective narcissism was not associated with intergroup bias among White British participants, for whom all social identity processes as well as intergroup bias were particularly low. Interestingly, ethnic ingroup satisfaction related to greater intergroup bias particularly strongly among majority group members (also, but weakly, among Blacks in the UK); a similar pattern was observed among men with regards to sexism in highly patriarchal Poland (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2020). This suggests that the ingroup's relative position in the intergroup hierarchy may be influential on the link between non-narcissistic ingroup satisfaction and intergroup bias.

In the British context, thus, intergroup bias was more strongly associated with collective narcissism among Black participants, whereas it was more strongly associated with ingroup satisfaction among White participants. A closer look at mean scores reveals that although in both



socio-cultural contexts minority status group members reported greater collective narcissism and greater perception of threat than majority status members, White participants scored particularly low on both constructs (as well as on intergroup bias). Therefore, although among White British people, identity threat was related to collective narcissism as among Black people, such defensive ingroup evaluation may not directly cause harm for intergroup relationships. These findings may be also partly explained by (arguably) increased tolerance of outgroups in Western Europe and the United Kingdom, at least at an explicit level (Kelley et al., 2017; Rubin et al., 2014).

Regarding the associations between collective narcissism and well-being, only a marginally significant negative relationship was observed among the Kurdish minority group, which is in line with our initial prediction that collective narcissism is detrimental for individual-level well-being (Golec de Zavala, 2019). On the other hand, findings corroborated our proposition that ingroup satisfaction is associated with greater psychological well-being, consistent with the general social identity literature demonstrating the psychological benefits of social identities (e.g., Vignoles, 2011). While in the British context, ingroup satisfaction was associated with well-being equally strongly among both groups, ingroup satisfaction was especially strongly related to psychological well-being among Kurds, in line with our initial suggestion. Ingroup satisfaction was also strongly related to well-being in the Turkish context regardless of group status (compared to the UK context), where ethnic identities play a central role in interethnic group dynamics (e.g., Bagci & Celebi, 2017), and where collective processes such as ingroup identification may be a core element in the definition of one's self, resulting from the collectivistic nature of Turkey compared to the UK (Hofstede, 1980).

### **Limitations and future directions**

One limitation of the present studies relates to their correlational methodology which restricts assumptions of causality. Theoretically, it is also possible that social identification processes determine the extent to which social identity experiences are appraised as a threat (Van Zomeren et al., 2008; Verkuyten, 2009). For example, collective narcissism may facilitate the perception of social identity threat due to collective narcissists' hypersensitivity to external threats and thereby relate to greater intergroup bias (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2016), whereas ingroup satisfaction may minimize the perception of identity threat since it provides resilience to external threats and consequently promotes well-being (Golec de Zavala, 2018). Nevertheless, previous correlational and experimental research has shown strong evidence for the directionality we have employed in this research, whereby threat precedes collective narcissism (Guerra et al., 2020; Guerra et al., under review) and rejection experiences precede ingroup related outcomes (see RIM assumptions). Third variables, mostly dispositional ones such as sensory sensitivity, may be also further included as potential drivers of both threat and identification processes (Golec de Zavala, 2019).

Our measure of social identity threat was unidimensional; the content of the social identities, and more specifically which social identity element was considered threatened could be elaborated in further studies. Since previous research showed perceived threat to the fulfilment of various social identity needs to predict lower psychological well-being (Bagci et al., 2020), it may be critical to further investigate threat to which social identity need(s) would be more likely to provoke collective narcissism. Based on previous research in collective narcissism which demonstrated lower self-esteem to be an antecedent of collective narcissism (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), threat to self-efficacy and self-esteem needs may foster a particularly inflated view of the ingroup.

A further methodological issue may be how ingroup satisfaction and collective narcissism were associated in each sample. The positive correlation between the two constructs is consistent with the literature indicating that the association between self-esteem and individual narcissism is asymmetrical: narcissism is likely to be associated with high self-esteem, but self-esteem does not have to be associated with narcissism (Sedikides, 2021). Ideally, studies should differentiate the positive ingroup evaluation from collective narcissism using orthogonal measurements tapping into their unique, not overlapping aspects. Efforts in personality studies results in more precise instruments with decreasing level of the overlap between assessments of self-esteem and individual narcissism. Hence, future studies could benefit from more precise measurements of collective narcissism.

Our research also paves new paths toward examining collective narcissism and positive ingroup evaluation simultaneously from the perspective of disadvantaged, minority group members. Future research may invest in the examination of more minority status relevant predictors and outcomes of collective narcissism. For example, previous research has demonstrated that collective narcissism, but not positive ingroup evaluation, led majority group members to support minority group rights less (Gorska et al., 2020). Among disadvantaged minority group members, collective narcissism may be associated with negative intergroup emotions such as group-based anger, and in turn, fuel collective action (e.g., Van Zomeren et al., 2008). As such previous research has shown collective narcissism to be related to violent extremism (Jasko et al., 2020). However, collective narcissism has been also found to be negatively related to ingroup solidarity (Federico et al., 2020) and ingroup loyalty (Marchlewska et al., 2020), which may be important prerequisites for collective action behaviors. Further

research is needed to better understand the implications of collective narcissism for minority group members' motivation for social change.

### **Conclusion**

Through two studies, we investigated how social identity threat relates to psychological well-being and intergroup bias through narcissistic and non-narcissistic positive ingroup evaluation. We examined these research questions from the perspectives of both majority and minority status group members, drawing on two different socio-cultural contexts. Findings provided evidence for strong associations between social identity threat and collective narcissism, which was, in turn, related to greater intergroup bias, while ingroup satisfaction (but not collective narcissism) was associated with greater psychological well-being. While some status and contextual differences were observed, our findings mostly generalized to both majority and minority status individuals, and to two distinct socio-cultural contexts. Future research may disentangle which specific threat processes play a role in the distinction between collective narcissism and ingroup satisfaction, and how those in turn shape group members' psychological well-being and intergroup bias.

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