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We will rescue Italy, but we dislike the European Union: Collective narcissism and the COVID-19 threat

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Abstract

Collective narcissists are hostile towards outgroup members, especially in response to threats against the ingroup. In the current study (N = 662; Polish community sample), we examined the associations between collective narcissism and intergroup relations using the agency–communion model of collective narcissism during the initial weeks of the COVID-19 threat in Poland. Assuming the COVID-19 threat is agentic (i.e., related to biological and economic danger), we expected it to be unrelated to collective narcissism's communal aspect. We also expected that collective narcissists would enhance their ingroup image to modify the effects of the COVID-19 threat on intergroup relations. In general, collective narcissism was related to less favorable attitudes toward the European Union, more favorable attitudes toward China, and a willingness to help Italians. The agentic aspect of narcissism was unrelated to intergroup prosocialness, while the communal aspect of narcissism was unrelated to attitudes toward the European Union. The COVID threat suppressed unfavorable attitudes towards the European Union among collective narcissists. Therefore, the COVID threat has limited yet unexpected effects on attitudes toward outgroups among collective narcissists.

Keywords

agency–communion model, collective narcissism, coronavirus, intergroup relations, threat

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Intergroup threat theory (Stephan et al., 2009) assumes that there are two kinds of perceived threats—realistic (e.g., to the ingroup's power or safety) and symbolic (e.g., to group values)—and both are perceived regardless of their basis in reality. The COVID-19 pandemic evoked a sense of biological, economic, and existential threat for humanity (World Health Organization [WHO],

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2020). In general, threats to ingroups are, by nature, agentic (Ybarra et al., 2008), because they undermine the group's sense of security, control, and access to resources (Carroll et al., 2009; Stollberg et al., 2015). The COVID-19 pandemic may be an example of a realistic threat to humans' health and economy (WHO, 2020). Therefore, one of the possible deleterious effects of the COVID-19 threat is an increase in hostile attitudes toward outgroups if the threat is linked with a specific outgroup.

Collective narcissism, defined as unrealistic favorable beliefs about the greatness of one's ingroup, collective entitlement, and grievance for lack of recognition (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009, 2019), is often the cause of outgroup derogation (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016), including aggressive responses to ingroup threats (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016; Guerra et al., 2022). Collective narcissism is based on the agentic motives of power, social potency, and ingroup enhancement (Sedikides, 2020). However, ingroup enhancement could be manifested both in agentic (e.g., being exceptionally powerful) and communal (e.g., being exceptionally friendly) ways (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., in press; Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021). Given that communal ingroup enhancement is built on the inflated ingroup image concerning tolerance and friendliness, such ingroup enhancement could lead to paradoxical effects for intergroup relations. Indeed, communal collective narcissists have higher levels of intergroup prosocialness (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021), yet they desire to maintain a greater distance from refugees (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2020). Refugees could be considered a source of symbolic threat because their values may be perceived as inconsistent with European culture (Landman et al., 2019); therefore, they could be seen as threatening by communal collective narcissists. The association between communal collective narcissism and positive attitudes toward others is limited to nonthreatening others. When communal collective narcissists are confronted with unfavorable information about ingroup friendliness, their favorable attitudes toward others vanish. In contrast, agentic collective narcissists do not manifest favorable attitudes toward others in nonthreatening conditions (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021). As such, collective narcissism is related to the derogation of others when narcissists are confronted with unfavorable feedback about their ingroup (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016). Yet this effect is moderated by the way people enhance their group (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021).

In the current study, we examined in a sample of Poles to what extent the threat posed by COVID-19 (i.e., agentic) to one's ingroup could relate to attitudes toward China (i.e., threatening outgroup relevant to COVID-19 threat) and the European Union (i.e., threatening outgroup irrelevant to COVID-19 threat), and how collective narcissism is associated with helping intentions towards Italy (i.e., nonthreatening outgroup in need). Collective narcissism has been shown to be related to unfavorable attitudes towards the European Union (EU) whether the samples were from former EU members (i.e., UK; Guerra et al., 2017) or from Poland (Cisłak et al., 2020). Even though Poland is a member of the EU, national collective narcissism (i.e., narcissistic identification with the Polish nation) leads to support for leaving the bloc (Cisłak et al., 2020). However, prior research indicates that only threats to ingroup status (Guerra et al., 2017) or attacks to an inflated ingroup image (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) leads to outgroup derogation. In the case of attitudes toward China, people's perception of threat may be different, because that country may be perceived as partially to blame for the pandemic (e.g., Kraska, 2020). On the other hand, China could be viewed as a victim of the pandemic both in terms of the number of deaths and the draconian lockdown policies they endured (Hessler, 2020). Lastly, Italy was the first European country to be strongly affected by COVID-19 (WHO, 2020). Therefore, support and compassion for this country were broadly endorsed and, for this reason, we expected that helping Italians might be related to communal ingroup enhancement. Despite Italy and Poland both being members of the EU, we expected that Polish communal collective narcissists would

focus on national identity because national narcissism is based on national identification (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). To the Polish communal collective narcissist, Italians will be perceived more as members of a national outgroup than as members of a multinational organization like the EU. Also, Poles and Italians have no history of being enemies; both nations are not in competition and tend to have a rather friendly relationship (Davies, 1979). Therefore, Italians should be considered a nonthreatening outgroup in contrast to other nations with a more complicated or adversarial relationship with Poland, like Germany of old and China concerning COVID-19.

We focus here on two research questions: (1) to what extent does the COVID-19 threat evoke outgroup derogation effects of typical (mostly symbolic; see Golec de Zavala et al., 2016) threats examined in the context of collective narcissism, and (2) to what extent does ingroup enhancement moderate the effects of collective narcissism on attitudes toward other countries both unfavorably (i.e., outgroup derogation) and favorably (i.e., intergroup prosocialness). To this end, we examine direct and indirect (via perceived COVID-related threat) effects of agentic and communal collective narcissism on attitudes toward outgroups in a community sample from Poland at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. Both communal and agentic collective narcissists are sensitive to threats because of their perceived ingroup's greatness. Yet only communal collective narcissists may manifest paradoxical attitudes toward outgroups (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2020). For this reason, we expect that (a) both agentic and communal collective narcissism will be related to less favorable attitudes toward the EU, because both would evoke perceptions of the EU as competing with our sample's national identity (i.e., Polish; Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Guerra et al. 2017), (b) communal collective narcissism (as compared to agentic collective narcissism) will be related to less unfavorable attitudes towards China, because China may be perceived as both victim of and to blame for the pandemic (Kraska, 2020), and (c) only communal collective narcissism will be related to higher levels of prosocialness (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021).

Further, we expect the degree to which people perceive COVID-19 as threatening to mediate the link between collective narcissism and attitudes toward China (toward less favorable perceptions). However, the role of perceived threat in relation to attitudes toward the EU is unclear. For example, the EU could be seen as a source of agentic threat to Polish people's ingroup status (Guerra et al., 2017), and COVID-19 is an agentic threat (i.e., realistic, biological threat). Therefore, it is unclear whether two agentic threats would work in an additive way (resulting in less favorable attitudes) or if a biological threat is irrelevant to perceptions of the EU by collective narcissists. Given that the COVID-19 threat is more agentic than communal, it should evoke agentic rather than communal reactions. We expect stronger effects for agentic collective narcissism than for communal collective narcissism. In the case of prosocialness towards Italy, we expect that perceived threat will mediate the positive association between communal collective narcissism and helping intentions because the threat would be an indicator that the situation is serious and that help is needed.

Method

Participants and Procedure

We administered a three-wave survey to a nationally representative sample of 835 Polish adults, using the Ariadna internet research panel (http://www.panelariadna.pl) between March 15 and April 7, 2020, at the beginning of the pandemic in Poland.[1] Three-time measurements enabled us to separate mediators from independent and dependent variables, to avoid common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003) and minimize fatigue. We did not predetermine the sample size because we aimed to have nationally representative data, and we expected some dropouts between the study waves. Including only respondents who participated in all three waves

and considering only the measures we are concerned with, our final sample was 662 participants (368 women) aged 18 to 78 years (M_{age} = 45.98 years, SD_{age} = 14.95). It was adequately powered based on recent power analyses in this area (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019) and simulations in personality psychology (Schönbrodt & Perugini, 2013). Sensitivity analyses using G*Power (Version 3.1.9.2; Faul et al., 2009) indicated the final sample was adequate (i.e., $\alpha = .05$, $\beta = .80$; one-tailed test) to detect correlational (ρ) effects greater than or equal to .10. Participants were informed of the nature of the study, provided tick-box consent, completed the weekly measures (randomized presentation of scales within waves), and, in each wave, participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed. This study was approved by the ethics committee of the first author's institution of affiliation (KEiB – 32/2020). Data and further details are available on the Open Science Framework.[2]

Collective narcissism was measured (Wave 2) with the nine-item Agentic Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009) and the seven-item Collective Communal Narcissism Inventory (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2020). Participants were asked how much they agreed (1 = *definitely disagree*, 7 = *definitely agree*) with statements for the former (e.g., "I wish other groups would more quickly recognize the authority of my group") and the latter scale (e.g., "My group is extraordinarily friendly toward other groups"). We removed one item (i.e., "If my group had more to say, the world would be a better place") from the former scale to reduce redundancy and potential multicollinearity with an item from the latter scale (i.e., "My group will make the world a better place").[3] Responses were averaged to create an index of each type of collective narcissism.

Perception of COVID being a threat was measured (Wave 1) with a three-item scale (IPSOS, 2020). Participants were asked how much they perceived the coronavirus as a threat to them, to her/his family, and to Poland (1 = *very low*, 5 = *very high*). Responses were averaged to create an index of perceived threat.[4]

Attitudes towards outgroups (i.e., the European Union and China) were measured (Wave 1) with two items per outgroup. Participants were asked how much they agreed (1 = *definitely disagree*, 7 = *definitely agree*) with the statements. We asked about (1) general acceptance of the outgroup's policies and (2) to what extent the outgroup's values were worth following. Responses were averaged to create indexes of attitude toward each outgroup. We decided to ask about policy and values because we were interested in attitudes toward outgroups with different statuses such as nations (i.e., Chinese) and political entities (i.e., the EU).

We assessed intergroup prosocialness (Wave 3) by adapting to Poland and for COVID-19 a scenario-based measure assessing individual differences in intention to help tsunami victims (Vollhardt & Staub, 2011). Participants read a short description about the current situation in Italy (see the supplemental material) and then responded to four questions (e.g., "The Polish government has a responsibility to help Italy") corresponding to four of the six items of the original scale but replacing "US" with "Poland" (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2021). We excluded one item referring to helping Poles in Italy because it was irrelevant to outgroup helping.

Results

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 1. Agentic and communal collective narcissism were positively correlated. Both were related to less favorable attitudes toward the EU, more favorable attitudes toward China, individual differences in perceived threat posed by COVID-19, and intergroup prosocialness. Individual differences in how threatening the virus was perceived were correlated with attitudes toward the EU (i.e., positively) and China (i.e., negatively).

Given that the correlation between agentic and communal collective narcissism was not multicollinear (variance inflation factor = 3.07), we henceforth tested their effects independently. We used multiple regression to establish the direction of the effects, and commonality analyses to

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations among studied variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Agentic collective narcissism						
2. Communal collective narcissism	.83**					
3. Perceived COVID-19 threat	.17**	.13**				
4. Attitudes toward the EU	−.32**	−.30**	.13**			
5. Attitudes toward China	.16**	.20**	−.06	.06		
6. Prosocialness toward Italy	.13**	.18**	.09*	.28**	.21**	
Cronbach's α	.92	.97	.81	.94[a]	.93[a]	.86
M	4.07	3.79	3.57	4.64	3.08	3.89
SD	1.41	1.61	0.77	1.38	1.30	1.16

Note. [a]Spearman-Brown coefficient is reported for two-item scales (Eisinga et al., 2013).
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

decompose the regressions because typical approaches to regression only provide insights into the unique effects and fail to provide details about the shared variance (i.e., global collective narcissism), which agentic and collective narcissism may have (Ray-Mukherjee et al., 2014). We established the direction and magnitude of the unique effects of both forms of narcissism and, to overcome the relationship between the two, of the common effects of both forms of narcissism. We examined different mediation effects by analyzing common effects for (a) agentic collective narcissism and threat, (b) communal collective narcissism and threat, and (c) both narcissism forms and threat. We used R^2 as a measure of mediation effect size (see Fairchild et al., 2009), estimating effect sizes of all three studied indirect effects. To establish confidence intervals of commonality coefficients, we performed a bootstrap procedure with 1,000 samples (using the yhat package; Nimon et al., 2020).

First, we regressed both forms of narcissism on individual differences in perceptions of the threat posed by COVID-19. Both forms of collective narcissism explained a total of 2.88% of the variance in individual differences in perceptions of the threat posed by COVID-19, $F(2, 659) = 9.76$, $p < .001$. Agentic collective narcissism was uniquely and positively related to individual differences in perceptions of the threat posed by COVID-19 ($\beta = .19$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.32], $p = .007$, 1.07% variance explained, 37.11% of total R^2), while collective communal narcissism was not ($\beta = -.02$, 95% CI [−0.15, 0.12], $p = .787$, 0.01% variance explained, 0.37% of total R^2). Nevertheless, most of the variance explained was common to both forms of narcissism (1.80% variance explained, 62.51% of total R^2).

We then regressed both narcissism forms on (a) attitudes toward the EU, (b) attitudes toward China, and (c) intergroup prosocialness toward Italy (see Table 2). The predictors explained a total of 14.10% of the variance in attitudes toward the EU, most of which was commonly explained by both collective forms of narcissism (negatively), which was suppressed by perceived threat of the virus (see the common effect of all three predictors on attitude toward the EU in Table 2). Moreover, we detected a unique, negative link between both narcissism forms and attitudes toward the EU, and a unique, positive link between perceived threat and attitudes toward the EU. A similar analysis conducted for attitudes toward China explained 4.57% of its variance, which was commonly mostly explained by both forms of narcissism (positively). This relationship was not suppressed by individual differences in perceptions of the threat posed by COVID-19 (see Table 2). We also detected a unique, positive link between communal collective narcissism and attitudes toward China. In the third analysis, predictors explained 3.79% of intergroup prosocialness variance. It was uniquely (positively) explained by communal

Table 2. Correlational effects of collective narcissism forms and perceived COVID-related threat on attitudes toward the EU and China, and intergroup prosocialness toward Italy.

	Attitudes toward the EU $F(3, 658) = 35.60^{**}$		Attitudes toward China $F(3, 658) = 10.51^{**}$		Prosocialness toward Italy $F(3, 658) = 8.63^{**}$	
Multiple regression analyses						
Predictors	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Agentic (A) collective narcissism	−.23**	[−0.36, −0.11]	.02	[−0.11, 0.15]	−.05	[−0.18, 0.08]
Communal (C) collective narcissism	−.14*	[−0.26, −0.01]	.19**	[0.06, 0.32]	.21**	[0.08, 0.34]
COVID-related threat	.19**	[0.11, 0.26]	−.09*	[−0.16, −0.01]	.07†	[0.00, 0.15]
Commonality analyses						
Effects	Variance explained	Total variance (%)	Variance explained	Total variance (%)	Variance explained	Total variance (%)
Total (R^2)	.14	100%	.05	100%	.04	100%
Direct effects						
Unique for (A) collective narcissism	.02 [0.00, 0.04]	12.85%	.00 [0.00, 0.01]	0.25%	.00 [0.00, 0.01]	2.28%
Unique for (C) collective narcissism	.01 [0.00, 0.02]	4.48%	.01 [0.00, 0.04]	26.83%	.02 [0.00, 0.04]	38.91%
Unique for COVID-related threat	.03 [0.01, 0.07]	23.92%	.01 [0.00, 0.03]	15.43%	.01 [0.00, 0.02]	13.97%
Common for (A) and (C) collective narcissism	.10 [0.06, 0.15]	70.88%	.03 [0.01, 0.06]	66.02%	.01 [−0.01, 0.04]	35.63%
Indirect effects (via perceived COVID-related threat)						
(A) collective narcissism	−.00 [−0.01, 0.00]	−3.03%	.00 [−0.00, 0.00]	−0.24%	.00 [−0.00, 0.00]	−0.94%
(C) collective narcissism	.00 [−0.00, 0.00]	0.00%	.000 [−0.002, 0.002]	0.00%	.00 [−0.00, 0.00]	0.00%
Common for (A) and (C) collective narcissism	−.01 [−0.02, −0.00]	−9.09%	−.00 [−0.01, 0.00]	−8.30%	.00 [0.00, 0.01]	10.15%

Note. Negative coefficients in commonality analyses indicate suppression effects; percentage of total variance denotes percentage of total explained variance; confidence intervals were calculated using bootstrap procedure with 1,000 samples.
†$p = .056$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

collective narcissism, while that was not the case for agentic collective narcissism and general collective narcissism (shared variance between agentic and communal collective narcissism). Moreover, perceived threat did not mediate this relationship.

Discussion

We examined how collective narcissists perceive two possible threatening outgroups in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, looking into the general effects of collective narcissism and its agentic and communal aspects. We also examined how collective narcissists express their willingness to help outgroup victims of the pandemic. We based our predictions on the distinction between agentic and communal ingroup enhancement, resulting in higher sensitivity of agentic collective narcissists toward an agentic threat, and higher prosocialness and positive attitudes toward nonthreatening outgroups among communal collective narcissists (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., in press). Following intergroup threat theory (Stephan et al., 2009), we assumed that the pandemic was an example of a realistic threat pertaining to the agentic domain (Ybarra et al., 2008). Our study provided further evidence of the utility of splitting collective narcissism into agentic and communal forms, indicating that agentic (and not communal) collective narcissism is related to higher sensitivity toward realistic agentic threats. We did so using a real-life situation, the COVID-19 pandemic, to test our assumptions on a general Polish sample.

We found that collective narcissism (in general and in their agentic form) was related to less favorable attitudes towards the EU, confirming previous findings (Cisłak et al., 2020; Guerra et al., 2017). Higher levels of collective narcissism (i.e., in general and in its communal form) were related to more positive attitudes toward China. Only communal collective narcissism was related to more prosocialness toward Italians. Consistent with our assumption about the agentic nature of the COVID-19 threat, the communal aspect of narcissism was unrelated to higher perceived threat of the virus. People perceiving the coronavirus as a threat also perceived the EU more favorably, and tended to perceive China less favorably. Therefore, the only relationship between collective narcissism and attitudes toward the EU was mediated by perceived threat. Negative attitudes expressed by collective narcissists towards the EU were suppressed by individual differences in perceived threat of the virus. However, this suppression was unrelated to the agentic and the communal aspects of collective narcissism. Collective narcissism was positively related to both outgroup hostility and intergroup prosocialness. However, negative attitudes towards the EU were unrelated to the communal aspect of collective narcissism. In contrast, intergroup prosocialness toward Italians and favorable attitudes toward China were unrelated to collective narcissism's agentic aspect. Therefore, collective narcissists may use communal and agentic means of ingroup enhancement, but only agentic motives underlying global collective narcissism are evoked by COVID-19.

Our study revealed paradoxical effects of collective narcissism on intergroup relations. Collective narcissism is predominantly agentic (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., in press) and, for this reason, agentic threats should not affect intergroup relations in the communal domain. Collective narcissism might be accompanied by ambivalent attitudes toward the EU, as the bloc may be perceived by Polish people as a threat to their national interests and independence (Guerra et al., 2017); yet, at the same time, the EU could serve as an ally in the joint battle against the COVID-19 and other global threats. It is plausible that the pandemic evoked some kind of "common enemy" effect, followed by a recategorization of the EU from outgroup to ingroup (Flade et al., 2019). Our study suggests that perceived threat from COVID-19 did not affect attitudes toward China, probably reflecting its ambivalent perception as both victim and to blame for the pandemic. Lastly, Italians were probably perceived by communal collective narcissists as members of an outgroup because national narcissism operates on national

identification (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009), making all non-Poles (in our case) outgroup members. Helping outgroup members could satisfy the communal collective narcissist's need for external validation through enacting ingroup moral virtues like globalism, caring for the ill, and helping the less fortunate.

Direct effects of collective narcissism on attitudes toward outgroups were much stronger than (mostly nonsignificant and weak) indirect ones, suggesting that the COVID-related threat had limited effect on how (Polish) collective narcissists perceive outgroups. Such a result suggests that the core of collective narcissism could be sensitive to threats, while its two aspects (i.e., agentic and communal) are manifestations of ingroup enhancement insensitive to threats. Therefore, our study points to the complex nature of collective narcissism as a blend of vulnerability and grandiosity (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Sedikides, 2020).

Limitations and Future Directions

Our study was conducted on a culturally homogenous sample in a relatively affluent society that had not been seriously affected by the pandemic at the time of data collection (< .02% of the Polish population [< 38 million people] as of April 15, 2020). While we collected data over 3 weeks, considering that infection rates across these weeks were relatively stable (i.e., Poland experienced no surge in infection rates over this period), it is reasonable to assume that there was cross-weekly equivalence in our measurements.[5] Despite experimental studies suggesting that collective narcissism could increase in response to threat (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), our study aimed to detect collective narcissism's consequences for intergroup relations. However, in follow-up studies, the mutual effects of threat and collective narcissism should be controlled for.

In general, attitudes toward the EU were more favorable than toward China (see Table 1), confirming the study's ecological validity. Our participants reported relatively high levels of perceived threat, yet the threat of COVID-19 appears to have had only a negligible effect on collective narcissists' attitudes toward outgroups. Collective narcissists merely manifested less favorable attitudes toward the EU and more favorable ones toward China, even though collective narcissists experience threat due to agentic motives. While the effects detected in our study were small, they resemble previous findings (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009, 2016).

In addition, our study was limited by its correlational design. Subsequent research might adopt quasi-experimental or experimental methods to better determine the causal effects of the COVID-19 threat on attitudes towards outgroups, and the potential moderating/mediating role of agentic and communal collective narcissism. Further studies could elaborate more on other possible mediators and factors relevant to the link between collective narcissism and attitudes toward outgroups, such as ingroup enhancement (i.e., agentic/communal), social desirability, or cultural distance from outgroups.

Conclusions

Our study presented new evidence on how collective narcissism could explain attitudes toward outgroups under threat circumstances. We derived our predictions from intergroup threat theory, assuming that the pandemic is an agentic threat (Ybarra et al., 2008), and adopted the agency–communion distinction for collective narcissism (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., in press). The COVID-19 pandemic created a natural setting allowing us to examine how experiencing a severe biological and societal threat to the whole community might affect intergroup relations. Unlike former studies (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), we were able to demonstrate not only the negative consequences of collective narcissism, but also revealed some paradoxical effects, namely, its positive relationship with intergroup prosocialness and a suppression effect of the perceived threat posed by COVID-19 on unfavorable attitudes toward the EU. Even though collective narcissism was associated with less

favorable attitudes toward outgroups, experiencing a global threat could result in a "common enemy" effect, which may create an opportunity for solidarity with those in need as a way for collective narcissists to enhance their group's communal image.

Data availability statement

Data supporting the findings of this study are openly available on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/kcvsg/?view_only=5341064a58c94d0c9b4838ee18cf541c).

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Supplemental material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Notes

1. Data regarding the variability of collective narcissism during the pandemic is available at https://collectivenarcissism.com/pandemic/monitor
2. https://osf.io/kcvsg/?view_only=5341064a58c94d0c9b4838ee18cf541c
3. Results with and without the deleted item remained the same (see the supplemental material for details). The correlation between the full version of the Collective Narcissism Scale and our modified, eight-item version was high, as in other research (Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., in press, 2021).
4. We also analyzed the items separately. The results were virtually the same and thus, to decrease Type 1 error inflation and to avoid problematic item analyses, we relied on the averaged indexes.
5. https://collectivenarcissism.com/pandemic/monitor

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