

### **Original Papers**

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# Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction predict different reactions to the past transgressions of the in-group

Abstract: In-group identification is necessary for in-group members to take responsibility for the past transgressions of the in-group. However, even among high identifiers, the reactions to reminders of the in-group's transgression may differ depending on the beliefs members hold about their in-group. Results of a cross-sectional study (N = 441), indicate that collective narcissism (i.e., a belief that the in-group's importance is not sufficiently recognized by others) versus in-group satisfaction (i.e., a belief that the in-group is of high value and a reason to be proud of) have opposite unique associations with the evaluation of the artistic value of films referring to Polish involvement in pogroms during the Second World War (Ida and The Aftermath, a proxy of an attitude towards knowledge about past national transgressions). Collective narcissism predicted lower, whereas in-group satisfaction predicted higher, perceived artistic value of the films. Those unique relationships could only be observed when the positive association between collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction was partialled out.

Keywords: collective narcissism, in-group satisfaction, in-group transgressions

In 2001, Jan T. Gross published the book "Neighbours: The destruction of the Jewish community in Jedwabne, Poland", which describes in detail the 1941 massacre of 1,600 Polish Jews perpetrated by ethnic Poles. The book started a debate over the Polish participation in atrocities committed against Jews (McAuley, 2018, February 22) and Polish anti-Semitism during and after the Second World War (WWII, Foxman, 2014, March 18; Dowling, 2008, January 18). The revelations of the book were in a stark contrast to the dominant narration about Poland's heroic past. Poles considered themselves victims and heroes of the Second World War and prized their ancestors for saving Jews during the War (Davies, 2003; Gilbert, 1978). Although Poles risked their lives saving their Jewish compatriots during the Holocaust, evidence also indicates that many Poles perpetrated crimes against Polish Jews during and after the Second World War (Chodakiewicz, 2008; Gross, 2006; Gross, 2012; Tryczyk, 2015; Zaremba, 2012). Despite the outcomes of thorough historical analyses, some Poles refuse to accept their ancestors' involvement in crimes against Polish Jews.

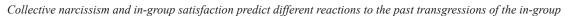
The difficult task of reconciling past national transgressions with current national identity inspired popular culture. In particular, two movies that came out in a short succession reflected on Polish transgressions against Jews: *The Aftermath* (Pokłosie), a 2012 film directed by Wladyslaw Pasikowski, which won the Gdansk Golden Lion, and the Oscar awarded *Ida*, a 2013 film directed by Pawel Pawlikowski. Although the films were critically acclaimed, their public reception in Poland was mixed. Some complained that the films undermined the true Polish identity (Żaryn, 2015, February 23), falsified Polish history

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(Rigamonti, 2012, November 18) and spread a negative image of Poland (Potocki, 2013, October 4; Smoleński, 2012, November 20). Others perceived the same films as socially important masterpieces ("Film 'Pokłosie' Pasikowskiego obejrzało już prawie 135 tys. widzów", 2012; Graff, 2013, November 1; Orzechowski, 2013, October 25), and prized their contribution to the discussion of Polish identity and overcoming the trauma of the Holocaust.

Inspired by those discussions, in the present paper, we tested whether viewers' attitudes towards their national in-group predicted how they evaluated the artistic value of the films referring to the transgressions of their national in-group in the past. Drawing from the research indicating that judging the value of art is affected by attitudes towards its content and social identities it is associated with (Inbar, Pizarro, Knobe, & Bloom, 2009; Reyna, Brandt, & Viki, 2009), we treated the evaluation of the artistic value of the films as an indirect indicator of acceptance of the information about past in-group transgressions, which is a prerequisite of collective guilt (Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004) and intergroup reconciliation (Čehajić & Brown, 2008; Gilbert, 2001).

We argue that two beliefs about positive value of national group<sup>1</sup> that we labelled collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction have unique, opposite associations with reactions to information about past in-group transgressions. Collective narcissism is a belief that the in-group is exceptional and entitled to privileged treatment, but it is not sufficiently recognized by others (Golec de Zavala, 2018; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009; Golec de Zavala, Dyduch-Hazar, & Lantos, 2019). In-group satisfaction is a belief that the in-group and one's membership in it are the reasons to be proud (Leach et al., 2008). We expect that collective narcissism will predict rejection of the knowledge about past transgressions of the in-group, whereas in-group satisfaction will predict acceptance of this knowledge. We also predict that the positive overlap between collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction will obscure the opposite, unique associations those variables have with acceptance of past in-group's transgressions.

Our predictions are in line with similar findings reported by Roccas, Klar and Liviatan (2006). Those authors demonstrated that two modes of in-group identification, which they named in-group attachment (i.e., strong feelings of belongingness to the in-group) and in-group glorification (i.e., feelings of superiority, where in-groups are perceived as superior to other groups) had opposite, unique relationships with group-based guilt and exonerating cognitions justifying the in-group's transgressions. In the present investigation, we go beyond those findings and examine how collective

narcissism and in-group satisfaction are related to a prerequisite of group-based guilt i.e., the readiness to accept knowledge about past in-group transgressions. In-group glorification and collective narcissism overlaps conceptually to some extent as they share the belief that the in-group is exceptional and unique. However, the concept of collective narcissism explains the pervasive antagonism associated with this positive belief about the in-group by attributing it to motivating role of resentment for the lack of in-group recognition (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; 2019). Unlike collective narcissism (vs. in-group satisfaction), in-group glorification (vs. in-group attachment) does not emphasize the importance of national feelings such as resentment and pride (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Roccas et al., 2006) in predicting attitudes toward out-groups (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013a; 2016, 2019). Below, we explain how collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction differ.

## Different attitudes towards one's own group predict different intergroup actions

We interpret collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction as alternative beliefs people may hold about social identities they share. Collective narcissism is different from in-group glorification because it focuses on resentment for the in-group's unrecognized greatness, rather than on reverence towards the in-group's authorities and symbols. In-group satisfaction focuses on feeling happy and proud to be the in-group's member. Unlike in-group attachment in-group satisfaction emphasizes concerns about the in-group's welfare (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019; Roccas et al., 2006).

Studies show that people who hold a collective narcissistic belief about an in-group are hypersensitive to any signs of threats to the in-group's grandiose image (Golec de Zavala, Peker, Guerra, & Baran, 2016) and safety (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Lyons, Kenworthy, & Popan, 2010) to which they respond with retaliatory aggression (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013b; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016). They attribute out-groups with hostile intentions towards the in-group, thus justifying their victimizing of the out-groups (Dyduch-Hazar, Mrozinski, & Golec de Zavala, 2019; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012). Collective narcissism emphasizes in-group entitlement and resentment for insufficient in-group's recognition, whereas in-group satisfaction focuses on "happiness and pride of being a member of a valuable group" (Leach et al., 2008, p. 146). Unlike collective narcissism, in-group satisfaction does not predict hypersensitivity to threat to the in-group image (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016) and is not associated with conspiracy beliefs about out-group's intentions towards the in-group (Cichocka, Marchlewska, Golec de Zavala, & Olechowski, 2016). In-group satisfaction is also uniquely associated with high self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), positive emotionality, psychological well-being and pro-sociality (Jetten, Haslam, Haslam, Dingle, & Jones, 2014). In addition, satisfied in-group members believe that individuals should use their positive characteristics

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Literature on collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction corroborates the literature on two forms of positive evaluation of one's own group differently related to out-group derogation: Patriotism vs. nationalism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989); constructive vs. blind patriotism (Schatz, Straub, & Lavine, 1999); in-group attachment vs. in-group glorification (Roccas et al., 2006) or secure vs. insecure in-group attachment (Jackson & Smith, 1999).

to enhance the in-group (Amiot & Sansfaçon, 2011; Jans, Postmes, & Van der Zee, 2011; Legault & Amiot, 2014).

Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction often have opposite unique relationships with variables pertaining to intergroup attitudes and behavior. Those unique relationships can be observed only after the common variance of collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction is partialled out (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2013a; 2019). Collective narcissism without in-group satisfaction may be interpreted as in-group entitlement and resentment for the lack of its external recognition. In-group satisfaction without collective narcissism may be interpreted as a positive emotional investment in an in-group (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Studies showed that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction have unique, opposite associations with out-group derogation. Collective narcissism is related to more out-group derogation, whereas in-group satisfaction is related to less out-group derogation (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka & Bilewicz, 2013a; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction have opposite, unique associations with a belief that other groups harbour hostile intentions against the in-group (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019) and a belief that revenge in the name of a group is emotionally rewarding (Dyduch-Hazar, Mrozinski, Cypryanska, & Golec de Zavala, 2019, July).

Thus, collective narcissism is focused on monitoring threat to the in-group's positive image, whereas in-group satisfaction emphasizes a secure conviction that the in-group is of a high value. Those two alternative beliefs about the national in-group may thus result in different predictions regarding attitudes towards the in-group's less laudable past. Results of studies that investigated how narcissists process negative information about the self provide further reasons to expect that collective narcissism may be related to rejection of threatening knowledge about the in-group's transgression.

### Narcissism and avoidance of negative information about self

People, in general, are prone to self-serving bias i.e., taking credit for personal successes and blaming external circumstances for personal failures, especially when their positive self-image is threatened (Campbell & Sedikides, 1999; Hornsey, 2003). Narcissists, i.e., people who desire continual external validation of their inflated self-view (e.g., Crocker & Park, 2004; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995; Rhodewalt & Sorrow, 2003) are especially inclined to see themselves in an overly favourable manner and especially motivated to protect their grandiose self-image. They find negative information about themselves threatening (e.g., Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Horton & Sedikides, 2009) and cannot constructively deal with the discrepancy between their idealized self-image and its external appraisals (Baumeister, Bushman, & Campbell, 2000; Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Chester & DeWall, 2016). Thus, they inhibit processing (Horvath & Morf, 2009) and distort threatening, negative information about the self in order to maintain an inflated self-concept (Barnett & Womack, 2015).

Since many correlates of collective narcissism parallel the correlates of individual narcissism in an intergroup context (for review see Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), we expect that collective narcissists may be motivated to avoid negative information about the in-group image. They self-enhance via positive in-group-s image and exaggerate the perception of threat to the in-group's image (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016). Collective narcissism is associated with a biased perception of intergroup reality in which the in-group is typically a victim of out-groups' secretly plotted actions (Cichocka et al., 2016; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012). Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction differently predict the perception of the in-group as threatened by hostile intentions of others (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019).

Taking these findings into account, in the current investigation we propose that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction may have unique opposite associations with the readiness to accept the knowledge on the in-group's past transgressions. Specifically, people who endorse collective narcissistic belief about the in-group may reject the reminders about those transgressions, whereas satisfied in-group members may accept them for the sake of betterment of the in-group's present. We tested those predictions using the evaluation of the artistic value of films referring to past in-group transgressions as a proxy for the readiness to accept knowledge about the in-group's transgressions. Since The Aftermath and Ida remind Poles about their less laudable past, people who endorse collective narcissistic belief about the in-group may diminish their artistic value. Satisfied in-group members are likely to have a more positive opinion about the films' artistic value.

#### Method

In this study we expect that the unique relationship between collective narcissism and the evaluation the artistic value of *The Aftermath* and *Ida* will be negative, whereas the unique relationship between in-group satisfaction and the evaluation of films will be positive (Hypothesis 1). In addition, we expect that those unique, opposite relationships would be only observed after the positive overlap between collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction is partialled out. Thus, we expect that in-group satisfaction will suppress the negative relationship between collective narcissism and evaluation of the films and collective narcissism will suppress the positive relationship of in-group satisfaction and positive evaluation of the films (Hypothesis 2).

#### **Participants**

The study was conducted among 441 Polish adults (230 female, 211 male). The mean age of participants was 43.41 (SD = 15.13). Data collection was supported by the Ariadna Research Panel (http://panelariadna.pl)<sup>2</sup>. The planned sample

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ariadna Research Panel is a nationwide research panel, where opinions of Poles are being collected. Participants take part in surveys in exchange for awards.

size was based on the effect size from previous studies that examined unique opposite associations of collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction with intergroup hostility (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019). We took the smallest effect size observed in studies of a similar design to calculate the sample size for two predictors and one dependent variable using pwr package (Champely, 2018) in R 3.5.2 (R Core Team, 2018). For a small effect size of  $f^2 = .03$ , alpha = .05 and power = .80, the calculated sample size is N = 322.

#### Measures

Collective narcissism was measured by the 5-item Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009: "Polish nation deserves special treatment", "Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of Polish nation", "It really makes me angry when others criticize Polish nation", "If Polish nation had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place", I will never be satisfied until Polish nation gets the recognition it deserves"),  $\alpha = .91$ , M = 4.36, SD = 1.45. Participants provided their answers on a scale ranged from 1 (definitely disagree) to 7 (definitely agree).

**In-group** satisfaction was assessed by the 4-item in-group satisfaction subscale of the Ingroup Identity Scale (Leach et al., 2008; e.g., "I am glad to be Polish", "I think Polish have a lot to be proud of", "It is pleasant to be Polish", "Being Polish gives me a good feeling"),  $\alpha = .94$ , M = 5.00, SD = 1.46. Participants indicated their agreement on a scale ranged from 1 (*definitely disagree*) to 7 (*definitely agree*).

Evaluation of the artistic value of films was assessed by asking participants one question 'How do you evaluate the artistic value of this film?' after showing them the trailer of each movie and reminding them of its plot,  $\alpha = .80$ , M = 4.99, SD = 1.50. Participants responded on scale ranging from 1 (very low artistic value) to 7 (very high artistic value). The index is the mean of ratings for both films.

#### **Procedure**

After giving their informed consent, participants took part in two allegedly unrelated studies: one examining political attitudes and another testing evaluation of artistic

#### Results

Data analysis was carried out in R 3.5.2 (R Core Team, 2018). First, we checked for normality deviations following recommendation by Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken (2003). None of the variables violate univariate normality assumptions (Table 1).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for latent factors items and the outcome

	vars	$^{\mathrm{n}}$	mean	$\operatorname{sd}$	skew	kurtosis	se			
Collective Narcissism										
CN1	1	441	4.31	1.69	-0.26	-0.55	0.08			
CN2	2	441	3.96	1.74	-0.07	-0.76	0.08			
CN3	3	441	4.83	1.72	-0.48	-0.58	0.08			
CN4	4	441	4.59	1.61	-0.36	-0.52	0.08			
CN5	5	441	4.13	1.70	-0.19	-0.64	0.08			
In-grou	In-group Satisfaction									
IS1	6	441	4.89	1.65	-0.51	-0.44	0.08			
IS2	7	441	4.92	1.60	-0.53	-0.28	0.08			
IS3	8	441	5.09	1.53	-0.62	-0.16	0.07			
IS4	9	441	5.12	1.62	-0.70	-0.10	0.08			
Artistic value of films										
$_{ m films}$	10	441	4.99	1.50	-0.81	0.32	0.07			

Note. Raw item scores are reported.

We used lavaan 0.6–3 package (Rosseel, 2012) to conduct model fitting with maximum likelihood estimation and robust standard errors. Latent factors where standardized, allowing free estimation of all factor loadings. First, we tested whether items assessing collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction corresponded to two latent factors underlying two distinguishable beliefs about the in-group. We compared the two-factor model to alternative models that 1) did not differentiate between collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction (null model) and 2) included additional covariances as suggested by modification indices. The two factor model fit the data better than a one factor model ( $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 543.75$ , p < .001), which had only a mediocre fit: CFI of .97, SRMR of .048 and RMSEA of .10 90%CI (.084; .116).

Table 2. Comparison of fit indices between three models

N factors	N obs	N par	ChiSq	df	p-value	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR
2	441	22	78.48	23	< 0.001	0.98	0.07	0.03
2	441	19	140.35	26	< 0.001	0.97	0.10	0.05
1	441	18	684.10	27	< 0.001	0.81	0.23	0.10

value of filmed materials. First, participants responded to demographic questions and scales measuring collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction. Next, they watched trailers of two films: *The Aftermath* and *Ida*<sup>3</sup>. They were then asked to evaluate their artistic value. In the end participants were debriefed and thanked.

Next, we included a covariance estimate between latent measures of collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019) within the two factor model and followed modification indices including additional three covariance estimates between residuals of three collective narcissism items - corr(CN2, CN5) = .402; corr(CN1, CN1) = .329; corr(CN1, CN5) = .281. The adjusted model had a better fit then a simple two factor model

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The text of the Synopsis is in Supplemental Materials.

 $(\Delta \chi^2(3) = 61.88, p < .001)$ : CFI of .98, SRMR of .031 and RMSEA of .074 90%CI (0.056; 0.092). As expected, all indicators showed significant positive factor loadings, with standardized coefficients ranging from  $\beta = .69$  to  $\beta = .94$ . Thus, we concluded that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction pertain to two alternative beliefs people can hold about their in-group.

Table 3. Regression estimates for three tested models

lhs	$^{\mathrm{op}}$	$_{ m rhs}$	В	SE	Beta	$\mathbf{Z}$	p-value		
CN and IS as predictors of films evaluation									
$^{\mathrm{CN}}$	~~	IS	1.54	0.14	0.78	10.79	< 0.001		
Films	~	$^{\rm CN}$	-0.32	0.10	-0.28	-3.31	< 0.001		
Films	~	IS	0.32	0.09	0.32	3.60	< 0.001		
			_						
IS as prec	IS as predictor of films evaluation via CN								
IS	~	$^{\rm CN}$	0.79	0.06	0.74	13.75	< 0.001		
Films	~	$_{\rm CN}$	-0.28	0.09	-0.26	-3.29	< 0.001		
Films	~	IS	0.30	0.09	0.29	3.46	< 0.001		
Indirect	:=	a*b	-0.22	0.07	-0.19	-3.04	0.002		
Direct	:=	c	0.30	0.09	0.29	3.46	< 0.001		
Total	:=	c+(a*b)	0.08	0.06	0.10	1.25	0.211		
CN as predictor of films evaluation via IS									
$^{\mathrm{CN}}$	~	IS	0.69	0.05	0.74	14.89	< 0.001		
Films	~	IS	0.30	0.08	0.29	3.59	< 0.001		
Films	~	$_{\rm CN}$	-0.28	0.08	-0.26	-3.44	< 0.001		
Indirect	:=	a*b	0.21	0.06	0.22	3.27	0.001		
Direct	:=	$^{\mathrm{c}}$	-0.28	0.08	-0.26	-3.44	< 0.001		
Total	:=	c+(a*b)	-0.08	0.06	-0.05	-1.35	0.177		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Collective narcissism (CN); In-group satisfaction (IS)

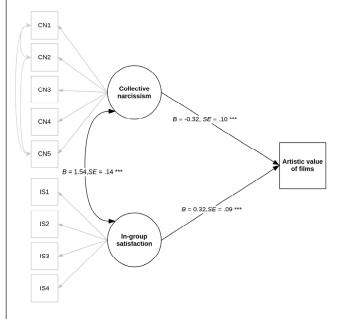
Next, in order to test Hypothesis 1, we set up a structural equation model assessing the unique relationships between collective narcissism vs. in-group satisfaction and the evaluation of films' artistic value. The model fit the data well: CFI of .98, SRMR of .030 and RMSEA of .64 90%CI (0.041; 0.081). In line with Hypothesis 1, the path between collective narcissism and evaluation of the films' artistic value was negative and significant, B = -0.32, SE = .10,  $\beta = -.28$ , p < .001, whereas the path between in-group satisfaction and evaluation of the films' artistic value was positive and significant, B = 0.32, SE = .09,  $\beta = .32$ , p < .001. The observed opposite relationships held after controlling for the covariance between collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction, B = 1.54, SE = .13,  $\beta = .78$ , p < .001.

Next, we tested Hypothesis 2 that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction suppress each other's relationships with evaluation of films' artistic value. We tested two suppression effects: the effect of in-group satisfaction on the relationship between collective narcissism and evaluation of films' artistic value and the effect of collective narcissism on the relationship between in-group satisfaction and evaluation of films' artistic value.

As can be seen in Table 3, the direct effect of collective narcissism on films' evaluation was negative and significant, B = -0.28, SE = .08,  $\beta = -.26$ , p < .001, whereas the indirect effect via in-group satisfaction was positive and significant, B = 0.21, SE = .06,  $\beta = .22$ , p < .001. These

results indicate that in-group satisfaction suppressed the negative relationship between collective narcissism and evaluation of artistic value of the films. The direct effect of in-group satisfaction was positive and significant, B = 0.30, SE = .09,  $\beta = .29$ , p < .001, whereas the indirect effect via collective narcissism was negative, B = -0.22, SE = .08,  $\beta = -.19$ , p < .001. These results indicate that collective narcissism suppressed the positive relationship between in-group satisfaction and evaluation of the films' artistic value.

Figure 1. Path analysis diagram testing the effects of collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction on the evaluation of artistic value of the films



#### **General Discussion**

By publishing his accounts of Polish crimes against Polish Jews during the Second World War, Jan Thomas Gross started a difficult discussion over the definition of the Polish national identity. The present research examined whether alternative beliefs about Polish identity: Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction make opposite predictions with readiness to accept knowledge about past transgressions of the in-group.

The present results supported the differentiation between collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction as distinct and alternative beliefs about the in-group. The items measuring those beliefs loaded on two, rather than one latent factor. In addition, in line with Hypothesis 1, the results of the structural model analysis indicated that in-group satisfaction was related to readiness to accept the knowledge about the in-group's past transgressions. Specifically, it was associated with positive evaluation of the artistic value of the films that explored Polish participation in pogroms during the Second World War. We used the evaluation of the films to approximate willingness to accept their content. Collective narcissism was associated with negative evaluation of the artistic value of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> op symbols are: '~' regression path; '~~' covariance path); '=~ latent factor specification; ':=' user specified effect



Collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction predict different reactions to the past transgressions of the in-group

*Ida* and *Aftermath*. This suggests that collective narcissism predicted rejection of the knowledge of the in-group's past transgressions.

Those results are in line with previous findings indicating that collective narcissism is related to a tendency to reject rather than integrate the in-group's problematic past (Imhoff, 2010). They are also in line with studies indicating that people who glorify their in-group find reasons to downplay or justify and legitimize the in-group's transgressions (Roccas et al., 2006). Overall, such findings indicate that certain forms of positive attitudes towards the in-group may prevent formation of a comprehensive in-group's image, preclude the possibility of the in-group's improvement and undermine the chance of intergroup reconciliation. In this vein, research shows that group members who have the ability to distance themselves from the in-group's problematic past easily alleviate collective guilt and are less motivated to repair the suffering of the victimized out-group (e.g., Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010; Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Čehajić, 2008). In turn, acceptance of the in-group's transgressions is a prerequisite of collective guilt which increases a chance of accepting reparations and reconciliation with the victimized out-group (Čehajić-Clancy, Effron, Halperin, Liberman, & Ross, 2011).

The present findings demonstrating that collective narcissism is associated with downplaying the role of an undesirable past in the narration about the in-group are in line with literature on individual narcissism that shows that narcissists invest in self-enhancement and impressing others. Individual narcissists find the integration of unwanted aspects of the self into a self-image particularly problematic (e.g. Wallace, 2011). Such knowledge represents a threat to their inflated self-image and their desire for external validation (e.g., Morf, & Rhodewalt, 2001; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995). Individual narcissists deny noticing information that undermine their positive self-image (Cascio, Konrath, & Falk, 2015), and punish others for negative feedback (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). The present results suggest that collective narcissism is related to a similarly motivated avoidance of uncomfortable truths about the in-group.

In-group satisfaction was associated with the readiness to accept past in-group's transgressions. This indicates in-group satisfaction may facilitate intergroup reconciliation. Such an interpretation is in line with previous findings indicating that, unlike collective narcissism, in-group satisfaction is uniquely related to positive emotionality and prosociality (Golec de Zavala, 2019). It is also in line with previous findings demonstrating that a variable akin to in-group satisfaction is related to the belief that individuals should use their strengths and positive characteristics to enhance their in-groups (Amiot & Sansfaçon, 2011; Jans, Postmes, & Van der Zee, 2012; Legault & Amiot, 2014). Finally, it corroborates previous findings showing that people who feel strong ties with the in-group tend to forgive past in-group misdeeds (Čehajić, Brown, & Castano, 2008) and support apology for past in-group wrongs (McGarty, Pedersen, Leach, Mansell, Waller, & Bliuc, 2005). Thus, in-group satisfaction may be indeed linked to in-group enhancement and harmonious intergroup relations.

The present results indicated not only that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction are associated with an opposite approach towards willingness to accept knowledge on the past in-group's transgressions. They indicated also, in line with Hypothesis 2, that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction suppressed each other's opposite associations with the evaluation of artistic value of *Ida* and Aftermath. Their unique opposite relationships could only be observed when the common variance of collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction was partialled out. Thus, in-group satisfaction suppressed the negative association between collective narcissism and evaluation of the films while collective narcissism suppressed the positive association of in-group satisfaction and evaluation of the films. The total effects of both predictors were not significant. Their opposite effects emerged only after their common variance was partialled out.

These results corroborate previous findings indicating that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction, although positively associated, have opposite consequences for intergroup attitudes and personal well-being (see for review Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). In this vein, studies showed that collective narcissism was linked to low self-esteem and low prosociality (Golec de Zavala, 2019), whereas in-group satisfaction was linked to high self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), high prosociality, and self-transcendent emotions (Golec de Zavala, 2019). Studies also indicated that collective narcissism is uniquely associated with out-group derogation, whereas in-group satisfaction is associated with out-group tolerance (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013a). Dyduch-Hazar et al. (2019) demonstrated that collective narcissism was positively, whereas in-group satisfaction was negatively related to hostile attribution bias (i.e. a tendency to attribute out-group members with hostile intentions towards the in-group). Collective narcissism was also positively, whereas in-group satisfaction was negatively, linked to the belief that revenge in the name of the in-group is desirable and pleasant (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019, July). The present results go beyond the previous findings indicating that collective narcissism and in-group satisfaction may have different consequences for intergroup reconciliation as they predict opposite approaches to information about the in-group's past transgression. Collective narcissism predicts rejection of this information, whereas in-group satisfaction predicts its acceptance.

Our findings have two implications for intergroup relations. Although, we only measured evaluation of artistic value of the films as a proxy of readiness to accept knowledge about past in-group transgressions, our results suggest that collective narcissists may be unable to integrate past in-group transgressions with the current in-group's image. This inability may be a serious issue when it comes to in-group's improvement and intergroup reconciliation. Second, the present results indicate that as long as in-group satisfaction is related to collective narcissism, its negative



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relationship with readiness to accept knowledge about past in-group transgressions is diminished.

#### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Although the present results advance our understanding of the importance of one's own beliefs about a national in-group for the readiness to accept knowledge about the in-group's past transgressions, the present research is an initial investigation not free of limitations that need to be taken into account when interpreting the results. The study is correlational, therefore, no firm conclusions about directionality of the observed effects can be made. While, we presented a sound theoretical account of why more general national attitudes should predict more specific attitudes towards historical accounts about the national past, the reverse causality cannot be excluded. Thus, future studies would do well testing directionality of the investigated relationships in an experimental or a longitudinal design.

Another limitation of our research is the measurement of the dependent variable. We used a single item measure which assessed rejection of the knowledge of past in-group's transgressions indirectly. We did not specifically measured attitudes toward past crimes against Jews but rather used the evaluation of the artistic value of the films pertaining to these crimes as proxy for readiness to accept knowledge about them. Future studies would provide better understanding of the relationship between collective narcissism vs. in-group satisfaction and attitudes towards past in-group transgressions by using direct measures of accepting the knowledge about the past transgressions. However, those studies should be informed by previous research indicating that indirect measures of attitudes towards socially sensitive issues sometimes work equally well is not better than the direct ones (Inbar et al., 2009).

Our findings suggest that readiness to accept unwelcome truths about the in-group, a prerequisite for collective guilt and intergroup reconciliation, may depend on national attitudes. Future studies would do well to further explore the mechanism underlying the association between collective narcissism and rejection of information about in-group's transgressions. The desire for historical closure may be examined as such a mediating mechanism (Imhoff, Wohl, & Erb, 2012). We suggest that collective narcissists may reject negative facts not only to maintain positive in-group image but also to avoid the aversive experience of collective guilt (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Peter-Erb, 2012). Previous studies suggest that collective narcissism is associated with a tendency to attribute victims of the in-group's hostility with hostile intentions towards the in-group, thus justifying in-group's wrongdoings and blaming the victims for their own predicament (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019). In this light, we predict that collective narcissism is unlikely to be related to collective guilt but in-group satisfaction may predict collective guilt via the acceptance of the knowledge about the in-group past transgressions (cf. Bilewicz, Witkowska, Stefaniak, & Imhoff, 2017). It would also be beneficial to investigate potential moderators of the relationship between collective narcissism vs. in-group satisfaction and collective guilt such as perception of in-group's negative past as temporarily close or distant (Imhoff, Wohl, & Erb, 2012; Peetz et al., 2010) or being reminded of historical victims' ongoing suffering (Imhoff & Banse, 2009).

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#### **Supplemental Materials**

#### Synopsis

#### Trailer of Ida

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = JIXxo8qUn0

- Her name is Wanda Gruz. She is your only living relative. You should meet her before you take your vows.
- Your real name is Ida Lebenstein. They never told you? You're a Jew.
- Our family used to live in this house. No Jews ever lived here. We both know who it (the house) belonged to.
- Why are you here?
- How did they die?
- Who are you?

#### Trailer of Aftermath

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = w8uh9ZWimbw

- Been in America long?
- 20 years. Just about that.
- And where might you be going this time of night?
- To Józef Kalina's. I'm his brother.
- What would you come for? Anything to piss people off, huh?
- So what do you suggest? (Priest)
- Good almighty, what is that? You want to know?
- About my brother Józef, is he liked in the village?
- A notion from the chief to have your brother fined for damaging a public road. The people wanted to lynch him.
- They paved the road with Jewish gravestones.
- You better stay away from my sister or you won't be seeing American again.
- You're lying! They say I'm nuts but I had to do it.
- Now you know why folks don't look kindly on you. You know what a person needs to be forgiven?
- There's an entry here but it's not right...
- What do you need this for?
- The more they want to hide something, the more you want to know.
- It'll all come out the whole world will be talking about it. The world is a lousy hellhole and we won't make it worse
  - One fears no death who saw death as a regular thing.