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“Not racist, but...”

**Beliefs about immigration restrictions, collective narcissism and justification of ethnic
extremism**

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Abstract

Surveys show that a majority of people across countries believe that seeking lower immigration to help maintain the majority group's population share is racially self-interested, rather than racist. If this belief indeed reflects in-group concern, it should be linked to in-group identification—a positive attachment to and solidarity with one's group. However, if it is a defensive strategy to protect the in-group's privileged position, this belief should be linked to collective narcissism. In four studies, we examined the associations between immigration restriction beliefs and dominant (national or White) identities. Relative to in-group identification, national narcissism (Studies 1: UK, $N=220$, and 2: Poland, $N=1285$) and ethnic narcissism (Studies 3a: US, $N=1516$, and 3b: US, $N=2402$) were stronger predictors of a belief that it is not racist (vs. racist) to want immigration restrictions. This belief was also associated with justifying collective violence against migrants (Study 2) and supporting the alt-right (Studies 3a-3b).

Keywords: racism, collective narcissism, in-group identification, collective violence, alt-right

“Not racist, but...”

Beliefs about immigration restrictions, collective narcissism and justification of ethnic extremism

“A white American who identifies with her group and its history supports a proposal to reduce immigration. Her motivation is to maintain her group’s share of America’s population.” Is this person “being racist” or “just acting in her racial self-interest, which is not racist”? Kaufmann (2017; p. 19) asked a similar question to thousands of people in WEIRD and non-WEIRD countries. It seems that, across all samples he studied, most respondents believe it is racially self-interested, rather than racist, for a White majority to react to social or demographic changes by seeking lower immigration to help maintain their share of the population (Kaufmann, 2018). Here, we investigate the psychological concomitants of this belief, focusing both on its relationship with commitment to the in-group and its potential implications for intergroup hostility and the acceptance of racist social movements.

Kaufmann (2018) argues that the main factors determining whether someone considers White’s desire to curb immigration for cultural reasons as racist (vs. self-interested) are partisanship and political ideology—this conviction is stronger among liberals than among conservatives. For example, in one US survey (Kaufmann, 2017), as many as 73% of White Clinton voters and as few as 11% of White Trump voters agreed that it was racist for White Americans to seek to reduce immigration to maintain their group’s share of the population. Similarly, in the UK, 47% of White British Remain voters, compared to 5% of White British Leave voters, said it would be racist for a White Briton to do so. These differences notwithstanding, a conviction that immigration restrictions are not racist, but simply an expression of racial self-interest, is shared by most respondents in the US, the UK, and the 18 other countries surveyed by Kaufmann (2018). The prevalence of this belief might be one reason why being concerned about demographic changes is sometimes seen as reasonable and

justifiable (e.g., Goodhart, 2014). For example, Kaufmann argued: “[F]or the conservative members of the white majority who are attached to their group and its historic presence, I think that sense of loss and wanting to slow down that sense of loss is an understandable motivation” (Chotiner, 2019; para. 10). Here, rather than discussing what might and what might not be justifiable, we focus on the correlates of the belief that protecting the interests of a dominant majority is a mere expression of one’s interests.

A critical point of this debate relies on the distinction between in-group and out-group attitudes (e.g., Allport, 1954; Turner et al., 1979; Levin & Sidanius, 1999). Viewing immigration restrictions as racially self-interested allegedly stems from concern for the in-group, which does not need to necessarily translate into out-group prejudice or hostility (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1999; see also Jardina, 2019; Earle & Hodson, 2020). And if it is simply motivated by in-group attachment, Kaufmann argues, then the need to slow down ethnocultural change should not be considered racist (Chotiner, 2019). Yet, there is scarce evidence for this position. In *Whiteshift*, Kaufmann (2018) reports results of one pilot study which suggests that those White Americans that are moderately or strongly identified with their ethnic group, do not consider the protection of White interests as racist. However, there are different ways of identifying with one’s in-group which can produce divergent intergroup attitudes (e.g., Ashmore et al., 2004; Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Cichocka, 2016; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Roccas et al., 2008).

Researchers distinguish more secure, constructive ways of identifying with one’s social groups (be it one’s nation, ethnic group or a sports team), from ones that are more destructive and defensive (e.g., Adorno et al., 1950; Cichocka, 2016). For example, in the context of national identities, love for one’s country captured by patriotism is often differentiated from the more confrontational nationalism, which assumes the need to dominate other nations (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; see also Bizumic et al., 2020; Mummendey et

al., 2001; Schatz et al., 1999). Beyond the specific context of national identity, some researchers differentiate in-group identification from collective narcissism (Cichocka, 2016; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013).

In-group identification can be defined as a self-investment in the group, which encompasses being satisfied with group membership, feelings of solidarity with other group members as well as the importance of the group to the self (Leach et al., 2008; Tajfel, 1978). In-group identification implies a strong attachment and commitment to the group. It facilitates mutual cooperation, trust (Brewer, 1999; Putnam, 2000) and engagement on behalf of the group (e.g., Bilewicz & Wojcik, 2010; Huddy & Khatib, 2007; van Zomeren et al., 2008). In line with Brewer's (1999) theorizing about in-group and out-group attitudes being often independent of each other, in-group identification does not necessarily translate into prejudicial attitudes towards out-groups (e.g., Jackson et al., 2001; Pehrson, Brown, et al., 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles, et al., 2009). We argue that if beliefs about immigration restrictions being racial self-interest are indeed an expression of a mere concern for the in-group, they should be linked to stronger in-group identification—that is the emotional significance one attaches to the in-group and its members (Leach et al., 2008; Tajfel, 1978).

However, another possibility is that construing culturally motivated immigration restrictions as not racist is a defensive strategy to protect the in-group's privileged position. Research from the US context suggests that reminders of demographics shifts can drive concerns that Whites would lose their cultural dominance and be discriminated against in the future (Craig & Richeson, 2017; Craig et al., 2018). If preoccupation with protecting the in-group image and position takes priority, then beliefs about immigration restriction not being racist should be linked to a defensive (rather than secure) in-group identity. Being defensive about one's in-group can be understood as collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009).

Collective narcissism is an excessive belief in in-group greatness, accompanied by the idea that the in-group deserves special treatment and recognition from members of other groups (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Collective narcissism is associated a conviction that others aim to threaten or undermine the in-group and conspire against it (e.g., Cichocka et al., 2016; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012; Guerra et al., 2020). Those scoring high in collective narcissism tend to respond with hostility to any signs of criticism or lack of appreciation of the in-group (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013; Gries et al., 2015), and are prejudiced towards groups they find threatening (e.g., Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013; Hadarics et al., 2020; Marchlewska et al., 2019).

Collective narcissism is also associated with biased processing of information in a way that favours the in-group (Bocian et al., 2020; Cislak et al., 2020). In a series of experiments, participants scoring high in collective narcissism judged actions favouring the interests of in-group members as more moral than similar actions favouring the interests of an out-group. For example, evaluations of the US Senate's decision to confirm Brett Kavanaugh to the supreme court depended on partisanship, but this effect was strengthened by partisan collective narcissism. There is also evidence that collective narcissism is associated with downplaying in-group members' moral transgressions (e.g., Klar & Bilewicz, 2017). Overall, these findings suggest that collective narcissism might be linked to perceptions of threat from immigrants and the need to justify restrictions of immigration. A belief that restrictionism is just racial self-interest (and not racism) might then be linked to collective narcissism, rather than to in-group identification. This would suggest this belief is motivated by maintaining the in-group's positive image and position, rather than caring for in-group members.

Such a link might have further implications for intergroup attitudes. Collective narcissism is a robust predictor of intergroup violence and hostility (Golec de Zavala,

Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013; Jasko et al., 2020). When measured in the context of White identity, it is also related to support for White supremacist movements, for example, the Unite the Right rally that took place in Charlottesville in 2017 (Alexander-Grose, 2018). We then propose to investigate whether viewing immigration restrictions as racist (vs. not) would also be associated with intergroup hostility or support for extreme political movements. As Kaufmann (2017) writes: “Do restrictionists fear, hate or look down upon those of other ethnic backgrounds? If the answer is yes, they are racist by any definition of the term.” We will put this possibility to the test.

Overview of the present studies

In four surveys conducted in the UK, Poland, and the US, two of which were nationally representative, we examined the in-group and out-group attitudes associated with beliefs about immigration restrictions. First, we investigated whether a conviction that it is not racist (vs. racist) to want to maximise the demographic advantage of one’s group is associated with secure or narcissistic identity. Second, we investigated whether such conviction would be linked with an overt justification of collective violence and support for the alt-right—a loosely organized far-right movement linked to White supremacy beliefs (e.g., Forscher & Kteily, 2019; Lyons, 2017). We tested these predictions focusing on the dominant national identities (Study 1 and 2) and ethnic identities (Study 3a and 3b). In all regression models, we accounted for any effects of political ideology. We checked our analyses controlling for age and gender. Unless noted otherwise, the results remain the same when we include these demographic variables as covariates.

Study 1

In Study 1, we sought to examine whether beliefs about racial self-interest are indeed associated with the strength of in-group identity. We compared the effects of in-group identification versus the more defensive collective narcissism. The study was conducted in the

UK. Because our focus is on racial self-interest, we tested our models among participants who identified as White British.

Method

Participants and procedure. Study 1 involved a sample of the 467 first year psychology students, 86% women, Mean age = 19.26, $SD = 2.31$, recruited in 2018-2019 at a UK university as part of a subject pool. Because our focus was on the dominant majority identity, we conducted our analyses with a sub-sample of 220 students who identified as “British” and “White British”.

Measures.

Collective narcissism was measured with a 5-item version of the Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013), e.g., “If my country had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place.”, “Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of people of my nationality.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ($\alpha = .81$, $M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.05$).

In-group identification was measured with five items capturing social identification (e.g., Cameron, 2004), e.g., “Being my nationality gives me a good feeling”, “I feel solidarity with people of my nationality.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.12$).

Political ideology was measured with a single item. Participants were asked to report their political orientation on a 5-point scale from 1 = *extremely left-wing* to 5 = *extremely right-wing* ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 0.84$).

Racial self-interest was measured with a single item from Kaufmann (2017): “A White Briton who identifies with her group, and its history supports a proposal to reduce immigration. Is this person...?” Participants indicated one of three answers: (1) Racist, (2) Racially self-interested, which is not racist, or 3) I do not know. In our sample, 53 (24%)

participants indicated that the person was racist, and 96 (44%) that the person was racially self-interested. The third option was chosen by 71 (32%) participants, and following Kaufmann (2017), these participants were excluded from the analyses.

Results and discussion

We first examined zero-order correlations between key variables (Table 1). We then tested in-group identification, collective narcissism and political ideology as predictors of viewing immigration restrictions as self-interested (i.e., not racist; coded as 1) rather than as racist (coded as 0) with a binominal logistic regression, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = 0.21$, C&S $R^2 = .15$, -2 log-likelihood = 168.66. In this model, the odds of perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) were significantly higher for those scoring higher on collective narcissism, $OR = 1.59$ [1.02, 2.47], $B = 0.46$, $SE = 0.23$, $p = .041$, but they were not significantly related to the strength of in-group identification, $OR = 1.28$ [0.90, 1.83], $B = 0.25$, $SE = 0.18$, $p = .170$. This finding suggests that a belief that immigration restrictions are racially self-interested, is associated with a defensive, narcissistic national identity, rather than identification with the nation understood as the emotional attachment to the group. Replicating Kaufman (2017), we found that those with more conservative views were more likely to indicate that immigration restrictions were racially self-interested rather than racist, $OR = 1.65$ [1.06, 2.58], $B = 0.50$, $SE = 0.23$, $p = .027^1$.

Table 1

Table of Correlations for Main Variables (Study 1)

Variables	1	2	3
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¹ Note that when we controlled for age and gender, both the effect of collective narcissism, $OR = 1.53$, $p = .062$, and identification, $OR = 1.40$, $p = .082$, became only marginally significant, and the effect of ideology became non-significant, $OR = 1.46$, $p = .110$. This could be due to a relatively small sample we relied on in Study 1. We therefore sought to replicate our models with much larger samples in subsequent studies.

1. Racial Self-Interest	-		
(0=RAC, 1= SELF-INT)			
2. Collective narcissism	.31***	-	
3. In-group identification	.30***	.52***	-
4. Political ideology	.29***	.28***	.32***

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

*** $p < .001$.

Study 2

In Study 2, we sought to replicate the findings of Study 1 in a different context. We tested similar models in a larger, nationally representative survey collected in Poland—a country that is extremely ethnically homogenous, with a majority White population (Gudaszewski, 2015). We additionally wanted to examine the behavioural intentions associated with beliefs about immigration restrictions. If a conviction that such restrictions are not racist is mostly driven by one's care for their in-group, it should not translate into overt intergroup hostility. Therefore, we decided to examine the association between beliefs about immigration restrictions and collective violence—arguably, an extreme expression of in-group animosity. To account for the possibility that any links between immigration restrictions beliefs and intergroup hostility could be simply attributed to collective narcissism or political ideology, we controlled for these two factors as well as in-group identification in the regression models for collective violence.

To measure the acceptance of different violent behaviours toward minority groups we used a method by Winiewski and Bulska (2020). This method presents participants with a scenario in which a majority is in conflict with an ethnic minority that is newly settled in a town. As such, this methodology is well suited to capture people's potential reactions to immigration.

Method

Participants and procedure. Study 2 involved a 2018 nationally representative sample of 1285 Polish adults, 52% women, aged 18-84, Mean age = 43.80, $SD = 15.44^2$. Data were collected with the use of an online research panel (<http://www.panelariadna.com>). Participants were recruited using a quota sampling strategy (based on population distribution of age, gender, place of residence and education level). Because Poland is ethnically homogenous, the survey did not include questions about participants' ethnic identity. All participants were included in the analysis.

Measures.

Collective narcissism was measured with the 5-item version of the Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013), e.g., "The Polish nation deserves special treatment". Participants responded on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree* ($\alpha = .92$, $M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.25$).

In-group identification was measured with six items taken from the Social Identification Scale by Cameron (2004), e.g., "I feel strong ties to other Polish people", "In general, I'm glad to be Polish". Participants responded on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* ($\alpha = .92$, $M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.87$).

Political ideology was measured with a single item. Participants were asked to report their political ideology on a scale from 1 = *definitely conservative* to 7 = *definitely liberal*, which we recoded so that higher scores indicate greater conservatism ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.78$).

Racial self-interest was measured with the single item adapted from Kaufmann (2017): "A White Pole who identifies with her group and its history supports a proposal to reduce immigration. Is this person...?" Participants answered indicating one of three options: (1) Racist, (2) Racially self-interested, which is not racist, (3) I do not know/Hard to say. In

² This sample was also used in another project (BLINDED), which tested different hypotheses.

this sample, 298 (23%) participants indicated that the person is racist, 578 (45%) that the person is racially self-interested, and 409 (32%) did not know or could not tell (as in Study 1, the latter group was excluded from the analysis).

Collective violence was measured using a scale capturing acceptance of collective violent actions (Winiewski & Bulska, 2020). Participants were presented with a short description of an intergroup conflict between the majority (in-group) and a minority group of new residents in a town. Next, they were assigned one of four target minority groups at random: Jews, Vietnamese, Roma or Ukrainians. These groups were selected as four most distinctive or largest minority groups in Poland (see also Cichocka et al., 2015). Finally, participants were presented with several possible behaviours of in-group members towards the minority and rated the extent to which each of the actions was justified. We used a composite score of 12 items measuring direct confrontational behaviours, e.g., “Native inhabitants of the town beat up the newcomers” or “Employees of shops and restaurants refuse to serve the newcomers”. Participants responded on a scale from 1 = *fully unjustified* to 7 = *fully justified* ($\alpha = .97$, $M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.40$).

Results and discussion

We first examined zero-order correlations (Table 2). We then tested in-group identification, collective narcissism and political ideology as predictors of viewing immigration restrictions as self-interested (i.e., not racist; coded as 1) rather than racist (coded as 0) with a binomial logistic regression, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .32$, C&S $R^2 = .23$, -2 log-likelihood = 894.86. In this model, the odds of perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) were significantly higher for those scoring higher on collective narcissism, $OR = 2.61$ [2.18, 3.12], $B = 0.96$, $SE = 0.09$, $p < .001$, but significantly *lower* for those with stronger in-group identification, $OR = 0.66$ [0.53, 0.83], $B = -0.41$, $SE = 0.12$, $p < .001$. Thus, in the Polish context, we found that those identified with the national group in a secure, non-

narcissistic way, were more likely to view immigration restrictions as racist than as racially self-interested. Again, in line with Study 1 and past work by Kaufmann (2017), we found that immigration restrictions were more likely to be perceived as not racist (vs. racist) among those with more conservative views, $OR = 1.27 [1.16, 1.40]$, $B = 0.24$, $SE = 0.05$, $p < .001$.

Table 2

Table of Correlations for Main Variables (Study 2)

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Racial self-interest (0=RAC, 1= SELF INT)	-			
2. Collective narcissism	.44***	-		
3. In-group identification	.17***	.62***	-	
4. Political ideology	.29***	.26***	.12***	-
5. Collective violence	.29***	.19***	-.06*	.10***

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

* $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

We then sought to examine whether beliefs about immigration restrictions would be associated with intergroup hostility. We examined their associations with justification of collective violence. We also accounted for any overlapping effects of collective narcissism, in-group identification and political ideology. We found that perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) was a significant predictor of justification of collective violence (Table 3)³. This finding indicates that perceptions of racial self-interest are not only an expression of in-group attitudes, but are also linked to overt out-group hostility. This result was observed even when we accounted for any effects of collective narcissism which, in line

³ Note that the pattern of results was very similar across the four target groups.

with past research, was positively associated with justification of collective violence (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Iskra-Golec, 2013; Golec de Zavala & Cichocka, 2012; Jasko et al., 2020). National identification, in contrast, was negatively associated with justification of collective violence (see e.g., Cichocka, 2016; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013). Political ideology was not significantly related to justification of collective violence.

Table 3

Results of a Regression Analysis Predicting Collective Violence Justification (Study 2)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>B</i> CI _{95%}	β	<i>p</i>
Constant	2.09(0.20)	1.69, 2.49		<.001
Political ideology	0.02(0.03)	-0.03, 0.07	0.03	.401
Collective narcissism	0.30(0.05)	0.20, 0.39	0.27	<.001
In-group identification	-0.33(0.07)	-0.46, -0.20	-0.21	<.001
Racial Self-Interest (0=RAC, 1= SELF INT)	0.57 (0.11)	0.36, 0.78	0.19	<.001
	<i>F</i>	31.22		
	<i>R</i> ²	.13		

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

Study 3a

In Studies 1 and 2, we examined the role of national identities in predicting perceptions of immigration restrictions. In Studies 3a and 3b, we sought to test whether similar effects would be observed when ethnic (i.e., White) identity is considered. We also examined whether seeing immigration restrictions as not racist would be associated with support for political movements advocating for racial supremacy. To this end, we measured participants attitudes towards the alt-right (Forscher & Kteily, 2019; Lyons, 2017).

We report results based on two larger datasets: (1) an exploratory, quota-based sample that was nationally representative (Study 3a), and (2) a confirmatory (replication) convenience sample from the same population that we analysed to minimize the influence of false positives and to maximize the generalizability and robustness of our results (Study 3b). Both samples completed the same study materials in the same order and manner.

Method

We hired Cint (www.cint.com), a survey research firm that recruits participants from a pool of over 13 million U.S. citizens, to recruit a nationally representative sample of Americans in the months preceding the 2020 US Presidential Election (from July 01 to July 22, 2020). The quotas were designed to match that of the 2018 US Census' Current Population Survey (CPS) on age, income, education and gender, with a maximum percentual difference of 5% at the bracket level. The sample has achieved a high level of national representativeness. We took a number of steps to ensure that the quality of the data would be high. These included following professional recommendations to minimize problems of careless responding and satisficing behaviour in online survey studies (Meade & Craig, 2012). Detailed description of the sample and exclusions is presented in the Supplement. The sample included 2000 participant, 51.5% women, age distribution: 18–24 years (11.65%), 25–34 (17.8%), 35–44 (16.75%), 45–54 (16.55%), 55–65 (16.6%), and older than 65 (20.65%). White participants constituted 75.8% of the sample and these participants were included in the final analysis ($N = 1516$).

Measures.

Collective narcissism was measured with a 9-item version of the Collective Narcissism Scale (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Participants responded to the items after reporting their ethnicity and their instruction read “When thinking in terms of the group with which you just identified, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following

statements”, e.g., “It really makes me angry when others criticize Whites.”, “If Whites had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 = *strongly agree* to 9 = *strongly disagree* ($\alpha = .90$; $M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.67$).

In-group identification was measured with one item “I identify with being White”” Participants responded on a scale from 0 = *strongly disagree* to 100 = *strongly agree* ($M = 80.89$, $SD = 23.34$).

Political ideology was measured with a single item, which read “Overall, where would you place yourself, on the following scale of liberalism-conservatism?”. Participants responded on a scale from 0 = *strongly liberal* to 100 = *strongly conservative* ($M = 54.67$, $SD = 30.40$).

Racial self-interest was measured with the single item adapted from Kaufmann (2017): “A White American who identifies with her group and its history supports a proposal to reduce immigration. Is this person...? Participants answered indicating one of three answers: 1 = just acting in her racial self-interest, which is not racist; 2 = being racist; 3 = I don’t know.” In this sample, 768 (38%) participants indicated that the person is just acting in his/her racial self-interest; 580 (29%) that the person is being racist, and 652 (33%) did not know or could not tell (the latter were excluded from the analysis).

Support for the Alt-right was measured with one item: “How positive or negative do you feel concerning the following social movements?” whose target was “The Alt-Right Movement”. Participants responded on a scale from 0 = *extremely negative* to 100 = *extremely positive* ($M = 36.51$, $SD = 28.85$).

Results

Zero-order correlations are presented in Table 4. We then tested a binominal logistic regression with in-group identification, collective narcissism and political ideology as predictors of viewing immigration restrictions as self-interested (coded as 1; as opposed to

racist, coded as 0), Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .49$, C&S $R^2 = .36$, $-2 \log\text{-likelihood} = 889.08$. In this model, the odds of perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) were significantly higher for those scoring higher on collective narcissism, $OR = 1.70 [1.51, 1.90]$, $B = 0.53$, $SE = 0.06$, $p < .001$, and for those with more conservative views, $OR = 1.03 [1.03, 1.04]$, $B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.00$, $p < .001$. The odds of perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) were also significantly *higher* for those with higher ethnic in-group identification, $OR = 1.01 [1.00, 1.02]$, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.00$, $p < .001$.

Table 4

Table of Correlations for Main Variables (Study 3a)

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Racial Self-Interest (0=RAC, 1= SELF INT)	-			
2. Collective narcissism	.52***	-		
3. In-group identification	.32***	.34***	-	
4. Political ideology	.54***	.43***	.28***	-
5. Alt-right support	.37***	.31***	.24***	.32***

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

*** $p < .001$.

We then sought to examine whether beliefs about immigration restrictions would be associated with more positive attitudes towards the alt-right, accounting for any effects of collective narcissism, in-group identification or political ideology. We found that perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) was indeed a significant predictor of support for the alt-right movement (see Table 5). We also found that both White collective narcissism and White identification, as well as political conservatism, were predictors of positive attitudes towards the alt-right.

Table 5*Results of a Regression Analysis Predicting Attitudes towards the Alt-Right (Study 3a)*

Predictor variable	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>B</i> CI _{95%}	β	<i>p</i>
Constant	0.16(3.07)	-5.86, 6.19		.957
Political ideology	0.16(0.03)	0.09, 0.22	0.17	<.001
Collective narcissism	3.61 (0.58)	2.46, 4.76	0.22	<.001
In-group identification	0.09(0.04)	0.01, 0.17	0.07	.022
Racial self-interest (0=RAC, 1= SELF INT)	8.64 (2.19)	4.34, 12.94	0.14	<.001
<i>F</i>		69.86		
<i>R</i> ²		.22		

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

Study 3b

Method

We administered the same survey as in Study 3a to a large convenience sample of American adults in the months preceding the 2020 US Presidential Election (from July 1 to July 24, 2020). The study was again conducted through Cint, and we applied the same quality-control criteria as in Study 3a. The final sample included 2938 participants, 69.54% women, with the age distribution of 18–24 years (8.75%), 25–34 (12.8%), 35–44 (16.3%), 45–54 (15.62%), 55–65 (18.52%), and older than 65 (28.01%). The final analyses were conducted for White (81.76%) participants only ($N = 2402$). Measures were identical as the ones used in Study 3a. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 6. Collective narcissism formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .90$).

Results

Zero-order correlations are presented in Table 6. We tested in-group identification, collective narcissism and political ideology as predictors of viewing immigration restrictions as self-interested (coded as 1; as opposed to racist, coded as 0) with a binominal logistic regression, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .49$, C&S $R^2 = .36$, $-2 \log\text{-likelihood} = 1419.6$. In this model, the odds of perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) were significantly higher for those scoring higher on collective narcissism, $OR = 1.85 [1.69, 2.03]$, $B = 0.62$, $SE = 0.05$, $p < .001$, and for those with more conservative views, $OR = 1.03 [1.02, 1.03]$, $B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.00$, $p < .001$. Again, the odds of perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) were also significantly *higher* for those with higher ethnic identification, $OR = 1.01 [1.01, 1.02]$, $B = 0.02$, $SE = 0.00$, $p < .001$.

Table 6

Table of Correlations for Main Variables (Study 3b)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Racial self-interest (0=RAC, 1= SELF INT)	-	-	-			
2. Collective narcissism	3.83	1.65	.54***	-		
3. In-group identification	83.01	21.62	.28***	.27***	-	
4. Political ideology	54.21	30.64	.52***	.41***	.21***	-
5. Alt-right support	35.98	28.67	.36 ***	.30***	.22***	.31***

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

*** $p < .001$.

We then sought to examine whether beliefs about immigration restrictions would be associated with support for the alt-right, accounting for any effects of collective narcissism, in-group identification and political ideology. As in Study 3a, we found that perceiving immigration restrictions as not racist (vs. racist) was a significant predictor of support for the

alt-right (Table 7). We again also found that White collective narcissism, White identification and conservatism were associated with more positive attitudes towards the alt-right.

Table 7

Results of a Regression Analysis Predicting Attitudes towards the Alt-right (Study 3b)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>B</i> CI _{95%}	β	<i>p</i>
Constant	-0.04(2.70)	-5.35, 5.26		.988
Political ideology	0.14(0.03)	0.09, 0.19	0.15	<.001
Collective narcissism	2.54(0.48)	1.60, 3.48	0.15	<.001
In-group identification	0.14(0.03)	0.08, 0.20	0.11	<.001
Racial self-interest (0=RAC, 1= SELF INT)	10.09(1.73)	6.69, 13.49	0.17	<.001
<i>F</i>		90.67		
<i>R</i> ²		.19		

Note. RAC = Racist, SELF INT = Racially self-interested.

General Discussion

In four surveys, conducted in different national contexts, we investigated the psychological concomitants of beliefs about immigration restrictions. We based our research on Kaufmann's (2017) question on whether seeking immigration restrictions for cultural reasons is racist or simply an expression of racial self-interest, which should not be considered racist. As Kaufmann (2017; 2018), we found that most respondents in our samples thought that such a belief was not racist. However, the prevalence of this opinion does not preclude it from being associated with potentially problematic in-group or out-group attitudes.

Our studies indicate that viewing immigration restrictions as racially self-interested (vs. racist) is robustly associated with national (Studies 1-2) and White (Studies 3a-3b)

collective narcissism. We found less consistent evidence that it would be linked to in-group identification. National identification was either unrelated (Study 1) or negatively (Study 2) related to seeing immigration restrictions as self-interested (vs. racist). We found positive effects of White identification in Studies 3a and 3b, but these effects were weaker than those observed for White collective narcissism. Furthermore, they were observed for a single-item identification measure that does not directly capture feelings of solidarity and commitment we measured in Studies 1 and 2. Overall, our results suggest that viewing the protection of one's group's share of the population as mere racial self-interest might be an expression of a defensive need to protect the image of the group, rather than of attachment to the in-group and its members.

We further examined the potential implications of one's beliefs about immigration restrictions. Rather unsurprisingly, past work suggests that those who believe restricting immigration for ethnocultural reasons is not racist, were also more willing to support such restrictions (Kaufmann, 2018). However, we found they would also be willing to support overt forms of intergroup hostility. In Study 2, believing immigration restrictions were not racist (vs. racist) increased the likelihood of justifying collective violence against newly settled minority groups. In Studies 3a and 3b, this belief was associated with more positive views of the alt-right—a movement linked to White supremacy beliefs, dominance and blatant hostility towards minorities (Forscher & Kteily, 2019). These relationships were observed over and above any effects of political ideology, collective narcissism or in-group identification.

Our analyses also demonstrated that independent of immigration beliefs, collective narcissism was predictive of greater justification of collective violence, while in-group identification without the narcissistic component was *negatively* associated with this outcome. This is in line with past research showing that while collective narcissism is robustly related

to intergroup animosity, in-group identification without the narcissistic component can be linked to greater tolerance of out-groups (Cichocka et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013). Indeed, a positive attachment to the in-group does not necessarily imply out-group hostility, but such attachment does not seem to be responsible for viewing immigration restrictions as self-interested.

In Studies 3a and 3b, we additionally found that Whites' collective narcissism was a strong predictor of positive attitudes towards the alt-right. This is consistent with past research linking Whites' collective narcissism to support for the Unite the Right rally (Alexander-Grose, 2018). This finding complements research on the psychological profile of the alt-right (Forscher & Kteily, 2019), indicating that it might not only be linked to needs for in-group dominance but also to ideas of one's ethno-national group's underappreciated greatness (see also Gest et al., 2017; Gronfeldt et al., in press).

In this research, we investigated individual factors associated with one's beliefs about slowing down immigration for cultural reasons. Future research would do well to examine how exposure to the idea that such beliefs should be considered racist (vs. not) affects the public's attitudes and behaviours. For example, in July 2019 President Donald Trump Tweeted that the "the Squad" – a group of Democrat Congresswomen, should go back to their countries (Yglesias, 2019). Yet, he claimed these tweets were not racist, and that he did "not have a Racist bone" in his body (Fabian, 2019). He has also repeatedly failed to condemn racist movements and organisations (e.g., Cineas, 2020; Kendi, 2020). Future studies could examine the knock-on effects of failing to call out more or less overtly prejudicial behaviours as racist. Given our reliance on correlational data, such studies might also be well suited to establish causal effects of beliefs about immigration restrictions on intergroup attitudes and policy support.

One limitation of the current research is that we examined implications of beliefs about immigration restrictions among members of dominant ethno-national groups, who made judgments about their in-group member's immigration attitudes. The goal of Kaufmann's (2018) project was to directly compare how people would view similar attitudes expressed by ethnic minorities versus majorities. For example, he found that White Clinton voters were less likely to view immigration restriction preferences as racist when they were expressed by a minority, compared to a White person. The effect was reversed for White Trump voters (although this difference was smaller than that observed for Clinton voters). Future research would do well to examine whether immigration restrictions beliefs have similar in-group and out-group correlates depending on the target⁴, as well as when measured among minority respondents.

The overall aim of this research was to examine implications of different views on restricting immigration for cultural reasons or to maintain one's ethnic groups share of the population. Our goal was not to establish whether such views are in fact racist, justifiable, or reasonable. Instead, we sought to understand what sort of in-group and out-group attitudes would be associated with beliefs about racial self-interest. Even if most people believe some acts are not racist, it does not necessarily mean they would not be linked to racist outcomes.

⁴ A preliminary study (reported in the Supplement) examined whether target change would affect the association between collective narcissism and perceptions of immigration restrictions. We found that collective narcissism predicted greater likelihood of viewing such restrictions as not racist (vs. racist), regardless of whether the described target was a member of the in-group or out-group.

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