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Collective narcissism and the clash of advantaged and disadvantaged groups

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In this chapter, we advance an argument that collective narcissism in advantaged and disadvantaged groups is a key factor contributing to their radicalization and societal

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polarization. In both groups, collective narcissism predicts intergroup hostility and antagonistic attitude towards the outgroup (e.g., among ethnic Turks and Kurds in Turkey, Bagci et al., 2021; Blacks and Whites in the UK, Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; or men and women in Poland, Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). However, depending on the group's relative status, it predicts different attitudes towards hierarchies and social change towards equality (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023). Collective narcissism predicts support for belief systems and collective action that strengthens the hierarchy among advantaged groups (e.g., Whites, men), but belief systems and collective action that challenges inequality in disadvantaged groups (e.g., ethnic minorities, women).

Human societies are organized in group-based hierarchies that advantage some social groups and disadvantage others. Social inequality is thus, a feature of every society. However, just as prevalent is the belief that the hierarchies can be changed and inequalities reduced (Gintis et al., 2015). This is, among others, as social identity theory posits, because members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike are motivated to achieve positive ingroup distinctiveness, i.e., positive evaluation of one's ingroup in comparison to other groups (Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Turner, 1975). The need for positive distinctiveness motivates members of advantaged groups to maintain and strengthen the existing hierarchies, whereas the same need motivates members of disadvantaged groups to either creatively adapt to inequality or to challenge it. The stronger group members' collective narcissism, the more likely it is that the need for positive ingroup distinctiveness is satisfied via intergroup conflict, by coercive and violent means creating intergroup tensions and societal polarization (Golec de Zavala, 2011; 2018; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Thus, collective narcissism is likely to be a prominent feature of unstable, polarized societies in which reactionary social movements pushing for greater

inequality and privilege of the advantaged groups clash with progressive social movements pursuing social justice and equality (e.g., Osbourne et al., 2019).

Collective narcissism in various social groups

Collective narcissism is a belief that the ingroup (any ingroup) is great, exceptional, indeed better than others, but not sufficiently recognized by others (Golec de Zavala, 2011; 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2019). Collective narcissism is conceptualized in this chapter in line with the original theory by Golec de Zavala (2011; 2018, see also Golec de Zavala et al., 2009, 2019) as a belief that can be held about *any* group people identify (cf Szczepanska & Marchlewska, this volume). Collective narcissism is an individual difference variable, a belief that people hold with a relative degree of stability about various groups they belong to (Golec de Zavala, 2007; 2011; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Longitudinal studies confirm that individual levels of collective narcissism (national collective narcissism, e.g., Federico et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; gender collective narcissism, Golec de Zavala, 2022) are indeed stable within persons across time.

Studies have also established that levels of collective narcissism are relatively stable across different social identities. One of the studies that validated the Collective Narcissism Scale asked participants to choose a group to which the items of the scale could apply. Participants named groups such as nation, religion, school, university, or social class. In all those groups the items formed a coherent scale and all assessments of collective narcissism with reference to various social identities were intercorrelated (Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Similarly, in the initial studies, collective narcissism was assessed with reference to ethnic groups (Blacks vs. Whites) in Great Britain (Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) or as an aspect of identification with a university (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013). Subsequent studies indicated that levels of collective narcissism with reference to different social groups are positively correlated: national collective narcissism

was associated with religious collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021; Mole et al., 2021), gender collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2022) and ethnic collective narcissism (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2022).

Although collective narcissism is conceptualized as an individual difference variable relatively stable across time and social identities, there are situational factors that affect collective narcissism. Existing research identified situations that affect collective narcissism in a long and a short run. Just as group membership salience and ingroup identification (Mullen et al., 1992; Thomas et al., 2020), collective narcissism may be higher among members of disadvantaged groups in comparison to members of advantaged groups (Bagci et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023, but see comment on measurement invariance below). The situational factors that momentarily increase collective narcissism pertain to threat individual self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020) and the ingroup's status. For example, Polish collective narcissism increased when others mistook Poles for Russians (Golec de Zavala et al., 2023), whereas Portuguese collective narcissism increased when others mistook Portuguese for Spaniards (Guerra et al., 2023).

Collective narcissism motivates group members to enhance the ingroup's image and its interests at the cost of the outgroup (Golec de Zavala, 2023; see also Kende & Láštiová, this volume; Maseko & Durrheim, this volume). Correlational research consistently links collective narcissism to an antagonistic mindset. Although, as emphasized by recent reviews, the majority of existing evidence is correlational (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021), longitudinal (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020) and experimental studies (Golec de Zavala, et al., 2023; Hase et al., 2021) also indicate that collective narcissism conduces to and causes intergroup hostility, prejudice and intergroup aggression.

Collective narcissism and antagonistic mindset

People who endorse collective narcissism are more likely to believe that their group is constantly threatened and undermined by others (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2016; Guerra et al., 2020). They attribute hostile intentions to others and consider hostility of their ingroup as provoked, justified and defensive (Dydych-Hazar et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2013; 2022b; Hase et al., 2021). In the absence of an obvious intergroup threat, collective narcissists invent enemies and endorse conspiracy theories about secretive, hostile plots of others (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022). Collective narcissism is associated with the zero-order perception of intergroup relations (i.e., the belief that the interests of the ingroup cannot be reconciled with interests of the outgroup but are related to them in a zero-sum manner, where one group wins the other has to lose, Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023).

A majority of studies that have established the robust association between collective narcissism and intergroup antagonism assessed collective narcissism with reference to a nation or a country. Studies also established that national collective narcissism is associated with blind, uncritical patriotism and nationalism. National collective narcissism is associated with national ingroup satisfaction but only the former predicts nationalism (Federico et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2023). Two questions remain unanswered: (1) why is national collective narcissism related to sexism and prejudice towards minorities that belong to the same nation and (2) how are the associations of collective narcissism affected by the social status of the group with reference to which collective narcissism is assessed.

Collective narcissism and the mass politics of privilege and hate

To answer the first question, we maintain that the narcissistic demand for the ingroup to be admired and treated as better than others motivates advantaged groups to endorse prejudice towards disadvantaged groups as well as other beliefs that justify strengthening of existing hierarchies (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023; Golec de Zavala & Bierwiaczonek,

2021; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023). Moreover, collective narcissism in advantaged groups is associated with usurping of national representativeness (also conceptualized as ethnocentric projection, Brewer et al., 2013 or ingroup projection, Wenzel et al., 2016, see also Jelic & Mihic, this volume) and framing the preservation of ingroup privilege as patriotic advancement of national interests. Indeed, collective narcissism with reference to a national group and to advantaged groups within the nation are strongly linked and predicts the same attitudes towards social hierarchy and towards disadvantaged groups. Thus, national collective narcissism predicts prejudice towards co-nationals because national collective narcissists endorse the interests of the advantaged groups in society.

To answer the second question, we propose that collective narcissism in advantaged and disadvantaged groups conduces to opposite attitudes towards hierarchy and inequality but similar ideas on how to advance the opposite group goals of advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Collective narcissism among advantaged groups is associated with prejudice and other beliefs that enhance existing inequalities as this serves the interests of advantaged groups. Collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups is associated with beliefs and attitudes challenging the inequalities as they serve the interests of advancement of disadvantaged groups. Collective narcissists in both groups choose adversarial and coercive means to advance their goals.

Usurpation of national representativeness

As we have argued elsewhere (Golec de Zavala et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021; Mole et al., 2021), populist rhetoric illustrates how national collective narcissism is used to mobilize whole societies around the goals of advantaged groups. The populist rhetoric contains the lament about the loss of national greatness and harm that was done to the nation by the pursuit of liberal values of social justice and equality. This rhetoric evokes nostalgia for the great national past and advances the concept of national re-birth via

returning to ‘healthy and sound’ traditional (and hierarchical) organization of society.

National past is idealized to justify traditional hierarchies and the narrow inclusion criteria to the entitled group that truly represents the nation, ‘the people’ (Mols & Jetten, 2014; Wohl & Stefaniak, 2020; see also Maseko & Durrheim, this anthology). Populist rhetoric contrasts the ‘true’ nationals or ‘the people’ with liberal, internationally oriented ‘elites’ and mobilizes the more conservative and the threatened against those ‘enemies of the people’.

The mobilizing role of national collective narcissism was demonstrated in electoral successes of populist parties and politicians (Krekó, this volume). Citizens’ national collective narcissism stood behind those successes. National collective narcissism was associated with support for Brexit in Britain (Golec de Zavala et al., 2017), voting for Donald Trump in both elections in the United States (Federico & Golec de Zavala, 2018; Federico et al., 2022; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021), voting for Viktor Orban in Hungary (Lantos & Forgas, 2021). In many European countries national collective narcissism was associated with populist-inspired negativity towards the European Union (Kende & Krekó, 2020; Lantos & Forgas, 2021) and democratic organization of societies (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021).

The consequences of the propagation of national collective narcissism could be observed in the Capitol Hill raid on January 6th 2021. The riot broke after Donald Trump framed his loss of the presidential election as fraud perpetrated by the Democrats, and claimed the election was stolen from him. Trump supporters contested the legal election outcome and violently broke into the Capitol Hill building, some carrying weapons, and occupied the building for several hours (Feis, 2021). American collective narcissism predicted support for Donald Trump maintaining his presidency at the expense of democracy, even if he had to ‘compromise the rule of law’ to stay in power. It also predicted support for the Capitol attack stronger than and over and above American national identification, right-

wing authoritarianism, or social dominance orientation (Federico et al., 2022; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). One study also demonstrated that collective narcissism was the most positively associated with preference for populist leader (even over authoritarian leaders) and negatively associated with support for a democratic leader advancing democratic values and procedures (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2021). In sum, propagation of national collective narcissism serves the interests of advantaged groups. Those interests are advanced by populist leaders ready to undermine democracy.

Prejudice towards co-nationals

Two lines of findings provide additional support for the conclusion that national collective narcissism predicts prejudice towards co-nationals because it represents the group interests of advantaged groups: (1) studies linking national collective narcissism and collective narcissism among advantaged groups with prejudice towards disadvantaged groups and (2) studies showing that the correlation between national collective narcissism and subgroup collective narcissism (e.g., ethnic or gender group) is stronger in advantaged than in disadvantaged groups.

National collective narcissism and prejudice towards the disadvantaged

In many countries national collective narcissism has been linked to prejudice towards national minorities and immigrants. Polish collective narcissism has been linked to anti-Semitism and conspiratorial beliefs about people of Jewish origin (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; 2023; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012; Kofta et al., 2020). It was also linked to prejudice towards ethnic minorities in Poland, the USA and the UK (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013; 2023). American collective narcissism was linked to prejudice towards Mexican (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020) and Arab (Lyons et al., 2010) immigrants in the USA. British collective narcissism was linked to xenophobia and rejection of immigrants (Golec de Zavala

et al., 2017). German and Dutch collective narcissism was associated with coldness and intolerance towards religious minority, i.e., Muslims (Verkuyten et al., 2022).

Recent studies showed that American national collective narcissism in the USA. was also associated with protecting the White dominated racial hierarchy with American collective narcissists agreeing that more needs to be done to show that ‘White lives matter’. American collective narcissism was also positively associated with legitimization of racial inequality. Finally, American collective narcissism was associated with rejection of the Black Lives Matter social movement and support for the government that would use all methods to crash this movement (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023; Marinthe et al., 2022).

Studies also linked national collective narcissism to sexism and prejudice towards sexual minorities. Studies showed that national collective narcissism is associated with explicit (Górska & Mikołajczak, 2015) and implicit (Lantos et al., 2022) homophobia. In-depth investigation into this association clarifies that this link is driven by the belief that people whose sexuality is not conventional and women who do not compromise to the traditional female roles threaten the existence of the nation (Mole et al., 2021). Polish collective narcissism essentialize the differences between heterosexuals and sexual minorities (Lantos et al., 2022).

National collective narcissism is also associated with sexism, and this positive relationship is stronger among women than among men (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). Among men and women, national collective narcissism is associated with beliefs legitimizing gender inequality, rejection of egalitarian values and collective action for gender equality in Poland (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2022; see also Szczepanska & Marchlewska, this volume). As those relationships are the same among men and women, they suggest that women who endorse national collective narcissism internalize patriarchal oppression.

Findings linking national collective narcissism with prejudice towards disadvantaged groups are in line with the literature suggesting that reducing prejudice and tensions between advantaged and disadvantaged groups by re-categorization and enhancing identification with a common national ingroup impairs the possibility of social change towards greater equality (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Ufkes et al., 2016). This is the most consistently true for national collective narcissists who usurp national identity to advance interests of advantaged groups.

Collective narcissism among the advantaged and prejudice towards the disadvantaged

Research that looked into collective narcissism in advantaged groups brings results that parallel findings linking national collective narcissism to prejudice towards the disadvantaged. Collective narcissism in advantaged groups is also linked to broader belief systems that justify existing social hierarchies and rejection of social movements that advocate social justice and greater equality.

For example, ethnic collective narcissism among British Whites is associated with the denial of the existence of anti-Black racism in the UK (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Ethnic collective narcissism among American Whites is associated with support for reactionary social movements under the ‘White-Lives matter’ slogans (Marinthe et al., 2022). It is also associated with support for beliefs legitimizing racial inequality, rejection of egalitarian values and the Black Lives Matter movement for racial equality (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023).

Analogously, in the gender context, gender collective narcissism among men predicts lack of solidarity with collective action for gender equality (Górska, et al., 2020). Gender collective narcissism among men is associated with sexism via the belief that masculinity is a precarious social status that can be lost (Golec de Zavala & Bierwiazzonek, 2021). Among men in Poland, gender collective narcissism is associated not only with sexism but also with

hierarchy-enhancing political conservatism, beliefs legitimizing gender inequality, and rejection of egalitarian values. It is also associated with rejection of the collective action for gender equality and positively associated with support for strict anti-abortion laws and control over women's sexuality (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023).

Collective narcissists among men do not feel distressed or bothered when they witness a real-life exclusion of women. In one study, we presented participants with a recording of the parliamentary session in which the female MP arguing for gender equality and against the anti-abortion law was silenced by the male Chairman: her microphone was literally switched off while she was speaking. Men who watched this recording felt distressed by the exclusion as much as women did unless they scored high on gender collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala, 2022).

In sum, national collective narcissism and collective narcissism of advantaged groups predict the same attitudes towards inequality, and the same beliefs that legitimize inequality and maintain the advantaged groups in power. They are both linked to prejudice towards disadvantaged groups. Not surprisingly national collective narcissism and subgroup collective narcissism are associated more strongly in advantaged than disadvantaged groups.

Association of national collective narcissism and collective narcissism of the advantaged

We demonstrated this asymmetry for national and gender collective narcissism in Poland and national and ethnic collective narcissism in the USA (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023). Our findings qualified previous results pointing to an asymmetry with reference to identification with national, ethnic and gender groups: the stronger link between national and ethnic identifications among ethnic majority than ethnic minority (Brewer et al., 2013; Devos et al., 2010; Sidanius et al., 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001) and the stronger overlap between national identification and gender identification

among American men than women (Van Berkel et al., 2017). Our results suggest that those asymmetries are characteristic of collective narcissism, but not of other aspects of ingroup identification. Indeed, the positive association between national and gender collective narcissism (but not any other aspect of gender identification) has been stronger among men than among women in five studies conducted in Poland (Golec de Zavala, 2022; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). The positive association between national and ethnic collective narcissism is also stronger among American Whites than among American Latinx and Black participants in three studies conducted in the USA (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023).

Thus, national collective narcissism and collective narcissism in advantaged groups present important obstacles in the peaceful pursuit of social justice and equality. Given the association between collective narcissism, violence, coercion, and conflict escalation (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), propagation of national collective narcissism should be seen as an adversarial strategy to legitimize forceful advancement of advantaged group's privileged position within the national hierarchy.

Collective narcissism of the disadvantaged: solidarity, collective action and political violence

A vast majority of studies to date focused on national collective narcissism (sometimes calling it national narcissism but referring to the same concept and using the same measurement), and collective narcissism among advantaged groups (e.g., Catholics, men, heterosexuals, for a review see Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021). While one initial study compared collective narcissism in advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009), studies have only started continuing this line of research recently (Bagci, et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala, 2022; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023).

Since the collective narcissism theory was first proposed (Golec de Zavala, 2007; 2011; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009), a frequently asked question has been whether the concept means the same in disadvantaged groups (e.g., among women or ethnic minorities) as in advantaged groups and whether in disadvantaged groups the Collective Narcissism Scale taps into narcissistic grandiose delusions or realistic assessment of the group's objective situation (see this discussion in Golec de Zavala, 2022; 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023).

Empirically collective narcissism can be differentiated from other aspects of ingroup identification in advantaged and disadvantaged groups alike. The invariance analyses have also established that the Collective Narcissism Scale taps into the same construct and allows ordering participant in the similar way with respect to the levels of this variable in advantaged and disadvantaged groups (although it does not allow for meaningful comparisons of mean levels of collective narcissism in those groups). Moreover, the associations of collective narcissism with other variables such as individual narcissism, ingroup identification or intergroup antagonism are in both groups the same (Golec de Zavala, 2022; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023; Golec de Zavala et al., 2023; Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2022). Yet, while it is pretty clear that collective narcissism is delusional in advantaged groups that enjoy power and privilege, this belief is less obviously detached from reality in disadvantaged groups that experience relative deprivation and lack of recognition.

Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that in both groups collective narcissism represents not the desire for the ingroup to be recognized as *equal* to other groups but the strive for the ingroup to be recognized as *better*, more special, more important and more worthy of privileged treatment than other groups (Golec de Zavala et al., 2023). In disadvantaged groups this may mean endorsing egalitarianism, at least until the existing hierarchy can be reversed. In both groups, collective narcissists do not shy away from using

coercion and violence to achieve the goals of their ingroup (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Given that the goals of advantaged and disadvantaged groups in power struggle are contradictory (Osbourne et al., 2019), collective narcissism predicts opposite attitudes towards inequality in advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Indeed, the first study on this topic showed that ethnic collective narcissists among British Whites denied the existence of anti-Black racism, whereas ethnic collective narcissists among British Blacks challenged racial inequality (Golec de Zavala, 2007; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Recent studies found that collective narcissism among Latinx participants in the United States was associated with racial hierarchy challenging attitudes and egalitarian beliefs. Collective narcissists among American Blacks and Latinx participants rejected political conservatism, the ‘White lives matter’ slogans and beliefs legitimizing racial inequality. Instead, they supported the ‘Black Lives Matter’ social movement and collective action to advance racial equality. Furthermore, collective narcissism’s association with normative and violent collective action was over and above perceived group deprivation, another key predictor, which showed a null relationship with collective action intentions when collective narcissism was included (Keenan & Golec de Zavala, 2023).

Analogously, gender collective narcissism among women was associated with increased distress when women watched other women being excluded (Golec de Zavala, 2022) and increased sense of compassion for other women experiencing sexism and exclusion (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2023). Unlike collective narcissists among men, collective narcissists among women supported egalitarian beliefs, rejected political conservatism and beliefs legitimizing gender inequality. They also supported collective action for gender equality (Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2022). The above findings were specific to collective narcissism and were not observed for any other aspect of ingroup identification once collective narcissism was taken into account.

Collective narcissism may lead to radicalization of disadvantaged groups faced with a backlash of discrimination and hate. This may lead to escalation of hostility towards the advantaged group identified as a source of grievance. Indeed, studies link collective narcissism to support for terrorist violence in marginalized groups (Jasko et al., 2020). This is why collective narcissism is potentially destructive among disadvantaged groups that do not have, like advantaged groups, the state power and licence to forcefully advance their group goals. However, it is also linked to support for state aggression and hate crimes among members of advantaged groups who feel that emancipation of disadvantaged groups threatens their ingroup's privilege (Golec de Zavala et al., 2021; Golec de Zavala & Keenan, 2021).

Conclusions

We argue that current societal polarizations feature two processes: revolutionary, progressive collective actions to challenge existing inequalities by disadvantaged groups and reactionary collective action to strengthen existing hierarchies spearheaded by privileged groups (Marinthe et al., 2022; Osborne et al., 2019; Reicher & Ulusahin, 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2020). Radicalization of the reactionary collective action can be seen in the populist backlash (Bale & Kaltwasser, 2021), right-wing extremism (Selvanathan & Leidner, 2021) and hate crimes against disadvantaged groups (Nacos et al., 2020; Rees et al., 2019). Reactionary backlash elicits pessimism regarding the possibility of systemic change in disadvantaged groups (Tabri & Conway, 2011; Tausch & Becker, 2013) and pushes them towards more extreme and disruptive collective action for greater equality (Louis et al., 2020; Simon, 2020).

In this chapter, we argued that collective narcissism in advantaged groups is associated with escalation of reactionary attitudes, whereas in disadvantaged groups it is associated with escalation of revolutionary attitudes. We reviewed findings suggesting that national collective narcissists and collective narcissists among advantaged groups (e.g.,

Whites, men, members of the dominant religion, sexual majorities) alike endorse prejudice towards the disadvantaged, and beliefs legitimizing inequality. They do not feel distressed by exclusion of the disadvantaged and oppose social movements towards greater equality but support the use of the state power to crush revolutionary movements. Such findings suggest that propagation of national collective narcissism serves the interests of advantaged groups. Those interests are advanced by populist leaders ready to use coercion and to undermine democracy. In contrast, collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups is linked to attitudes challenging the existing hierarchies in opposition to the advantaged groups. It is associated with rejection of beliefs legitimizing inequality, with anger and frustration at the ingroup's exclusion and compassion towards marginalized group members. Collective narcissism among disadvantaged groups is associated with revolutionary attitudes pursuing social change towards greater equality while not shying away from coercive and non-normative actions.

Collective narcissism is a key feature of unstable societies. Collective narcissism fosters 'us' vs. 'them' perceptions and the coercive advancement of the ingroup's interests over those of outgroups. It predicts escalation of intergroup conflicts. The logic of conflict escalation discourages advantaged and disadvantaged groups from accepting the possibility of allyship and joint efforts towards equality (Hässler et al., 2022; Noor et al., 2012; Shnabel & Ullrich, 2013; Urbiola et al., 2022). Thus, collective narcissism may ultimately prolong injustice in society as it escalates animosity between advantaged and disadvantaged groups in society and diminishes a chance of their reconciliation and collaboration in systemic change towards equality.

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