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Threatened Masculinity: Gender-Related Collective Narcissism Predicts Prejudice Toward Gay and Lesbian People among Heterosexual Men in Poland

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ABSTRACT

We examined the relationships between different types of in-group positivity and prejudice toward gay and lesbian people among heterosexual men. We assumed that prejudice toward gay and lesbian people among heterosexual men should be predicted by gender-related collective narcissism (i.e., an unrealistic belief about in-group's greatness which is contingent on external validation and extremely sensitive to any signs of threats) and not secure gender in-group identification (i.e., a confidently held in-group evaluation which is independent of the recognition of the group by others and serves as a buffer against threats). Across two studies (final *Ns* = 212 and 180) we found that gender-related collective narcissism (but not secure gender in-group identification or gender self-esteem) is positively related to prejudice toward gay and lesbian people among heterosexual men. The results of Study 2 demonstrated that this relationship was largely accounted for by the perceived out-group threat.

KEYWORDS

Prejudice toward gay and lesbian people; homonegativity; collective narcissism; in-group identification; threat; masculinity; collective action

“Brittle masculinity, in the right setting, becomes political atrocity. Strength brings problems; weakness brings others, but weakness posing as strength is the most dangerous of all.”

Timothy D. Snyder (2017, para. 1)

Among the multitude of gender differences reported in the literature, this in attitudes toward gay and lesbian people seems relatively robust. As shown in meta-analyses (Kite & Whitley, 1996; Petersen & Hyde, 2010), sexual prejudice—negative evaluation of sexual minorities (Herek, 2007)—is stronger among men than women. The origins of this discrepancy lie in different meanings attached to gender identities in contemporary Western culture. According to Kimmel (1997) homophobia is an organizing principle of a cultural definition of manhood (but not femininity). It often serves as

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a psychological response to the fear of not being “a real men” and is related to a defensive effort to prevent being emasculated. To suppress or overcome those fears, the dominant culture (i.e., males) try to distance themselves from those deemed less than fully manly and those who do not follow traditional gender norms (Kimmel, 1997). This process could be also explained with the use of social identity theory, according to which out-group derogation may be one of the ways available to group members for boosting their self-esteem and, thus, protecting themselves from different psychological threats (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In line with this logic, those men who strongly identify with their gender group should have negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people.

Indeed, previous research (Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Kilianski, 2003) showed that negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people are more prevalent among those men who strongly identify with their gender (i.e., base their personal self-esteem on gender group membership, Tajfel & Turner, 1986). High identifiers are motivated to maintain in-group's positive distinctiveness—the perception that in-group differs positively from the relevant out-group (Jetten & Spears, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Prejudice toward gay and lesbian people allows to attain this goal by psychological distancing from the violators of heterosexuality norm (Berent, Falomir-Pichastor, & Chipecaux, 2015).

Previous studies, however, did not recognize that identification with one's group might take various shades which is a well-documented circumstance within the psychology of intergroup relations (for a review, see Golec de Zavala & Schatz, 2012). Cichocka et al. (2018) showed that both frustrated and satisfied individual motives may affect one's in-group commitment and result in a more defensive or a more secure in-group identification (i.e., positivity) respectively (Cichocka et al., 2018; see also Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009).

Defensive in-group positivity can be operationalized as collective narcissism—a group level counterpart of individual narcissism which reflects grandiose beliefs about one's in-group that is contingent upon external recognition of its worth (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). It compensates for the frustration of individual (Cichocka et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019) and collective (Marchlewska, Cichocka, Jaworska, Golec de Zavala, & Bilewicz, 2020) needs, is threat-sensitive (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013), and leads to lowered empathy for outgroup members (Górska et al., 2020), belief in outgroup conspiracies (Cichocka, Marchlewska, Golec de Zavala, & Olechowski, 2016) and outgroup-directed hostility (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013; Marchlewska, Cichocka, et al., 2019; see also Cichocka & Cislak, 2020).

Collective narcissism can help elucidate the concept of secure in-group positivity. Similarly to secure self-evaluation (Cichocka, Marchlewska,

& Golec de Zavala, 2016; Kernis, 2003; Locke, 2009; Marchlewska, Castellanos, Lewczuk, Kofta, & Cichocka, 2019; Marchlewska & Cichocka, 2017; Paulhus, Robins, Trzesniewski, & Tracy, 2004), secure in-group positivity can be defined as in-group identification free of the narcissistic component. We can observe its effects by co-varying out collective narcissism from measures of in-group identification. What remains is secure, non-narcissistic in-group positivity—an unpretentious investment in the in-group, independent of the recognition of the group in the eyes of others (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013). This type of in-group positivity stems from the satisfaction of individual needs (Cichocka et al., 2018; Marchlewska et al., 2020), is resilient to in-group threats (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013), and does not result in prejudice (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013).

In this paper, we propose that it is narcissistic rather than secure form of gender in-group positivity that may propel men's (but not women's) prejudice toward gay and lesbian people. Compared to secure in-group identification, collective narcissism definitely entails stronger motivation to maintain a positive image of one's in-group and higher sensitivity to any factors that could threaten this image (Cichocka, 2016). Since gay and lesbian people challenge the heterosexuality norm engrained in masculine gender identity (Kimmel, 1997), for collectively narcissistic men prejudice toward gay and lesbian people may serve as a means of protecting and restoring an idealized picture of the in-group. Furthermore, narcissistic identification among men may be related to exaggerated feelings of threat and fear that the privileged position of their gender ingroup is in danger. This may further lead to prejudice toward gay and lesbian people. In line with this reasoning, recent research showed that homonegativity among male is positively related to a fear of loss of male social power for any deviations (Nagoshi, Cloud, Lindley, Nagoshi, & Lothamer, 2018). This, however, was not the case among female respondents who are generally more positive toward sexual minorities than males (Costa & Davies, 2012) and even if narcissistically identified with their gender—should not perceive gay and lesbian people as posing a threat to their position or ingroup image.

In line with this logic, we assumed that, males' (but not females') collective narcissism should be a positive predictor of negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people (H1). Moreover, this relationship should be largely accounted for by perceived threat posed by gay and lesbian people (H2).

In order to verify our hypotheses, we conducted two studies in Poland—a traditionally Catholic country where politics often warn voters of so-called “gender ideology” and claim that gay and lesbian people together with feminists are strategically and purposefully seeking to deny the importance of the differentiation of men and women and destroy the family unit, which is one of the most important values for Catholics (Marchlewska, Cichocka, Łozowski, Górská, & Winiewski, 2019; Noack, 2019). For example, during

his reelection campaign, the incumbent President of Poland—Andrzej Duda compared what he calls “LGBT ideology” to Communism (Fitzsimons, 2020). He also claimed that he will not support the right of same-sex couples in Poland to marry or form civil unions. Also, dozens of municipalities in Poland declared themselves “LGBT-free zones” posing a threat to equality in Europe (Noack, 2019).

We conducted our research in the above described cultural context to better explore the concomitants of negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people. Study 1 aimed to verify H1, Study 2 was designed to test both H1 and H2. As past research showed that negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people are negatively associated with intergroup contact (Salvati, Piumatti, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco, 2019), in all of the studies we also measured and controlled for this variable. Both studies received the approval of the Ethics Committee, Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw.^{1,2}

Study 1

Method

Participants and procedure

Study 1 was conducted among 235 Polish speaking internet users with the use of social media (i.e., via Facebook). The questionnaire included the measures of in-group identification, collective narcissism, homonegativity and intergroup contact, presented in a randomized order. After excluding self-identified non-heterosexuals ($n = 23$) the sample consisted of 212 participants (143 women), aged between 18 and 70 years ($M = 30.80$, $SD = 13.34$).

Measures

All measures employed a response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), unless otherwise noted. The wording of collective narcissism and in-group identification items matched participants' gender.

Collective narcissism was assessed with a 5-item scale ($\alpha = .85$) used in the past research (Golec de Zavala et al., 2013); e.g., “It really makes me angry when others criticize [wo]men.”

In-group identification was measured with a 12-item scale ($\alpha = .82$) developed by Cameron (2004); e.g., “I often think about the fact that I am a [wo]man.”

Homonegativity was assessed with the 4-item version of Homonegativity Scale (Górska, Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Waszkiewicz, 2016; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; $\alpha = .81$); e.g., “Gay and lesbian people are immoral”.

Table 1. Correlations, means, and standard deviations for variables measured in Study 1.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Skewness	Kurtosis	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Homonegativity	2.19	1.44	1.60	2.50	—	.17*	.04	-.27**
2. Collective narcissism	3.53	1.57	0.06	−0.73	.26*	—	.19*	-.18*
3. In-group identification	5.07	0.99	−0.36	−0.45	.11	.03	—	-.13
4. Intergroup contact	2.53	1.05	0.21	0.29	-.18	.06	-.11	—

Correlations above the diagonal represent female respondents, $N = 143$. Correlations below the diagonal represent male respondents. $N = 69$.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Intergroup contact was measured with a single item: “How many gay and lesbian people do you know in person?” (1 = *none*, 2 = *one*, 3 = *two to five*, 4 = *six to ten*, 5 = *eleven to twenty*, 6 = *more than twenty*).

Results

Means, standard deviations and correlations between the variables are displayed in Table 1. In comparison to women, men declared lower collective narcissism and higher homonegativity ($ps < .001$). There were no gender differences as far as intergroup contact and in-group identification were concerned ($ps > .060$).

Main analysis

We performed a hierarchical multiple regression analysis (see Table 2) to investigate whether the relationship between gender-related collective narcissism and homonegativity depended on participants’ gender. Continuous variables were mean-centered prior to analyses. Gender was coded 0 for women and 1 for men.³

In Step 1, we investigated the relationships between homonegativity and the following variables: gender, in-group identification and collective narcissism. In Step 2 we introduced two two-way interactions: gender \times in-group identification and gender \times collective narcissism. Additionally, we controlled for

Table 2. Regression results for predictors of homonegativity (Study 1).

Variable	DV: Homonegativity			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>
Intergroup contact	−0.23 (0.09)**	[−0.40, −0.06]	−0.25 (0.09)**	[−0.42, −0.09]
Gender	1.14 (0.22)***	[0.71, 1.57]	1.36 (0.23)***	[0.90, 1.81]
In-group identification	−0.01 (0.09)	[−0.18, 0.17]	−0.02 (0.10)	[−0.22, 0.18]
Collective narcissism	0.20 (0.07)**	[0.07, 0.33]	0.09 (0.08)	[−0.06, 0.25]
Gender \times In-group identification			0.13 (0.21)	[−0.27, 0.54]
Gender \times Collective narcissism			0.35 (0.14)*	[0.07, 0.63]
R^2	.17		.19	
F	$F(4, 203) = 10.06^{***}$		$F(6, 201) = 8.01^{***}$	
ΔR^2			.03	
ΔF			$F(2, 201) = 3.44^*$	

$N = 208$. All VIFs < 2.15 .

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

intergroup contact—an important predictor of attitudes toward gay and lesbian people (Smith, Axelton, & Saucier, 2009).

Whereas being male was a positive predictor of homonegativity, intergroup contact negatively predicted homonegativity. We did not find significant relationship between identification with one's gender and homonegativity, both among men and women. By contrast, homonegativity was significantly positively predicted by collective narcissism and this effect was moderated by participants' gender. Collective narcissism predicted homonegativity positively among men, but not among women (see Figure 1 for simple slopes). Thus, H1 received support.

Study 2

Study 1 examined the relationships between different types of gender in-group positivity (i.e., collective narcissism and secure in-group identification) and homonegativity operationalized as general negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people. In Study 2 we decided to focus on the behavioral aspect of negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people, that is willingness to participate in a collective action aiming to restrict the rights of this group. Since in-group identification constitutes the central antecedent of engagement

(Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), it was reasonable to expect that men's gender related collective narcissism would positively predict collective action against gay and lesbian rights.

We also aimed to validate our results with the use of different measurement tools, thus, this time we measured gender self-esteem instead of gender in-group identification per se. In such a way, we strictly controlled for an affective component related to being a member of a gender group.

Moreover, we investigated whether the positive relationship between men's (but not women's) gender-related collective narcissism and collective action against gay and lesbian people would be mediated via perceived out-group

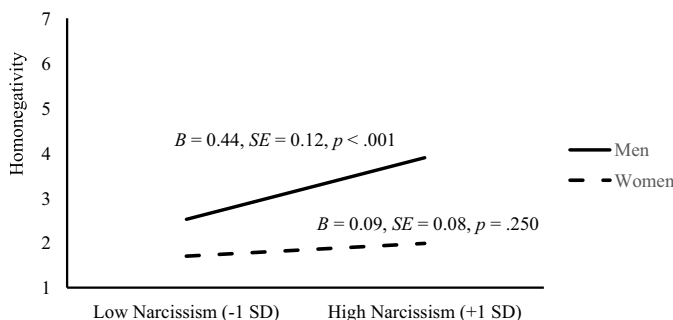


Figure 1. Gender-dependent effect of collective narcissism on homonegativity (Study 1).

threat (H2). Finally, the study aimed to check whether gender of the target group (gay vs. lesbian people) affected the results.

Method

Participants and procedure. Participants were 199 Polish speaking individuals recruited in the foyer of a university library. The questionnaire contained the measures of collective narcissism, gender self-esteem, perceived out-group threat, collective action against gay and lesbian rights and intergroup contact. Whereas 100 participants responded to the questions concerning gay individuals, 99 respondents read the statements related to lesbian individuals. After excluding self-identified non-heterosexual individuals ($n = 18$) and one person of an unidentified gender the sample consisted of 180 participants (84 females) aged between 18 and 59 years, $M = 25.23$, $SD = 8.99$.

Measures

Unless otherwise noted, all measures used a response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The wording of gender self-esteem and collective narcissism scales matched participants' gender.

Collective narcissism was assessed as in Study 1 ($\alpha = .82$).

Gender self-esteem was measured with a 3-item ($\alpha = .86$) scale developed by Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny (2009); e.g., "Overall, I have a very high esteem of myself as a [wo]man".

Perceived out-group threat was measured with two items ($r = .75$, $p < .001$): "Gay/Lesbian people threaten all I consider good, moral, normal and decent in our society." and "If gay/lesbian people attain greater influence in our society, it would happen at the expense of heterosexual people." (see Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Collective action against gay and lesbian rights was assessed with a single item: "I would like to participate in a demonstration demanding the limitation of gay/lesbian people's rights in Poland."

Intergroup contact was measured with a single question: "How many gay/lesbian people do you know in person?" (1 = *none*, 2 = *one*, 3 = *two*, 4 = *three*, 5 = *four*, 6 = *five or more*).

Results

Preliminary analysis

Table 3 displays means, standard deviations, and correlations for the variables measured in Study 2. In comparison to women, male participants reported lower intergroup contact, higher perceived out-group threat and stronger collective action against gay and lesbian rights (all $ps < .003$). There were no

Table 3. Correlations, means, and standard deviations for variables measured in Study 2.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Skewness	Kurtosis	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Collective action against gay and lesbian rights	1.91	1.70	1.89	2.48	—	.39***	.18	.18	-.14
2. Perceived out-group threat	3.16	2.07	0.62	-0.98	.58***	—	.19	.16	-.45***
3. Collective narcissism	3.69	1.34	0.03	-0.39	.55***	.78***	—	.10	-.21
4. Gender self-esteem	5.18	1.25	0.18	0.08	.28**	.52***	.60***	—	.03
5. Intergroup contact	3.05	1.60	-0.39	-0.98	-.25*	-.47***	-.39***	-.30**	—

Correlations above the diagonal represent female respondents, $N = 84$. Correlations below the diagonal represent male respondents, $N = 96$.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .01$.

gender differences for collective narcissism and gender self-esteem ($ps > .079$). Since target group's gender (gay vs. lesbian people) did not differentiate intergroup contact, perceived out-group threat or collective action against gay and lesbian people (all $ps > .139$), we skipped this variable in further analyses.

Main analysis

To verify our hypotheses, we performed a series of hierarchical regressions.⁴ Perceived out-group threat (DV1; Table 4) was regressed on intergroup contact, gender, gender self-esteem, and collective narcissism (step1), gender \times gender self-esteem and gender \times collective narcissism interactions (step 2). When collective action against gay and lesbian rights served as the DV (DV2; Table 5), perceived out-group threat was introduced in the third step. We used Model 8 of the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) to probe moderated mediation (the statistical equivalent of H2). The 95% confidence intervals for the indirect effects were estimated with the use of bootstrapping (5000 samples). All continuous predictors were mean-centered prior to the analyses. Gender was coded 0 for women and 1 for men.

As shown by the results for Model 1 (Table 4), perceived out-group threat (DV1) was negatively predicted by intergroup contact and positively predicted

Table 4. Regression results for predictors of perceived out-group threat (Study 2).

Variable	DV: Perceived out-group threat			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>
Intergroup contact	-0.38 (0.08)***	[-0.53, -0.23]	-0.37 (0.07)***	[-0.51, -0.23]
Gender	1.30 (0.23)***	[0.84, 1.77]	1.33 (0.22)***	[0.89, 1.76]
Gender self-esteem	0.28 (0.10)**	[0.09, 0.47]	0.22 (0.12)	[-0.03, 0.46]
Collective narcissism	0.59 (0.09)***	[0.41, 0.78]	0.15 (0.13)	[-0.11, 0.41]
Gender \times Gender self-esteem			-0.09 (0.19)	[-0.46, 0.28]
Gender \times Collective narcissism			0.81 (0.18)***	[0.45, 1.16]
R^2	.51		.57	
F	$F(4, 173) = 44.99***$		$F(6, 171) = 36.97***$	
ΔR^2			.06	
ΔF			$F(2, 171) = 10.77***$	

$N = 178$. All VIFs < 3.26 .

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .01$.

Table 5. Regression results for predictors of collective action against gay and lesbian rights (Study 2).

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>		<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>		<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	95% <i>CI</i>	
Inter-group contact	−0.10 (0.07)	[−0.25, 0.05]		−0.10 (0.07)	[−0.24, 0.05]		0.03 (0.07)	[−0.12, 0.17]	
Gender	0.87 (0.23)***	[0.41, 1.33]		0.90 (0.22)***	[0.45, 1.33]		0.44 (0.23)	[−0.02, 0.90]	
Gender self-esteem	0.10 (0.10)	[−0.09, 0.29]		0.13 (0.12)	[−0.12, 0.37]		0.06 (0.12)	[−0.18, 0.29]	
Collective narcissism	0.46 (0.09)***	[0.27, 0.64]		0.08 (0.13)	[−0.18, 0.34]		0.03 (0.13)	[−0.22, 0.28]	
Gender × Gender self-esteem				−0.26 (0.19)	[−0.64, 0.12]		−0.23 (0.18)	[−0.59, 0.13]	
Gender × Collective narcissism				0.73 (0.18)***	[0.37, 1.08]		0.45 (0.18)*	[0.10, 0.81]	
Perceived out-group threat							0.34 (0.07)***	[0.20, 0.48]	
<i>R</i> ²		.25			.32			.39	
<i>F</i>		<i>F</i> (4, 173) = 14.45***			<i>F</i> (6, 171) = 13.10***			<i>F</i> (7, 170) = 15.69***	
Δ <i>R</i> ²					.06			.08	
Δ <i>F</i>					<i>F</i> (2, 171) = 8.04***			<i>F</i> (1, 170) = 21.72***	

N = 178. All VIFs < 3.65.
p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .01.

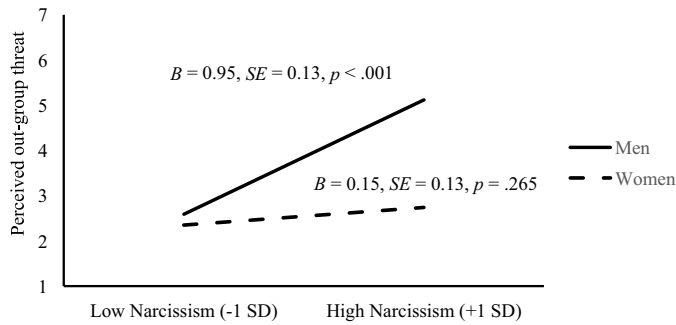


Figure 2. Gender-dependent effect of collective narcissism on perceived out-group threat (Study 2).

by gender self-esteem, collective narcissism and being a male. Adding two two-way interactions into the regression equation (Model 2, Table 4) revealed that the positive relationship between collective narcissism and perceived out-group threat (DV1) was dependent on participants' gender. In accordance with H1, narcissistic identification with one's gender was positively related to perceived out-group threat among men but not among women (see Figure 2 for simple slopes).

Similarly, we found positive relationships between willingness to engage in collective action against gay and lesbian rights (DV2) and a. collective narcissism and b. being a male (Model 3, Table 5). Again, the relationship between narcissistic in-group identification and dependent variable (DV2) depended on participants' gender (Model 3, Table 5). Collective narcissism positively predicted collective action against gay and lesbian rights among male (but not female) respondents (see Figure 3 for simple slopes), supporting H1. When perceived out-group threat was introduced into the model (Model 3, Table 5), we still found significant, though weaker, interaction effect between gender \times collective narcissism. On the other hand, collective action against gay and lesbian rights was positively predicted by perceived out-group threat. The

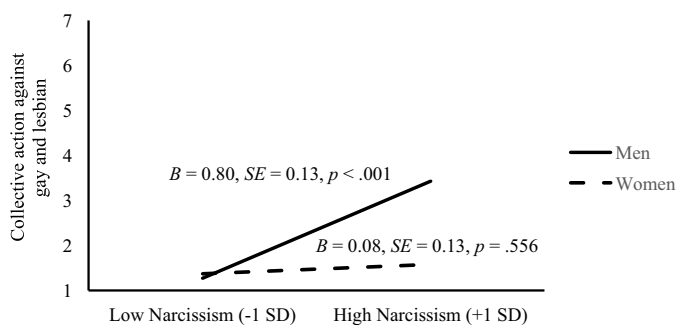


Figure 3. Gender-dependent effect of collective narcissism on collective action against gay and lesbian rights (Study 2).

results of moderated mediation analysis revealed that among male participants gender-related collective narcissism predicted collective action against gay and lesbian rights positively via enhancing perceived out-group threat, $IE = 0.32$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% $CI [0.18, 0.51]$. By contrast, this mechanism did not operate for female respondents, $IE = 0.05$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% $CI [-0.03, 0.17]$. Since the indirect effects differed significantly between the genders (index of moderated mediation = 0.27, $SE = 0.08$, 95% $CI [0.14, 0.47]$), H2 received full support.

Discussion

Drawing on the literatures on masculinity, prejudice toward gay and lesbian people and the forms of in-group positivity (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Marchlewska, Cichocka, et al., 2019; Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008), our studies revealed that it is narcissistic but not secure gender in-group identification (also operationalized as gender self-esteem) that predicts different aspects of men's, but not women's, prejudice toward gay and lesbian people. As indicated by the results of Study 2, collective narcissism was positively related to men's negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian people via perception of out-group threat. In line with Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory and the results of previous research (Salvati, Pistella, et al., 2018), we also found that interpersonal contact with gay men and lesbian people was negatively related to homonegativity.

The current research highlights the importance of taking a more discriminative perspective on gender-related in-group identification while investigating its relationship with prejudice toward gay and lesbian people. Whereas prior empirical accounts (e.g., Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009) revealed a positive association between men's gender identification and hostility toward gay and lesbian people, the present results demonstrate that this is a specific type of in-group positivity, namely collective narcissism, that propels prejudice toward gay and lesbian people. Previous research showed that adopting narcissistic ingroup identification stems from unsatisfied psychological needs—such as need for personal control (Cichocka et al., 2018; Marchlewska et al., 2020), low self-esteem (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019) or ingroup disadvantage (Marchlewska, Cichocka, Panayiotou, Castellanos, & Batayneh, 2018). Thus, it seems to serve a compensatory function of defending people from individual and collective psychological threats. Still, Cichocka and colleagues showed (Cichocka et al., 2018) that this form of defense not only leads to outgroup derogation, but also serves rather as a momentary, maladaptive, compensation that enhances threats in a long-term. For this reason, future research should focus on shaping secure (and not narcissistic) ingroup positivity also in the case of gender-related issues.

Present studies provide further evidence in favor of the distinction between narcissistic and secure forms of in-group identification. Although collective narcissism proved its predictive utility in multiple contexts (e.g., Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra Golec, 2013; Marchlewska, Cichocka, et al., 2019), none of these studies, however, explored the relationship between narcissistic identification with gender groups and prejudice. In such a way, this research is first to relate defense of fragile masculinity in the form of gender-related narcissism to perceived outgroup threat and homonegativity among male respondents.

Still, research presented here is not without limitations. First, our studies were correlational, making our inferences about causality limited. Thus, future research is needed to better explore this issue with the use of longitudinal or experimental research design.

Second, our studies were not conducted on national representative samples. Future research should elucidate more precisely the relationships between gender-related narcissism, feelings of threat and homonegativity on a more heterogeneous, large, national representative samples. This would make it possible to better explore potential moderators of the described relationships.

Third, we conducted our research in one socio-political context, among Polish participants. Taking into account that the ruling Law and Justice Party has cast LGBT rights as a foreign important that threatens Poland's national identity (Fitzsimons, 2020), future research would do well to replicate these results in other countries and cultural and political contexts.

Further empirical investigation is also needed to better understand the potential role of gender-related narcissism in shaping group processes among sexual minorities. For example, previous research showed that gay and lesbian participants felt more negative emotions toward the masculine (vs. feminine) lesbian target (Salvati, Pistella, Ioverno, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco, 2018). Future studies should check whether this relationship may be moderated by gender-related collective narcissism. Controlling for gender-related collective narcissism may be also crucial when examining the process of internalized sexual stigma, as the mere adherence to gender roles among gay and lesbian people was previously linked to the internalization of negative societal ideology about homosexuality (Salvati, Pistella, & Baiocco, 2018).

An interesting avenue for the future theorizing and research would be to investigate the relationship between men's gender-related collective narcissism and the notion of precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Vandello et al., 2008). By underscoring the necessity of external validation and focusing on structure rather than content of masculinity-related beliefs, the two concepts share some overlap. At the same time, while the processes implied by the precarious manhood hypothesis take place at the individual

and interpersonal levels of analysis, collective narcissism is a group-level phenomenon.

Furthermore, it seems plausible that the deleterious effects of men's gender-related collective narcissism are not limited to gay and lesbian people as a target group. As Kimmel (2013) notes based on his qualitative research, narcissistic defensiveness of white American men may underlie their negative attitudes toward women, immigrants, and minorities. Collective narcissism, as well as the scales designed for its measurement, may serve as the suitable tools for the quantitative tests of this statement.

Notes

1. Beside the variables reported here, our research also involved measures of individual differences and a set of variables included for the purposes of different projects employing the same predictors (e.g., attitudes toward feminists; please contact the corresponding author for details).
2. In both studies we sought to recruit at least 20 participants per predictor, which is in line with Gotelli and Ellison's (2004) rule of thumb.
3. The present analysis was performed with the exclusion of two observations detected as outliers with residuals larger than 3 standard deviations away from the mean (Barnett & Lewis, 1994). The pattern of results remained similar when data for these participants was retained.
4. The analysis was conducted after excluding one observation identified as an outlier. However, keeping this observation in the dataset did not change final conclusions.

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