

IN
SEARCH
OF THE
PSYCHOPATHIC LEADER

THE DECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROFILE OF
A MANIFESTATION OF 'SUCCESSFUL' PSYCHOPATHY



DÉSIRÉ PALMEN

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DÉSIRÉ PALMEN

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In search of the psychopathic leader. The deconstruction of the profile of a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy.

Front cover: The photograph of a handsome suited man in the dark, illuminated by a spotlight is work from the artist Milivojevic. For me this artwork symbolizes the work in my thesis through which I have pursued the goal to illuminate the specific traits in the profile of a dark character: the psychopathic leader.

Through the book other photographs by the artist Milivojevic are displayed. These artworks were available for free download on: <https://pixnio.com>. The photographs displayed in chapter 2 and chapter 4 were available for free download on: <https://pxhere.com>.

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In search of the psychopathic leader

The deconstruction of the profile of a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy

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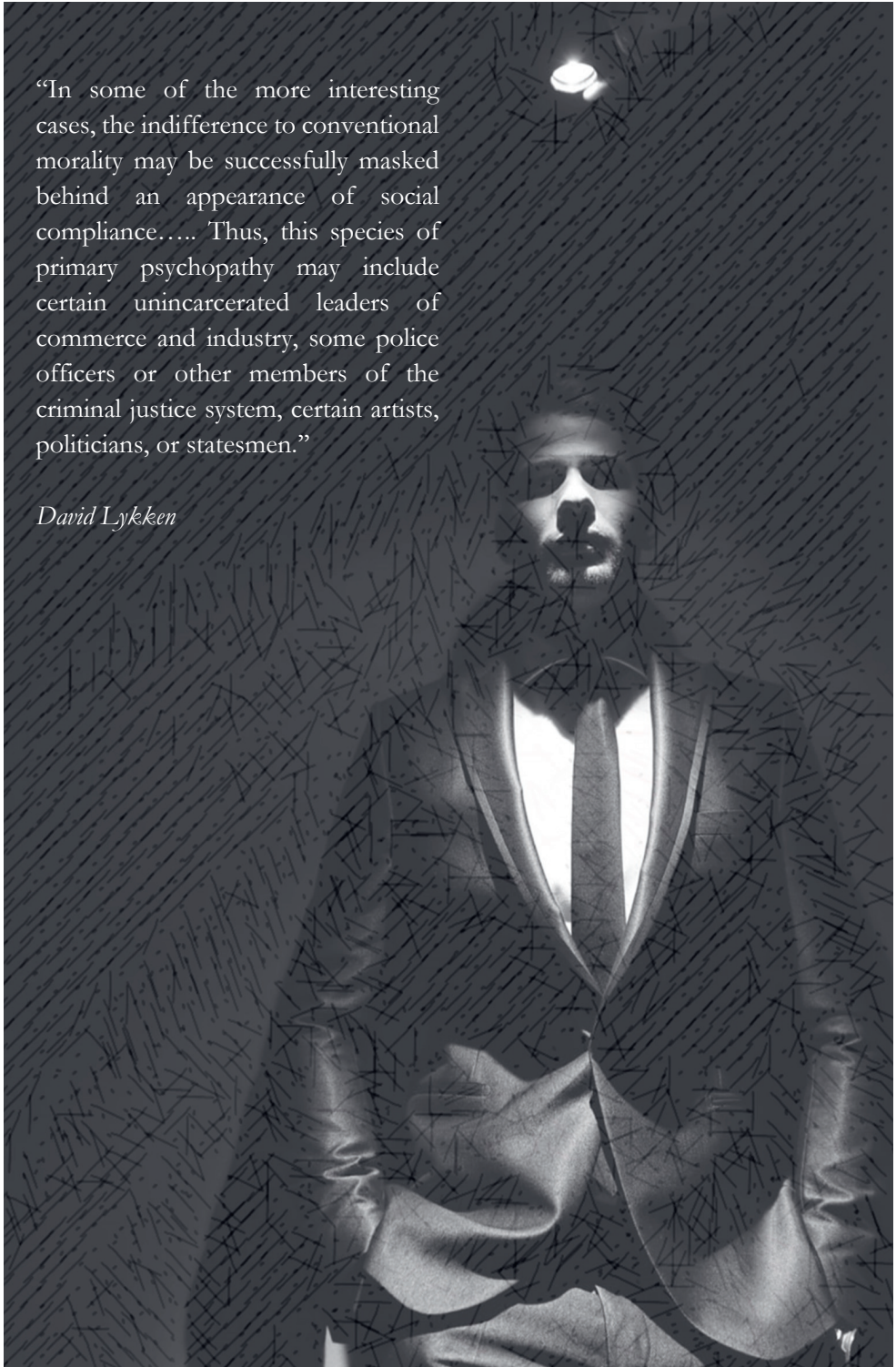
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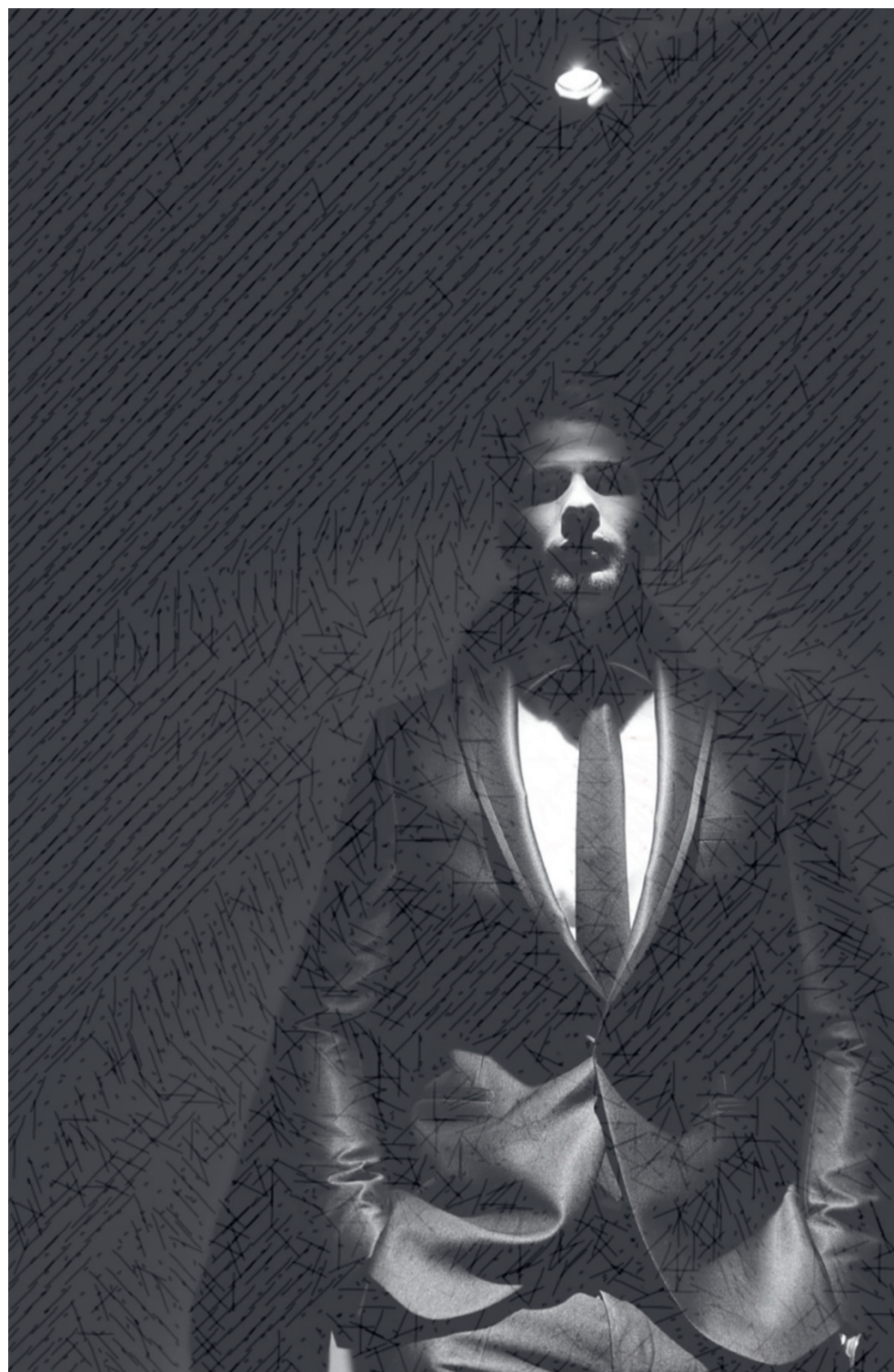
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“In some of the more interesting cases, the indifference to conventional morality may be successfully masked behind an appearance of social compliance..... Thus, this species of primary psychopathy may include certain unincarcerated leaders of commerce and industry, some police officers or other members of the criminal justice system, certain artists, politicians, or statesmen.”

David Lykken





INTRODUCTION

WHAT MAKES A PSYCHOPATHIC LEADER?

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT MAKES A PSYCHOPATHIC LEADER?

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*"Not all psychopaths are in prison.
Some are in the Boardroom."*

(Robert Hare)

Robert Hare's 2002 proclamation that psychopathic individuals may not only be found in prison environments but also in the boardroom received a wave of media attention all over the world. The idea that these individuals without a conscience could be found outside prison walls, let alone in the higher echelons of for-profit and nonprofit organizational environments, caused small waves of shock among the general population. However, since Cleckley (1941/1976), scholars of psychopathy research have been aware that although psychopathy has been primarily studied in incarcerated samples, psychopathic individuals may be found in all walks of life including in leadership positions in the boardrooms in business and politics.

Although newspapers and other media have regularly reported about the risk-taking and fraudulent practices by high profile leaders long before Hare's statement in 2002, this may have been the first time such reckless and immoral conducts were associated with psychopathy (Hare, 2002). Indeed, psychologists who have speculated about the personalities of these executives have interpreted such dishonest behaviors as egocentric, callous, and unconscionable. At the same time they have observed the charismatic, attractive, and charming appearance of these fraudulent leaders (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). The combination of these different personality features bears striking resemblance with what is called the psychopathic personality in the psychiatric literature (Hare, 2003). Both in the media and in the field of research these fraudulent executives are often referred to as psychopathic leaders or as corporate psychopaths (Babiak, 2007; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

Hare's postulation regarding psychopathic individuals in the boardroom is a reflection of the theory that there may be an outward resemblance between the abilities and traits sought after in talented leaders and certain features of psychopathy (Babiak, 1996; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Hare, 2002; Hill & Scott, 2019). In research this psychopathic leadership type is considered to be a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy, especially in comparison to the overtly criminal psychopathic individual in prison (Hall & Benning, 2006; Goa & Raine, 2010; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

In the field of clinical psychology and psychiatry, psychopathy is considered a severe personality disorder which is described as socially devastating (Hare, 1996). Psychopathy is defined as comprising the traits of egocentricity, manipulativeness, callousness, lack of empathy, shame and guilt, antisociality, and impulsivity that is hidden behind a charming and likeable façade (Cleckley, 1941, Hare, 1996; Patrick, 2006). Although most of the psychopathy research has focused on male samples, there are some findings on women samples. When comparing data of male and female psychopathic samples, men consistently show higher levels of psychopathy than women (Verona & Vitale, 2018). It is still unclear whether findings from male psychopathy samples may be generalized to women samples. Preliminary studies in prison and community samples suggest that although the underlying affective and interpersonal deficits may, for the most part, be similar in men and women, the behavioral manifestations of antisociality may differ between genders (Verona & Vitale, 2018).

Among the general public many people still regard ‘psychopaths’ as the vicious killers or rapists in prison. However, research indicates that many psychopathic individuals, an estimated 0.6%-1.2% of the general population, may live among us (Coid et al., 2012, 2009). Researchers believe that the great majority of this group is not overtly criminal or excessively violent (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019). Several scholars have posited that these psychopathic individuals may be especially well represented in leadership positions in both profit and non-profit organizations (Babiak et al., 2010; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Landay et al., 2019).

Although the research into psychopathic leadership is limited, studies indicate that these psychopathic leaders may share many of the traits with their overtly criminal counterparts in prison such as egocentricity, lack of conscience, grandiosity, and callousness. However, there also appear to be some fundamental differences between the psychological profiles of psychopathic individuals in prison samples and psychopathic leaders (Gao & Raine, 2010; Hall & Benning, 2006; Ishikawa, et al., 2001). These two profiles may differ in the levels of impulsivity, social efficacy, boldness, and self-control (Benning et al., 2018; Palmen et al., 2019; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hall & Benning, 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Poythress & Hall, 2011).

In one important aspect, the overtly criminal psychopathic individual and the psychopathic leader may be quite similar. They may both have a destructive influence on their environment. Several studies have shown that hiring psychopathic leaders can have severe consequences, and in some cases may even have a devastating effect on the organizations’ finances and on its employees (e.g., Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy et al., 2010; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007).

Moreover, in certain cases bad leadership may not only have a disastrous impact on the organizations concerned but also on our society as a whole. According to Boddy (2011) the global financial crisis of 2008 may have been partly caused by senior financial directors high in psychopathic traits. This scholar has argued that psychopathic individuals in high profile positions in for profit and non-profit organizations may pose a threat to “corporate and social justice and even for world financial stability and longevity.” (Boddy, 2011, p. 258).

I. Goals and Methods

The main goal of this thesis is to produce novel theoretical insights on the constellation of the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader. Research has indicated that the specific set of traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader may show significant differentiations with the traits in the 'traditional' profile of the incarcerated criminal psychopathic individual (Bucy et al., 2008; Gao & Raine, 2010; Gustafson & Ritzer, 1995; Hall & Benning 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Perri, 2011; Poythress et al., 2010; Ray, 2007; Skeem et al., 2003; Widom, 1978).

On the basis of a comprehensive comparison of the research on psychopathic leadership with research on the 'traditional' profile of psychopathy novel hypotheses were developed on the differentiating traits between these two manifestations of psychopathy. On the basis of a thorough analysis of this comparative review a proposed model was constructed in which the unique set of traits in the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader are outlined.

This theoretical model of the psychopathic leader is helpful for the accurate acquirement of new data on psychopathic leadership. Through the precise definition of the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader the identification of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions may become more efficient. Furthermore, the precise definition of the specific traits in this profile may provide important insights for the best operationalization of psychopathic leadership including the selection of the most accurate assessment instrument to measure this specific manifestation of psychopathy.

In this thesis a combination of two qualitative research methods were applied to reach the proposed theoretical model of the psychopathic leader and the aligned hypotheses. The first (and broader) method applied in this thesis is known as qualitative meta-analysis (Schreiber, Crooks, & Stern, 1997). This method is aimed at analyzing the outcomes of a review of the theory and research on a certain research object, structurally organizing outcomes and classifying possible causal relationships in order to construct new theory. The method of qualitative meta-analysis was blended with the qualitative comparative analysis method (Rihoux, 2006; Rihoux & Ragin, 2009) in which available qualitative data is summarized and analyzed to explore similarities and dissimilarities between research concepts. An important characteristic of this method is the integration of these new theoretical findings with grounded theory and with other theoretical models. In such an iterative process the researcher constantly switches from established theory to the novel theoretical findings as the basis for new theory, comparing and analyzing patterns of similarity and dissimilarity. In a process of alternating focus from the subject of the psychopathic leader and 'successful' psychopathy, to a broader focus of psychopathy in combination with psychopathic subtypes, possible causal relations between these separate subjects and adaptive and maladaptive outcomes were categorized and analyzed. In this process the theory construction was constantly aimed at the possible similarities and dissimilarities among these subjects and as a result new hypotheses were constructed on: 1. the profile of the psychopathic leader, 2. the differential traits with the 'traditional' psychopathy profile, and 3. the specific traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader associated with the 'successfulness', the estimated high prevalence, and the outward attractiveness of the psychopathic leader.

II. The Proposed Model of the Psychopathic Leader

This thesis proposes a novel psychological profile of the psychopathic leader. Through comparing theory and research the specific traits and the mutual interactions were systematically constructed and organized in the proposed profile of the psychopathic leader.

In the course of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model), the model has evolved in its construction. In each of the four articles written to be published in peer-reviewed journals new insights were gathered concerning the separate components that are part of the PL-model. These novel findings have led to a deeper understanding of the complexity of the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader. This process of model development is apparent in the sequence of the four main articles that are central to this thesis (Rihoux, 2006; Rihoux & Ragin, 2009).

In the first peer-reviewed journal article a first version of the model was presented in which the difference between primary and secondary psychopathy types, which is hypothesized to be an essential building ground of the model, is centralized (Palmen et al., 2018). The main focus in this first phase of the model was to investigate which subtypes in primary and secondary psychopathy were most associated with adaptive outcomes as psychopathic leadership is considered a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy. The second peer-reviewed journal article presents a first refinement of the model through a detailed analysis of the ways in which high self-control intertwines with one specific type of impulsivity: sensation seeking (Palmen, et al., 2019). Additionally, this article illuminated how the conjunction of high self-control with sensation seeking may clarify the ‘success’ of the psychopathic leader. The third article (Palmen et al., 2021) focuses on the trait need for domination in the PL-model. Although the need for control and domination in a social context is regarded to be a fundamental trait in psychopathy by most scholars in the field, this trait has received little attention in psychopathy research. Through a review on the research on psychopathy and the need for domination in combination with a comparative review between psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism on this specific trait, important divergencies were found which led to a deeper understanding of the need for domination in the profile of the psychopathic leader. Furthermore, the aforementioned comparative analysis supported the hypothesis that the need for domination in the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader may clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions. Finally, the fourth article (currently under review at a peer-reviewed journal) discussed the facet of boldness in the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader. Although this facet is not a component of the earlier versions of the PL-model, during the research conducted for this thesis the vital importance of this highly debated facet to psychopathic leadership became more apparent. This article elucidated in which ways the facet of boldness may be the most valid and complete clarification for the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders.

III. Overview of this Thesis

The proposed model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model) is discussed in a categorized manner in this manuscript. Every component of the PL-model is illuminated in a separate chapter. Furthermore, in these chapters the profile of the psychopathic leader will be contrasted with the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. Finally, on the basis of a detailed view on the specific components theoretical clarifications will be proposed for the ‘successfulness’, the estimated high prevalence, and the outward attractiveness associated with psychopathic leadership. Chapter 1, 2, 3, and 4 are the four articles that have been submitted to peer-reviewed journals. Chapter 1, 2, and 3 have been published. Chapter 4 is under review at a peer-reviewed journal. As these chapters are the precise representation of each article (only small alterations such as ‘article’ is ‘chapter’ in this thesis), the chapters will show some overlap in introductory content and in outline of the model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model).

Chapter 1 introduces the model of the psychopathic leader. In this chapter the theoretical building grounds on which the model is constructed are more broadly outlined. Furthermore, this chapter illuminates the specific features of the first version of the proposed model of the psychopathic leader with a detailed illustration of each trait with a presentation of *a fictional portrayal of a psychopathic leader in politics*.

Chapter 2 focuses on one specific combined component in the model of the psychopathic leader: the conjunction of high self-control with sensation seeking. This chapter proposes *a clarification for the ‘success’ of psychopathic leaders* by elucidating the significance of the specific combination of the trait high self-control with the trait sensation seeking in this profile. In this chapter novel hypotheses are proposed on how these traits enable psychopathic leaders to adapt so effectively in leadership positions.

Chapter 3 focuses on the trait need for domination in the model of the psychopathic leader. This chapter proposes *a clarification for the estimated heightened prevalence of psychopathic leadership* through the high levels of the need for domination in this profile. In this chapter novel hypotheses are proposed on the reasons why those high in the profile of psychopathic leadership are drawn to leadership positions.

Chapter 4 proposes *a clarification for the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders* through the facet of boldness in the profile of the psychopathic leader. This chapter proposes novel hypotheses on the reasons why individuals who are hiring for leadership positions are attracted to this psychopathic profile. Although boldness is a debated facet among scholars of psychopathy this chapter argues that it may be essential to the profile of the psychopathic leader.

Chapter 5 outlines *the main conclusions of this thesis* concerning 1. the specific traits in the final model of the psychopathic leader: the final PL-model, 2. the most important differentiating features between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual, and 3. the clarifications for three phenomena connected to psychopathic leaders: the ‘successfulness’, the estimated high prevalence, and the attractive façade.

Chapter 6 critically discusses the hypotheses as constructed in this thesis by *proposing directions for future research* aimed at gaining a deeper insight in the profile of the psychopathic leader, the

differentiating traits between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual, and the clarifications for the phenomena of the ‘successfulness’, the estimated high prevalence, and the outward attractiveness associated with psychopathic leaders. In addition to the suggestions for future studies in this chapter, chapter 2, 3, and 4 of this thesis outline the suggestions for the directions for future research particularly aimed at the theme of that specific chapter, in more detail.

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CHAPTER 1

THE COMPOSITION OF 'ADAPTIVE' AND MALADAPTIVE PERSONALITY TRAITS IN PSYCHOPATHIC LEADERSHIP

An Illustration of Psychopathic Leadership in Politics

ABSTRACT

Psychopathy is a severe personality disorder that can be defined by a lack of conscience, an egocentric and manipulative personality, and charming social skills. Among the general community, images of serial killer Ted Bundy or movie character Hannibal Lector immediately come to mind. Interestingly, however, the popular Netflix series *House of Cards* appears to introduce a different kind of psychopathic personality to the general public through the character of Frank Underwood. This 'successful' psychopathic leadership type has also been an important focus of attention among scholars of psychopathy in the last few years. This chapter uses an analysis of the psychopathic traits of Frank Underwood to present a new model of this psychopathic leader. Through this illustration, it is postulated that the psychopathic leader has a specific profile with a combination of psychopathic and non-psychopathic features. Because this profile is different from the 'traditional' conceptualization of psychopathy, it is more difficult to recognize such a politician as a psychopathic individual. The question of whether a leader with such a profile is successful or a risk will also be addressed.

This chapter on the conjunction of 'adaptive' and maladaptive traits in psychopathic leadership in the setting of politics has been peer-reviewed and published as; Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (2018). House of Cards: Psychopathy in politics. Public Integrity, 20(5), 427-443.

CHAPTER 1
THE COMPOSITION OF ‘ADAPTIVE’ AND MALADAPTIVE PERSONALITY
TRAITS IN PSYCHOPATHIC LEADERSHIP
An Illustration of Psychopathic Leadership in Politics

House of Cards : Psychopathy in Politics

“...the character of Frank Underwood enjoys high socio-economic status as a successful politician, an occupation that provides him with the financial resources and social capital needed to protect himself against the consequences of his profoundly amoral ascent to power”.

(Stephen Benning, Noah Venables, & Jason Hall)

1.1 Introduction

In recent years, there has been an increasing awareness among researchers that most psychopathic individuals may not be institutionalized but actually live amongst us (Babiak & Hare, 2007). Specifically, the subject of psychopathic leadership is of a growing interest to scholars of psychopathy. This is an understandable broadening of focus, because psychopathic leadership and talented leadership can be easily mistaken for one another (Babiak et al., 2010). As those high in psychopathy are charming, sometimes charismatic, and lack a conscience, they can effectively manipulate and influence other people for their own goals. Because they can hide their lack of loyalty and responsibility effortlessly, they can come across as successful and fearless leaders who know how to represent any company, organization, or country (Babiak, 1995; Dutton, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012). Furthermore, these psychopathic individuals enjoy the power and control they can display in a leadership position (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

This chapter argues that psychopathy in leadership is hard to recognize, because there is a distinct psychopathic leader profile that is different from the profile of psychopathic individuals in prisons or institutions. Through an analysis of the fictional character Frank Underwood in the series *House of Cards* (Willimon et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017), it will be illustrated and further discussed how to assess this distinct psychopathic profile in the context of politics.

1.2 Psychopathy

1.2.1 *The mask of sanity*

In the general community the term ‘psychopath’ is often used loosely and the idea of what psychopathy entails doesn’t usually correspond with reality (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). The image of ‘a scary and vicious murderer who looks creepy and crazy’ could not be further away from the actual outward appearance of most psychopathic individuals. Although those high in psychopathy are callous, lack a conscience, and are unable to form intimate bonds with others, including their own family and children, they can appear to be very friendly, sympathetic, and charming in their behavior (Hare, 1993). What most people see when they encounter a psychopathic individual, especially in the beginning, is a normal, likeable, and friendly person, or as Hervey Cleckley (1941) described it, they see “the mask of sanity”. The outward normality is one of the prime reasons why this psychopathic personality is so intriguing. Before addressing the subject of psychopathy in leadership positions, there first will be a brief outline of the theoretical conceptualization and research of psychopathy that is especially relevant for the understanding of psychopathic leadership.

1.2.2 *Research*

In the field of clinical psychology, psychopathy is regarded as a personality disorder that is defined through a constellation of features (Glenn & Raine, 2014). Hare (1996), one of the leading scholars on the concept of psychopathy, defines psychopathy as “*a socially devastating disorder that is defined by a constellation of affective, interpersonal, and behavioral characteristics, including egocentricity; impulsivity; irresponsibility; shallow emotions; lack of empathy, guilt, or remorse; pathological lying; manipulativeness; and the persistent violation of social norms and expectations*” (p. 25). Scholars agree that although psychopathy is one conceptual construct, it is dimensional (Hall & Benning, 2006; LeBreton, Binning & Adorno, 2006). Research on the subject of psychopathy was sparse until Hare used Hervey Cleckley’s seminal work on psychopathy, *The Mask of Sanity* (1941), to develop what is today one of the most commonly used assessment tools to measure psychopathy. Although there are other instruments aimed at operationalizing the concept, the PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist Revised: Hare, 2003) and its derivatives are considered the ‘gold’ standard (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

The PCL-R is based on a two-factor model that divides the main personality traits of psychopathy into two sections. Factor 1 measures the affective and interpersonal traits: the affective features consist of callousness, lack of empathy, remorse or guilt, shallow emotions, and not accepting responsibility for one’s actions; the interpersonal traits are defined as glibness, superficial charm, grandiose sense of self, pathological lying, and cunning and manipulative behavior. Factor 2 measures aspects of an impulsive lifestyle and antisocial behavior, where the

impulsive lifestyle facet is defined through need for stimulation/proneness to boredom, parasitic lifestyle, lack of realistic long-term goals, impulsivity, and irresponsibility, and the antisocial traits entail poor behavioral control, behavioral problems in early childhood, and antisocial behavior in adulthood. Three extra items are also scored that are not part of one of the four facets: promiscuous sexual behavior, many short-term marital relationships, and revocation of conditional release (Hare, 2003) (see table 1.1). Because of the worldwide use of the PCL-R, the study of this psychological construct has been given a major boost, and new insights have been generated on the concept of psychopathy (Babiak, 2007).

1.3 Theoretical Conceptualization

1.3.1 Primary and secondary psychopathy

Since the beginning of the theoretical debate on psychopathy, there has been an ongoing discussion on whether this disorder is primarily caused by a biological predisposition or by traumatic events in childhood or by a combination of both (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). A categorization that is often made is the distinction between two types of psychopathy: primary psychopathy (or psychopathy), on the one hand, that may originate mainly from biology, and secondary psychopathy (or sociopathy), on the other hand, that is considered to arise predominantly through destructive social experiences in childhood (Lykken, 1995; Yildirim, 2016).

Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)
Factor 1 (Affective and Interpersonal traits)
Affective callousness, lack of empathy, lack of remorse or guilt, callousness, shallow emotions, not accepting responsibility for one’s actions
Interpersonal superficial charm, grandiose sense of self, pathological lying, cunning and manipulative behavior, glibness
Factor 2 (Lifestyle and Antisocial traits)
Lifestyle need for stimulation/proneness to boredom, parasitic lifestyle, lack of realistic long-term goals, impulsivity, irresponsibility
Antisocial poor behavioral control, behavioral problems in early childhood, and antisocial behavior in adulthood
Independent Items promiscuous sexual behavior, many short term marital relationships, revocation of conditional release

Table 1.1. Factor structure derived from Hare (2003).

The distinction between different subtypes within psychopathy has been identified in several studies (Lykken, 1995; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Poythress & Skeem, 2006; Poythress et al., 2010; Skeem et al., 2003; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Although at first sight the subtypes are much alike in their outward presentation, primary and secondary psychopathy may differ in their etiology and may also show other important dissimilarities. Yildirim and Derksen have recently outlined these two types through a review of the literature in a new way (2015). Before portraying these different types, it is important to designate that the primary and secondary expressions of psychopathy may all reside on a continuum, rather than being separate categories, and that they may comprise a highly heterogeneous group (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). In this chapter, the focus of attention will be on primary psychopathy and its two subtypes, because this type is most relevant for the conceptualization of psychopathic leadership.

1.3.1.1 Primary psychopathy

Yildirim and Derksen (2013) theorize that primary psychopathy is caused primarily by a hyperstable serotonin system that is rooted in constitution. Serotonin is a neurotransmitter in the brain that influences the emotions and it plays an important role in our attachment to other people; when the serotonin system works adequately we feel happy when people are friendly towards us and unhappy when we have a fight with someone. Yildirim and Derksen (2013) propose that in primary psychopathy the hyperstability of this system causes primary psychopathic individuals to be emotionally unaffected by others around them, or by circumstances that would influence most people. In this way, the emotional shallowness, the lack of empathy, shame, and guilt, and the fearlessness (hyporesponsiveness of the fight-flight-freeze response) in primary psychopathy may be understood. Yildirim and Derksen (2015) differentiate two subtypes of primary psychopathy in their study: the disinhibited primary psychopathic personality and the controlled primary psychopathic personality. The distinction between the two types appears to be caused by dissimilarities in the hormonal system and genes. It is postulated that these divergences may be further exacerbated by differences in social background and educational levels (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015).

The disinhibited primary psychopathic type

The disinhibited primary psychopathic type has the same inborn deficiency of the serotonin system as the controlled type, but is not as goal-oriented and conscientious, and lacks the ambition to achieve absolute power and control. Personalities of this proposed type are very impulsive and irresponsible, and are prone to impetuous risk-taking. These traits may be caused by a higher inborn sensitivity to rewards and lower levels of executive functioning (also referred to as Prefrontal Cortex functioning (PFC); these include competencies like: planning skills, holding attention, self-control and flexibility, compared to the controlled psychopathic type (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015). The personality of this disinhibited type can be portrayed as “insouciant, but fairly happy and optimistic about life.” Most disinhibited primary psychopaths, as described in this theoretical continuum may be rather unsuccessful in life. They may find it hard to hold any job and may often be in some kind of trouble. As a life strategy they may oftentimes survive by parasitically depending on others, like their family and friends (Cleckley, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

The controlled primary psychopathic type

In the theoretical continuum of Yildirim & Derksen (2015) the controlled primary psychopathy type can be regarded as the most successful of all the psychopathic types (of both primary and secondary psychopathy). This type is defined as combining inborn fearlessness and emotional shallowness with high levels of social competency and good (and sometimes even excellent) executive functioning. According to Yildirim and Derksen (2015) this combination of features contributes to a personality type that is well-controlled, goal-oriented, intelligent, and charming. This subtype may be highly successful in certain professions where many of these traits are desirable, such as that of CEO or politician (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Board & Fritzon, 2005; Cleckley, 1941; Dutton, 2012; Gao & Raine, 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Lykken, 1995; Widom, 1978). Furthermore, Yildirim and Derksen (2015) propose that these are also positions that this controlled subtype may prefer in life, because such roles can fulfill a need for power and control over other people, which is also an important trait that defines the subtype (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). In this chapter it is theorized that the psychopathic leader will phenotypically resemble this type the most.

1.3.1.2 Secondary psychopathy

In contrast with primary psychopathy, in the theoretical continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) secondary psychopathy is considered to be more strongly determined by destructive social experiences and less by genetic background. According to these scholars secondary psychopathy may be regarded more as a trait-like coping strategy for regulating intense feelings of inferiority which have become intrinsic in a person’s personality after severe abuse and neglect in childhood (Lykken, 1995; Yildirim, 2016). In contrast to the primary psychopathic individual, who is emotionally shallow and fearless, secondary psychopathic people may often experience high levels of unconscious fear and conscious neuroticism (a negative and unstable emotional state of nervousness) and, as a result, are often more impulsive and hostile. They lack ‘the mask of sanity’ and the charm and charisma that many primary psychopathic individuals display. When interacting with a person with such a personality, people may automatically sense that they should be on guard and often feel intimidated by a constant sense of threat (Yildirim, 2016). Because the features of this secondary psychopathic personality do not fit the profile of a successful leader, this type will not be discussed further in this chapter.

1.4 Psychopathic Leaders

Several researchers of psychopathy have speculated that most of the psychopathic individuals in the general population may not be overtly criminal and overtly antisocial, and can be found in all walks of life, especially in leadership roles (Boddy, 2011; Boddy et al., 2010; Hare, 1996). Hare stated in 2002 that those high in psychopathy are no rarity in business organizations, specifically in the boardroom, and speculated that about 4% of the leaders in for-profit and nonprofit organizations can be diagnosed with the psychopathic personality disorder (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Hare, 2002). These hypotheses on psychopathy in leadership are feasible because the resemblance between the traits sought after in talented leaders and certain features of

psychopathy may be regarded as ‘eye-catching’. Psychopathic traits, such as charm, charisma, and impressive communication skills, can be valuable assets in a leadership position. Furthermore, it is understandable that a psychopathic individual, who additionally lacks feelings of shame and guilt, can come across as a concise but fair leader who can make harsh business decisions when necessary (Babiak, 1995, 1996).

1.4.1 Are psychopathic leaders successful?

Although those high in psychopathy own several traits that are attractive in a leader, the important question is whether their psychological profile is a good fit for a leadership position.

Studies on psychopathy in prison settings show that the suffering this specific population has caused in society is often severe. Although only 20-30% of prisoners are diagnosed with psychopathy, this group is responsible for 50% of the crimes punishable with imprisonment. Moreover, the crimes that psychopathic individuals commit are among the most serious, such as murder and rape (Hare, 1993).

These incarcerated psychopathic individuals are often labeled as unsuccessful foremost because they are caught for their crimes, as opposed to those psychopathic personalities who are more successful in society. Some scholars have speculated that many individuals in this last group can make the most of the adaptive traits of the psychopathic personality disorder in leadership positions (Babiak 1995, 1996; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010). Although this group also takes advantage of others, they do not (in most cases) get involved with the law and are oftentimes labeled successful psychopathic personalities by scholars (Glenn & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Widom, 1978).

Several researchers have postulated that this successful group may combine the psychopathic traits with good executive functioning, and for that reason they may be primarily successful in keeping up the right appearances (Glenn & Raine, 2014; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Kets de Vries, 2012; Widom, 1978). It is imaginable that in this way they can mask their immoral or even fraudulent behavior in a more competent way than their imprisoned counterparts.

In the few studies conducted specifically on psychopathic leadership, findings are that these leaders only appear to be good and oftentimes excellent performers outwardly, but that they are in fact not successful in their achievements. The researched psychopathic leaders were not at all working towards the greater good of the organization (Babiak et al., 2010; Clarke, 2005; Mathieu et al., 2014), made unethical decisions (Laurijssen, 2014; Stevens et al., 2012), and in some cases even had a negative impact on the organization’s finances and its coworkers (Babiak et al., 2010; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015). Not all is bad, it seems: One study, by Spencer and Byrne (2016), did not report a correlation between employees’ job satisfaction and their managers’ level of psychopathic traits. However, it is important to keep in mind that psychopathic leaders are excellent at impression management, and it is often difficult to see the real face behind the mask (Babiak, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Cleckley, 1941).

Based on the aforementioned studies it is theorized that leaders with a certain amount of psychopathic traits will in the end be involved in some kind of unethical, antisocial, or unlawful behavior. The combination of the negative psychopathic traits in this psychological profile, such as the egocentric nature, loyalty only to oneself, lack of conscience and empathy, and the desire to have control over other people, causes these types of immoral behavior. These hazards are also posited by Babiak and Hare (2007); they hypothesize that leaders with psychopathic traits will in

the end be involved in some form of white-collar crime, such as corruption or fraud. Moreover, Cooke and Michie (2001) postulate that whether or not antisocial and criminal behavior is explicitly included as a behavioral trait (as it is in the PCL-R), it will eventually be an outcome of the psychopathic behavioral profile.

1.4.2 Psychopathic traits and white-collar crime

Studies conducted on the subject of white-collar crime confirm the hypotheses on some of the negative consequences of the presence in organizations of leaders with a high score on the psychopathic profile (Bucy et al., 2008; Kolthoff, 2016; Lingnau et al., 2017). These studies also focused on the personalities of the perpetrators of white-collar misconduct and found that leaders with a narcissistic personality (i.e., a personality disorder mainly characterized by a grandiose sense of self and a constant need for admiration (DSM-IV-TR/5, American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013) and a psychopathic personality are at risk for being involved in this type of criminal activity (Bucy et al., 2008; Kolthoff, 2016; Lingnau et al., 2017).

Data from the study by Bucy and colleagues (2008) indicate that entrepreneurs and leaders who were guilty of white-collar crime exhibited several personality traits that are highly similar to the traits of the psychopathic and the narcissistic personality: they were extremely ambitious, obsessed with increasing power and control, and demanded admiration only because they felt they deserved it. In that light, they were also convinced that they were entitled to receive special privileges and additional benefits. The last two aspects are more typical for a specific type of narcissism: the malignant narcissistic personality (Vaknin & Rangelovska, 2001). This personality overlaps with the psychopathic personality on several features, foremost with the primary type of psychopathy (Yildirim, 2016).

Ray (2007) points out that traits like egocentrism, exploitative behavior, and manipulative and deceptive behavior are central in the psychological make-up of the white-collar criminal. These features are also typical of the psychopathic personality (Babiak & Hare, 2007). Another striking similarity the white-collar criminal and the psychopathic personality share is that they both surround themselves with people they dominate and whom they seduce into assisting them to commit their crimes (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Bucy et al., 2008; Perri, 2011).

There are a number of possible explanations why psychopathic individuals might feel attracted to white-collar crime and why they have a special talent for it. The opportunity perspective, as described by Benson and Simpson (2015), fits the psychopathic leader like a glove. Such psychopathic leaders have a predatory eye that enables them to detect convenient opportunities for engaging in a variety of fraudulent practices or other white-collar crime activities. Furthermore, in such crimes, their infamous charm and manipulative behavior can be very beneficial. It is no effort for them to bedazzle people or any organization out of their money, especially because they are not hindered by feelings of loyalty, guilt, or shame (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019). Another attractive facet of white-collar crime is that the chances of getting caught are relatively small, and the penalties in fraud and corruption cases are often minimal (Hare, 1993).

1.5 Psychopathy in Politics

A further broadening of focus of the research on psychopathy in leadership is the psychopathic personality in politics (Dutton, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012). It is not hard to imagine that psychopathic traits could be especially profitable in political leadership. The outwardly charming and sometimes charismatic self-presentation combined with manipulation skills and callousness are features that can help an individual to flourish in a political leadership position. Before outlining the recent research on this subject, the concept of psychopathic leadership in politics will be introduced through the portrayal of the specific psychopathic traits in the character of Frank Underwood in the popular Netflix series *House of Cards* (Willimon et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017). Through this series, it is apparent that the possible existence of psychopathic leadership has become a novel topic not only for researchers of psychopathy but also among the general public.

1.5.1 *A fictional portrait of psychopathy in politics in House of Cards*

House of Cards is an American series on American politics that is situated in present-day Washington, D.C., and features the life of a Democrat in Congress named Frank Underwood (played by Kevin Spacey) (Willimon et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017). It describes his political ambition eventually to become president of the United States and illuminates from the inside out through which endeavors he achieves this goal. On this path, he is strongly supported by his wife, Claire, but he benefits especially from his manipulative and ruthless dealing with other people. The persona of Frank Underwood is an example of what successful psychopathy in politics may look like. The specific features and behavior of this fictional politician are described in the following section in more detail.

In the series, the character of Frank Underwood is portrayed as a very successful politician, with a harsh and callous personality, who is obsessed with power and control. Nevertheless, he is outwardly utterly charming and charismatic and knows how to manipulate other people brilliantly. In order to fulfill his desire to control other people, he uses all kinds of different skills, comprising charm, humiliation of others, ruthless lying, intimidation, gradually intensifying verbal attacks, feigning empathy and concern, and other manipulative communication skills. It is clear that to him, other people only serve one purpose: they are tools through which he can achieve his own goals. The combination of these behavioral traits, together with his ability for ingenious planning and his outstanding foresight, help him in the end to gain the highest position in American politics: the office of the presidency. Frank Underwood's emotional life appears to be stable but shallow, and it seems that he only experiences real emotions when he is angry because he doesn't get his way, or is happy when he does. He is very good at play-acting the whole range of emotions, which he can easily switch on and off and which are fine-tuned to what is most effective in the given situation (Willimon et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017). The main question that arises when viewing the callous and conscienceless behavior of this feigning politician is: Is the character of Frank Underwood in *House of Cards* a psychopathic personality?

Based on the different psychopathic features outlined in the previous section of this chapter, Frank Underwood does not fit the profile of the psychopathic personality as it is traditionally portrayed through the features of the PCL-R (Hare, 2003): he is not impulsive in his behavior, but instead appears to have a lot of self-control, and is extremely goal-oriented and calculating. This is in contrast with the institutionalized psychopathic individual, who scores high on impulsiveness,

engages in a parasitic lifestyle, shows poor behavioral control, and lacks any vision of realistic long-term goals or planfulness (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Hare, 1993).

In this chapter it will be demonstrated however, that Frank Underwood does fit the model of the psychopathic leader that will be presented in the next section. The most important question of course is: Is it possible that individuals with a psychopathic profile are active in places of political power in real life? This question will be addressed after the presentation of the model of the psychopathic leader in the section in which the research on psychopathy in real-life politics is discussed.

1.6 The Profile of the Psychopathic Leader: A Model

In response to the scarcity of information on psychopathic leadership, scholars postulate that new data are needed on this particular group of individuals who may be hazardous in their leadership behavior (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010). To gain new knowledge in an accurate way, it is important to define psychopathic leadership correctly. In several studies, it is hypothesized that the profile of psychopathic leaders in high positions may be significantly different from the psychopathic individuals in prison (Bucy et al., 2008; Gao & Raine, 2010; Gustafson & Ritzer, 1995; Hall & Benning 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Perri, 2011; Poythress et al., 2010; Ray, 2007; Skeem et al., 2003; Widom, 1978).

In this section, a model of the psychopathic leader will be presented, in which the unique set of traits of this specific profile will be outlined. This model is constructed through two pathways. The first route is to determine which of the different psychopathic types outlined in section 1.2 Psychopathy, fits best the profile of the psychopathic leader as such individuals are portrayed through research and in the literature. The second route is to analyze relevant data on white-collar crimes committed by people with a psychopathic profile as outlined in section 1.4 Psychopathic leaders, combined with data on the differences between the personality profiles of blue-collar criminals and white-collar criminals.

1.6.1 *The controlled primary psychopathic personality*

As outlined earlier in this chapter, it is posited that the psychopathic leader can be regarded as a successful psychopathic personality. Glenn and Raine state that this type may have more of the adaptive traits of psychopathy and define the type as “*high-functioning manifestations of noncriminal psychopathy*” (2014, p. 158). When comparing this definition with the psychopathic types of Yildirim and Derksen’s review study (2015), the psychopathic leader most resembles the controlled primary psychopathic type.

1.6.2 *White-collar and blue-collar criminals and psychopathic traits*

This last postulation is further confirmed by data from a study by Ray (2007), who found some remarkable dissimilarities between white-collar and blue-collar criminals. The first group was less impulsive, had more self-control, and was more self-reflective about their own behavior than the second group. Data found by Blickle and colleagues (2006) confirm Ray’s readings; convicted white-collar criminals showed high scores on conscientiousness. It appears that especially the

psychopathic type of white-collar criminals score high on conscientiousness; they are better at controlling their impulses and plan their actions in advance. Data suggest that the psychopathic leader type may not be as impulsive as the overtly criminal psychopathic personality, or that this type is just better at handling their impulsivity by means of a more adequate executive functioning system (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001).

1.6.3 *A model of the psychopathic leader*

On grounds of the accounts of the different psychopathic types, the controlled primary psychopathic type can be portrayed as charming, charismatic, and astute, and as someone who can eloquently present themselves with profound social skills and social intelligence. Not hindered by feelings of shame, guilt, or empathy, one can visualize such a person employing fierce business decisions without losing one night's sleep over it. Such a leader is goal-oriented and feels content when in a position of power and control. It is not hard to envision that this controlled primary type is drawn to high-profile positions and can present the image of the talented leader perfectly. Data from studies regarding white-collar crime and the psychopathic personality, as well as data on the differences between the personality traits of white-collar and blue-collar criminals, have confirmed this conceptualization further (Blickle et al., 2006; Ray, 2007).

The proposed profile of the psychopathic leader may therefore be described through three defining aspects (figure 1.1). The first crucial asset, characteristic of all primary psychopathic individuals, is their *fearlessness* (hypo-responsiveness of the fight-flight-freeze response). The second important aspect, distinguishing the controlled subtype from the disinhibited type of primary psychopathy, is high levels of executive functioning, which is especially determined through *high self-control* (as opposed to the high impulsiveness of the 'classic' psychopathic profile). The third facet is a combination of different features that are represented through Factor 1 of the PCL-R. The features represented by *Factor 1 (affective and interpersonal traits)* of the PCL-R are: *callousness, lack of empathy, remorse, or guilt, shallow emotion, not accepting responsibility for one's actions, glibness, superficial charm, grandiose sense of self, pathological lying, and cunning and manipulative behavior* (Hare, 2003). This facet is included because these features together define the personality traits that are core to the psychopathic profile, without adding overt criminal and antisocial behavior (Factor 2 of the PCL-R). Most scholars postulate that Factor 1 of the PCL-R (affective and interpersonal traits) best represents primary psychopathy, and that Factor 2 (lifestyle and antisocial traits) overlaps more with secondary psychopathy (Skeem et al., 2003).

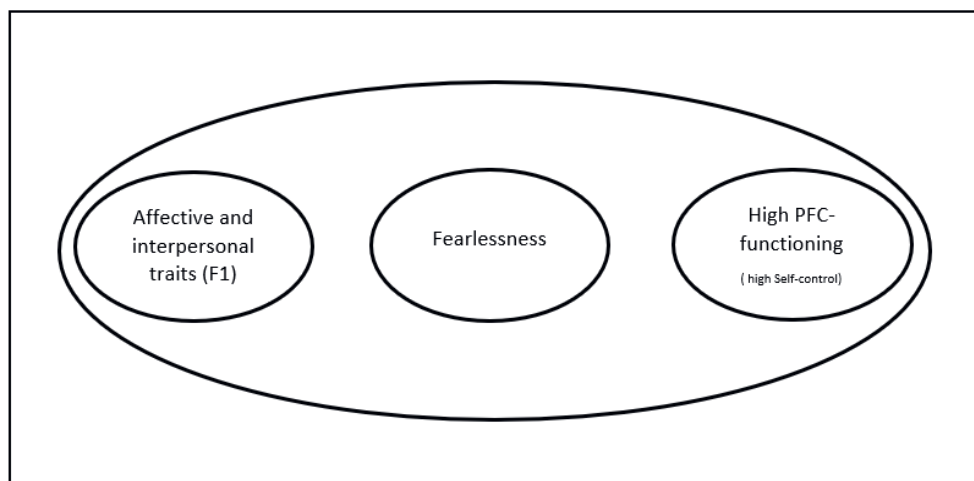


Figure 1.1. The model of the psychopathic leader.

Especially the aspects of high level of executive functioning and specifically the high level of self-control of this type makes this psychopathic leader even harder to recognize than the psychopathic personality with the 'classic' profile of higher levels of outward impulsivity and antisociality. With this specific constellation of traits, this leadership type is expected to be very competent in keeping up the right appearances in whatever role has to be played (whether that of a CEO or of a politician).

1.6.3.1 Frank Underwood fits the profile of the psychopathic leader

In this section, it will be proposed that the different features and behavior of the character of Frank Underwood in the Netflix series *House of Cards* (Willimon et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017) fit the profile of the psychopathic leader as portrayed in the model presented above.

The first remarkable observation when screening the behavior of the character of Frank Underwood throughout the series is his lack of physiological response to extreme situations that would leave most people shaken. When Frank Underwood is observed after a severe conflict or fight, he shows no sign of being upset or stressed. This behavior, combined with the sudden mood shifting when he wants to get his way and his unaffected posture when telling lies or admitting to lies, indicates that there could be a hyporesponsivity of the fight-flight-freeze response (*fearlessness*: the first facet in the model). The most profound example of the hyporesponsivity of the fight-flight-freeze response in the character of Frank Underwood is evident in the first episode of the second season of the series, when he kills a journalist with whom he has an affair. Underwood is totally calm, before, during, and after the act (Willimon et al., 2014).

The conduct of gradually increasing intensity in gaze, posture, and tone when verbally attacking another person, or instrumentally shifting his mood to achieve emotional resonance in others to have greater control over their behavior, combined with his goal-oriented behavior, indicate that he may also score high on the aspect of executive functioning and specifically on the facet of *self-control* (the second facet in the model). All these behavioral traits combined can be

observed in the tenth episode of the fourth season of the series when Frank Underwood threatens Secretary of State Catherine Durant to stay in office because he needs her as an important ally to achieve his goals. In this scene, he admits to her that he has killed two people, which leaves her in shock, then laughs it off and finally threatens that she should do what he wants, adding he will never forget it if she doesn't. Durant is in total shock and finally complies with his demands (Willimon et al., 2016). The high levels of executive functioning and self-control in the behavior of Frank Underwood are also apparent in the fourth episode of the fifth season, when Frank Underwood is at risk of losing the presidential election to the Republican candidate Will Conway, but "keeps his cool" and fabricates and executes a plot to keep the public from voting in two states, which results in the suspension of the election (Willimon et al., 2017).

Finally, the third aspect in the model of the psychopathic leader: the features of Factor 1 of the PCL-R (*affective and interpersonal traits*), are observable in Frank Underwood's behavior in every episode in a profound manner. The callousness, the shallow emotions, and the lack of empathy in his personality are particularly clear in the opening scene of the series, where it is shown how he kills a dog with his bare hands (Willimon et al., 2013). Throughout this act he is rational, explains himself in front of the camera, and is not at all shaken; it is simply a job that has to be done.

The trait of not accepting responsibility for one's actions is apparent whenever Frank Underwood is accused of bad political decision-making or any faulty behavior. For him these events are errors only in the eyes of others. Dealing with such 'mistakes' is not to take responsibility for them but as inconveniences that should be swept under the rug or blamed on others. In the fifth episode of the first season, Representative Peter Russo validly blames Frank Underwood for the collapse of the shipyard Russo tried to save. Underwood, however, turns the blame on Russo, convincing him that he (Underwood) is the only one who still believes in him and that he wants Russo to run for Governor of Pennsylvania. Russo accepts the challenge and doesn't mention the shipyard to Underwood again (Willimon et al., 2013).

Glibness and superficial charm define the character of Frank Underwood; he is a master at winning people over by feigning empathy and friendliness or doing personal favors in order to have control over them. One of his best communication skills to control other people is his use of powerful metaphors all throughout the series; he impresses as a strong and intelligent man. In the sixth episode of the fifth season, Underwood rehires his bodyguard Edward Meechum and tells him he should be like a rock, "a rock absorbs nothing, says nothing, and cannot be broken". Meechum is extremely loyal to Underwood after this, and in the end loses his own life to protect his (Willimon et al., 2013, 2016).

The pathological lying and the cunning and manipulative behavior in the character of Frank Underwood are evident throughout all seasons of the series; his constant lying to everybody around him (including his wife) appears to be so natural as if he himself believes what he is saying. There is no sense of shame, guilt, or remorse; the web of lies is just a means to an end for Frank Underwood. A good example of this behavior is when Underwood drives a wedge between President Walker and billionaire Raymond Tusk by lying to both of them. Driving these two people apart enlarges Underwood's power over President Walker (Willimon et al., 2014).

The last feature of Factor 1 of the PCL-R, grandiose sense of self, is a trait that characterizes the protagonist of this show. From the first series on, it is evident to Frank Underwood that he should be the president of the United States and he is very convinced he will reach this goal (Willimon et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017). Based on the analysis discussed in this section, the personality profile of the character of Frank Underwood fits the model of the psychopathic leader.

1.6.3.2 Psychopathic traits in politicians: American presidents

The next question is whether a psychopathic politician as outlined in the section above could exist in real life. A study by Lilienfeld and colleagues (2012) on psychopathic traits in 42 U.S. presidents (up to but not including President Obama) demonstrated that psychopathic traits are also present in the personality profiles of political leaders in real life in the United States. This study on political leadership assessed the psychopathic traits of these 42 American presidents and studied which specific features of psychopathy were part of the various presidents' psychological profiles. Furthermore, the performance of each of these presidents was evaluated. In this case, another well-validated psychopathy scale was employed that was specifically constructed to assess psychopathic features in the general public: the PPI-R (Psychopathic Personality Inventory Revised: Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005). The first higher-order scale of the PPI-R, Fearless Dominance (represented by the subscales social potency, stress immunity, and fearlessness), correlated positively with performance, such as starting new projects and being regarded as a world leader. The second higher-order scale, Self-centered Impulsivity (represented by the subscales carefree nonplanfulness, impulsive nonconformity, Machiavellian egocentricity, blame externalization, and related psychopathic traits), was positively correlated with objectives for negative jobperformance, such as negative character, inducing congressional impeachment resolutions, or not correcting unethical behavior in their staff.

One may conclude that some psychopathic traits, such as a lack of nervousness and high dominance in interpersonal relationships (a high score on the scale Fearless Dominance), may be a positive asset in leadership positions. However, a leader who also scores high on self-centeredness and impulsivity (high on both Fearless Dominance and Self-centered Impulsivity) is not desirable in such a powerful and responsible position (Lilienfeld et al., 2012).

1.6.3.3 Why psychopathic politicians are a risk

As outlined above, Lilienfeld et al.'s study (2012) on psychopathic traits in politicians found that the performance of the studied American presidents was related to the level of psychopathic traits on two different scales of the PPI-R. Another study on the benefits and risks of certain psychopathic traits in leadership positions was conducted by Dutton (2016). He invited historians who are experts on different (in)famous world leaders, such as Saddam Hussein, Adolf Hitler, and Jesus Christ, to assess these leaders on the different scales of the PPI-R. The first scale of Fearless Dominance, was found to be related to successful leadership in Lilienfeld et al.'s study, and the second scale of Self-Centered Impulsivity was positively correlated with negative performance, as was outlined above (2012). The third scale of the PPI-R, Coldheartedness, was added in the analyses of Dutton's study and is defined through the following traits: lack of emotions and guilt, and no regard for other people's feelings. The scores of the aforementioned leaders show the same correlations as the Lilienfeld et al. study of 2012: Jesus Christ scored high on Fearless Dominance but low on Self-Centered Impulsivity and Coldheartedness. Saddam Hussein and Adolf Hitler scored high on every one of the three scales (the full psychopathic profile).

Whether certain psychopathic traits are an asset in a political leadership position or a risk may depend on the levels of the scores on the different psychopathic traits. The traits of fearlessness, social influence, and stress immunity, too, appear to be beneficial in political positions, especially in high-power political positions. However, when too many of the negative psychopathic traits, such as self-centeredness, impulsivity, lack of empathy, and guilt, are also part of the profile of a

political leader (this would be the full psychopathic profile according to the PPI-R), the leader may be a risk for ineffective (and also unethical) leadership (Dutton, 2016).

1.7 Conclusions and Future Directions

Psychopathic leadership is considered an expression of successful psychopathy among researchers of the psychopathic personality (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Dutton, 2012; Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012). Although psychopathy is not easily recognized in any person, as Cleckley's description of the disorder, "the mask of sanity," so accurately expresses (1941), in leadership and especially in political leadership this is even more challenging. Particularly the apparent social success of these psychopathic politicians can blind even the most perceptive observer to the unethical behavior, the unscrupulous decision-making, and the callousness behind the mask. These politicians are successful in society because they are very good at controlling themselves in crucial situations (high self-control), planning ahead thoroughly (strategic planning of their careers), and because they are especially charming in their manipulateness.

In this chapter, it is postulated that their psychological profile is significantly distinct from the profile of the 'classic' criminal psychopathic individual in prison, where the impulsiveness (in the disinhibited primary type and the secondary types), and in some cases the underlying feelings of inferiority (in the secondary types of psychopathy), may result in overt criminal behavior. This distinct profile has been illustrated by assessing the elements from this new model in the psychological profile of the character of Frank Underwood in the series *House of Cards*. Some research indicates that psychopathic traits are also apparent in real-life politicians (Dutton, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012). For future research, it is important to gather further data in organizations and in politics on the specific traits of the psychopathic leader. The correlation between psychopathic traits and white-collar crime should also be a focus of attention in such studies.

The chapter closes with a debate on whether psychopathic can be successful in (political) leadership. The data from several studies, combined with postulations by different scholars about this topic, indicate that unethical and antisocial behavior will be a logical outcome of the psychopathic nature (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Cooke & Michie, 2001; Stevens et al., 2012). This leads to somber expectations on the achievements of such (political) leaders, especially when the morality of the behavior is considered. Laurijssen's study (2014) and the study of Stevens et al. (2012) confirm the risk for integrity issues for leaders with a psychopathic profile. These studies indicated that leaders who score high on psychopathic traits show more unethical decision-making.

This chapter concludes with the statement that in a democratic government, politicians with high levels of integrity and moral values are imperative, and without these traits, a public representative cannot be regarded as a successful political leader. As politicians who score high on levels of the psychopathic profile lack such traits, they cannot be defined as successful leaders, because a lack of integrity in a political leader undermines our democratic system.

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CHAPTER 2

A CLARIFICATION FOR THE 'SUCCESS' OF THE PSYCHOPATHIC LEADER

The trait of High Self-control may support 'Success' in Psychopathic Leadership

ABSTRACT

In the last few years scholars have postulated that non-institutionalized psychopathic individuals may be overrepresented in leadership positions. In this chapter theory and research on the profile of those high in psychopathy in leadership positions is juxtaposed with the traditional profile of those high in psychopathy in prisons and institutions. It is hypothesized that the psychopathic leader has a unique combination of traits that enables and drives such a leader to be 'successful' in a position of power. This chapter argues that the differentiating trait in the profile of the psychopathic leader may be the trait high self-control. This is in contrast with the traditional profile of institutionalized psychopathic individuals in which levels of self-control are typically low. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that although the traits of high self-control and impulsivity are apparently contradictory, the conjunction of high self-control with one specific domain of impulsivity could further amplify the 'success' of the psychopathic leader.

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CHAPTER 2

A CLARIFICATION FOR THE ‘SUCCESS’ OF THE PSYCHOPATHIC LEADER

The trait of High Self-control may support ‘Success’ in Psychopathic Leadership

High self-control may support ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership:

Self-control versus impulsivity in psychopathic leadership

“...there may be subsets of individuals who possess the affective–interpersonal features of psychopathy (e.g. lack of anxiety, superficial charm, conning/deceitfulness, lack of empathy/remorse), but who exhibit adequate behavioral control and planning ability...”

(Norman Poythress & Jason Hal)

2.1 Introduction

In recent years the attention of scholars and laypeople has shifted from imprisoned psychopathic individuals to those high in psychopathy that live among us. Since the last global economic crisis Cleckley's (1941) case studies on ‘successful’ or semi-‘successful’ psychopathy have echoed among scholars (Benning et al., 2018; Boddy, 2011; Dutton, 2012; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Steinert et al., 2017; Stevens et al., 2012). Psychopathy among individuals in high profile positions, particularly in leadership positions, has intrigued many within and without the fields of psychology and psychiatry (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Lilienfeld et al., 2015; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018). Unfortunately there is a lack of knowledge and insight in the topic of psychopathic leadership for several reasons. In the following section the main barriers are outlined.

First, defining the concept of ‘successful psychopathy’ as related to psychopathic leadership, remains complicated (Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2015; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Steinert et al., 2017). This definition mainly depends on the perspective of successfulness, either that of the psychopathic individual, or the organization or government for which the individual works. For this reason this manuscript employs ‘successfulness’ in the context of psychopathy to indicate the ambiguity of the terminology (Steinert et al., 2017).

Second, the limited access researchers have to the business world, non-profit organizations, and the world of politics impedes collecting data on the subject (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Palmen et al., 2018; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

Third, it is postulated that the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader may be difficult to recognize. Some scholars have suggested that these leaders are better equipped to keep up appearances than their institutionalized counterparts (Babiak & Hare, 2007). Other scholars hypothesize that these two groups may differ on key psychopathic traits (Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hall & Benning, 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018).

Despite these issues discussed above, researchers assert that it is essential to collect more data on this subject because the study of psychopathic leadership is still in its infancy (Hall & Benning, 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Palmen et al., 2018; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). Further research may shed more light on different manifestations within the psychopathy construct, such as non-criminal psychopathy, 'successful' psychopathy, or even truly socially adaptive forms of psychopathy. Additionally, scholars point out the societal necessity of researching the subject of psychopathic leadership because such leadership may negatively impact employees' wellbeing and the finances of an organization (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Ray, 2007).

To advance the research on the subject, it is imperative to clarify the profile of this psychopathic leader. This clarification may improve the identification of psychopathic individuals in high profile positions (Benning et al., 2018). Outlining the specific traits of the profile of the psychopathic leader may be a first step in achieving these goals.

In this chapter a model is presented which outlines the specific psychological profile of the psychopathic leader. It is hypothesized that the profile of the psychopathic leader differs from the traditional psychopathic profile on several key traits. In addition, it is hypothesized that as well as a group of core psychopathic traits, the leadership profile includes three additional traits (moderators) that may motivate and enable this psychopathic type to be 'successful' in a position of power. To define a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy in this manner is in consistence with the work of Steinert et al. (2017), who propose that the behavior in 'successful' psychopathy can best be outlined by defining the interplay between core psychopathic traits and different moderating variables.

The proposed model of the psychopathic leader (hereafter, PL-model) is based on a theoretical division of psychopathy subtypes by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a). In an extensive review of the literature, these scholars analyzed the most important theoretical conceptualizations of psychopathy by clinicians and the theoretical models underlying the most important contemporary assessments utilized to measure psychopathy. These insights were then combined with data from cluster analytic studies on personality aspects and etiological divergences in different psychopathic samples. As a result of this process, these scholars were able to delineate four psychopathic subcategories. This chapter argues that, when comparing the data and theories on psychopathic leadership with each of these four psychopathy subtypes, one type most closely resembles the psychopathic leadership portrayals. The proposed model of the psychopathic leader was created based upon this specific psychopathy subtype.

In addition to a group of core psychopathic traits, it is theorized that the first moderating variable in the PL-model is the trait high self-control. In the PL-model the trait self-control is defined as a structural moderator as described in the work of Steinert et al. (2017). These scholars have introduced an elaboration of the moderated expression model of successful psychopathy by Hall and Benning (2006). In this model moderating factors (e.g. intelligence or SES) may moderate the non-adaptiveness of the core psychopathic traits (Hall & Benning, 2006). Steinert et al. (2017) have elaborated on this model by defining different types of moderators (structural, environmental, and contextual). They define the structural moderator in their model as a characteristic in an individual that is an enduring aspect of someone's personality. This structural moderator is different from the core traits of psychopathy but it may temper the behavioral outcomes initially activated by the core traits of psychopathy.

This chapter argues that the trait high self-control in the PL-model may be the key trait that supports 'success'. The interaction between high self-control and one specific form of impulsivity will be the focus of attention in this chapter. It is hypothesized which type of impulsivity may work in tandem with high self-control and how this fusion of traits may increase 'success' in psychopathic leadership. This aspect of the proposed model is in accordance with Poythress and Hall's postulation that although psychopathic individuals are impulsive, the precise operationalization of impulsivity may vary per psychopathic subtype. Furthermore, these scholars posit that although most forms of impulsivity may be maladaptive, some forms of impulsivity may be adaptive in achieving preset goals (2011). They argue that *'future models of psychopathy need to consider more complex associations among the various manifestations of these two constructs [impulsivity and psychopathy]'* (p. 120).

In the PL-model it is theorized that the underlying motivator that draws this psychopathic type to positions of power may be the need for domination (also a structural moderator in the model of Steinert et al., 2017). Certain research studies indicate that psychopathy correlates with a preference for social group inequality (Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Kramer et al., 2011) and refers to this concept as social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Furthermore, some scholars hypothesize that certain individuals high in psychopathy may be attracted to leadership positions because in those roles they can dominate and control others (Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016). This trait will not be analyzed in detail in this chapter but will be addressed in chapter 4 of this manuscript.

Finally, although psychopathic leadership may be considered a form of 'successful' psychopathy, this chapter will argue that those high in psychopathy may only outwardly flourish in business or political arenas. Several studies show that psychopathic leaders may be a risk regarding finances, ethics, and the well-being of those who depend on them or are in their environment. In most cases the psychopathic leader may be the only person who actually benefits (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Ray, 2007).

2.2 The Traditional Profile of Psychopathy

2.2.1 *Criminal psychopathy*

Psychopathy is a personality disorder that has simultaneously mesmerized and horrified clinicians and researchers for decades. These contrasting perceptions are invoked by the intriguing configuration of two seemingly opposite personalities, united in the syndrome. Psychopathy combines an outward personality that appears to be charming and amiable, with an inward personality consisting of a defective conscience, an egotistical nature, and a predatory callousness (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Hare, 1993).

Those high in psychopathy have often been responsible for heinous crimes and severe antisocial behavior that has affected society in a profound manner. Not surprisingly this has motivated scholars to intensely study the construct for many years (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Hare, 1993, 1996; Hare & Neumann, 2010). Most of the data on this disorder have been gained through the use of Hare's PCL and PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist, and the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised) (Hare, 1980, 1991, 2003), regarded by many as the gold standard for assessing psychopathy in prison samples (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). On the grounds of the underlying theoretical construct of this assessment-tool most scholars divide the psychopathy construct into two components: the affective/interpersonal traits (Factor 1) and the lifestyle/antisocial traits (Factor 2) (Poythress & Hall, 2011; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). The first group includes the traits callousness, lack of empathy, remorse or guilt, shallow emotions, not accepting responsibility for one's actions, glibness, superficial charm, grandiose sense of self, pathological lying, and cunning and manipulative behavior. The second group is represented by the need for stimulation/proneness to boredom, a parasitic lifestyle, lack of realistic long-term goals, impulsivity and irresponsibility, poor behavioral control, behavioral problems in early childhood, and antisocial behavior in adulthood (Hare, 2003) (Table 2.1).

Although several scholars consider the Factor 1 traits to be essential to the syndrome, there is an ongoing debate about certain features of Factor 2 (Steinert et al., 2017). Furthermore, it is highly challenging to assess psychopathy in subclinical samples utilizing certain items in Factor 2. The criteria that represent the item violation of parole and traits related to a criminal record are not available to diagnose psychopathy outside prison walls.

Psychopathy Checklist revised (PCL-R)	
Factor 1 (Affective and Interpersonal traits)	
Affective	lack of empathy, lack of remorse or guilt, callousness, shallow emotions, not accepting responsibility for one's actions
Interpersonal	superficial charm, glibness, grandiose sense of self, cunning and manipulative behavior, pathological lying
Factor 2 (Lifestyle and Antisocial traits)	
Lifestyle	a parasitic lifestyle, lack of realistic long-term goals, impulsivity, irresponsibility, the need for stimulation/ proneness to boredom
Antisocial	poor behavioral control, behavioral problems in early childhood, and antisocial behavior in adulthood
Independent Items	
many short term marital relationships, promiscuous sexual behavior, revocation of conditional release	

Table 2.1. Factor structure derived from Hare (2003).

2.2.2 *Theoretical shifts in the debate*

In recent years the debate on psychopathy has undergone some interesting theoretical shifts. Later in this chapter it will be illuminated why these theoretical shifts are salient to the conceptualization of the psychopathic leader.

First, in the last few years many scholars have begun to feel that psychopathy should be defined as a dimensional construct, rather than a category (psychopathic or not psychopathic). As such, the differences between people with a psychopathic personality and other people can be considered as differences in degree rather than in kind (Skeem et al., 2003).

Second, some scholars have questioned whether criminal or overt antisocial behavior are in fact central components of psychopathy (Skeem & Cooke, 2010). The PCL-R Factor 2 criteria focus on measuring overt antisocial behavior and criminal conduct. Several researchers suggest that while these are crucial facets to assess psychopathy within prison populations, they may not be vital criteria in subclinical psychopathy (Skeem et al., 2003; Skeem & Cooke, 2010). In that sense Cleckley's portrayals of (semi)-‘successful’ psychopathy in his book *The Mask of Sanity* (1941), may describe this last group more accurately, than the theoretical construct underlying the PCL-R (Glenn & Raine, 2014; Cooke & Michie, 2001; Skeem et al., 2003). Many scholars emphasize that although criminal behavior may not be a vital part of subclinical psychopathy, antisocial behavior is. They postulate that the interpersonal and affective traits (Factor 1) of this profile will eventually lead to antisocial conduct, although in some cases in more covert forms (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Cooke & Michie, 2001; Hare & Neumann, 2010).

Third, another consequence of the widely use of the PCL-R is that there has been more focus on the nonadaptive traits of psychopathy than on the adaptive features (like charm and charisma).

Nevertheless, with the increased attention of the topic of ‘successful’ psychopathy, the adaptive traits of psychopathy have been part of several studies in recent years (Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2018; Glenn & Raine, 2014; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). The essential questions that can be raised here are: how ‘successful’ should be defined within the context of psychopathy, and if in fact this “successful psychopath” actually exists. These issues will be addressed in the sections on ‘successful’ psychopathy (2.4) and psychopathic leaders (2.5).

Fourth, there is an ongoing dialogue about the existence of different subtypes among those high in psychopathy. These diverse types may be underlaid by distinctive combinations of psychopathic and non-psychopathic traits, and variables in levels of these traits (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Steinert et al., 2017). In this debate, there has been a renewed focus of attention on one specific differentiation: the primary psychopathy type (psychopathy) versus the secondary psychopathy type (sociopathy) (Karpman, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Mokros et al., 2015; Palmen et al., 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). In that theory, most scholars consider primary psychopathy to be determined mainly through inborn predispositions. In contrast, secondary psychopathy is regarded as a disorder that may develop as a result of traumatic events in early childhood in interaction with a genetic vulnerability. In secondary psychopathy these early experiences may alter a person's coping style such that this person appears to be an outwardly callous individual, while in fact being inwardly very vulnerable (Karpman, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a). Research using cluster analyses indicates that primary psychopathy may be theoretically conceptualized through many of the Factor 1 traits of the PCL-R. Secondary psychopathy may be conceptualized through the traits in Factor 2 of the PCL-R and also with the theoretical concept of ASPD (Antisocial Personality Disorder, as listed in the DSM IV/5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013) (Poythress & Hall, 2011; Skeem et al., 2003).

Thus, there is reasonable discussion to be had about whether there is only one psychopathy construct or whether there are different groups within the psychopathy profile with each group being characterized by a different set of features (Poythress & Hall, 2011; Skeem et al., 2003).

In the next section the division in primary and secondary psychopathy groups will be illuminated (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). This elaboration on the primary and secondary psychopathy distinction is essential for the configuration of the PL-model.

2.3 Psychopathic Subtypes

Since the inception of the research into psychopathy scholars have speculated on the existence of different psychopathy variants (e.g. Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Karpman, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Mokros et al., 2015; Poythress et al., 2010; Schneider, 1923; Skeem et al., 2003; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). Divergences into several phenotypes have since been made. The most important distinctions found in the literature are: primary versus secondary psychopathy, criminal versus noncriminal psychopathy ‘successful’ versus unsuccessful psychopathy, and clinical versus subclinical psychopathy (Skeem et al., 2003).

The data gained through the PCL-R and other tools appear to cluster some of the different subtypes of psychopathy. These clusters may shed light on which variants of psychopathy exist and

which differences these types exhibit in their psychopathic and psychological profile. It is speculated that there may also be divergences in etiology, educational levels, parental upbringing, and social economic background among the subtypes (Hall & Benning, 2006; Lykken, 1995; Skeem et al., 2003). According to Hicks and Drislane (2018), who combined recent studies on variants of psychopathy with an overview of the theoretical divisions in psychopathic subtypes, there is '*compelling evidence for psychopathy subtypes*' (p. 297).

2.3.1 *Primary and secondary psychopathy*

Hicks and Drislane (2018) posit that nearly all of the studies and theoretical models on subtypes they reviewed made the primary-secondary psychopathy distinction.

Karpman, a psychiatrist and a contemporary of Cleckley, was one of the first to identify the division of primary and secondary subtypes in his clinical practice. He labeled these two types as 'idiopathic psychopathy' and 'symptomatic psychopathy' respectively (1941). Although Karpman recognized the outward similarities of these two types, he viewed the psychopathic traits in both groups as grounded in a distinct etiology. He regarded idiopathic psychopathy as arising from an inborn defect in affect. Symptomatic psychopathy, in his view, developed as a coping mechanism after severe trauma in early childhood that transformed a healthy inborn affective life into severe emotional disturbance.

Since then many scholars have divided psychopathy in two subtypes similar to Karpman's dichotomy of idiopathic psychopathy and symptomatic psychopathy. This primary-secondary psychopathy distinction may still be regarded as the most important phenotypical subdivision of the psychopathy concept (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Skeem et al., 2003).

Building on Karpman's writings, other scholars theorized about what specific biopsychological pathways may underpin each subtype. To further clarify the behavior in each psychopathy type, these researchers elaborated on Karpman's views by incorporating Gray's theory of a motivational system which is fueled by either passive avoidance (BIS; behavioral inhibition system) or a sensitivity for rewards (BAS; behavioral activation system) (Gray, 1987). In this theory the behavioral outcomes in primary psychopathy are mainly determined by low levels of BIS (underactive fight/flight and freeze system), whereas secondary psychopathy is mainly underpinned by high levels of BAS (hypersensitivity for incentives) (Fowles, 1980; Lykken, 1995).

Many of the empirical studies that focused on the divergence within the psychopathy construct through the use of cluster analytic studies found similar phenotypic expressions as defined by Karpman (1941), Fowles (1980) and Lykken (1995) (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks et al., 2004; Mokros et al., 2015; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a).

This important theoretical differentiation between primary and secondary psychopathy appears to have revitalized the interest of scholars in recent years. This distinction has been especially interesting to researchers who are striving to explore and enlighten the differences between those high in psychopathy that end up in prison and those high on psychopathic traits that are able to gain a certain amount of 'success' in life (Chiaburu et al., 2013; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). Researchers of 'successful' psychopathy debate whether the defined set of traits to describe psychopathy in prison populations is adequate to define subclinical psychopathy, particularly 'successful' psychopathy (Benning et al., 2018; Chiaburu et al., 2013; Steinert et al., 2017).

To illuminate the concept of psychopathic leadership, it is postulated that it is important to designate which of the two theoretical phenotypes (primary versus secondary psychopathy), and which of the underlying traits reflect psychopathic leadership the best. Therefore this chapter will first delineate a theoretical distinction of two primary and two secondary psychopathy types (Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b).

2.3.2 A new continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy

In alignment with earlier conceptualizations of primary and secondary psychopathy, Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) reviewed the theoretical conceptualizations underlying the most important contemporary instruments to assess psychopathy in combination with the literature on theoretical differentiations of primary and secondary psychopathy. These scholars then combined these insights with data from cluster-analytic studies of psychopathy in youngsters, adult offender samples, and community samples. In this review they identified homogeneity in four different psychopathy groups and introduced a new typology of two primary and two secondary psychopathy subcategories. These four types are based on dissimilarities in etiology as well as in bio-behavioral and biosociopsychological pathways.

Before outlining the four types, the most important differences between primary and secondary psychopathy portrayed in this theoretical division will be clarified. Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) posit that the behavioral representation of primary versus secondary psychopathy might appear superficially similar, especially to the untrained eye. However, under this outward resemblance lie important divergences in etiology that are expressed as different variants of psychopathy, each with a distinct set of traits (Karpman, 1941; Skeem et al., 2003).

2.3.2.1 Etiological differences between primary and secondary psychopathy

Karpman (1941) considered primary psychopathy to be the only ‘true’ form of psychopathy. He regarded primary psychopathy as idiopathic psychopathy and secondary psychopathy as a symptomatic form of psychopathy. Yildirim and Derksen's (2015a) study clarifies that most cluster analyses indicate that the differences between primary and secondary psychopathy are largely caused by etiological divergences.

Primary psychopathy may predominately stem from genetic inborn temperamental features and secondary psychopathy may mainly be caused by intrusive traumatic events in early childhood that interact with plasticity genes (Karpman, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b).

Before outlining the theoretical subdivisions of primary and secondary psychopathy according to Yildirim and Derksen (2015a), it is important to note that in this theory the different types all exist on a continuum. That is these subtypes differ in degree rather than in category. The four types all exist on a continuum that ranges from low to high levels of emotionality (from primary to secondary psychopathy) (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a).

2.3.2.2 Primary psychopathy: two types on a continuum

Schneider portrayed primary psychopathy in 1923 and referred to this type as ‘the self-seeking psychopath’. In his view such an individual can appear outwardly charming and likeable but is in fact antisocial in his acts. The antisocial conduct of this self-seeking psychopath is a logical consequence of the underlying psychopathic traits of egocentrism, shallow affect, and low empathy.

Schneider also posited that it is conceivable that many of the traits of this psychopathy type may enable 'success' in life, in different layers of society. In some cases such individuals may even gain may even gain positions of power and leadership.

Karpman was one of the first to differentiate two types of primary psychopathy. Karpman (1955) made a division in the aggressive/predatory type and the passive/parasitic type of primary psychopathy. Since then several clinicians and researchers have theorized and studied whether there are different subtypes of primary psychopathy (Blackburn et al., 2008; Coid et al., 2012; Mokros et al., 2015; Vincent et al., 2003; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a, 2015b).

Model-based cluster analytic studies with imprisoned and community samples show that subdivisions between different primary psychopathic groups can be made. One group is described as more aggressive, criminal, impulsive and non-successful. The other group appears to be more 'successful', shows adaptive features, is deceitful, and possesses high levels of self-control (Blackburn et al., 2008; Coid et al., 2012; Mokros et al., 2015; Vincent et al., 2003). Similar primary psychopathic subcategories were also delineated in several empirical studies. In these studies one group was identified with high levels of impulsivity, low levels of both (socio)-cognitive functioning and conscientiousness and another group with low levels of impulsivity, high levels of (socio)-cognitive functioning and high levels of conscientiousness (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Poythress & Hall, 2011; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015b).

Based on their review study, Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a, 2015b) hypothesize that an inborn hyperstable serotonin system may underlie the affective and interpersonal deficits in primary psychopathy. Such a neurophysiological profile is immune to short-term, acute stressors (fearlessness) and long-term situational stress (low anxiousness), especially when coupled with additional risk factors such as high testosterone. Furthermore, such a profile may also reduce the dependence on the social environment which in other people serves the function of regulating one's emotional states. The serotonergic hyperstability may cause people to be emotionally unaffected by circumstances or interactions with others even those with whom they are close, like family and friends. These scholars propose that this may explain the callousness, the shallow emotions, the absence of fear (hyporesponsiveness of the fight-flight response), and the lack of anxiety (low levels of stress) in primary psychopathy (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015b).

In their review they were able to make a theoretical subdivision of primary psychopathy and delineated the controlled primary psychopathic type and the disinhibited primary psychopathic type. The dissimilarities between these two subtypes appear to be caused by differences in genes and the hormonal system. These dissimilarities are possibly further exacerbated by divergences in SES (Social Economic Background) and education (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b).

Yildirim and Derksen (2015a, 2015b) hypothesize that the first type, the controlled primary psychopathic type combines the affective and interpersonal traits of the PCL-R (Factor 1) with low levels of fear and anxiety. Furthermore, they propose that this type is calm and stable, and due to a healthy maturation of the PFC and the hippocampus is also goal-orientated and focused in his behavior. In this theory the controlled type scores high on levels of social competency, self-control, and broad executive functioning. The combination of these features may enable such a personality to be 'successful' in a number of professions where such traits are desirable, such as in business and politics (Babiak et al., 2010; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Board & Fritzon, 2005; Cleckley, 1941; Dutton, 2012; Gao & Raine, 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Lykken, 1995; Widom, 1978). Moreover, because this type may have a desire to dominate other people, this type may prefer to be in positions

of leadership and power (Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Kramer et al., 2011; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a).

The second type in this theoretical division, the disinhibited primary psychopathic type, is portrayed equally fearless and emotionally shallow as the controlled type (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). However, these scholars propose that due to a disturbed maturation of the PFC and the hippocampus, this type may be less conscientious and goal-orientated. Furthermore, this subtype may also lack the need to dominate other people.

These scholars hypothesize that such personalities may combine their emotional hyper-stability with high levels of impulsivity, irresponsible behavior, and a proneness for impetuous risk taking. Moreover, although this disinhibited behavioral pattern may originate from the same inborn deficiency of the serotonin system as the controlled type, it may be combined with a higher inborn sensitivity to rewards (higher BAS), lower overall levels of executive functioning, and an attentional hyposensitivity for risks and errors (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). Their unfocused, impetuous lifestyle may make them unsuccessful members of society and can leave them dependent on friends and family for the majority of their lives (Cleckley, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a, 2015b).

2.3.2.3 Secondary psychopathy: two types on a continuum

Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) postulate that although the behavioral manifestation of secondary psychopathy may appear superficially similar, on closer observation the differences with primary psychopathy may be apparent. Karpman's (1948) description of secondary psychopathy as symptomatic psychopathy is accurate because it precisely reveals the core of this psychopathic type. In accordance with Karpman, Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) hypothesize that the psychopathic behavioral traits that emerge in this type are symptoms, rather than personality traits. These symptoms manifest to unconsciously cope with intense feelings of inferiority caused by severe abuse and neglect in childhood in combination with 'plasticity' genotypes such as emotional lability (Lykken, 1995; Yildirim, 2016).

Based on their review, Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) hypothesize that a serotonergic deficiency may underlie the affective and motivational deficits in secondary psychopathy. Individuals in this group may not be emotionally shallow and fearless like the primary psychopathic group but may suffer from a neurophysiological profile that is dysfunctional in the top-down appraisal and regulation of emotions (Yildirim, 2016). They either subconsciously suppress their intense feelings of fear and anxiety most of the time or live in a constant state of stress (depending on their position on the secondary psychopathy continuum). For this reason, individuals of this secondary subtype may have a hostile attitude toward others and may be more impulsive in their actions.

These scholars hypothesize that this group lacks the outward appearance of normality and charm which individuals in the primary psychopathic group so prominently display. The review of Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) distinguishes two subtypes on the secondary psychopathic continuum: the detached secondary psychopathic type and the unstable secondary psychopathic type (Yildirim, 2016).

In the theoretical division of Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) individuals in the detached secondary group have the most phenotypical resemblance to the primary psychopathic group (Yildirim, 2016). These scholars propose that the affective and interpersonal traits of this detached type generally manifest themselves in a behavioral pattern that appears to be a combination of

emotional detachment and low anxiety (emotional hypoappraisal). However, in the detached type the outward appearance of boldness may in fact be a trait-like coping mechanism that develops in early childhood to allow the individual to cope with stressful situations through dissociation of emotion and cognition. This contrasts with the boldness in primary psychopathy which is not a coping mechanism according to these scholars, but an actual trait.

Furthermore, these scholars hypothesize that when the detached type is provoked in a way they perceive as threatening, individuals in this group can experience strong emotions of frustration and anxiety and may then react with impulsive aggression. However, although a detached secondary psychopathic person may unleash aggressive and impulsive behavior under extreme circumstances, they are not necessarily emotionally defective. These scholars hypothesize that this type has many similarities with the criteria of the ASPD (Antisocial Personality Disorder) and NPD (Narcissistic Personality Disorder) of the DSM IV/5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013), although in a more severe form (Poythress et al., 2006; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a).

Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) postulate that individuals from the unstable secondary psychopathic group may suffer from dysphoria and neuroticism (emotional dysregulation). These scholars hypothesize that this type experiences high levels of stress and anxiety and is impulsive in their behavior. Furthermore, those high in this unstable secondary psychopathy type may have strong feelings of hostility and fear toward others and the outside world. Moreover, they may externalize their fear and anxiety-based aggression by lashing out at others in an extremely aggressive and neurotic manner. Their instability in affect and outward expression of this intrapsychic turmoil may take others by surprise, as it can be fueled by minor offensive remarks or perceived threats.

These scholars suggest that in comparison to the personality disorders in the DSM IV/5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013) this type may show similarities not only to ASPD but also to BPD (Borderline Personality Disorder) (Karpman, 1941; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a).

In the next two sections (2.4: 'Successful' psychopathy and 2.5: Psychopathic leadership), it will be explored and theorized which of the theoretical psychopathic subtypes proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) may best fits the profile of the psychopathic leadership type as a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy.

2.4 'Successful' Psychopathy

One of the psychopathic manifestations that has received more attention from scholars in recent years is the so-called "successful' psychopath'. Researchers have studied leaders such as politicians, managers, CEO's, as well as lawyers and psychology professors as manifestations of 'successful' psychopathy (Babiak, 1995, 1999, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007).

Although most of the research of psychopathy is associated with negative outcomes, the question that may arise is whether psychopathic individuals can be successful in organizations or

in politics. The concept of ‘successful’ psychopathy raises two main issues. The first problem involves how to define ‘success’ in ‘successful’ psychopathy. The second difficulty entails the complexity of determining ‘successful’ psychopathy phenotypically. Furthermore, because it is challenging to study this psychopathic type outside of the prison setting there is a lack of research on psychopathic individuals who flourish in society (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Palmen et al., 2018; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

2.4.1 Defining success in ‘successful psychopathy’

Steinert et al. (2017) discuss the difficulty of defining success and conclude that so far the literature has not been able to decide on a common definition for ‘success’ in this context. Most conceptualizations define ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals as those high in psychopathy that are better at evading incarceration (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b). For this reason, Steinert et al. (2017), suggest that ‘successful’ behavior in this context can be defined best by considering ‘the outcomes that increase positive consequences for an individual or reduce negative consequences for the individual’ (p. 47). These outcomes can then be calculated into net gain (positive consequences relative to negative consequences). Moreover, this net gain can then be examined in terms of duration of the behavior and objective minimal performance, or in comparison to the performance of others. Through such a conceptualization of success in the context of psychopathy, one can define success in any specific situation by considering the meaning of success in that specific context. In this chapter this definition of success is utilized when discussing the concept of psychopathic leadership. This chapter also subscribes to the definition of successful psychopathy posited by Benning et al. (2018), which may be combined best with Steinert et al.’s definition: *‘successful psychopathy represents an expression of core psychopathic traits in ways conducive to attaining prominence in some socioecological niche, while avoiding serious adverse consequences (e.g. ostracization, loss of freedom)’* (p. 586).

In this chapter it will also be discussed whether the ‘successfulness’ of psychopathic leaders may be beneficial for an organization or for society as a whole, or that only the psychopathic leader profits. This issue will be outlined in Section 2.5.4 on psychopathic leadership and negative consequences.

2.4.1.1 The adaptive traits in ‘successful’ psychopathy

Although the construct of psychopathy has primarily been linked to maladaptive traits, some psychopathic features have shown to be adaptive in certain circumstances. Psychopathic traits such as charm, charisma, and manipulation skills can be instrumental in the workplace, especially to promote oneself and for gaining leadership positions (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b).

Although those high in psychopathy may achieve ‘success’ in the workplace and in leadership, in many cases it appears they are mostly successful in managing to give the right impression. Babiak et al. (2010) found that the psychopathic individuals in their study were not competent in their job but managed to project an image of high performance in communication, creativity, and strategic skills. It appears they were able to blind their colleagues with their impression techniques in such a way that these coworkers were not aware of their incompetence.

In politics or in other leadership positions, those with personality traits of low fear, high dominance, and charisma impress their followers or subordinates by presenting an image of a strong and fearless leader. Furthermore, such a leader may be very competent in persuading

opponents to cooperate and adjust and may even be able to out-compete them if necessary (da Silva et al., 2015; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b).

2.4.1.2 *Defining ‘successful’ psychopathy phenotypically*

Although the various theoretical conceptualizations of psychopathy define different core traits of psychopathy, most scholars agree that there are two different sets of traits (two factors) (Steinert et al., 2017). Steinert et al. (2017) postulate that the underlying traits may vary in different contexts. The distinction that is most frequently made is the division between the affective-interpersonal traits (Factor 1), and the impulsive-antisocial set of traits (Factor 2) (see table 2.1). Researchers agree on most of the different features that are part of the first group. However, several of the traits in the second group are subject of debate (Steinert et al., 2017). Different scholars have questioned the necessity of the traits overt criminal behavior and impulsivity as core features of psychopathy (Cooke & Michie, 2001; Karpman, 1948; Poythress & Hall, 2011; Skeem & Cooke, 2010).

When defining ‘successful’ psychopathy (e.g. psychopathic leadership), there are two main theories (Poythress & Hall, 2011). In the first theory Gao and Raine postulate that ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals are phenotypically indistinct from those high in psychopathy in prison but they are better at avoiding detection of their antisocial behavior (2010). The second theory suggests that those high in ‘successful’ psychopathy exhibit the affective-interpersonal traits (Factor 1) of psychopathy but lack the lifestyle and antisocial Factor 2 traits (Lilienfeld, 1998; Lykken, 1995). Furthermore, some scholars suggest that this ‘successful’ group may have some additional, adaptive features that the unsuccessful group lacks. The ‘successful’ psychopathic type may score higher on skills of information processing, higher-order cognitive skills, cognitive empathy, and autonomic reactivity levels (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001). The discussion of whether the trait fearlessness is part of the psychopathy construct is still ongoing (Poythress & Hall, 2011). In the Fearless Dominance component of the well-validated self-assessment psychopathy questionnaire PPI-R (Psychopathic Personality Inventory-Revised) by Lilienfeld and Widows (2005), the traits fearlessness and low anxiety are part of the psychopathy construct. However, the theoretical conceptualization underlying the PCL-R does not explicitly include these traits (Hare, 2003).

2.4.2 *Research on ‘successful’ psychopathy*

Research on subclinical psychopathy is more challenging than studying psychopathy in prison settings. Prisoners are more inclined to participate in studies because of boredom, or to gain more privileges in the prison environment. Furthermore, research on psychopathy outside prison walls is more difficult because of the lower prevalence rates (20-30% psychopathic individuals in prison samples compared to approximately 1% in the general population) and problems with assessment (e.g. lack of collateral information that is imperative when conducting the PCL-R) (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Hare, 2003). To collect data on psychopathic individuals that have been ‘successful’ in society is even more complicated.

At present there have been several studies that have researched ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals outside prison walls (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2018; Board & Fritzson, 2005; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Chiaburu et al., 2013; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015;

Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ten Brinke et al., 2018; Ulrich et al., 2008; Widom, 1978). The studies on ‘successful’ psychopathy that are relevant for the subject of psychopathic leadership will be outlined in the next section on psychopathic leadership.

2.5 Psychopathic Leaders

Since Cleckley (1941) scholars have speculated about the existence of people with a psychopathic profile who exhibit outwardly normal lives, and who may more or less have adapted to the community. Among them may be individuals who have gained societal success.

However, in the intervening years the attention for the societal adaptiveness of the psychopathic profile has been pushed to the background because of the intense study of those high in psychopathy who are institutionalized. These data have enlightened the specific traits of the psychopathic profile in such a way that scholars are now able to broaden their horizons and search for data on the subject in other places in society (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). Hervey Cleckley was the first scholar to describe several case studies of ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals in high functioning positions such as a businessman, a psychiatrist and a physician (1941). Since then researchers have speculated about those high in psychopathy that live among us, and in some cases practice high end jobs, such as leadership positions in business or politics (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

2.5.1 Adaptive psychopathic traits and leadership

The research of ‘successful’ psychopathy has had one specific focal point of attention in the last few years: that of the ‘successful’ psychopathic leader. The subject of psychopathic leadership has gained more interest in recent years, especially since Hare (2002) stated that those high in psychopathy may flourish in the world of business, particularly in the boardroom. Babiak confirmed Hare’s statement by postulating that psychopathic traits can be easily mistaken for talented leadership competencies (Babiak, 1995, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010).

These hypotheses on the ‘successfulness of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions are indeed feasible. The superficial charm and impression management skills that psychopathic individuals exhibit in interpersonal communication are also infamous in the criminal justice system. Although research shows higher rates of recidivism among psychopathic prisoners compared to non-psychopathic offenders, the first group successfully manages to persuade the parole board to grant their application for conditional release, two and a half times more often than their non-psychopathic counterparts (Porter et al., 2009). Such positive self-representation competencies are also beneficial in obtaining leadership positions in for-profit or nonprofit environments (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Dutton, 2012). It is hypothesized that especially the controlled primary psychopathic group, which may combine higher levels of the Factor 1 traits and fearlessness with high levels of self-control, may successfully climb the career ladder. In the aforementioned environments they may employ their social skills and goal-oriented behavior to impress important decision makers in the organization (Hall & Benning, 2006; Lykken, 1995; Palmén et al., 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). Furthermore, individuals high in psychopathy are often very self-confident, not easily affected by criticism, and are not quickly emotionally overwhelmed when having to make harsh

business decisions (e.g. executing plans for the reduction of staff). These are all desirable assets in leadership positions (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Dutton, 2012).

Babiak (1995, 1996) posits that it is conceivable that every one of the psychopathic traits may be misinterpreted as features of talented leadership, especially when those high in psychopathy first enter an organization. The specific misinterpretations individuals in the hiring process may make when interviewing a candidate high in psychopathic traits are outlined in table 2.2 (Babiak, 1996).

Psychopathic traits	Labeling of these traits in organizations
Charm and charisma	Leadership
Has grandiose ideas	Vision
Deceptive and manipulative	Motivated, influential, persuasive
No conscience or feeling of guilt	Able to make fierce business decisions, action oriented
Impulsive, fearless	Energetic, courageous
Low affect	Able to control emotions, a strong person
Narcissistic	Self-confident
Easily bored, thrill-seeking	A good multi-tasker

Table 2.2. Psychopathic traits versus talented leadership derived from Babiak (1996).

2.5.2 Research on psychopathic leadership

Studies on psychopathic individuals in leadership positions are limited, especially in contrast with the large body of research of psychopathy in prison samples (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). There are a few studies confined to psychopathic leadership that show some interesting data on the subject (Babiak et al., 2010; Blicke et al., 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Sanecka, 2013; Ten Brinke et al., 2018; Westerlaken & Woods, 2013).

The largest study on psychopathy and leadership is a longitudinal study by Babiak et al. (2010) in which a sample of 203 subjects that entered a management training program in their organization were assessed through the use of the PCL-R. Half of this group had at that time been selected as future executives and managers of their organization. All of the data that were gathered about the subjects before, during, and after this management program provided these scholars with sufficient collateral data to conduct a PCL-R assessment per individual. The goal of the management program was to provide the organizations with leaders that scored high on two profiles: *the good communicator with charisma* and *the responsible performer with management skills*. In the group of 203 individuals, 3.9% scored at or above the cut-of score for psychopathy on the PCL-R. These individuals high in psychopathy also scored high on one of the organization-desired profiles: the profile of the good communicator with charisma. However, this group's scores on the second desired profile, the good performer with management skills, were lower. Despite these low performance rates, these individuals high in psychopathy were all labeled as (future) successful leaders in their companies. It appears that the social poise of charisma and charm masked the actual performance of these psychopathic management trainees with high potential.

Another large study on psychopathic leadership, in this case, political leadership, was conducted by Lilienfeld et al. (2012b) based on the PPI-R. The focus of this study was to assess psychopathic traits in the 42 American Presidents (not including President Obama and President Trump). These scholars then studied how these traits correlated with presidential performance. A group of 121 experts (including journalists, biographers, and scholars), all established authorities on each of these presidents, filled out different well-validated personality tests (aimed at personality features and also specifically on psychopathy) about these 42 presidents. Utilizing these data the scholars were able to estimate the scores for the PPI-R for each of these presidents. These scholars found that the first factor of the PPI-R, Fearless Dominance (FD) correlated positively with objectives for positive job performance. However, there was also a positive correlation with objectives for negative job performance on the higher-order scale of Self-Centered Impulsivity (SCI).

In a further study, Mathieu et al. (2014b) researched the correlations between psychopathic traits in managers and employees' feelings of distress, job satisfaction, and work-family conflict. In this study, 115 managers working in two different organizations (a financial organization and a public service organization) were assessed through the use of the B-Scan 360 tool (Babiak & Hare, 2014). This instrument, which measures psychopathy in business settings, is filled out by people in the psychopathic individual's environment (hence the term 360). This assessment instrument consists of four factors which mirror the four PCL-R factors. In consecutive order, the four factors of the B-Scan 360 are: Manipulative/ Unethical, Callous/ Insensitive, Unreliable/ Unfocused, and Intimidating/ Aggressive. This assessment tool was filled out by 377 employees to assess the perceived psychopathic traits of their managers. The employees also filled out questionnaires on psychological distress, job satisfaction, and work-family conflict. Data showed that the perceived supervisors' psychopathic traits were positively correlated with work-family conflict and job dissatisfaction, but not with psychological distress (Mathieu et al., 2014b).

In another study by Mathieu et al. (2014a) data were collected from two large groups of employees (491 civil servants and 116 employees working in finance). These employees filled out the B-Scan and the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ; Avolio & Bass, 2004) about their direct supervisor. In this study the correlations between the scores on the B-Scan 360 and different types of leadership as represented by the Full-Range Leadership Model were assessed. All four factors of the B-Scan correlated positively with the leadership style of Laissez-Faire Leadership, the leadership style that is related to dissatisfaction with one's job and discontent with one's direct manager. Moreover, the B-Scan was also negatively correlated with the two forms of positive leadership within the aforementioned model: Transactional and Transformational Leadership. An earlier study by Westerlaken and Woods (2013) showed the same correlations between psychopathic traits and the different models within the Full-Range Leadership Model. In this study 115 students with self-reported management experience were assessed on psychopathic traits through the SRP (a self-assessment version based on the PCL-R) (SRP-III; Williams et al., 2007).

In a study by Mathieu and Babiak (2015) that focused on employees attitudes, 423 subordinates evaluated their supervisors (total of 74 supervisors) on psychopathic traits, utilizing the B-Scan 360. These scores correlated positively with higher levels of job dissatisfaction, higher turn-over intentions, higher job-neglect, and lower work motivation. Additionally, in this study, the B-Scan 360 predicted employees attitudes better than the different styles of leadership in the Full-Range leadership model.

A more complex correlation was found in Mathieu and Babiak's (2016) study in which the relationship between psychopathic leadership traits and abusive supervision was directly measured and showed a high correlation. In this study 97 employees filled out the B-Scan 360 for their direct manager (a total of 22 managers). The data from this study showed that the abusive supervision influenced job satisfaction negatively. However, higher turn-over intentions were influenced directly by the psychopathic traits of the supervisor.

Another study by Sanecka (2013) used a sample of 153 employees to assess their perception of their supervisor's psychopathic traits through the use of Patrick's Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM: Patrick, 2010) and their levels of satisfaction with their job, their supervisor, and their commitment to the organization they work for. The TriPM measures psychopathy through three concepts which differ in their phenotypes: boldness, meanness, and inhibition. In the underlying model, boldness reflects high social potency and low levels of fear and anxiety. The meanness dimension incorporates antisocial and aggressive behavior, lack of empathy, and callousness. The dimension of disinhibition includes low levels of self-control, impulsivity, and lack of planning skills (Patrick & Drislane, 2015). Results showed that employees' perception of their supervisor as psychopathic negatively influenced job satisfaction, the employees' satisfaction with this supervisor, and commitment to their organization.

2.5.3 Studies on high-functioning psychopathic individuals

Research by Mullins-Sweatt et al. (2010) on different manifestations of 'successful' psychopathy did not specifically focus on psychopathic leadership but studied individuals with psychopathic traits in high functioning positions (e.g. a police detective, a psychology professor, a dean from a university, a mayor). In this sample some of those high in psychopathy worked in leadership positions. These scholars surveyed forensic psychologists, as well as clinical psychology professors and attorneys, about psychopathic people they knew or had known. They were given a short definition of psychopathy based on Hare's quotation from 1993: "social predators who charm, manipulate, and ruthlessly plow their way through life. Completely lacking in conscience and feeling for others, they selfishly take what they want and do as they please, violating social norms and expectations without the slightest sense of guilt or regret" (Hare, 2003, p. xi.). After being provided this definition the group was asked if they personally knew or had known people who fit this description and if so, whether they regarded them as (mostly) successful in their psychopathic ventures. The participants also filled out the Five Factor Form (FFF; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2006) about those they regarded as 'successful' psychopathic individuals. This study showed that these 'successful' psychopathic individuals in high-level positions scored not only high in psychopathic traits, but also exhibited elevated scores on conscientiousness, operationalized through the Five Factor Form (FFF). The Five Factor Form is based on the Five Factor Model (FFM) that measures conscientiousness through the following facets: Competence, Order, Dutifulness, Achievement-striving, Self-discipline, and Deliberation. This high score on conscientiousness in this 'successful' psychopathic group, is in contrast with the traditional psychopathic profile of the unsuccessful psychopathic group (institutionalized psychopathic individuals) who score low on conscientiousness and high on impulsivity (Lynam & Widiger, 2007; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

In conclusion, most of the studies outlined above found that those high in psychopathy find their ways to leadership positions and in most cases their leadership had a negative influence on

the organization and its staff. This is outlined further in the subsequent paragraph on psychopathic leadership and negative consequences (2.5.4).

2.5.4 Psychopathic leadership and negative consequences

2.5.4.1 Are psychopathic leaders competent in their leadership?

Several of the studies outlined above give rise to speculation about whether the outward successfulness of the psychopathic leader is based on actual good performance rates or whether it is merely a reflection of their excellent self-presentation skills. Many scholars also speculate that this 'successfulness' is foremost beneficial for the psychopathic leader (Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). Babiak and colleagues found that although the individuals seen as having high management potential were regarded as 'good communicators with charisma', they scored low on the profile of 'the responsible performer with management skills' (2010). The low job performance rates of psychopathic leaders were confirmed by the study of Lilienfeld et al. (2012b). Their research showed that those presidents with high levels on the Self-Centered Impulsivity scale of the PPI-R or those with high levels on the SCI scale and the Fearless Dominance scale also scored high on objectives for negative job performance (2012b).

A study on the Dark Triad, (psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and narcissism), also found low performance rates of managers high in psychopathy; the researched hedge fund managers with higher psychopathic tendencies earned lower absolute returns than their colleagues with low psychopathic traits (Ten Brinke et al., 2018). A further study by Bickel et al. (2018) found that managers' psychopathic profile had a negative effect on job performance, especially for those psychopathic managers who scored high on the meanness dimension of the Triarchic model. In this study the managerial sample was also compared to a prison sample on the boldness, meanness, and disinhibition dimensions of the TriPM and on the overall psychopathy scores. It was found that the overall psychopathy score was higher in the group of managers in comparison to the group of prisoners. The mean scores on boldness and meanness were higher in the managerial group and only disinhibition was higher in the prison sample (Bickel et al., 2018).

2.5.4.2 Psychopathic leadership and negative consequences for employees

Some of the studies outlined above have also found that the presence of a psychopathic leader in the workplace has several negative consequences for the employees with whom they work. These employees demonstrated less commitment to their organization and they were dissatisfied with their supervisor and with their job. Furthermore, these employees also had higher turn-over intentions, lower work motivation, higher job-neglect, and they experienced more work-family related conflict (Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Sanecka, 2013).

Moreover, two studies found high correlations between leaders with psychopathic traits and their leadership style: leaders high in psychopathic traits more often employed the Laissez-Faire Leadership style. This style is related to employees' dissatisfaction with their direct manager and also unhappiness with their job (Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Westerlaken & Woods, 2013).

2.5.4.3 Psychopathic leadership and white-collar crime

Whether the conduct of these psychopathic leaders outlined above exceeded legal boundaries is unclear. There are some studies that indicate that psychopathic leaders may be involved in criminal activities, especially white collar crime (Bucy et al., 2008; Lingnau et al., 2017). These scholars found that leaders high in psychopathic and narcissistic traits are at risk for conducting acts of fraud, embezzlement or other forms of white-collar crime.

Those studies that focused on the personalities of these white-collar criminals found that these leaders were obsessed with being in control, showed extreme ambition, demanded admiration by others, and exhibited entitled behavior. These behavioral traits are also part of the psychopathic profile (Benson & Simpson, 2015; Bucy et al., 2008; Kolthoff, 2016; Lingnau et al., 2017).

According to Ray (2007) the white-collar criminal can be portrayed as someone who employs manipulative, exploitative, and deceptive behavior to reach his egocentric goals. The psychopathic individual achieves his goals in the same manner (Babiak & Hare, 2007).

2.5.4.4 White-collar crime, conscientiousness and self-control

Research on white collar crimes committed by leaders that scored high on the psychopathic profile, may also give clues about whether these individuals may have different traits than the average psychopathic criminal. A study by Blickle et al. (2006) found that the psychopathic white-collar criminal scored high on the trait conscientiousness. Ray's (2007) study in which white-collar and blue-collar criminals were studied on dissimilarities in features also found that the white-collar criminal was more self-reflective and had higher levels of self-control in comparison to the blue-collar criminal.

The high scores on traits related to overall executive functioning, especially conscientiousness and self-control, may enable the white-collar criminal high in psychopathic traits to plan their crimes more effectively.

2.6 The Profile of the Psychopathic Leader: a Proposed Model

Although research on psychopathic leadership is still scarce, scholars hypothesize that the features in the profile of the psychopathic leader may diverge in important ways from the features in the traditional profile of the institutionalized psychopathic individual (Bucy et al., 2008; Gao & Raine, 2010; Gustafson & Ritzer, 1995; Hall & Benning, 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Perri, 2011; Poythress et al., 2010; Ray, 2007; Skeem et al., 2003; Widom, 1978). To accurately obtain new data on the subject of psychopathic leadership, it is essential to define psychopathic leadership as precisely as possible, based on the current body of knowledge on the subject.

In this section the theoretical model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model) is presented. The set of traits in this model is built through two pathways. The first route is to establish which of the different theoretical primary and secondary psychopathy types (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a) (Section 3), resembles the portrayals of the psychopathic leadership type the best, as the research and literature in 2.4 ('Successful' psychopathy), and 2.5 (Psychopathic leaders) outline. The second route is to compare these first findings with the data from research on white collar criminals with

a psychopathic profile and the dissimilarities between white-collar and blue collar criminals (2.5.4. psychopathic leadership and negative consequences).

To clarify the PL-model the core set of traits are proposed first, after which the additional traits are outlined. It is hypothesized that these additional traits are specific for the psychopathic leader and are different from the traits in the traditional criminal psychopathic profile. In 2.7 in this chapter, the concept of high self-control in psychopathic leadership is outlined (the first trait). Then it is illuminated how this trait may correlate with one specific form of impulsivity (the second trait). The conjunction of these two traits is the focus of this chapter. The need for domination trait will only be addressed briefly in this chapter because it will be examined in detail in chapter 4 of this manuscript.

2.6.1 The controlled primary psychopathic type

On grounds of the research into psychopathic leadership and psychopathy in other high profile positions, it is hypothesized that the psychopathic leader is charismatic, self-confident, and conscientious. It is proposed that such a leader is not hindered by emotions of fear or stress or by feelings of empathy, remorse or shame. In our proposed model such an individual is bold and relentless, but also in control of his or her decision-making. By means of excellent self-presentation skills, such a leader creates an image of an exceptional performer (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Dutton, 2012) although actual achievements are poor (Babiak et al., 2010; Bickel et al., 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ten Brinke et al., 2018).

Regarding the theory on the four psychopathic types presented in 2.3 on psychopathic subtypes, it is hypothesized that the psychopathic leader most closely resembles the theoretical subtype of the controlled primary psychopathic type (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). It is proposed that individuals of this type may skillfully utilize the interpersonal and affective traits of Factor 1 to charm and shamelessly manipulate themselves into a position of power. This is in line with Harpur et al. (1988) who consider the interpersonal and affective Factor 1 traits to be the personality features that are central to the psychopathy syndrome. It is theorized that this controlled primary psychopathic type combines the Factor 1 traits with low fear (low levels of fight-flight response), which explains his fearless and stress-resistant personality that may be considered an asset in a demanding leadership position (Palmen et al., 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a).

In addition to the core psychopathic traits of Factor 1 and trait fearlessness, the profile of the psychopathic leader contains three additional traits. Defining psychopathic leadership in such a manner is in line with Steinert et al. (2017). These scholars have suggested a flexible format to phenotypically define the different manifestations of ‘successful’ psychopathy by defining a group of core psychopathy traits, and a group of moderators.

The idea that certain personality traits (moderators) may compensate the negative outcomes of the core psychopathic traits is based on Hall and Benning's moderated expression model of successful psychopathy (2006). Some evidence for this model is found in studies that researched age as a moderator of the non-adaptive outcomes of psychopathy. However, there was no evidence found for parenting, S.E.S, or for intelligence as potential moderators of the negative outcomes of the core psychopathic traits (Benning et al., 2018). Nevertheless, these scholars posit that executive functioning may be a good candidate for a moderator in models of ‘successful’ psychopathy (Benning et al., 2018).

When comparing the theory and research on psychopathic leadership and 'successful' psychopathy with the traits of the controlled primary type (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a), it is hypothesized that the moderator self-control in the psychopathic leadership profile may best support the successfulness of the psychopathic leader in comparison with the traditional psychopathic profile. This additional trait may account for this type's competence in not only acquiring but also remaining in such a position of power for prolonged periods of time. Self-control in this model is defined in line with Mao et al. (2018), as a skill central to the self which adapts behavior in line with desired outcomes by overruling upcoming thoughts and emotions as well as controlling behavioral tendencies when necessary.

Research that compared psychopathic leaders who committed white-collar crimes with blue collar criminals may confirm the high scores on self-control. These studies found that perpetrators of white-collar crime with a psychopathic profile were conscientious in their endeavors (Blickle et al., 2006). Moreover, those studies that analyzed the dissimilarities between personality traits between white-collar and blue-collar criminals, found that the first group scored higher on self-control and was more self-reflective than the second group (Ray, 2007).

Additionally, Hare (1993) postulated that the business world may be a perfect feeding ground for those psychopathic individuals to commit crimes (white-collar crime). He posits that the legal punishments are mild in such cases and the chances of being arrested are rather small. Both of these factors make white-collar crime attractive for the psychopathic leader. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the psychopathic leader knows how to charm and manipulate those around them. The combination of these skills with the other features of psychopathy makes these individuals more capable than the average person of covering up their crimes for prolonged periods of time (Babiak & Hare, 2007).

This chapter argues that the first additional trait, the trait of *high self-control*, may enable this psychopathic leadership type to stay focused and organized in their planning and flexibility, to achieve their goals, and to remain in the desired position as long as planned.

Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the second moderator, *sensation seeking*, may work as a motivator to seek out positions of power. The study by Mullins-Sweatt et al. (2010) showed that the successful psychopathic individuals in high-end jobs (including leaders) were rated high in excitement seeking. In such exhilarating environments psychopathic individuals find the excitement for which they have a special appetite.

Additionally, it is proposed that the third moderator, *the need for domination*, may be another motivator for achieving positions of power. Research by Glenn and colleagues showed that in a large online sample (N=3,521), those higher in subclinical psychopathy were motivated by seeking power and may prefer to be in control over others (2017). It is hypothesized that for this psychopathic individual, the need for domination (Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Kramer et al., 2011) strongly underlies the attractiveness of positions of power (Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). This controlled primary psychopathic type may be motivated to maneuver themselves into a leadership position because of their need to dominate others.

The most important differences between the traditional psychopathic profile and the proposed profile of the psychopathic leader is summarized in table 2.3.

In the next section, the second moderator, sensation-seeking will be illuminated, as one domain of impulsivity. It is hypothesized that in the proposed model of the psychopathic leader sensation seeking interacts with the trait self-control.

Traits	Traditional psychopathy profile (PCL-R ≥ 30)	Psychopathic leadership (proposed profile)
F1 (PCL-R)	Medium to High	High
F2 (PCL-R)	Medium to High	Low
Fearlessness	Low to High	High
Self-Control (High PFC)	Low	High
Need for domination	Low to High	High
Impulsivity	Medium to High	Low to Medium

Table 2.3. Hypothesized differences in trait levels between the traditional psychopathy profile and the proposed profile of the psychopathic leader.

2.7 Self-control versus Impulsivity in Psychopathic Leadership

This section will focus on the trait high self-control as outlined in the proposed model of the psychopathic leader in the previous section. In this section it will be hypothesized how this trait may interact with one specific domain of impulsivity, sensation seeking. Furthermore, it will be elucidated how, in the proposed model, this conjunction of traits may support ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership. In the PL-model, self-control is described as one of the three additional traits combined with the core traits of Factor 1 and core trait fearlessness. In this profile the high score on the trait self-control may most strongly support the successfulness of the psychopathic leader in comparison with the average psychopathic individual in prison.

The high score on self-control in this profile is in contrast with the traditional conceptualizations of psychopathy, in which those high in psychopathy in prison are described as low in self-control and high in the trait impulsivity (DeLisi et al., 2018; Hare, 2003). Indeed, lack of self-control is traditionally related to criminal behavior. In Gottfredson and Hirshi's general theory of crime lack of self-control is considered to be the cause of crime, antisocial behavior, and other social problems such as unemployment and divorce (DeLisi & Vaughn, 2008). The non-adaptiveness of psychopathy is also considered to be related to lack of self-control and to high levels of impulsivity (DeLisi et al., 2018). There are studies in which incarcerated samples show high levels of executive functioning (e.g. Baskin-Sommers et al., 2015; Hicks et al., 2004), or use of instrumental aggression among juvenile offenders (which may indicate higher levels of self-control) (e.g. Vitacco et al., 2006). Nevertheless, it is hypothesized that levels of self-control on average are higher in psychopathic individuals in leadership positions than in psychopathic offenders in prison because attaining and maintaining a position of leadership requires a higher level of self-control for a prolonged period of time. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that those psychopathic individuals with higher levels of self-control in prison populations are part of the primary controlled psychopathic subtype group (Hicks et al., 2004; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a, 2015b).

Although the trait impulsivity appears to be incongruous with high self-control, this assumption requires examination and refinement, as this apparent incompatibility may depend on the specific operationalization of the impulsivity concept (Poythress & Hall, 2011). In this section the four broad domains of impulsivity that are employed in research are outlined (Whiteside &

Lynam, 2001). Also discussed is which domain of impulsivity correlates positively with trait high self-control in the PL-model. Furthermore, it will be hypothesized how this specific conjunction of traits supports successfulness in psychopathic leadership.

2.7.1 Impulsivity as a key feature in the traditional conceptualization of psychopathy

In most conceptualizations of psychopathy impulsivity is defined as a key feature of the psychopathy syndrome. Indeed, Hare (2003) considers "*impulsivity as ... one of the hallmarks of psychopathy*" (p.139). However, since scholars have speculated about the existence of successful psychopathy, it has been questioned whether impulsivity is also central to each psychopathy subtype (Poythress & Hall, 2011). These doubts date back to Karpman (1941), who clinically observed that the levels of impulsivity vary among the psychopathic subtypes of primary and secondary psychopathy. He postulated that although impulsivity may be a core feature of secondary psychopathy, it may not necessarily be a key feature of primary psychopathy.

This is in line with the study of Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) in which two theoretical types of primary psychopathy and two theoretical types of secondary psychopathy are differentiated. These scholars hypothesize that in three of the four theoretical types (disinhibited primary psychopathy, detached secondary psychopathy and unstable secondary psychopathy), impulsivity is a core feature. However, one of the four types, the controlled primary psychopathic subtype is in this theory defined as having lower levels of impulsivity and high levels of self-control, a trait that is considered to be the antagonist of impulsivity (Poythress & Hall, 2011). Furthermore, Depue and Collins (1999) also suggest that there may be different operationalizations of the impulsivity concept which are reflected through the variety of measures to access this construct. It is possible that some forms of impulsivity may be more maladaptive and some variants may be more adaptive for obtaining success in life. Moreover, it is possible that some conceptualizations of impulsivity are part of the profile of one psychopathy subtype, but not of another.

2.7.2 Different types of impulsivity

2.7.2.1 Various operationalizations in the impulsivity research

A first step to re-examine whether impulsivity is a core trait of psychopathy is to define the different operationalizations of impulsivity that are employed in studies that focused on the impulsivity concept (Poythress & Hall, 2011). Whiteside and Lynam (2001) found four broad domains underlying the impulsivity construct by factor analyzing scores of 437 students on a large number of impulsivity scales used regularly in research. The four domains they delineate in their UPPS-P model of impulsivity are: Urgency, lack of Premeditation, lack of Perseverance, and Sensation Seeking. These facets will first be defined, followed by an outline of which impulsivity domain correlates more strongly with primary psychopathy and which with secondary psychopathy, as reviewed in a study by Poythress and Hall (2011). Poythress and Hall (2011) combined the insights of empirical studies that used cluster analysis on primary and secondary subtypes and empirical studies on dimensions of psychopathy with different forms of impulsivity (including the four broad domains from the UPPS-P model as described above). Based on this outline it is hypothesized that one specific operationalization of impulsivity converges with one of the four psychopathy subtypes as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) (2.3.2). In addition, it is hypothesized which of these impulsivity types may most closely correlate with psychopathic leadership and how this type of

impulsivity may support successfulness. Finally, the theory will be elucidated on how this type of impulsivity may have strong correlations with the trait self-control in the PL-model.

2.7.2.2 A four-domain framework of impulsivity

Whiteside and Lynam (2001) describe the first impulsivity domain, Urgency, as a persistent need to react as a way to deal with the negative emotions one feels. Lack of Premeditation, the second domain, is defined as a proclivity to react immediately, without thinking through how to act (little planning) and what the consequences of these sudden actions may entail. The third domain, lack of Perseverance, relates to low self-discipline and deficits in holding attention long enough to complete tasks. Finally, Sensation Seeking is described as a propensity to take pleasure in and pursue new and exhilarating activities and events. In the analyses of the different impulsivity scales Whiteside and Lynam (2001) found that among the scales that loaded on the impulsivity form of Sensation Seeking, was Dickman's (1990) functional impulsivity (FI) scale. Functional impulsivity *"requires that one be aware of and consider alternative courses of action and likely outcomes"* (Smillie & Jackson, 2006, p. 75). Furthermore, the study by Whiteside and Lynam (2001) also showed that Sensation Seeking additionally loads on Eysenck's Venturesomeness scale which measures behavior of an individual in which this person undertakes certain actions even though this individual is conscious of the risks (Poythress & Hall, 2011).

2.7.3 The four impulsivity domains and primary and secondary psychopathy

2.7.3.1 The dual process theory of psychopathy and impulsivity

Hall and Benning (2006) postulate that in manifestations of successful psychopathy, the differences between the etiology of Factor 1 and Factor 2 behavior of psychopathy are apparent. This postulation is based on the dual process theory of psychopathy by Fowles and Dindo (2006). This theory regards the etiology behind the affective and interpersonal traits (F1) as underpinned by fearlessness and the antisocial traits (F2) as underpinned by deficient inhibitory control (Fowles & Dindo, 2006; Patrick & Bernat, 2009). This suggests that those high in secondary psychopathy may score high on all four domains of impulsivity as outlined by Whiteside and Lynam (2001) (Karpman, 1941; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). Furthermore, in the theory of Fowles and Dindo (2006) impulsivity may be a separate trait from the affective and interpersonal dimension (Factor 1) of psychopathy. These scholars also suggest that Factor 1 psychopathy, or primary psychopathy, may be associated more with one specific type of impulsivity that they describe as: *"one of willingness to take risks even after considering the consequences"* (2006, p. 26). This may indicate that there is a type of 'semi' impulsive risk taking that correlates with a form of forethought based on self-control (Poythress & Hall, 2011). This is in line with the fourth impulsivity domain by Whiteside and Lynam (2001), Sensation Seeking. In their study, data showed that the domain of Sensation Seeking loads on Dickman's Functional Impulsivity scale (FI) and Eysenck's Venturesomeness scale (Eysenck et al., 1985; Poythress & Hall, 2011). These scales measure those forms of impulsivity in which one is aware of the consequences of the actions that will be undertaken and in which the pros and cons of these possible consequences have been considered before acting (Dickman, 1990; Poythress & Hall, 2011).

2.7.3.2 *Research on the four impulsivity domains and primary and secondary psychopathy*

The fourth domain of impulsivity found by Whiteside and Lynam (2001), Sensation Seeking, may represent the urge for seeking sensation but without recklessness in following through on this desire, instead considering the possible positive and negative outcomes of these actions (Poythress & Hall, 2011). This is congruent with data that were found through cluster analyses of PCL-R scores in prison samples, in which subgroups emerged that resemble Karpman's description of primary and secondary psychopathic groups (Hicks et al., 2004). The secondary group in this study can be characterized as aggressive, not reflective or planful or cautious in their personality, but high in impulsivity. In contrast, within the primary psychopathic sample of this study, subjects were not impulsive but instead showed greater planning skills and scored higher on levels of inhibitory control. These data suggest that this primary group may be more calculating and cautious. They may carefully plan and premeditate their actions and in some cases may even be strategic planners (Hicks et al., 2004).

It is hypothesized that although both the primary and secondary psychopathic types in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy seek thrills and sensations, the controlled primary type fulfills this need in a more calculated and premeditated manner than the two secondary psychopathic types or the disinhibited primary type would employ to achieve the same ends (Mullins-Sweatt et al. 2010; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). Research that utilized the PPI-R and the PCL-R to assess psychopathy supports this idea (Gray et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Poythress and Hall (2011) used the UPPS-P model to analyze associations between the two factors of the PPI-R and the PCL-R and the domains of the UPPS-P model. They found that the Self-Centered Impulsivity domain of the PPI-R (SCI) (represented through the subscales: blame externalization, carefree non-planfulness, Machiavellian egocentricity, impulsive nonconformity, and related psychopathic traits) correlates positively with all four domains of the UPPS-P model of impulsivity (Urgency, lack of Premeditation, lack of Perseverance, Sensation Seeking), with the exception of one specific subpart of Sensation Seeking, functional impulsivity. The PCL-R data employed in the review study of Poythress and Hall (2011) shows strong associations between Factor 2 and the first three impulsivity domains, but not with Sensation Seeking. Factor 1 of the PCL-R shows no associations with any of the four impulsivity domains. In contrast, the Fearless Dominance domain (FD) (represented through the subscales social potency, fearlessness, and stress immunity) correlates only with Sensation Seeking, and possibly with functional impulsivity (Poythress & Hall, 2011).

A similar association was found in a study by Weidacker et al. (2017) on the TriPM and the UPPS-P model. These scholars found that boldness related to high Sensation Seeking. The facet of meanness related to all four UPPS-P impulsivity dimensions, and disinhibition was associated with lack of Premeditation and Urgency.

More recently Gray et al. (2019) summarized studies on the relationship between psychopathy and the UPPS-P model (including the aforementioned review study by Poythress and Hall (2011)). Based on this summary Gray and colleagues (2019) conclude that the studies after 2011 (and which were thus not included in the Poythress and Hall study of 2011), appear to show some similar patterns regarding psychopathy and the UPPS-P model as outlined by Poythress and Hal (2011). On grounds of their summary Gray et al. (2019) postulate that Urgency, lack of Premeditation and lack of Perseverance may be associated more with the lifestyle and antisocial traits (F2) and not with the interpersonal and affective traits of psychopathy (F1). The findings regarding the

correlation between Sensation Seeking and Factor 1 were mixed according to these scholars: Berg and colleagues (2015) found strong relations, although Miller et al. (2011) found a weaker correlation (Gray et al., 2019).

Based on these results these scholars conducted their own study on the correlations between the two psychopathy factors of PCL-R/PCL-SV (Hart et al., 1995) and the UPPS-P scale in patient and prison samples. Factor 1 (foremost the interpersonal facet) was negatively related to Lack of Premeditation, lack of Perseverance and Urgency. Factor 2 was positively related to almost all of the four impulsivity facets from the UPPS-P scale (Gray et al., 2019).

One can imagine that those individuals who score high on the FD scale, but low(er) on the SCI scale, will take risks for the thrill of it or possibly because they desire a specific goal about which they are excited. They may also be more inclined to take these risks because of their low levels of fear and anxiety. However, they may think about the consequences and plan the precise steps they must take before acting. This subgroup may be the same group that scores high on the affective-interpersonal scale of psychopathy Factor 1 but lower on the lifestyle-antisocial Factor 2. Such individuals may be better at planning their actions and they may also have higher levels of self-control. This may make them more capable of being more 'successful' in their approaches (Gray et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). It is unclear whether such a person refrains from severe antisocial behavior. It is also possible that because of their high self-control and good planning skills, they are very effective in evading capture for their antisocial acts (Poythress & Hall, 2011).

Research on the etiological differences between the PPI-FD and the PPI-SCI of the PPI-R indicate that the PPI-SCI scale is related to emotional dysregulation, problems with the self-monitoring of behavior, high levels of reward sensitivity, and defaults in attention allocation to stimuli relevant to a certain task. PI-FD is associated with defects in reacting to fearful and threatening stimuli, but not with defects in inhibitory control of behavior (Benning et al., 2005a; Benning et al., 2005b; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Although these differences may be inborn, Hall and Benning suggest that these differences may be further amplified by the effect of parenting, education, SES, or other aspects related to personality or neurobiology (2006).

Research conducted with an assessment instrument that specifically measures sensation-seeking, Zuckerman's (1990) Sensation Seeking Scale (SSS scale), may further illuminate which subscales of this trait are correlated to the various scales of different psychopathy measures (Poythress & Hall, 2011). The SSS scale comprises four lower order scales: Thrill and Adventure Seeking (TAS), Experience Seeking (ES), Disinhibition (Dis), and Boredom Susceptibility (BS). The TAS-scale measures sensation seeking that is focused on risky but exciting activities and sports. The ES-scale measures sensation seeking by the degree of attraction to novel sensory and mental experiences and a non-conventional lifestyle. The DIS-scale assesses behavior that includes social contact with others and disinhibition through social drinking. The BS-scale focuses on an antipathy for a lack of variety and experiencing restlessness in the absence of variety (Zuckerman, 1990).

Research with the PPI-R, the PCL-R, and the TriPM found that Thrill and Adventure seeking and Experience Seeking, but not Disinhibition and Boredom Susceptibility, correlated with FD (Benning et al., 2005a; Benning et al., 2005b; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005), Factor 1 (Hall et al., 2004; Harpur et al., 1989; Poythress & Hall, 2011), and boldness (Sellbom & Philips, 2013). Although Poythress and Hall (2011) did not find associations between Factor 1 of the PCL-R and the broad domain of Sensation Seeking in their study, they did find a correlation between the lower order scales of the SSS scale (Thrill and Adventure seeking and Experience Seeking) and Factor 1.

2.7.4 *Self-controlled impulsivity may support 'success' in psychopathic leadership*

2.7.4.1 *Sensation seeking and self-control in psychopathic leadership*

Differentiating between the various operationalizations of impulsivity may shed more light on which of the four impulsivity domains as outlined by Whiteside and Lynam (2001), are more maladaptive and which are more adaptive forms of impulsivity. Through their research it has become clear that the domain of Sensation Seeking may be regarded as the most adaptive form of impulsivity (see also Berg et al., 2015). The other three domains either emanate from negative emotions that need to be regulated (Urgency), or may be described as a need to react instantly without forethought or planning (lack of Premeditation), or are defined as behavior based on low self-discipline and a lack of concentration to follow things through (lack of Perseverance). These three domains appear to be more maladaptive in their definition.

Sensation Seeking, the fourth impulsivity domain, is the only domain that does not include behavior that arises in order to deal with negative emotions, nor does it describe maladaptive behavior such as a lack of concentration or acting without planning. Sensation Seeking in Whiteside and Lynam's (2001) description is phrased in words that appear to connote more positive emotions e.g., take pleasure in, and engage in exhilarating activities (Berg et al., 2015).

Furthermore, Sensation Seeking although defined as 'a propensity to take pleasure in, and pursue new and exhilarating activities and events', is also connected to a form of planfulness, forethought, and inhibitory control (Gray et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011; Whiteside & Lynam, 2001). These are all aspects that require a person to score high on the trait self-control. The underlying constructs of Sensation Seeking, Functional impulsivity and Venturesomeness, include the combination of a desire to take risks and experience new things without thoughtlessness in undertaking these actions (Poythress & Hall, 2011).

This is in line with Patrick et al.'s (2009) description of judicious risk-taking. According to these scholars, judicious risk-taking is part of the Fearless Dominance domain of the PPI-R. Together with social dominance, assertiveness and self-composure, these traits resemble Patrick's boldness concept of the Triarchic model (Patrick et al., 2009).

Judicious risk-taking, or as it is referred to it in conceptualization of the PL-model, self-controlled sensation-seeking (sensation-seeking that includes planning and forethought), may be especially beneficial in leadership positions. Those studies that applied the SSS-scale of sensation-seeking found that the lower order-scales of Thrill- and Adventure Seeking (TAS) and Experience Seeking (ES) correlated with boldness (TriPM) (Sellbom & Philips, 2013), Factor 1 (PCL-R) (Hall et al., 2004; Harpur et al., 1989; Poythress & Hall, 2011), and Fearless Dominance (PPI-R) (Benning et al., 2005a; Benning et al., 2005b; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Poythress & Hall, 2011). The lower order scales Disinhibition (DIS) and Boredom Susceptibility (BS) of the SSS-scale are not correlated with these domains in the aforementioned studies. These findings may indicate that the actions that are undertaken are strongly triggered by a need to engage in exhilarating behavior that stimulates the senses and the mind (TAS en ES). However, actions may not be undertaken because of the socializing aspect of behavior (DIS), for reasons of boredom, or restlessness induced by boredom (BS). The low correlations with DIS is in accordance with the profile of primary psychopathy in which there are low levels of affiliation (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015b). The low correlations with BS fit the earlier profile in which restlessness can be regarded as a more negative emotional state that has to be 'fixed' through sensation seeking.

The boldness required to take risks at crucial moments is important in a leadership position. The chances of obtaining the right objectives for successfulness are greatly enhanced by proper planning, waiting for the right moment, and strategic thinking before acting. All of these behaviors depend on self-control, especially in moments where fast and accurate decision-making is essential. Furthermore, having a special appetite for exploring new territories and finding new adventures exhilarating, instead of experiencing stress and anxiety at such moments, is an important asset required for successful leadership. It is hypothesized that when sensation seeking (as a domain of impulsivity) is combined with high self-control, this conjunction of traits may support the ‘successfulness’ of such a psychopathic leader. Especially in conjunction with the Factor 1 traits, fearlessness, and the moderator the need to dominate others, this combination of traits may facilitate ‘success’ for such a leader for prolonged periods of time.

2.7.4.2 *Research on ‘successful’ psychopathic leaders, conscientiousness and excitement seeking*

The study of Mullins-Sweatt et al. (2010) confirms the aforementioned hypotheses on the conjunction of self-control and impulsivity. This study showed that those ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals in high positions (including leaders) who were researched exhibited higher scores on conscientiousness combined with higher scores on excitement-seeking. Conscientiousness was assessed through the Five Factor Form (FFF), which subdivides six facets of conscientiousness: Competence, Order, Dutifulness, Achievement-striving, Self-discipline, and Deliberation. These ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals scored high on Competence, Order, Achievement-striving and Self-discipline.

Several studies have reported that conscientiousness is positively correlated to successfulness in several aspects in life (e.g. Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Roberts et al., 2009). Furthermore, Clower and Bothwell (2002) found that in imprisoned psychopathic samples lower levels of conscientiousness predicted higher rates of arrest.

The differences between the scores on the levels of the four impulsivity domains of criminal psychopathic individuals and the hypothesized scores on the levels of the four impulsivity domains for psychopathic leadership are outlined in table 2.4.

This section has elaborated on the conjunction between sensation seeking and high self-control as is outlined in the proposed model of the psychopathic leader (see figure 2.1).

Impulsivity domains (retrieved from Whiteside & Lynam, 2001)	Criminal psychopathy	Psychopathic leadership
Urgency	Medium to High	Low
(lack of) Perseverance	Medium to High	Low
(lack of) Premeditation	Medium to High	Low
Sensation Seeking	Low to High	High

Table 2.4. Impulsivity domains and criminal psychopathy and psychopathic leadership (hypotheses) compared.

2.8 Conclusions and Future Directions

This chapter focuses on one manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy and discusses hypotheses on the distinguishing features of the psychopathic leader in comparison with the traditional profile of psychopathy in prison samples. The few studies that have been conducted on psychopathy and leadership indicate that psychopathic leaders share many of the dark traits with their overtly criminal counterparts in prison but that there may also be some important dissimilarities.

This chapter presents a theoretical model of the psychopathic leader (PL-model) with core psychopathic traits and three moderating variables. The PL-model is based on data from studies on psychopathic leadership and other high functioning psychopathic individuals as well as studies on white collar versus blue collar crime. These data were compared with a theoretical division of primary and secondary psychopathy types. It is argued that the core psychopathic traits in this model are a combination of the Factor 1 traits and fearlessness. These core traits may be moderated into a more adaptive expression through the additional traits of high self-control, sensation seeking, and the need for domination. These additional traits are defined as structural moderators in the PL-model.

The focus in this chapter is the conjunction of the trait high self-control with one impulsivity domain, Sensation Seeking. First, the four impulsivity domains that are studied in impulsivity research: Urgency, lack of Perseverance, lack of Premeditation, and Sensation Seeking were outlined. Second, it was illuminated which of these domains may be adaptive or maladaptive in gaining success in life. Third, the four psychopathy subtypes were combined with the four impulsivity domains from the UPPS-P model. Finally, the most adaptive form of impulsivity, sensation seeking, was integrated in the PL-model. Sensation Seeking may be regarded as the most adaptive domain of impulsivity, as it is the only impulsivity domain that emerges out of pleasant emotional experience and among the four impulsivity domains, the operationalization of Sensation Seeking is most strongly related to self-control. In the PL-model it is proposed that the conjunction of high self-control with sensation seeking most strongly supports the 'successfulness' in psychopathic leadership, in comparison to the institutionalized psychopathic individuals (figure 2.1).

The third structural moderator, the need for domination, may further amplify the successfulness of the psychopathic leader. In the PL-model, the need for domination may function as a behavioral motivator to seek out and remain in positions of power. This trait will be outlined in chapter four of this thesis.

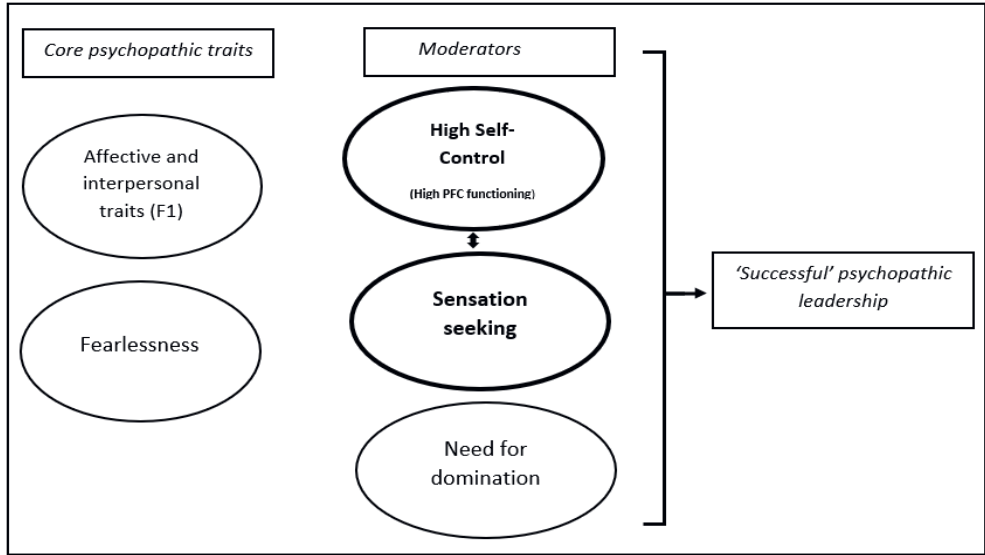


Figure 2.1. The proposed model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model).

Future directions

There is an urgent need for more data on psychopathic leadership, and this proposed model may facilitate further research on the subject. The model of the psychopathic leader is not yet empirically established and suggestions for the directions to verify this model in future studies will now be outlined. Additionally, several questions regarding the two models underlying the theoretical profile of the psychopathic leader still need to be answered. These issues will be discussed first.

First, the theoretical differentiation of the subtypes of primary and secondary psychopathy as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) should be verified empirically in different samples. Such studies may further clarify which are the core traits of primary psychopathy and secondary psychopathy as well as which traits show heterogeneity among the primary and secondary subdivisions. Additionally, by verifying the four types in different samples it may illuminate which of the subdivisions are more prevalent in prison samples, in community samples, or in groups of 'successful' psychopathic individuals such as psychopathic leaders.

Second, the elaboration of the moderated expression model of successful psychopathy by Steinert et al. (2017), based on the moderated expression model by Hall and Benning (2006), should be subjected to systematic research. Data are needed that establish whether certain moderating traits mitigate the non-adaptive outcomes of the core traits of psychopathy, and if so, in which ways they support 'success' (Benning et al., 2018). Importantly, some studies have found that certain core psychopathic traits are not only correlated with maladaptive outcomes, but also with adaptive outcomes. These scholars found that the boldness facet of the Triarchic model is primarily related to adaptive outcomes but also to some maladaptive outcomes (Patrick & Drislane, 2015; Skeem et al., 2011). The disinhibition and meanness facets mainly reflect maladaptive tendencies (Drislane et al., 2014; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Stanley et al., 2013; Venables et al., 2015; Venables & Patrick, 2012). Therefore, a focus of investigation should include how these outcomes relate to

the hypothesis that moderating factors influence the non-adaptive outcomes of the core psychopathic traits in the elaborated model of the moderated expression model. Additionally, Hicks and Drislane (2018) propose that the boldness and the disinhibition facets are orthogonal (lack of correlation), but the meanness facet is relatively highly correlated with disinhibition and moderately correlated with boldness (Patrick & Drislane, 2015). The lack of correlation between boldness and disinhibition may facilitate interactions between these two facets (Hicks & Drislane, 2018). Interestingly, these authors propose that boldness in the outcomes of boldness x disinhibition interaction may manifest itself as a moderator on the non-adaptive outcomes of the disinhibition facet. The combination of the two facets results in behavior that is highly antisocial, but at the same time is accompanied by good interpersonal functioning and emotional stability (Hicks & Drislane, 2018). This is consistent with Cleckley's portrayals of antisocial behavior that is hidden behind a mask of normality (1948). However, it is noteworthy that in several of the studies that have focused on the possible interactions between boldness (or FD) and disinhibition (or SCI) the results are mixed concerning these interactions and in some cases these studies showed almost no interactions between the two factors (e.g. Miller & Lynam, 2012; Vize et al., 2016). Further research on the interactions between boldness and disinhibition is needed.

Future research on the model of the psychopathic leader

To verify the theoretical model of the psychopathic leader several directions for future research will now be suggested. Because the PL-model is built as a configuration of a set of different personality traits, it may be best to operationalize the model by outlining which statistical interactions among the different traits should be tested. The following hypotheses should be empirically established in future research.

First, it should be tested if there is a statistical interaction between each of the three moderators (high self-control, sensation seeking, need for domination) and the core psychopathic traits in the PL-model. An additional research question is whether, if such interactions are found, they support 'success' in psychopathic leadership.

Second, future research should establish if there is a positive correlation between the first moderator, high self-control, and the second moderator, sensation seeking. Furthermore, new research should investigate whether this correlation between the two traits also interacts with the core psychopathic traits in the PL-model, and if so, whether this interaction supports 'success' in psychopathic leadership.

Third, Hicks and Drislane's (2018) hypothesis that boldness may also function as a moderator in the boldness x disinhibition raises several questions. Do the core psychopathic traits of Factor 1 in the proposed model function as a moderator for the other traits in the PL-model? Does the core psychopathic trait, fearlessness in the proposed model function as a moderator for the other traits in the PL-model? Additionally, if one or more of the core psychopathic traits function as a moderator, does this amplify the 'successfulness' of the psychopathic leader?

Fourth, the focus of this chapter is the conjunction of the trait high self-control with sensation-seeking in psychopathic leadership. The majority of the studies used in the section on the conjunction of these traits in psychopathic individuals utilized the PPI-R. Some scholars have challenged the relevance of the Fearless Dominance factor of the PPI-R for psychopathy (Lynam & Miller, 2013; Miller & Lynam, 2012; Neumann et al., 2013). For a response to these critiques see: Crego & Widiger, 2015, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012a; Murphy et al., 2016; Patrick & Drislane, 2015. We propose that in future research other measures, such as the PCL-R/-

SV and the TriPM, should also be utilized to establish the hypothesized conjunction between the traits high self-control and sensation seeking in the PL-model.

Additional research questions

Future studies should also focus on several other research issues that are important to empirically establish the PL-model.

First, studies should focus on whether those individuals in leadership positions show higher levels on the Factor 1 traits and Fearlessness, and lower levels on the Factor 2 traits of psychopathy, as proposed in the model. Second, it is important to precisely define the moderator sensation seeking in the model. Employing the different definitions of the four variants of sensation seeking as outlined by Zuckerman's (1990) SSS-Scale could be helpful to resolve this issue. Third, it is crucial to precisely define what successfulness embodies for the psychopathic leader, his subordinates, and for the organization as a whole. Fourth, research should establish whether the trait need for domination functions as a motivating factor in searching out leadership positions and if so, in what way. Furthermore, another unknown aspect is whether certain leadership positions are more alluring than others to satisfy the need for domination.

Finally, as in all manifestations of successful psychopathy, the most salient question is whether psychopathic leaders are truly successful in their leadership, or that they should be considered an organizational or societal risk. Further studies should focus on the competencies of the psychopathic leader and possible white-collar crimes committed by leaders with a psychopathic profile. This type of research could provide valuable insights and empirical evidence about these particular facets of psychopathic leadership.

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CHAPTER 3

A CLARIFICATION FOR THE ESTIMATED HIGH PREVELANCE OF PSYCHOPATHIC LEADERS

The Need for Domination in Psychopathic Leadership

ABSTRACT

In this chapter it is hypothesized that psychopathic leaders may be attracted to positions of power because in such environments they can fulfill their need for domination and control over other people. Although social dominance is a well-established trait in psychopathy, social dominance as a motivational factor in those high in psychopathy has received surprisingly little attention in literature and research. This chapter proposes that social dominance and dominance motivation may be part of the psychological profile of certain psychopathic subtypes, but not of others. Furthermore, the scarce theory and research on psychopathy and dominance motivation is reviewed. Finally, additionally the different motivations between the larger group of the Dark Triad will be analyzed and new insights on the importance of the need for domination for those high in psychopathy in comparison to other fundamental life motivations will be proposed. Based on these analyses this chapter will propose a clarification for the (estimated) high prevalence of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions.

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CHAPTER 3

A CLARIFICATION FOR THE ESTIMATED HIGH PREVELANCE OF PSYCHOPATHIC LEADERS

The Need for Domination in Psychopathic Leadership

The need for domination in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leadership

“... the evolving discrepancies in the perceptions of the psychopaths by their coworkers are not random: rather, they are actually the outcome of a predictable process of organizational manipulation on the part of the psychopath. The acting out of this process seems to satisfy some of their power and manipulation needs...”

(Paul Babiak)

3.1 Introduction

Psychopathy is a personality disorder represented by a combination of charm, egocentricity, impulsivity, manipulation skills, and antisociality hidden behind a façade of normalcy (Cleckley, 1941; Hare, 1996; Patrick, 2006). In the last three decades there has been a shift from primarily researching psychopathy in incarcerated samples to additionally studying psychopathy in the workplace, with a specific focus on psychopathic individuals in leadership positions in business and politics (Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

The aim of this study is to propose a clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders through an analysis of what motivates psychopathic individuals in life. According to Hickey (2015) the psychopathic traits represented in the affective and interpersonal traits (Factor 1) of the PCL-R ‘are *tools* utilized by the psychopath to achieve his main purpose: control.’ (p. 101). This scholar postulates that these tools are employed to gain power and control over other people (Hickey, 2015).

This chapter will focus on the importance of this specific motivator in psychopathy: the *need for domination*. In this chapter it is hypothesized that the desire for power and control over other people may be the core motivator for those psychopathic individuals that seek out leadership positions. Although research has shown that those high in psychopathy are prone to display dominant behavior towards others (e.g. Harpur et al., 1989; Nyholm & Häkkinen-Nyholm, 2012; Verona et al., 2001), the propensity to control the people around them has scarcely been studied as a motivational factor of the psychopathic behavior. In this chapter the research on the link between psychopathy and dominance motivation will be explored. The insights from these studies will be combined with the different components of a continuum of psychopathy subtypes and in this chapter it is hypothesized that one specific psychopathy subtype may have a preference for leadership positions because of the need for domination in this type. Furthermore, the importance of the need for domination in comparison to other life motivations for those high in psychopathy will be explored through an analysis of the differentiations in life motivations within the larger group of the Dark Triad.

Finally, although the psychopathic profile is traditionally associated with maladaptive outcomes, this study argues that the profile of the psychopathic leader comprises of several distinguishing traits that can lead to a certain level of ‘success’ in life. This study proposes that in the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader the need for domination may be combined with a specific set of other features that may make such psychopathic individuals appear to be organizationally or politically successful in leadership (Palmen et al., 2019). The majority of studies on those high in psychopathy in high profile positions indicate that although such individuals may seem successful outwardly they are a risk in a powerful position (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blicke et al., 2006; Blicke et al., 2018; Boddy, 2011; Boddy et al., 2010; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Ray, 2007). Because these psychopathic leaders are a risk in leadership positions, better detection of psychopathic individuals in leadership roles is crucial. To enhance detection it is imperative to establish the specific traits and motivations in their psychological profile (Palmen et al., 2018, 2019). This may be of particular importance as this profile may show significant differences with the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual which comprises high levels of impulsivity, non-planfulness, and overt antisociality that together lead to unsuccessful outcomes (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Palmen et al., 2019).

3.2 Psychopathic Leaders

3.2.1 Criminal psychopathy versus ‘successful’ psychopathy

Psychopathy is a personality disorder with an enigmatic constellation of contrasting features and behaviors. The apparent normalcy and outward adaptive appearance conceal internal deficits in emotional experience, conscience, and attachment forming (Hare, 1996). The different features of psychopathy that are outlined in the theoretical conceptualizations of the psychopathy construct have been subject to research and debate (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Most scholars subscribe to the two factor construction of psychopathy in which factor 1 comprises the

affective and interpersonal traits, and factor 2 includes lifestyle and antisocial features (Hare, 1996; Poythress & Hall, 2011). The affective traits in the psychopathic profile include traits such as callousness, low empathy, and lack of conscience. The interpersonal facet reflects features such as charm, grandiosity, and interpersonal manipulativeness (Hare, 2003). The lifestyle and antisocial factor is represented by traits including high impulsivity, lack of planfulness, and antisociality. Alternative conceptualizations with a three or four factor structure have also been proposed (Cooke & Michie, 2001; Hall et al., 2004; Hare, 2003). Although psychopathy is considered to be one conceptual construct consisting of a constellation of a group of features, most scholars agree that it is dimensional (Hall & Benning, 2006; LeBreton et al., 2006).

In recent years psychopathy research has shifted focus from primarily studying incarcerated criminal psychopathic samples to additionally researching psychopathy in community samples and among ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals, such as psychopathic leaders (Babiak & Hare, 2019; Benning et al., 2018; Boddy, 2011; Dutton, 2012; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Steinert et al., 2017). Traditionally, psychopathy is associated with maladaptive outcomes. Most of the research on psychopathy has focused on incarcerated samples in which the high levels of impulsivity, a parasitic lifestyle, and overt antisociality and criminality are traits that lead to unsuccessful outcomes in life. However, in the psychopathic profile of individuals that represent ‘successful’ manifestation of psychopathy, the levels of impulsivity may be lower and operationalized in conjunction with self-control (functional impulsivity). These traits, in combination with higher levels of charm and social efficacy, may support ‘success’ in life (Palmen et al., 2019; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Poythress & Hall, 2011).

This shift of attention in the psychopathy research has raised questions as to whether the group of features assessed through the widely used assessment tool, the PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist Revised, Hare, 1993), is representative of all individuals high in psychopathy. Although the PCL-R is considered to be the ‘gold standard’ for assessing psychopathy in prison samples, scholars disagree about whether it captures every manifestation of psychopathy. Researchers of the subject of ‘successful’ psychopathy debate whether criminal behavior, overt antisocial behavior, and impulsive tendencies are part of the profile of the ‘successful’ psychopathic individual or whether this is a contradiction in terms (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011).

3.2.2 Psychopathic leadership as a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy

In the literature and research, psychopathic leadership is regarded as a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy. Cleckley (1946) was already intrigued by the adaptive qualities some psychopathic individuals exhibit. Psychopathic features such as charm, charisma, and manipulation skills can be easily understood as competencies that contribute to excelling in a variety of professions that may lead to success in life (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Benning et al., 2018). The increase of attention for the subject of ‘successful’ psychopathy has also raised questions about where these ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals can be found in society (Benning et al., 2018; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

Several scholars have asserted that there may be an overrepresentation of this ‘successful’ psychopathic group in leadership positions (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019). Findings from studies on psychopathic individuals in leadership positions imply that

these individuals may have higher levels of the adaptive traits of psychopathy such as charm, social dominance, fearlessness, and impression management. Such individuals may have a psychological profile in which the aforementioned psychopathic traits are combined with non-psychopathic traits such as higher levels of executive functioning, high self-control, and functional impulsivity. This combination of traits may support 'success' in a high-profile position (Babiak et al., 2010; Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Porter et al., 2009; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Moreover, research additionally indicates that certain psychopathic individuals may prefer high profile positions, such as leadership positions in business, non-profit organizations, and politics, through which they can fulfill their need for sensation seeking, gain financial success, and have power and control over other people (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy et al., 2010; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Bucy et al., 2008; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mathieu & Babiak, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Ray, 2007).

3.2.2.1 Psychopathic leadership is a risk

The extant literature on psychopathic leadership as a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy is scarce. Measuring psychopathy or other psychopathologies in organizations is challenging because of the possible violation of privacy laws or the risk of lawsuits (Babiak et al., 2010). Whether these 'successful' psychopathic individuals are an advantage or a risk in a leadership positions is still a subject of debate (Lilienfeld et al., 2015). However, the majority of the studies that have been conducted on psychopathic leadership and psychopathy in other high profile positions shows a similar pattern: the presence of psychopathic individuals is associated with a diversity of maladaptive outcomes (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy et al., 2010; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Bucy et al., 2008; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Kets de Vries, 2012; Mathieu & Babiak, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014, 2015; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Ray, 2007; Ten Brinke et al., 2018).

In several of these studies, psychopathic leaders were not only associated with their own negative job performance (Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Ten Brinke et al., 2018), but their presence also had a negative impact on their employees. The studied employees were less committed to their organizations, exhibited lower work motivation, higher turn-over intentions, and higher job neglect. Furthermore, they felt dissatisfied with their supervisor and with their jobs and they experienced more frequent work-family related conflict (Mathieu et al., 2014; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Sanecka, 2013). In coherence with these findings, two studies found that psychopathic leaders are connected to the dysfunctional Laissez-Faire style of leadership. This leadership style is associated with employees experiencing dissatisfaction with their job and with their manager (Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Westerlaken & Woods, 2013). In addition to data indicating low performance rates of these psychopathic leaders and the negative impact on their employees, research has shown that psychopathic traits may be related to white-collar crime, such as fraud and embezzlement (Benson & Simpson, 2015; Bucy et al., 2008; Kolthoff, 2016; Lingnau, Fuchs, & Dehne-Niemann, 2017; Palmen et al., 2019). A review of research on psychopathic leadership can be found in Palmen et al. (2019) and a meta-analysis of psychopathic leadership data in Landay et al. (2019).

Based on the aforementioned data, Palmen et al. (2019) propose that the outcomes associated with psychopathic leadership may be primarily adaptive for the psychopathic leaders themselves but not for their environments. The researched individuals high in psychopathy were primarily successful in initially obtaining these leadership positions and many of them were able to maintain these positions to reach their personal goals (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009). However, in the same studies, the leadership of these psychopathic leaders negatively impacted their organizations and employees (e.g. Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Mathieu et al., 2014; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Sanecka, 2013). For this reason, the outcomes of the psychopathic profile are ambiguous and may therefore be better defined as ‘successful’ or as ‘adaptive’ (Palmen et al., 2019). To advance the research on psychopathic leadership and the ambiguity in its outcomes, it is essential to not only establish what the personality traits are in the profile of the psychopathic leader but also what motivates psychopathic leaders to pursue leadership positions.

3.2.3 Psychopathic leadership and psychopathic subtypes

The diverse manifestations of psychopathy, ranging from the unsuccessful incarcerated psychopathic individuals to ‘successful’ manifestations such as psychopathic leaders, may best be explained through the diversity in psychopathic subtypes (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Hicks & Drislane, 2018). Some psychopathic subtypes may show more traits that have adaptive qualities in life and other subtypes may comprise a group of traits connected to maladaptive outcomes (Benning et al., 2018; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Steinert et al., 2017). In psychopathy research scholars agree that there is convincing proof that in addition to a base psychopathy profile, there are variations in psychopathy profiles depending on the additional features (psychopathic and non-psychopathic) (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020). Researchers of psychopathy find that defining different psychopathic types may help to better understand the large heterogeneity among psychopathic individuals. This allows for exploration of the various ‘adaptive’ expressions of psychopathy in the subclinical community, such as psychopathic leadership, in addition to the maladaptive type(s) that can be found in prison and that are measured through the PCL-R (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Poythress & Skeem, 2006). Defining the distinguishing set of traits in psychopathic leadership may assist the field in more accurately recognizing and studying this specific manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy.

In recent years various scholars focused on clarifying which possible psychopathy subtypes may exist. Cluster analysis is a method that is applied for this purpose. Scholars use large data sets on psychopathy from prison and community samples to narrow down different subtypes of psychopathy, each with a different set of traits (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks et al., 2004).

Based on the findings of such cluster analyses and other methods, the majority of scholars concur that the most important subdivision in psychopathy subtypes is the division in primary and secondary psychopathy (Hick & Drislane, 2018; Skeem et al., 2003). Empirical studies researching the heterogeneity in psychopathy have confirmed the primary and secondary psychopathy distinction (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks et al., 2004; Mokros et al., 2015; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). This specific differentiation has garnered special attention from researchers of ‘successful’ psychopathy for reasons of the adaptive outcomes associated with primary psychopathic subtypes. This contrasts with the secondary psychopathic subtypes which show strong correlations with

maladaptiveness (Benning et al., 2018; Chiaburu et al., 2013; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

3.2.3.1 A new continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy subtypes

A recent comprehensive review study by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) focused on the specific primary and secondary psychopathy distinction and found divergencies in adaptiveness and maladaptiveness in these psychopathic subtypes which are related to the levels of self-control and emotional stability in each subtype. These scholars reviewed and analyzed data from cluster analytic studies in youngsters, prison samples, and community samples and combined these outcomes with the insights from theoretical differentiations of primary and secondary psychopathy and the conceptualizations of the most important instruments used in assessing psychopathy. Using this strategy these scholars were able to define a continuum of two primary psychopathy types and two secondary psychopathy types.

In line with Karpman (1941), these scholars found that primary psychopathy may be largely based in constitution, whereas secondary psychopathy in this continuum is considered to be a symptomatic form of psychopathy that may have developed in reaction to severe trauma in childhood. Yildirim and Derksen (2015) defined and labeled a continuum of four basic psychopathy subtypes: controlled primary psychopathy, disinhibited primary psychopathy, detached secondary psychopathy, and unstable secondary psychopathy. This study will follow the proposed division in these psychopathy variants to focus on psychopathic leadership and the motivational trait of the need for domination. Although there are other models of psychopathic subtypes (Hicks & Drislane, 2018), this proposed continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy provides important insights on which psychopathic subtypes may be most connected to adaptive outcomes. Furthermore, this model proposes a clarification for the potential higher levels of adaptiveness by defining specific traits that may underlie ‘successful’ outcomes in psychopathy by moderating maladaptive outcomes (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Steinert et al., 2017). Most importantly, the proposed model of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) is to the best of this author’s knowledge the only model of psychopathy variants that includes the need for domination as part of one of the subtypes in this continuum. Moreover, this particular psychopathic subtype in this proposed continuum is most strongly connected to adaptive outcomes (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

In the next section (*3.3 What draws psychopathic individuals to leadership?*), based on the aforementioned insights regarding the adaptiveness and maladaptiveness connected to psychopathic subtypes, the focus will exclusively be on the two primary psychopathy types proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) to discuss the need for domination as a core life motivation in psychopathic leaders. According to Yildirim (2016), secondary psychopathic individuals lack many of the adaptive traits prominently displayed by the primary group such as boldness, charm, and charisma. Instead, those from the secondary psychopathic group are frequently overtly hostile and impulsive in their behavior and they lack the self-control and social potency to build careers and to obtain leadership positions. For these reasons the two secondary psychopathy types will not be discussed in this chapter. An extensive review on the research of secondary psychopathy and the proposed secondary psychopathy types as defined by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) can be found in Yildirim (2016).

3.2.3.2 *Social dominance and dominance motivation in psychopathy subtypes*

This study hypothesizes that for psychopathic leaders the most important motivation to seek out leadership roles is that these positions enable them to fulfill their need to dominate and control other people (Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016; Palmen et al., 2019). Hickey (2015) postulates that the factor 1 traits of psychopathy are most connected to the motivation to dominate other people. It is imaginable that those psychopathy types that score high on the factor 1 traits of psychopathy are motivated more by social dominance than those who score higher on factor 2 and low on factor 1.

Blackburn (1975, 1996) postulated that primary psychopathy is characterized by confidence and social dominance which leads to sociable behavior. This contrasts with secondary psychopathy in which individuals may be more socially withdrawn. The link between psychopathy and socially dominant behavior has been established in a large number of studies (e.g. Harpur et al., 1989; Hicks et al., 2004; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Nyholm & Häkkinen-Nyholm, 2012; Verona et al., 2001).

In accordance with Blackburn (1975, 1996), several of these studies showed that only PCL-R Factor 1 correlated with high extraversion and social dominance (Harpur et al., 1989; Hall et al., 2004; Hicks et al., 2004; Verona et al., 2001). According to Harpur et al. (1989), the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits are most closely related to Cleckley's portrayals of psychopathy in which low neuroticism and interpersonal dominance are considered to be the core of psychopathy. The combination of these traits was found in a study by Hicks et al. (2004) in which model-based cluster analysis showed that one cluster (the emotional stable psychopathic group) was characterized by more adaptive traits such as low stress reactivity, strategic and planful behavior, and high social dominance. In contrast, the other cluster (the aggressive psychopathic group) showed more maladaptive traits such as high levels of aggression, alienation, and impulsivity. These two groups resemble Karpman's (1941) descriptions of primary and secondary psychopathy (Poythress & Hall, 2011). Another study by Hall et al. (2004), which applied the three factor division of psychopathy (interpersonal, aggressive, and behavioral factor), found that the interpersonal facet of factor 1 was related to higher adaptive functioning, low neuroticism, and social dominance and the affective factor of factor 1 was associated with low affiliation and violent offending.

Traits related to social dominance and dominance motivation are also part of several assessment instruments to measure psychopathy. In these instruments, social dominance and dominance motivation are also primarily related to the interpersonal/affective factor 1 traits.

In the most validated psychopathy measure to assess psychopathy among the general population, the PPI-R (Psychopathic Personality Inventory-Revised; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005), the higher-order factor 1 scale of Fearless Dominance (FD) captures lack of anxiety and fear, manipulateness, and social dominance (Stanley et al., 2013). Studies have shown that the Fearless Dominance factor is positively correlated with dominance motivation (Benning et al., 2005; Tellegen & Waller, 2008).

Another assessment instrument to measure psychopathy in diverse samples, the TriPM (Patrick, 2010) can be utilized to differentiate among psychopathy subtypes by measuring the core phenotypic constructs of disinhibition, meanness, and boldness. Meanness is a predisposition towards behavior that shows lack of empathy and concern for others and strategic exploitation of other people in order to gain empowerment. Boldness is marked by fearlessness and reduced stress reactivity in combination with interpersonal dominance that is reflected in a self-assured posture and social persuasiveness (Benning et al., 2003). In the TriPM, the combination of certain facets of

boldness and meanness may represent the motivation psychopathic individuals have to socially dominate other people (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Indeed, Fanti et al. (2016) found that the facets of boldness and meanness were positively correlated to the need for domination.

A more recently developed assessment-oriented conceptual framework of the psychopathy construct is the CAPP (Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality) (Cooke et al., 2004b, 2012), which distinguishes six basic psychopathy dimensions: the self domain, the attachment domain, the emotional domain, the behavioral domain, the cognitive domain, and the dominance domain. The dominance domain is defined as the degree of power and control people want to achieve in contact with others. In psychopathic individuals, this domain reflects aberrant expressions of interpersonal dominance. The psychopathic symptoms described in this domain are: antagonistic, domineering, insincere, garrulous, manipulative, and deceitful (Sellbom et al., 2019). On the basis of this conceptual model, these scholars have described a number of assessment approaches to measure psychopathy (Cooke et al., 2004a; Cooke et al., 2012).

3.2.3.3 Social dominance and the need for domination in the controlled primary psychopathy type

The continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy types as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) also connects social dominance and motivation for dominance with the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits of psychopathy. One of the primary psychopathic types in this continuum, labeled the controlled primary psychopathic type by these scholars, is defined as having higher levels of the factor 1 traits, higher levels of social dominance, and a motivation for social dominance. Primary psychopathy is often described in the literature as being more equivalent to the factor 1 traits of psychopathy as opposed to the factor 2 traits which are more closely associated with secondary psychopathy (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Although the two secondary psychopathy types in the continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) may also be associated with heightened dominance and dominance motivation (see also Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) in the DSM-IV-TR/5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013)), these elevations may be driven more by fear and anxiety and a general hostility towards others (Yildirim, 2016).

This is in contrast with the dominance motivation in the controlled primary psychopathy type in the proposed continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015): these individuals are described as fearless and highly self-confident, and as lacking feelings of anxiety and stress. The heightened dominance motivation in the primary controlled psychopathic type may have value in and of itself (Glenn et al., 2017; Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). This is in opposition to the heightened dominance and dominance motivation in secondary psychopathy which may serve as a defense mechanism against feelings of hostility and unconscious fear in interpersonal contact (Yildirim, 2016). Furthermore, as outlined in paragraph 3.2.3.1. in this chapter, those high in secondary psychopathy can be defined as more socially maladaptive because of their high neuroticism and hostility towards others which may prevent them from being able to display the necessary behaviors to become 'successful' in society (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020; Yildirim, 2016).

In the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy, Yildirim and Derksen (2015) have outlined one other primary psychopathy subtype in addition to controlled primary psychopathy: disinhibited primary psychopathy. However, this disinhibited type, in addition to scoring high on the factor 1 traits and on social dominance, scores high on the factor 2 traits. This

type is therefore portrayed as highly impulsive, living parasitically off the means of others around them, and as lacking any long term life goals. Most importantly, Yildirim and Derksen (2015) postulate that this disinhibited primary psychopathic type lacks the desire to dominate other people, as opposed to the controlled primary psychopathic type.

Out of the four psychopathy types, controlled primary psychopathy is considered the most adaptive subtype and most resembles Cleckley's portrayals of semi-successful psychopathy (Cleckley, 1941; Crego & Widiger, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Specific differentiations between the two primary psychopathy types in the proposed continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) are listed in table 3.1.

	Controlled Primary Psychopathy	Disinhibited Primary Psychopathy
Psychopathic traits	High on factor 1, low to medium on factor 2	High on factor 1, high on factor 2
Personality	High in social dominance, malignant narcissistic	High in social dominance, overtly antisocial
Executive functioning	Conscientiousness, deliberate risk-taking/functional impulsivity, foresightedness, high self-control	Recklessness, impetuous risk-taking/ dysfunctional impulsivity, short-sightedness, low-self-control
Social cognition	Normative to high	Low to normative
Antisociality/criminality	Instrumental aggression, higher risk for white-collar crimes	Reactive aggression, criminally versatile
Preferred lifestyle	Desire for social dominance	Parasitic lifestyle

Table 3.1. Theoretical differentiations between the controlled type and the disinhibited type of primary psychopathy derived from Yildirim and Derksen (2015).

3.2.4 *The profile of the psychopathic leader and psychopathic subtypes*

Palmen and colleagues (2019) reviewed the studies on psychopathic leadership and combined the most important data with the proposed continuum of psychopathy types by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) and with data from studies on self-control versus impulsivity in different psychopathy types. On the grounds of this analysis these scholars developed a theoretical model on the specific traits of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model). In accordance with the most adaptive subtype in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy: the controlled primary psychopathy type (2015), the core group of traits in the PL-model comprise the Factor 1 traits and

fearlessness. Palmen and colleagues (2019) argue that in psychopathic leaders high levels of self-control may support 'success' by moderating the maladaptive outcomes of the core psychopathic traits of Factor 1 and fearlessness in the PL-model (Steinert et al., 2017). Although psychopathic leaders show higher levels on one domain of impulsivity, sensation seeking, they may act on these impulses with forethought and planning (Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011). This theoretical profile contrasts with the 'traditional' profile of imprisoned psychopathic individuals in which levels of self-control are typically low and levels of impulsivity are high.

On the basis of their review, Palmen and colleagues (2019) propose that psychopathic leaders are connected to 'successful' outcomes because they are charming, possess excellent self-presentation skills, and are bold but still in control of their actions. Such leaders can effortlessly create an attractive image of a perfect leader and manipulate important decisionmakers into hiring them and promoting them into the leadership positions they desire (Babiak, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2019).

In the PL-model high self-control, sensation seeking, and the need for domination are defined as moderators. Moderators are traits that may moderate the non-adaptiveness of the core traits of Factor 1 and fearlessness (Hall & Benning, 2006; Palmen et al., 2019; Steinert et al., 2017). According to Palmen et al. (2019) high self-control in psychopathic leadership supports the 'success' of psychopathic leaders the most. The current study focuses on the most important motivational trait in the profile of the psychopathic leader: the need for domination (see figure 3.2). This study proposes that the need for domination may best clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders.

To better detect psychopathic leaders it is important to establish what are the distinguishing traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader in comparison to the profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. The PL-model proposes a clarification for the 'success' of the psychopathic leader as a result of the trait of high self-control (Palmen et al., 2019). In this chapter it is hypothesized that the need for domination in this profile may motivate psychopathic individuals to seek out positions of power. Although sensation seeking is also outlined as a motivational trait in the profile of the psychopathic leader, in the next section it will be argued that the need for domination is the core motivating trait for those high in psychopathy who pursue positions of leadership. To reach this goal, the extant studies on the link between psychopathy and the need for domination in comparison to the importance of other life motivations will be reviewed first. Then, these findings will be combined with the research of psychopathic leadership and new refinements of the motivational trait, need for domination, in the model of the psychopathic leader will be suggested. The PL-model which focuses on the interaction between self-control and sensation seeking is outlined in figure 3.1.

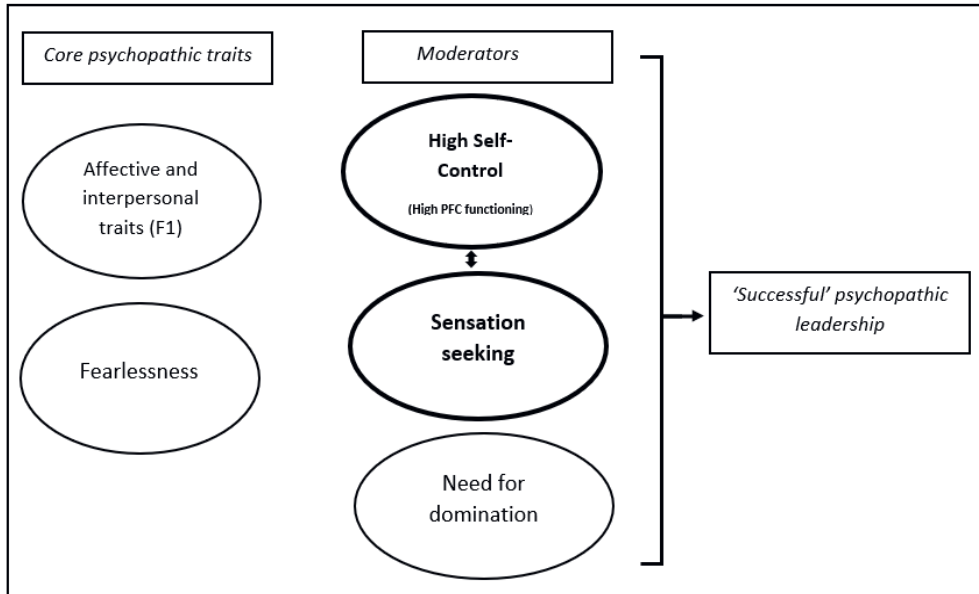


Figure 3.1. The model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model): the conjunction of high self-control with sensation seeking (Palmen et al., 2019).

3.3 What Draws Psychopathic Individuals to Leadership?

3.3.1 What motivates psychopathic individuals in life?

Although the research of psychopathy has a long tradition in defining the specific personality traits in the psychopathic profile, what fundamentally motivates psychopathic individuals in life has been scarcely researched (Glenn et al., 2017). In the literature and research on what motivates people in life, three fundamental life motivations have been repeatedly distinguished: the need for affiliation, the need for achievement (or prestige), and the need for domination (status/power/control) (Fanti et al., 2016; McClelland, 1985; Semenyina & Honey, 2015). The need for affiliation is important to individuals who value bonding and attachment with others, especially with family and friends, but also with coworkers or other people in their environment. Those that value achievement as an important life motivation focus their actions in life on constantly improving their performance at work or in other areas in which they find personal accomplishments meaningful. The individuals who score high on the need for domination have a preference for a society based on hierarchy and status. They have a particular desire to have power and control over other people and find pleasure in controlling others, whether they are family members, friends, employees or strangers (Glenn et al., 2017; Fanti et al., 2016; Furtner et al., 2017; Hickey, 2015).

Studies on those high in psychopathy have shown that they are not motivated by moral traits such as honesty, consideration for others, and fairness (Aharoni et al., 2011; Glenn et al., 2009; Glenn et al., 2010). These outcomes are consistent with the antisocial behavior displayed in

psychopathy such as the unscrupulous lying, manipulation, and in many cases, criminal conduct (Hare, 2003). The question is: what *does* motivate psychopathic individuals in life? Psychopathic individuals are described as extremely egocentric and as ‘merely looking out for number one’ (Hare, 1999). Indeed, a study by Jonason et al. (2015) on the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) showed that those high in psychopathy score low on appreciating moral values and collective values and instead value the enhancement of oneself. What are the goods, aspirations, and goals psychopathic individuals want for themselves? Studies have found that they are looking for rewards, they enjoy risk-taking, are in need of stimulation, are looking for thrills and adventures, and are experience seekers (Hare, 2003; Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Additionally, several studies have shown that those high in psychopathy may have a preference for social group inequality (Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Kramer et al., 2011) for reasons of their need for domination (Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016; Hickey, 2015; Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

3.3.2 The need for domination in the Dominance Behavioral System

Several studies have found an association between psychopathic traits and dominance motivation. In particular, studies that focused on subclinical psychopathy samples show this psychopathy-need for domination link (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2012; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Kajonius et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2013; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). In researching associations between psychopathy and the need for domination it is important to understand underlying systems on dominance and submission such as the Dominance Behavioral System (DBS) or similar models (Tang-Smith et al., 2015). Before the data from the studies on psychopathy and the need for domination are outlined, the Dominance Behavioral System (DBS) will be described in more detail in the following paragraphs.

In the DBS model, social dominance is considered to be an important aspect of all human and animal interaction. Dominance and submission are important themes in the biology of humans and other animals (Hermann, 2016; Johnson et al., 2012). These two opposite but interacting behaviors regulate social interactions. Among most species there are some members who are more dominant in their behavior and others who are more submissive. Under certain circumstances these roles may alternate and those who were dominant before may become the submissive and vice versa. There is a variety of terms to describe this system. The most commonly used term is the Dominance Behavioral System (Johnson et al., 2012).

The Dominance Behavioral System is described as a system constituted in biology and consisting of dominant and subordinate behavior, dominance motivation, and self-perceptions of power (Johnson & Carver, 2012; Tang-Smith et al., 2015). Although different fields use a variety of terms for this system, the existence of the system is supported by human and animal research (Johnson et al., 2012). It is agreed upon that in humans this system regulates the striving for control over material and social resources that contribute to the ultimate life-goals of human survival and reproduction. The DBS regulates and motivates behavior to reach the aforementioned life-goals (Johnson et al., 2012; Tang-Smith et al., 2015).

3.2.2.1 The Dominance Behavioral System and psychopathology

The DBS is important in regulating situations in which aggression and conflict occur (competition) and to ensure peaceful group living. In humans and other primates dominant and submissive behaviors are regulated by this system so that after events of aggression or conflict, the most dominant members have access to resources that entail the largest chance for reproductive success. Human societies are built and stabilized through these dominance-submission interactions. Great responsibility lies in the hands of the dominant parties: these individuals are most influential in creating a well-functioning society (Johnson et al., 2012; Tang-Smith et al., 2015). Dominance motivation can result in strong and competent leadership when an individual is focused on interpersonal connectedness (Johnson et al., 2012). However, domination and dominance motivation among humans are also strongly connected to psychopathology, especially with externalizing disorders such as narcissism, antisocial personality disorder, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013; Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2012; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Kajonius et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2013; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2014; Johnson et al., 2012). The combination of such an externalizing psychopathology with a motivation to dominate in an individual may not facilitate and stabilize a healthy societal construction.

3.3.2.2 The Dominance Behavioral System and the need for domination in psychopathy

Several researchers have explored the idea that psychopathy may be an evolutionary strategy (Glenn & Raine, 2009). In line with the link between psychopathy and the need for domination in the previously discussed Dominance Behavioral System, Crawford and Salmon (2002) postulate that the affective, cognitive, and behavioral traits in psychopathic individuals may be regarded as an organized mechanism which serves the ultimate life-goals of survival and reproduction. In that sense the psychopathic personality facilitates a social strategy that may have been one of the most effective strategies among human evolutionary history (Crawford & Salmon, 2002). Dominating others by means of manipulation, cunning behavior, instrumental aggression, but also through glibness and superficial charm may maximize the reproductive fitness outcomes for psychopathic individuals (Glenn & Raine, 2009). When such domination strategies are ultimately focused on collecting multiple short-term sexual partners, this may increase evolutionary chances. Psychopathy has been associated in several studies with both sexual promiscuity and an increased number of sexual partners (Halpern et al., 2002; Hare, 2003, Lalumiere & Quinsey, 1996).

3.3.3 Research on the need for domination in psychopathy

Although there are many studies and several assessment instruments showing the relevance of social dominance for the psychopathy construct (e.g. Cooke et al., 2012; Harpur et al., 1989; Hicks et al., 2004; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Nyholm & Häkkinen-Nyholm, 2012; Patrick et al., 2009; Sellbom et al., 2019; Verona et al., 2001), data indicating the importance of the motivation for social dominance is still scarce. After outlining the most important studies on the psychopathy-need for domination link, new insights will be provided on the need for domination in psychopathy and psychopathic leadership.

The data that explicitly focused on psychopathic samples will be discussed first. In the next step, the findings from research on the need for domination in the broader group of the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) (Paulhus & Williams, 2002) will be outlined.

Although every group in the Dark Triad may be connected to the need for domination (e.g. Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Hodson et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2013), an analysis of the differences in the combination of the various life motivations among the Dark Triad groups may give further insights into how the need for domination may be understood in psychopathy and in psychopathic leadership (Glenn et al., 2017).

3.3.3.1 Studies on the need for domination in psychopathy

The largest study on psychopathy and facets of the need for social domination and power is a study by Glenn and colleagues (2017). These scholars employed a research website (YourMorals.org) to study what individuals scoring higher in psychopathy value in life. Within a large sample ($N=3,521$) relations between psychopathic traits and motivations and goals in life were examined. The values of those higher in psychopathy were assessed through the use of the Swartz Values Scale which contains 30 items that represent the guiding principles in people's lives (Swartz, 1992). The principles are organized using the orthogonal dimensions of: (1) Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence and (2) Openness to Change versus Conservation. The value of Power in this instrument is measured through the first dimension and is defined as controlling other people (social power, authority, wealth) and societal prestige (Swartz, 1992). Goals for the future were measured through the use of an adjusted version of the Aspiration Index (Grouzet et al., 2005). Materialism was assessed through the use of the Material Value Scale (Richins, 2004). Positional concerns were measured using the Positional Versus Absolute Good Scale by Solnick and Hemenway (1998). Social Dominance Orientation was assessed using a 16-item scale to measure if someone prefers a society that is hierarchic or a society based on equality (Pratto et al., 1994). Finally, psychopathy was measured using the LSRP (Levenson et al., 1995). The Levenson's Self-Report Psychopathy Scale is constructed to measure the two factors of psychopathy through a 26-item rating scale.

The results of this study showed that the psychopathic traits were negatively associated with Benevolence and Universalism and positively associated with Hedonism and Power (Glenn et al., 2017). The strong relationships between psychopathy with the value of power in this study were primarily driven by factor 1 (scores on SDO: $F1: 58^{***}$, $F2: .15^{**}$; scores on the value of Power: $F1: .37^{***}$, $F2: .09^{***}$).

Furthermore, although psychopathy was strongly related to valuing power, associations with the value of achievement were very small. According to Glenn et al. (2017), being motivated to obtain power but not finding it important to secure this power through personal achievement may stimulate immoral and antisocial behavior. This study also showed that those high in psychopathy found material possessions and financial success more important for their happiness than was true for those scoring low on psychopathy.

However, the psychopathic group did not merely desire financial success in order to be able to buy nice things; they were most interested in owning *more* of a certain good than other people (income, education, vacation time). This was of greater significance to them than having more of the absolute level of a good. Together with the finding that those higher in psychopathy preferred a hierarchic society (as measured by the SDO scale; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) and their high score on the Swartz value of Power, Glenn and colleagues (2017) propose that the need for power and control over other people may be more important to psychopathic individuals than being financially successful or experiencing pleasure. Moreover, these scholars further suggest that for

those high in psychopathy the desire for financial success may actually be a strategy to obtain social dominance (Glenn et al., 2017).

Fanti et al. (2016) examined the relationships between psychopathy dimensions (boldness, meanness, disinhibition) as assessed by the TriPM and facets of personality (including the desire for control and status) (N=419). The results of this study showed that the psychopathy dimensions of boldness and meanness were positively correlated with the traits desire for control (a desire to dominate others in interpersonal situations) and desire for status (wanting to accumulate status for oneself), as measured by The Machiavellianism Personality Scale (MPS; Dahling et al., 2009). There was no association found between the psychopathy dimensions of disinhibition and the scales Desire for Control and Desire for Status. Furthermore, boldness was also associated with verbal aggression and amoral manipulation. All three psychopathy dimensions were associated with physical aggression. The combination of the desire for control and status, amoral manipulation, and physical and verbal forms of aggression in individuals high on boldness and meanness may predict premeditated manipulative and aggressive behavior that is used in order to dominate and control other people (Fanti et al., 2016) .

Lobbestael et al. (2018) hypothesized that dominance motivation may play an important role in the violence many psychopathic individuals display in criminal and non-criminal samples. In this study psychopathy was assessed in a community sample of 91 subjects. These scholars combined the PPI-R, a self-report questionnaire on self-perceived dominance (the Self Perceived Social Status Scale; Buttermore et al., 2005), and interviews on job preferences with ratings of dominance motivation during an assessment of personal space (Mehta & Josephs, 2010). These rating were obtained during the aforementioned job preference interviews. Both the self-report measure and the assessment on personal space during the interviews showed positive relationships between dominance motivation and psychopathic traits. Furthermore, in the interview setting these scholars found important differences between two psychopathic groups regarding the dominance behavior displayed towards the interviewer. In those psychopathic individuals who were higher in factor 1 psychopathic traits, dominant behavior was increased towards the dominant interviewer. This contrasts with the assessed behavior of psychopathic individuals who scored higher on the factor 2 scores. This psychopathic group showed reduced defense distancing towards the interviewer (allowing the dominant interviewer to approach more closely and thereby reducing their dominance display).

Manson et al. (2014) studied dominance motivation by measuring conversational dominance in association with primary and secondary psychopathy in a student sample of 105 in a casual conversation experimental condition. Psychopathy was measured through the LRSP. These scholars found that primary psychopathy as measured by the LRSP was related to quantitative dominance of conversational dominance (a higher proportion of sequence starts, more interruptions per minute, higher proportion of their conversation words). No correlations were found between conversational dominance and secondary psychopathy as measured by the LRSP. According to Manson et al. (2014), those high in primary psychopathy may use their talkativeness in conversations to gather useful information in order to exploit their fellow conversationalists.

3.3.3.2 Research on the need for domination in the Dark Triad

The connection between psychopathy and the need for domination is well-established in all of the aforementioned studies. To gain a deeper insight into the precise value of the need for domination

for psychopathic individuals, those studies that not only focused on the need for domination but also assessed other motivations in life will be outlined. Furthermore, comparing which life motivations are of importance among the larger group of the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) may further deepen the insights on the specific value of the need for domination for psychopathic individuals.

According to Paulhus and Williams (2002), the three personality types in the Dark Triad function within the normal range but are antisocial in their behavior. Although these three groups share certain features there are also important dissimilarities among them (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Individuals from the Machiavellian group are portrayed as persons who are cynical and amoral and who manipulate other people to reach personal goals (Jones & Paulus, 2009). Narcissism is associated with grandiosity and high self-esteem that subconsciously covers a psychopathological insecure self-image (Cain et al., 2008). The psychopathic group within the Dark Triad is considered to be a subclinical manifestation of psychopathy (Furnham et al., 2013). Although every one of the Dark Triad is associated with antisociality, they are also connected to leadership because of their manipulation skills, impression management techniques, and high self-confidence (Ekizler & Bolelli, 2020). In the next paragraph the research on the motivations among the Dark Triad will be outlined. Then, the dissimilarities in the combinations of the various motivations among the Dark Triad will be analyzed which will deliver new hypotheses on the value of the need for domination in those high in psychopathy.

3.3.3.2.1 Studies on the need for domination in the Dark Triad

Lee et al. (2013) examined the relationships among each of three important life domains (power, sex, and money) and the Dark Triad in two student samples (total N = 432) using peer- and self-report. The Dark Triad was assessed by the SD3 measure (Paulhus & Jones, 2011) and the Dirty Dozen (Jonason & Webster, 2010). The desire for power was measured through the use of a selection of items of the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) and the SDO scale. One item was added to assess the need for power. This item focused on the amount of power a person wanted to have gained by the age of 40 (Altmeyer, 2006). The HEXACO factors were assessed through the HEXACO-PI-R (Lee & Ashton, 2004). A low score on Honesty-Humility (one of the dimensions of the HEXACO model) suggests strong links with the need for power (Lee et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2010; Sibley et al., 2010). It was found that the Dark Triad (including psychopathy) had a strong link with low Honesty-Humility which indicates a strong connection to the need for power. For the three other measures that assessed the desire for power, all three Dark Triad personalities showed strong associations with all three measures (SDO, SVS Power, and desire for power).

The sex, power, and money factors that were used in this study all assess the specific motivation to have more of these resources than other people (rather than being satisfied with having an equal (amount) of resources than others; cf. Glenn et al., 2017). As this specific motivation to own more of a certain resource than others was confirmed within the Dark Triad in this study, a connection was made between the money, power, and sex factors and the exploitation that is represented through the low scores on Honesty-Humility (Lobbestael et al., 2018).

Jonason and Ferrell (2016) studied associations between the Dark Triad and the three basic life motivations: the need for affiliation, the need for achievement, and the need for domination in a large online community sample (N= 2506) and found important differences among the Dark Triad personalities. The basic life motivations were assessed through the use of the 18-item

Balanced Measure of Psychological Needs (Sheldon & Hilpert, 2012), the life goals questionnaire GOALS (Pöhlmann & Brunstein, 1997), and the Unified Motives Scale (Schönbrodt & Gerstenberg, 2012). The Dark Triad was measured through the Dirty Dozen and with separate measures to assess narcissism (The Narcissistic Personality Inventory; Raskin & Terry, 1988), Machiavellianism (The MACH-IV; Christie & Geis, 1970), and psychopathy (The Self-Report Psychopathy Scale III; Paulhus et al., 2009). Although every Dark Triad group related positively to the need for domination and power, only narcissism also showed positive associations with the need for affiliation and the need for achievement (although these relations were statistically inconsistent). The scores for individuals within the Machiavellian and psychopathic group demonstrated a negative correlation with the need for achievement and the need for affiliation.

Jones and Figueredo (2013) studied the need for social dominance within the Dark Triad in two samples (sample 1: 397 students; sample 2: online community sample of 388 adults). The Dark Triad was measured through separate scales for Machiavellianism (The MACH-IV), narcissism (the 40 item Narcissistic Personality Inventory and the 16-item NPI; Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006), and psychopathy (The Self-Report Psychopathy Scale III). Through the application of the SDO-Scale (Social Dominance Orientation) these scholars found that all three Dark Triads showed high scores on Social Dominance Orientation. Furthermore, these scholars found that the covariance within the Dark Triad group is mostly captured by factor 1 of psychopathy (Jones & Figueredo, 2013).

A further study by Hodson et al. (2009) in a student sample of 197, also found that all of the Dark Triads were positively and significantly associated with SDO, with psychopathy showing the highest correlation (psychopathy ($r = .38$), Machiavellianism ($r = .37$), narcissism ($r = .23$)). In this study psychopathy was measured through the use of the SRP-III, Machiavellianism with the MACH-IV, and narcissism with a 20-item version derived from the 40 item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988). In this study the subscales Callous affect and Interpersonal manipulation (Factor 1 of the SRP-III) were more highly correlated with SDO (.39 and .31) than the Factor 2 subscale Erratic lifestyle and Antisocial Behavior of the SRP-III (.25 and .22).

Rauthmann and Kolar (2013) studied the Dark Triad in association with interpersonal traits by using the interpersonal circumplex (IPC) (Bakan, 1966; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985) in two student samples ($N_1 = 184$, $N_2 = 186$). This IPC model divides human social relationships into two basic themes: affiliation/communion, related to bonding with others; and dominance/agency, related to superiority and autonomy (Bakan, 1966; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985). The Dark Triad was measured through the Dirty Dozen. The results from this study showed that narcissism was found to be associated with friendly dominant behavior, Machiavellianism with hostile submissive behavior and psychopathy with hostile dominant behavior. Psychopathy was most strongly linked to agency and showed the least strong association with community. Rauthmann and Kolar (2013) postulate that this combination of interpersonal attitudes in psychopathy may manifest itself in unmitigated domination. This in turn may underlie the malignant, egocentric, and antisocial behavior often displayed by psychopathic individuals (e.g. Glenn et al., 2017; Neumann & Hare, 2006; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013).

Kajonius et al. (2015) studied the need for power and domination in the Dark Triad within a community sample of 385 individuals by applying the framework of the interpersonal circumplex (IPC; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985). The Dark Triad was measured through the Short Dark Triad (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Through the use of the Swartz's universal value types (the Portrait Value Questionnaire; Schwartz et al., 2001) motivations in life were assessed. Every group of the Dark

Triad showed negative correlations with Self-transcending values and positive correlations with Self-enhancing values. However, some differences were found among what each group of the Dark Triad values in life: narcissism and Machiavellianism were found to correlate with the values of Power and Achievement, while psychopathy was related to Power and Hedonism (cf. Glenn et al., 2017).

Dowgwillo and Pincus (2016) applied the interpersonal circumplex model (IPC) in a sample of 653 undergraduate students to study the need for domination in the Dark Triad. In this study the Circumplex Scales of Interpersonal Values (CSIV) (Locke, 2000) was employed to measure interpersonal values. The Dark Triad was assessed through the use of the Short Dark Triad: The SD3 (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Psychopathy was additionally measured through the use of the SRP III and the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire (Patrick et al., 2002). The MPQ-BF does not directly assesses psychopathy but indirectly measures psychopathy through assessing 11 normal range personality traits. These scholars found that only narcissism and psychopathy were both associated with high dominance. However, psychopathy was additionally characterized by low affiliation. Machiavellianism was only associated with low affiliation.

Semenyna and Honey (2014) studied dominance-striving and striving for prestige in both male and female student samples (sample 1: 222 women, 78 men; sample 2: 191 women, 95 men). The Dark Triad was assessed through the Dirty Dozen and additionally with separate measures for psychopathy (the SRP-III), Machiavellianism (the MACH-IV), and narcissism (the NPI). In this study dominance striving was defined as a style that is aggressive, disagreeable, and domineering. Prestige striving was associated with achievement, pro-sociality, and respect. Dominance striving was measured through the Rank Styles with Peers Questionnaire (Zuroff et al., 2010). This scale measures three dominance styles: ruthless self-advancement, coalition building, and dominant leadership. To measure both the striving for dominance and prestige the Dominance and Prestige Scale was used (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010). Results from this study showed that narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy were all associated with dominance-striving. Only narcissism was also consistently related to striving for prestige. Furthermore, every one of the Dark Triads was positively correlated with ruthless self-advancement and dominant leadership, and negatively associated with coalition building. Based upon the results of this study Semenyna and Honey (2014) conclude that although the women in this study showed a more pronounced tendency towards coalition-building in comparison to men, scores on the other parameters were very similar. Based on these data, these scholars postulate that the scores on the Dark Triad may predict dominance-striving and ruthless self-advancement more than information about an individual's sex.

3.3.3.2.2 Differences in the combinations of motivations among the Dark Triad

The outlined research on the Dark Triad personalities not only showed which life motivations are important to those high in psychopathy; in addition, significant differences have been found regarding what motivates each Dark Triad type in life. The combination of these two findings may help the field to better comprehend the specific value of the need for domination for psychopathic individuals. Most of these studies focused on the three fundamental life motivations: the need for affiliation, the need for achievement, and the need for domination (Furtner et al., 2017; Fanti et al., 2016; McClelland, 1985; Semenyna & Honey, 2014). The differences in the combinations of these core motivations among the Dark Triad may provide new insights on the significance of the need for domination for those high in psychopathy.

In nearly all of the studies outlined in the last paragraph all three dark personalities were positively associated with the need for domination (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Hodson et al., 2009; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Kajonius et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2013; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). The studies conducted by Rauthmann and Kolar (2013) and Dowgwillo and Pincus (2016) showed no relationships or negative relationships between the need for domination and the Dark Triad personality of Machiavellianism. Interestingly, based on a recent meta-analytic study on the differences and similarities within the Dark Triad group, scholars concluded that Machiavellianism may be better understood as secondary psychopathy (Vize et al., 2018). This postulation may clarify the low scores on the need for domination on Machiavellianism in the two aforementioned studies (Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016). These findings are also in line with Blackburn's (1975, 1996) descriptions of secondary psychopathic individuals as socially withdrawn, and with the findings that secondary psychopathy is not (or less strongly and differently than primary psychopathy) related to social dominance and the need for dominance (e.g. Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014; Yildirim, 2006).

In all of these studies on the Dark Triad, as well as the studies in paragraph 3.3.3 on the psychopathy-need for domination link in samples that only measured psychopathy, psychopathy was consistently related to the need for domination. However, although most of the studies on the Dark Triad demonstrated that narcissism and Machiavellianism were related to the need for domination, two studies found that these two personality types were additionally associated with achievement or prestige (Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). In contrast, several of the previous studies found that only psychopathy was related to hedonism in combination with the need for domination, but not associated with the need for achievement or prestige (Glenn et al., 2013; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Kajonius et al., 2015; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). Furthermore, three studies found that in addition to the need for domination, narcissism showed positive relationships with the need for affiliation (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013). Psychopathy and Machiavellianism were found to be negatively associated with the need for affiliation (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013).

Although most studies on the three dark personalities showed positive relationships with the need for power, data also showed important differences in the combinations with other motivations in life for each Dark Triad type. These differences may provide more insight into the motives that drive the behavior of those high in psychopathy. These new insights will be discussed in the next paragraph in more detail.

The most important distinctions within the Dark Triad regarding the three life motivations; the need for affiliation: the need for achievement, and the need for domination are shown in table 3.2.

Motivation for	Psychopathy	Narcissism	Machiavellianism
Dominance	High	High	Low to high
Achievement/prestige	Low	High	Low to medium
Affiliation	Low	Medium	Low

Table 3.2. Hypotheses on the differences in levels of motivations in psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism.

3.3.4 *The need for domination as a value in and by itself in psychopathy*

All of the studies outlined in 3.3.3.1 and 3.3.3.2 found a strong relationship between psychopathy and the need for domination (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbetael et al., 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2014).

The association with the need for domination in narcissism and in Machiavellianism was also established in most of the aforementioned studies on the Dark Triad (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kohler, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2014).

However, only in the case of psychopathy, the need for domination was not combined with either of the two other core life motivations (the need for affiliation and the need for achievement) in any of these studies (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2014). These findings are in line with the study by Glenn et al. (2017) in which data showed that although within the total research group the values of power and achievement were strongly correlated, this was not the case for those high in psychopathy. The psychopathic individuals in this study valued power but this was coupled with an absence of valuing achievement. Moreover, these scholars also found that those high in psychopathy scored low on the values of Benevolence and Universalism. Furthermore, both the studies by Glenn et al. (2017) and Lee et al. (2013) found that although those high in psychopathy were motivated by financial success, this was not simply related to having a high income which allowed them to lead a more enjoyable life. The psychopathic individuals in these studies preferred to have *more* of an absolute level of a good (income, vacation time, education for their children, sex, money) even if this meant that they had less of the absolute level of that good. This finding, together with the high scores on the value of power of those high in psychopathy, may indicate that their need for domination may be of more intrinsic value to them than wealth or pleasure (Glenn et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2013). Moreover, Glenn and colleagues (2017) postulate that being financially successful may be a way for psychopathic individuals to fulfill their desire to have power over others.

Glenn and colleagues (2017) theorize that the focus of psychopathic individuals on obtaining social dominance, in combination with the lack of care for other people, may underlie their antisocial behavior when obtaining power (see also Fanti et al., 2016; Lobbetael et al., 2018). While others might gain power through working hard (personal achievement), those high in psychopathy may reach their goals through manipulation and fraud without considering the relations with others

(Cheng et al., 2013; Glenn et al., 2017). They may presumably mask this behavior with their charm and well-developed self-presentation skills (Glenn et al., 2017).

Based on the outlined studies on the psychopathy and the need for domination link, this study hypothesizes that of the three core life motivations, certain psychopathic individuals may be exclusively focused on the need for domination. The studied psychopathic individuals were not motivated by the need for affiliation or the need for achievement (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). Although some scholars have proposed that those high in psychopathy score high on dominance motivation in order to achieve other goals such as financial gain or sex (e.g. Crawford & Salmon, 2002; Manson et al., 2014), this contrasts with the findings of Glenn and colleagues (2017) and Lee and colleagues (2017). Indeed, Glenn et al. (2017) found that psychopathic individuals prefer to have more of a certain good when compared to others rather than having a greater absolute amount of that good. According to these scholars this finding may indicate that for psychopathic individuals the need for domination has value in and of itself (cf. Lee et al., 2013).

3.4 The Need for Domination in Psychopathic Leadership

3.4.1 Preference for leadership positions

The findings from the aforementioned studies on the value of the need for domination for those high in psychopathy may help clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). In all of the studies outlined in the previous two paragraphs the need for domination was the only important life motivation which was consistently associated with psychopathy (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al. 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). This finding is in line with Altmayer (2004) who postulates that those people that score high in social dominance are strongly drawn to power. The psychopathy-social dominance link has been established in many studies (e.g. Harpur et al., 1989; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Nyholm & Häkkinen-Nyholm, 2012; Verona et al., 2001). Furthermore, Son Hing et al. (2007) postulate that people who score high in social dominance have a greater chance to become leaders. Moreover, according to these scholars the dominant behavior towards others make such people appear to be competent in their leadership, even when this is not the case (Judge et al., 2009; Babiak, 1995, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010). These postulations are in coherence with Lykken (1995) who was one of the first to speculate on the manifestation of psychopathy in leadership.

Hirschfeld and Van Scotter II (2018) concluded in their review study on vocational behavior of the Dark Triad that individuals with higher SDO scores (social dominance orientation) have the tendency to be drawn to high status careers with hierarchical positions. Several of the studies outlined in the previous two paragraphs found strong associations between psychopathy and SDO scores (Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2013; Jones & Figueredo, 2013). Indeed, Lobbestael et al. (2018) found in their study that those high in psychopathic traits had a preference for supervisory positions. Furthermore, these scholars found that those individuals high in psychopathic traits who opted for supervisory positions had higher scores on the factor 1 traits in

comparison to those who opted for a job under supervision. Lilienfeld et al. (2014) also found that psychopathic traits were moderately correlated with being in a leadership position. These scholars hypothesize that the increased attention for the subject of psychopathy in leadership is generated by the idea that the psychopathic traits of social risk-taking and boldness may draw those high in psychopathy to leadership positions (Lilienfeld et al., 2014). Based on the studies outlined in this chapter it is hypothesized that although risk-taking, boldness, sensation seeking, and financial gain may also draw certain psychopathic individuals to leadership, the need for domination may be the core motivational trait in their psychological profile (Glenn et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2013; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

3.4.2 Factor 1 and the need for domination in psychopathic leadership

In the studies outlined in the previous paragraphs on social dominance and the need for domination in psychopathy several studies showed that social dominance and the need for domination were most connected to the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits and not to the lifestyle/ antisocial factor 2 traits of psychopathy (e.g. Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014). In the studies conducted by Harpur et al. (1989) and Verona et al. (2001), the authors found that Factor 1 was associated with social dominance. Based on their cluster analysis, Hicks et al. (2004) described an emotionally stable psychopathic group. This emotionally stable psychopathic cluster is characterized by a group of adaptive traits such as high social dominance, strategic behavior, and resistance to stress. This group of features does not only resemble Cleckley's portrayals of subclinical psychopathy but these traits are also very desirable in a leadership position (Babiak, 1995, 1996).

3.4.3 Psychopathic subtypes and the need for domination in studies on psychopathic leadership

In the scarce research on psychopathic leadership it was found that those individuals scoring high on psychopathy had high levels of Factor 1 (highest scores on the interpersonal facet of Factor 1) and low levels of Factor 2 (lowest scores on the criminal facet of Factor 2) (Babiak, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010). In a study by Babiak (2016), based on six longitudinal case studies on corporate psychopathy, this scholar postulates that non-psychopathic criminals who score high on ASPD (Antisocial Personality Disorder; DSM IV / 5, American Psychiatric Association, 2000, 2013), score low to moderate on Factor 1 of psychopathy and high on Factor 2. In contrast, the corporate psychopathic individuals in this study displayed the inverse pattern: they scored extremely high on Factor 1 and moderately on Factor 2. The same results were found in Babiak et al.'s study (2010) in which 203 subjects entering a management training program in their organization were assessed for psychopathy. Those individuals who scored high on psychopathy had the highest elevations on Factor 1, especially on the interpersonal facet.

These data are in line with the findings of a review study by Gao and Raine (2010) in which differences in the profiles of 'successful' (uncaught) psychopathic individuals and 'unsuccessful' (imprisoned) psychopathic individuals are suggested. Gao and Raine (2010) found the same difference in pattern in their review on the dissimilarities between 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' psychopathic individuals: the 'successful' group scored high on Factor 1, the unsuccessful group scored low on Factor 1. These two profiles are based on an analysis of five different populations that may be regarded as 'successful' psychopathic individuals: individuals from temporary

employment agencies scoring high in psychopathy, a media-recruited community sample high in psychopathy, industrial psychopathic individuals, college students high in psychopathy, and psychopathic serial killers. This last group is considered ‘semi-successful’ in this study because although the acts of serial killers are criminal and cruel, many of them were very competent in carefully planning and perpetrating their crimes. In addition, many of them were also successful at concealing their crimes, sometimes for prolonged periods. Furthermore, they were also able to charm their victims into initially trusting them by creating a loving and caring façade. At the same time, many of them were living normal family lives with jobs (Gao & Raine, 2010; Hickey, 2015). This group may combine their psychopathic traits with adaptive features such as high self-control and planning capabilities that enable them to be ‘successful’ at their crimes and at remaining undetected for a considerable period of time (Ishikawa et al., 2001).

These five samples were compared to data on unsuccessful (imprisoned) psychopathic samples (Gao & Raine, 2010). The authors hypothesized that on grounds of the research ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals score high on Factor 1 (especially the interpersonal facet of Factor 1), low on Factor 2, show high levels of relational aggression, score high on white-collar crime, and have higher levels of executive functioning (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001). This pattern was reversed for the ‘unsuccessful’ psychopathic individuals who scored low on Factor 1, high on Factor 2 (high on the criminal facet of Factor 2), low on executive functioning, and high on physical violence (Gao & Raine, 2010).

Based on the aforementioned findings this study hypothesizes that it is conceivable that certain psychopathy types show more social dominance and need for domination in their profile than other psychopathy subtypes. Indeed, in the continuum of psychopathic subtypes as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) the controlled primary psychopathy type shows the combination of high levels of Factor 1 and the need for domination (see table 3.1). Furthermore, according to Keltner et al. (2003), certain personality traits such as social dominance, positive affect, a focus on rewards, social skills, charisma, and extraversion may increase the opportunity to gain power. These traits are all part of the primary psychopathic profile (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Thus, when psychopathic individuals pursue leadership and power for reasons related to their need for domination, their personality traits may support attaining these positions. Moreover, these primary psychopathic traits may assist them in increasing power and domination once they are in a leadership position (Keltner et al., 2003).

3.4.4 Conclusions: Psychopathic leadership and the need for domination

The findings from the aforementioned studies on the motivation of psychopathic individuals to dominate others, may not only clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders but may also give an indication of whether psychopathic individuals are a good match for a leadership position, or whether their main goal is to have control over other people.

All of the studies that measured the association between psychopathy and the need for domination showed a link between psychopathy and dominance motivation. Although only a few studies have been conducted on the psychopathy-need for domination link, these studies show some intriguing insights on the motivation for social dominance in psychopathy (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al., 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2014).

First, in these studies and the studies on social dominance in psychopathy, social dominance and the need for domination are associated most with the factor 1 traits of psychopathy (in certain studies specifically with the interpersonal factor of Factor 1 (Fanti et al., 2016; Hodson et al., 2009; Hicks et al., 2004; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014; Verona et al., 2001). In the studies on psychopathic leadership and ‘successful’ psychopathy data showed that those leaders high in psychopathy showed pronounced elevations on the interpersonal facet of Factor 1 and low scores on Factor 2 (Babiak, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010; Gao & Raine, 2010). In Gao and Raine’s (2010) review of the differences between ‘successful’ and ‘unsuccessful’ psychopathic individuals, they found the same pattern: the ‘successful’ group scored high on Factor 1, the unsuccessful group scored low on Factor 1. It is conceivable that certain psychopathy types show more social dominance and need for domination in their profile than other psychopathy subtypes. Indeed in Yildirim and Derksen’s continuum of psychopathic subtypes (2015), the controlled primary psychopathy type shows the combination of high levels of Factor 1 and the need for domination. The model of psychopathic leadership (Palmen et al., 2018, 2019), which is based on the controlled primary type as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015), outlines Factor 1 and the need for domination as part of the model of the psychopathic leader and not Factor 2.

Second, although those high in psychopathy are also interested in rewards (e.g. Hare, 2003; Van Honk et al., 2002), the studies by Glenn et al. (2017) and Lee et al. (2013) showed that those high in psychopathy attach a high degree of importance to gaining a certain good (money, vacation time, sex, etc.), it was more important to this group to have more of a particular good than others have. According to Glenn et al. (2017), those individuals high in psychopathic traits who strive to be financially (or otherwise) successful may desire this success as a way to achieve social power over people. When such individuals are in a leadership positions, it is possible that those high in psychopathy may use the tangible and intangible goods of an organization (such as finances and insight knowledge) to increase their power over the people in that organization (Manson et al., 2014).

Third, some scholars have speculated that psychopathic traits in leadership may not have negative consequences or may even be beneficial (Spencer & Byrne, 2016). However, most studies on psychopathic leadership have shown that the consequences of leaders high in psychopathy are negative for the organizations’ finances and its employees (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2018; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014, 2015; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007). These negative consequences of psychopathic leadership may be clarified by the need for domination as a value in and of it itself in psychopathic leadership. Indeed, all of the studies on the need for domination in psychopathy show that in psychopathic individuals the need for domination is not combined with the need for achievement or the need for affiliation (Dowgwilllo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). In contrast with these findings, individuals high in narcissism or Machiavellianism may combine the need for domination with the need for achievement or prestige, or in the case of narcissism also with the need for affiliation (Dowgwilllo & Pincus, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyina & Honey, 2014). According to Glenn et al. (2017), the need for power without the need for achievement or the need for affiliation paves the way for antisocial behavior focused

on self gain. If psychopathic leaders are primarily focused on the need for domination, this focus could lead to abuse of personnel and other unethical behavior.

Based on their review of ‘successful’ and unsuccessful psychopathy, Gao and Raine (2010) also hypothesize that those ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals in the business world may employ indirect types of aggression to achieve their goals. According to Gao and Raine (2010), lying, manipulation, and discrediting coworkers are very similar to the indirect and relational aggression associated with psychopathy (especially with primary psychopathy). A psychopathic leader may employ such indirect and instrumental forms of aggression (such as manipulation and lying) in order to damage the reputation and social status of coworkers. Studies on psychopathic leadership confirm these hypotheses (Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Mathieu & Babiak, 2016; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). Ekizler and Bolelli (2020) specifically studied the different power sources through which leaders from the Dark Triad gain power in the workplace. These scholars found that the psychopathic leaders in this study employed the hard tactics of personal and impersonal coercion to gain power, but did not employ soft tactics such as personal and impersonal reward or expert power (cf. Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013). This study hypothesizes that these indirect and relational types of aggression may primarily be used by psychopathic leaders to fulfill their need for domination.

Although the combination of the need for domination with the need for affiliation or the need for achievement may emerge into strong leadership that is focused on interpersonal connectedness and hard work, the need for domination without the need for affiliation or achievement may result in instrumental aggression in psychopathic leadership focused on gaining power over others (Glenn et al., 2017; Johnson et al., 2012; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Mathieu & Babiak, 2016; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

3.4.5 The need for domination in the proposed model of the psychopathic leader

Based on the conclusions in the previous paragraph, this study hypothesizes that the need for domination may be the core motivational trait for those psychopathic individuals who pursue positions of leadership in business and politics. Because for psychopathic leaders the need for domination may have value in of itself, it is hypothesized that this motivational trait may best clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). Furthermore, studies have indicated that the need for domination may be most connected with the interpersonal and affective traits of Factor 1, specifically with the interpersonal facet (Fanti et al., 2016; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hodson et al., 2009; Hicks et al., 2004; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014; Verona et al., 2001).

This study hypothesizes that in the model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model), the need for domination not only moderates the maladaptive outcomes of the core psychopathic traits of Factor 1 and fearlessness but also predisposes these psychopathic individuals to find leadership positions attractive (Palmen et al., 2019). The PL-model and the hypotheses of the need for domination and the associations between the need for domination and the interpersonal facet of Factor 1 are outlined below (figure 3.2). The hypotheses of the different levels of the most important motivations in psychopathic leadership are summarized in table 3.3.

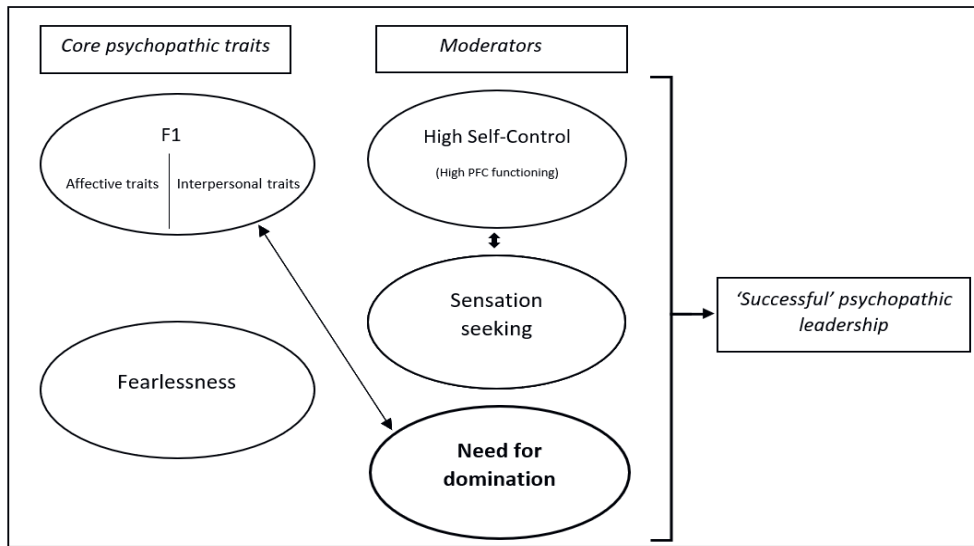


Figure 3.2. The model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model): the need for domination and the hypothesized interaction between the need for domination and the interpersonal factor of Factor 1

Motivation for	Psychopathic leader
Dominance	High
Pleasure (hedonism)	Medium
Financial success	Medium
Sensation seeking	Medium

Table 3.3. Hypotheses on the different levels of the motivation for dominance, pleasure, financial success, and sensation seeking in psychopathic leadership

3.5 Conclusions and Future Directions

This chapter has explored the possible reason(s) for the (estimated) overrepresentation of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions in the general community. In the proposed model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model), the trait need for domination is defined to be the most important motivator for those high in psychopathy to seek out leadership positions. This study

postulates that in a position of power these individuals can most effectively fulfill their desire to control and dominate other people.

The need for domination is defined as one of the three moderators in the model of the psychopathic leader, in addition to high-self-control and sensation seeking. In the view of Steinert et al. (2017), moderators are traits that are not part of the core psychopathic profile but rather additional traits that may moderate the non-adaptiveness of the core psychopathic traits (Factor 1 and fearlessness in the PL-model).

Through a review of the research this chapter showed that although many studies found associations between psychopathy and social dominance, the motivation for social dominance in psychopathy has received limited attention. Notwithstanding, in the studies that focused on the need for domination, the psychopathy-need for domination link was well-established.

Furthermore, this study outlined some interesting findings regarding the basic life motivations within the larger group of the Dark Triad. Psychopathy was consistently related to the need for domination. In contrast, narcissism (and in some studies Machiavellianism) was additionally related to the need for achievement. Some studies also showed associations between narcissism and the need for affiliation in addition to the connection with the need for domination. The combination of the high scores on the need for domination in psychopathic individuals with low scores on the need for achievement and affiliation may be a profile that leads to antisocial behavior in a leadership position.

Finally, by combining the insights on the need for domination in psychopathy with different psychopathy subtypes and the scarce research on psychopathic leadership, this study hypothesizes that high social dominance and the need for domination may be most connected to Factor 1 of psychopathy. This seems to be especially evident with the interpersonal factor of psychopathy. In the model of the psychopathic leader, psychopathic leaders are portrayed as scoring high on Factor 1 traits and low on Factor 2 traits (Palmen et al., 2019).

Future directions

At the present time there is a dearth of data on the subject of psychopathic leadership and new data are urgently needed. In this study it is hypothesized that those high in psychopathy who seek leadership positions may have a special appetite for such positions of power because those positions allow them to fulfill their need to dominate other people. Although some studies have been conducted on the associations between psychopathy and the need for domination, to the best of this author's knowledge data on this link have not been published in the field of research into psychopathic leadership. Now, this section will further suggest which issues are important in studying the need for domination in psychopathic leadership.

First, research on the need for domination in psychopathic leadership should focus on the combination between the need for domination and hedonism. Glenn and colleagues (2017) and Lee and colleagues (2013) found that although those higher in psychopathic traits value obtaining certain goods for themselves, most important to this group is having *more* of these goods than others. Individuals high in psychopathy showed high scores on the value of power and Social Dominance Orientation. These findings lead Glenn et al. (2017) to postulate that for psychopathic individuals, the need for power is not only important in order to obtain desired goods but that it may be a value in and of itself. Therefore, another focus in the research on psychopathic leadership should be assessing whether having a certain amount of a good is less important than having more of that particular good than others have.

Second, the need for domination in psychopathic leadership should also be assessed in combination with the need for achievement in such individuals. Scholars have postulated that the values of power and achievement in people typically belong together (Glenn et al., 2017). For individuals valuing power and achievement together, this combination of values may reflect the ambition to gain power and status through hard work and competence. The studies analyzed in this chapter have shown that those high in psychopathy may focus on the need for power but may not be motivated by the need for achievement. When individuals high in psychopathy obtain power through leadership, this may result in antisocial behaviors such as cheating, manipulation, mistreatment of staff, and white-collar crime (Glenn et al., 2017; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). The majority of studies on psychopathic leadership have found a diversity of negative consequences when those high in psychopathy are in a powerful position (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2018; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014, 2015; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007). Further studies may show which are the specific risks for an organization when employing a psychopathic leader.

Third, as several studies have shown low scores on the need for affiliation in psychopathy, the consideration for other people working with such a psychopathic leader may be absent. Studies have shown that those high in psychopathy are a risk in a leadership position regarding employees' wellbeing (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014, 2015; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018). Further studies on the negative consequences of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions for employees may give more insight in these risks.

Fourth, future studies on the need for domination should also focus on the possible differences between psychopathic men and women in leadership. Although research indicates that those men and women high in psychopathy showed high levels of the need for domination and dominant leadership (Semenyna & Honey, 2014), it is possible that men choose different tactics to fulfill the need for domination than women (Semenyna & Honey, 2014). Men may choose overt aggression and intimidation whereas women may use more communal ways and seductive methods to gain power over others (Budworth & Mann, 2010; Buss, 1981; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Hare, 1993; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Semenyna & Honey, 2014).

Fifth, future studies should focus on which operationalization and which instruments may best suit the work environment when studying the need for domination in psychopathic leadership. The assessment of psychopathy or other personality disorders in organizational environments is challenging. Studying the values, goals, and motivations in assessments for leadership positions may help to provide valuable information as to whether or not an individual is competent for leadership. Assessing the need for domination and other core motivations and goals in life in the selection of individuals for leadership may assist in detecting those high in psychopathy. In organizational environments, the motivational traits may be best measured by a self-assessment such as the Swartz Values Scale. This instrument assesses the guiding principles in people's lives (Glenn et al., 2017) and can then be combined with rating dominance motivation during an assessment of personal space in the job interview (Lobbestael et al., 2018). The Swartz Value Scale assesses the prioritization of the need for domination in comparison with other motivations in life. Additionally assessing dominance motivation in a real-life situation can give insights as to whether

the self-assessment Swartz Value Scale was completed honestly. This is important because psychopathic individuals are prone to manipulation and deception (Hare, 2003).

Sixth, the literature suggests that social dominance and the need for domination are most strongly connected to the factor 1 traits (especially the interpersonal facet of Factor 1). Therefore, future studies on psychopathic leadership should focus on the correlation between the two psychopathy factors (Factor 1 and Factor 2) and social dominance and the need for domination. Furthermore, before embarking on such studies, scholars should take note of the debate about the specific operationalization of the factor 1/affective and interpersonal traits of psychopathy (e.g. Miller & Lynam, 2012; Lilienfeld, Watts, Smith, & Latzman). In these studies, different operationalizations of the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits should be employed such as operationalized in the PCL-R, but also in the PPI-R and the TriPM.

In the end the studies suggested above may enable us to shed more light on the specific traits of the profile of the psychopathic leader and how these contrast with the 'traditional' profile of institutionalized psychopathic individuals.

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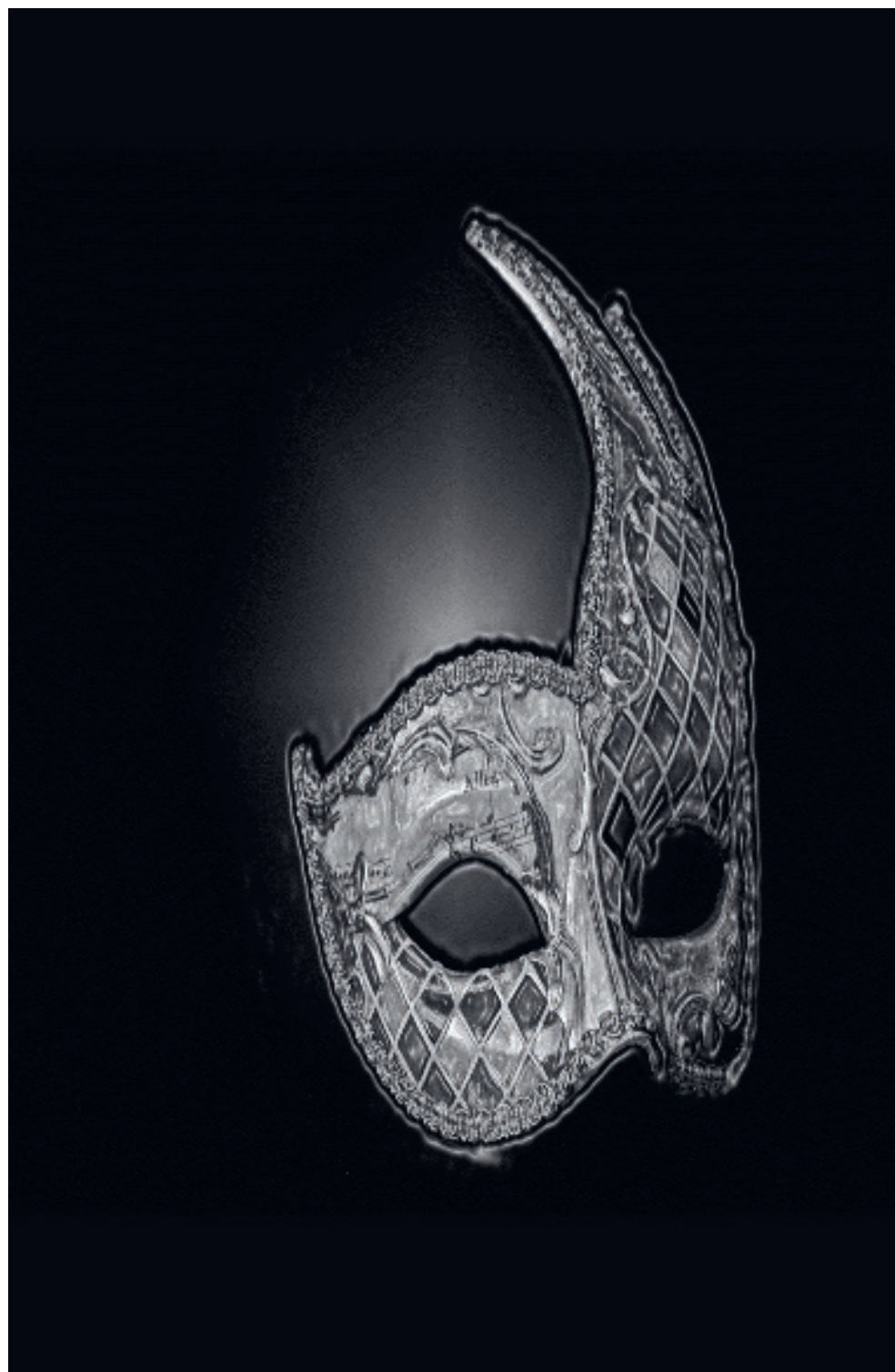
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CHAPTER 4

A CLARIFICATION FOR THE OUTWARD ATTRACTIVENESS OF PSYCHOPATHIC LEADERS

Boldness as the Alluring Mask in Psychopathic Leadership

ABSTRACT

In the last few years there has been a vital debate about the relevance of boldness in the profile of psychopathy. Boldness in psychopathy represents behavior that reflects social poise, interpersonal dominance, and a lack of anxiety and fear. The most important critique regarding this facet is its association with adaptive outcomes. However, in psychopathic leadership, a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy, boldness may clarify the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders. This chapter argues that the traits of boldness enable psychopathic individuals to present an adaptive façade of a self-confident, charismatic, and powerful leader. Whether the outcomes of boldness in psychopathic leadership are adaptive or maladaptive, may depend on the perspective one adopts: that of the psychopathic leader or that of the organization for which they work. The recent discussion on the adaptiveness of psychopathic boldness aligns with the search for the precise definition of 'successful' psychopathy. While boldness displayed by a psychopathic leader may lead to success for these individuals themselves, the outcomes may not be successful for the organization. Psychopathic boldness may thus be better defined as the adaptive façade of boldness and may be associated with 'adaptiveness' or 'successfulness'. Indeed, as boldness is part of psychopathy only when combined with other psychopathic facets such as meanness and disinhibition, the 'adaptiveness' of psychopathic boldness may primarily mask the underlying maladaptive outcomes of psychopathy.

This chapter on boldness in psychopathic leadership is under review at Aggression and Violent Behavior as: Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (under review). The adaptive façade of boldness in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the outward attractiveness in psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior.

CHAPTER 4

A CLARIFICATION FOR THE OUTWARD ATTRACTIVENESS OF
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Boldness as the Alluring Mask in Psychopathic Leadership

**The adaptive façade of boldness in psychopathic leadership:
A clarification for the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders**

“The construct of boldness indexed by PPI-I is likely to be particularly relevant to the conceptualization and measurement of psychopathy in noncriminal samples, including identification of individuals with psychopathic tendencies who ascend to positions of leadership and influence in society.”

(Christopher Patrick)

4.1 Introduction

Throughout the last decade scholars have intensely debated whether boldness is an essential part of psychopathy (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Boldness in psychopathy is a higher order dimension that represents social efficacy, imperturbability, and a lack of anxiety and fear (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lykken, 1982; Patrick et al., 2009). Several scholars have questioned the relevance of boldness to psychopathy, primarily because of its associations with adaptive functioning (e.g. Lynam & Miller, 2012; Miller & Lynam, 2012). According to these scholars, personality disorders such as psychopathy are maladaptive at their core (Miller & Lynam, 2012). This contrasts with Hall and Benning’s (2006) postulation that boldness, or its equivalent, fearless dominance, may be the

most important factor for those high functioning psychopathic individuals: ‘Those individuals who possess elevated trait levels of fearless dominance, but not impulsive antisociality, may be the quintessential high-functioning, noncriminal psychopaths’ (p. 474).

This chapter focuses on one specific manifestation of high functioning psychopathy: the psychopathic leader. In accordance with Hall and Benning (2006), it is proposed that boldness may be an essential part of the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader. It is postulated that the facet of boldness may enable a psychopathic leader to employ the most effective impression management techniques to create a façade of a strong and competent leader. Although the recent debate on boldness in psychopathy is primarily rooted in its associations with adaptiveness, this chapter argues that in psychopathic leadership the combination of boldness with other psychopathic traits will lead to maladaptive outcomes. Indeed, the majority of the studies on psychopathic leadership show that these leaders may not be competent in high profile positions and are frequently associated with negative outcomes regarding finances, employee wellbeing, and ethics (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014a, 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007; Ten Brinke et al., 2018).

Despite the incompetence of the psychopathic leaders in these studies, these individuals were able to present an adaptive façade of a competent and high performing leader which allowed them to initially obtain, and in several cases maintain, high profile positions for prolonged periods of time (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Landay et al., 2019; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). The ‘adaptive’ qualities of boldness that these psychopathic leaders may employ to impress other people in this way is the focus of attention in this chapter.

The study by Babiak and colleagues (2010) may give some important insights on the effectiveness of the impression management techniques of psychopathic leaders. These scholars found that the high potentials in a management training program who made the cut-off score for psychopathy also scored very well on the profile of *the good communicator*. These individuals were perceived by others as creative, as strategic thinkers, and as having excellent overall communication skills. However, the performance of those high in psychopathy in this sample were not in line with the aforementioned evaluations. Those management training participants high in psychopathy were poor team players, scored low on management skills and responsibility, as well as on overall performance. Interestingly, despite these negative results, the majority of these high potentials were still selected to be future managers of the companies for which they worked (Babiak et al., 2010). Other research on ‘successful’ psychopathy has shown similar results: psychopathic individuals may have the outward appearance of successful functioning in a high profile position for prolonged periods of time despite incompetent, and also immoral, behavior (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak, et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Stevens et al., 2012).

In this chapter the relevance of boldness in psychopathic leadership will be discussed. In line with Lilienfeld and colleagues (2018), this chapter argues that boldness in psychopathy may be the ‘Cleckleyan mask’ (Cleckley 1941/1976) with which psychopathic individuals infamously present themselves to others (Crego & Widiger, 2016; Patrick, 2006, 2018). With this adaptive mask of impression management, those high in psychopathy who strive to obtain leadership positions may present themselves as the unique, powerful, and energetic leader for whom an organization

searches. Indeed, studies indicate that psychopathic individuals who are ‘successful’, such as psychopathic leaders, may score especially high on the facet of boldness (Benning et al., 2018; Blickle et al., 2018; Brooks, 2017; Brooks & Fritzon, 2020; Croom, 2020; Hall & Benning, 2006; Howe et al., 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). In fact, this chapter argues that without the facet of psychopathic boldness, psychopathic leaders may not be able to attain leadership positions, or remain in such positions for a prolonged period of time (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020). In this chapter it is proposed that the strong and charismatic leader façade created by psychopathic leaders is grounded in the boldness factor in psychopathy and it is this facet of psychopathy that best clarifies the outward attractiveness of psychopathic individuals for leadership positions.

4.2 Psychopathic Leaders

4.2.1 *Psychopathy in different populations*

Psychopathy is a personality disorder that is defined by a constellation of interpersonal and affective traits, as well as lifestyle and antisocial traits (Hare, 1996, 1999). Psychopathy is associated with features such as low affiliation, egocentricity, shallow affect, manipulative and deceitful behavior, but also with grandiosity, charm, social dominance, and low anxiety (Hare & Neumann, 2010; Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b). Most scholars agree that psychopathy exists on a continuum (Hare & Neumann, 2010; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). Although the majority of the data on the concept of psychopathy has been gained in institutionalized settings, psychopathy has also been studied in community samples. Estimates of the prevalence for psychopathy in prison samples are 15 to 20 times higher than for the community (15% to 20% in prison samples, in comparison to 0.6% to 1.2% in community samples) (Hare, 1996, 2003).

Research on a more recently studied manifestation of psychopathy, psychopathic leadership, has indicated levels that may fall between the household populations and incarcerated samples: 3,9 % of leaders may score at least at the cut-off score of psychopathy (Babiak et al., 2010). See also Landay et al. (2019) for a meta-analyses on the emergence of psychopathic leaders (cf. Leeper Piquero et al., 2019).

Several scholars have argued that psychopathy in these diverse populations may represent different subtypes of psychopathy, with every subtype representing various combinations of psychopathic and non-psychopathic traits, and diversities in the levels of each of these traits (e.g. Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Poythress & Skeem, 2006).

4.2.2 *Primary and secondary psychopathic subtypes*

Hicks and Drislane (2018) argue that although most researchers in the field regard the concept of psychopathy as a distinct diagnostic category, it covers a diversity of individuals. According to these scholars psychopathic subtypes may vary foremost in the manifestation of the interpersonal and the behavioral traits (Hicks & Drislane, 2018). In line with Cooke and Michi (2001), Hicks and Drislane (2018) posit that antisociality may be regarded more as a logical outcome of the interpersonal and affective traits than as an essential part of the psychopathic personality. These scholars further postulate that it is important to identify these different psychopathy subtypes in

order to reduce the heterogeneity among psychopathic individuals. However, the investigation into these variants of psychopathy is still underdeveloped (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020).

In the history of research into subtypes of psychopathy, the broad categories of primary and secondary psychopathy have most frequently emerged in the theoretical writings and research of different scholars (Fowles, 1980; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Poythress & Skeem, 2006; Karpman, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Mokros et al., 2015; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020).

A recent review study by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) on the history of theory and research on primary and secondary psychopathy delineated four broad psychopathy subtypes. In this proposed continuum, Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) define two primary psychopathy subtypes: the controlled primary psychopathy subtype and the disinhibited primary psychopathic subtype. In line with scholars such as Lykken (1995), Karpman (1941), and Schneider (1923), Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a, 2015b) defined these two primary subtypes as based on an inborn neurophysiological profile. Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a, 2015b) argue that a hyper stable serotonin system may underlie the different affective and interpersonal factor 1 features of psychopathy, such as low anxiousness and fearlessness, overall shallow emotionality, and low affiliation.

Although both primary psychopathy subtypes score high on the affective and interpersonal factor 1 traits (operationalized through PCL-R Factor 1, PPI-R boldness combined with aspects of PPI-R Coldheartedness, or TriPM boldness combined with aspects of TriPM meanness), there are some important distinctions between the two primary psychopathy types (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). The most important difference between the controlled primary psychopathic type and the disinhibited primary psychopathic type in this continuum is the high levels of impulsivity and lack of goal-oriented behavior in the disinhibited type compared to the controlled primary type. The controlled primary psychopathy type is theorized to have higher levels of self-control and a more goal-oriented lifestyle which may be caused by a specific need for social domination (Palmen et al., 2019, 2021; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). For an extensive outline of the primary psychopathic continuum as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a), see Yildirim and Derksen (2015b).

According to Yildirim and Derksen (2015a), the combination of high levels of the interpersonal and affective traits (specifically boldness) with high self-control in the controlled primary psychopathic type may enable these individuals to engage in a more ‘adaptive’ and ‘successful’ lifestyle. However, the ‘successful’ lifestyle of these psychopathic individuals may still result in maladaptive and antisocial outcomes for their environments (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019).

The secondary psychopathic continuum by Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a) is defined as a form of symptomatic psychopathy and is in line with Karpman (1948) (Yildirim, 2016). The two variations, detached secondary psychopathy and unstable secondary psychopathy, are both regarded as configurations of psychopathic behavioral traits that are hypothesized to emerge as symptoms caused by a combination of a predispositional genetic vulnerability and trauma in childhood (Lykken, 1995; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a).

In contrast with primary psychopathy, the two secondary psychopathic types in this continuum are hypothesized to have low levels of fearlessness, and are defined as highly anxious. Furthermore, these secondary psychopathy types are also low on Factor 1, low on boldness, high on Factor 2, and highly impulsive and hostile in their behavior. These secondary psychopathy types

are both strongly associated with maladaptive outcomes. Their high levels of impulsivity, neuroticism, and hostility toward others may lead to a lifetime of severe antisocial and criminal behavior and to an unsuccessful lifestyle in general (Poythress et al., 2006; Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a). For an extensive outline of the secondary psychopathic continuum as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a), see Yildirim (2016).

4.2.2.1 Diversities in adaptiveness and maladaptiveness in primary and secondary psychopathy subtypes

One important difference between the primary and secondary psychopathic types in the theoretical continuum by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) may lie in the possible outcomes of the behavior of each type. The combination of traits in both secondary psychopathic types and in the disinhibited primary psychopathic type may lead to maladaptive outcomes and an essentially unsuccessful lifestyle (Yildirim, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a).

Although both primary psychopathic types in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum (2015a) show high levels of boldness, only the controlled primary psychopathy type may manifest itself in more 'successful' and socially adaptive translations of the psychopathic syndrome. It is theorized that in this controlled primary psychopathic type, the high levels of boldness are combined with high self-control and low levels of impulsivity (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b).

For the main diversities among the two types of primary psychopathy see table 4.1 (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). The review study on primary and secondary psychopathy, including the proposed continuum on primary and secondary psychopathy outlined in the previous section, can be found in Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a).

	Controlled Primary Psychopathy	Disinhibited Primary Psychopathy
PCL-R/PPI-R/TriPM scores	High on F1, high in FD/boldness; Low to medium on F2, low to medium on SCI/Disinhibition; Medium to high on CH/Meanness	High on F1, high in FD/boldness; High on F2, high on SCI/Disinhibition; Medium to high on CH/Meanness
Personality	Socially dominant, low anxiety and fear, functional impulsivity	Socially dominant, low anxiety and fear, dysfunctional impulsivity
Executive functioning	High self-control, foresightedness, conscientiousness, deliberate risk-taking	Low-self-control, short-sightedness, recklessness, impetuous risk-taking
Social cognition	Normative to high	Low to normative
Antisociality/criminality	Instrumental aggression, higher risk for white-collar crimes	Reactive aggression, criminally versatile
Adaptiveness / maladaptiveness	Better equipped for a 'successful' life	Predisposition for an 'unsuccessful' and 'parasitic' lifestyle

Table 4.1. Summary of theoretical diversities between the controlled and the disinhibited type of primary psychopathy derived from Yildirim and Derksen (2013, 2015a).

4.2.3 *'Adaptiveness' in 'successful' psychopathy and psychopathic leadership*

4.2.3.1 *Defining 'successful' psychopathy*

With the exception of limited research on 'successful' psychopathy, the possible adaptive qualities in the psychopathic profile have long been neglected in favor of studies on incarcerated psychopathic samples (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2015a; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

However, since the beginning of the psychopathy research, experts in the field have speculated that certain psychopathic individuals may be 'successful' in society and may show adaptive qualities in a diversity of professions, even in high profile positions including leadership (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Cleckley, 1946; Karpman, 1948; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Lykken, 1996; Schneider, 1923). But see Ulrich et al. (2008) for a different view.

Cleckley's case studies included a psychopathic physician, a psychopathic psychiatrist, and a psychopathic businessman (1941/1976); Lilienfeld et al. (2012b) found psychopathic traits in several former American presidents; and Babiak et al. (2010) showed that 3.6% of the management potentials in their study scored at the cut of score of psychopathy. Clearly, the aforementioned 'successful' psychopathic individuals are in professions which are considered evidence of success in society.

Indeed, the psychopathic traits of social dominance, fearlessness, charm, and glibness may have adaptive qualities in certain occupational fields such as politics, law, and business (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Landay et al., 2019; Lykken, 1995; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019).

Although recent years have seen notable advances in studying psychopathy in non-institutionalized samples (Lilienfeld et al., 2015a), the assessment of psychopathy in 'successful' or high functioning samples is an ongoing challenge (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013; Benning et al., 2018). This is primarily due to issues of low prevalence and difficulties with the accessibility of this sample, but also with the lack of clarity regarding the best definition of 'success' in this context. (Benning et al., 2018; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013; Steinert et al., 2017).

Benning et al. (2018) and Persson and Lilienfeld (2019) have laid out criteria to describe 'success' in relation to psychopathy by combining two aspects often considered crucial in defining 'successful' psychopathy. In this definition of 'successful' psychopathy, the first facet concerns avoiding negative consequences in life; such as avoiding incarceration by not engaging in severe antisocial behavior/crime, or by avoiding getting caught for such behavior (Persson & Lilienfeld, 2019). The second facet of this definition includes a certain degree of adaptiveness as evidenced by some kind of success in life, such as obtaining and maintaining a profitable, professional career or reaching high social status (Benning et al., 2018; Persson & Lilienfeld, 2019).

This chapter subscribes to the aforementioned definition of 'success' in 'successful' psychopathy or 'adaptiveness' in 'successful' psychopathy, as these concepts are defined by the outcomes for the psychopathic individual and not for their environment. Thus, in psychopathic leadership, as a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy, the outcomes in the aforementioned definition are successful or adaptive for those high in psychopathy in leadership positions, but may be maladaptive for organizations and coworkers such a psychopathic leader is involved with (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Palmen et al., 2019).

4.2.3.2 *The core traits of ‘successful’ psychopathy*

In defining manifestations of ‘successful’ psychopathy, Steinert and colleagues (2017) additionally propose to first outline which are the core psychopathic traits of ‘successful’ psychopathy. Among scholars there is general agreement that the affective-interpersonal factor 1 traits and the impulsive-antisocial factor 2 traits are part of the psychopathy syndrome (Skeem et al., 2011). Although there is little dispute about the necessity of the affective-interpersonal traits, scholars still debate whether the factor 2 traits are core to psychopathy (Cooke & Michie, 2001). Harpur et al., (1988) postulate that the interpersonal and affective traits of Factor 1 of the PCL-R form the underlying personality that is central to the psychopathic profile (see also: Brook & Kosson, 2013). However, the precise traits that are included in the factor 1 group are still subject to debate. Most scholars agree that narcissistic grandeur, manipulation skills, and severe emotional deficits are among this group of traits (Drislane et al., 2014; Steinert et al., 2017).

Brooks (2017) researched the differences in psychopathic traits among a criminal sample, a community sample, and a business sample, using the Psychopathic Personality Inventory Revised (PPI-R; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005). No differences were found on the facet of coldheartedness among these three groups (Brooks, 2017). Coldheartedness in the PPI-R is operationalized through items connected to a lack of deep social connectedness, empathy, guilt, and shame (Berg et al., 2015). Based on these findings, Brooks (2017) posits that coldheartedness may be the facet on which the various samples overlap. This postulation implies that coldheartedness may be the base profile of psychopathy when the PPI-R is utilized to assess the psychopathic personality.

In accordance with this conclusion, Sellbom and Drislane (2020) found in their study with the Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM; Patrick, 2010) that the facet of meanness showed convergence within the diverse psychopathic subtypes. Similar results were found in a study by Drislane et al. (2014) (see also Drislane & Patrick, 2017; Ljubin-Golub & Sokić, 2016). Meanness in the TriPM is one of the three dimensions (in addition to boldness and disinhibition) in this instrument, and reflects low affiliation, low conscientiousness, and cruel behavior to others (Patrick, 2010). Based on these results, Sellbom and Drislane (2020) postulate that the facet of meanness may be the core of the psychopathy personality (c.f. Berg et al., 2015; Frick & Marsee, 2006; McCord & McCord, 1964). Indeed, meanness correlates positively with PCL-R Factor 1 (foremost with the affective facet) and with PPI-R coldheartedness (Hall et al., 2014; Sleep et al., 2019).

4.2.3.3 *Primary and secondary psychopathic subtypes and ‘successful’ psychopathy*

The precise definition of the group of core traits of ‘successful’ psychopathy may also be determined by the question by which of the two broader diversions of primary and secondary psychopathy, ‘successful’ psychopathy may be best represented. The core group of traits of primary type(s) of psychopathy appear to be associated the most with outward adaptiveness which may enhance the probability of ‘success’ in life (Hicks et al., 2004; Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a). Based on these studies it is proposed that other psychopathic traits, in addition to the aforementioned core traits: narcissistic grandeur, severe emotional deficits, and manipulation skills (Drislane et al., 2014) may be included in the base profile of ‘successful’ psychopathy, such as low levels of fear and anxiety and high social dominance which are traits through which primary psychopathy may be defined as well (Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen 2015a). These

proposed additional traits of high social dominance and low anxiety and fear are part of the facet of boldness in psychopathy (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Patrick et al., 2009).

Steinert et al. (2017) theorize that when scholars can agree on the precise content of the core psychopathic traits in ‘successful’ psychopathy, other additional psychopathic and non-psychopathic traits can be included in the profile of ‘successful’ psychopathy. In such a profile certain psychopathic and non-psychopathic traits may work as moderators of the more maladaptive outcomes of psychopathy and together lead to ‘adaptive’ outcomes, foremost for the psychopathic individual themselves, such as gaining high social status and enjoying a ‘successful’ lifestyle (Fritzon, 2020; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Persson & Lilienfeld, 2019; Steinert et al., 2017).

However, the debate on the precise constellation of the core group of traits in psychopathy or in ‘successful’ psychopathy is far from resolved. The controversy over the facet of boldness in psychopathy (Lilienfeld et al., 2018) is one example of a broader discussion among researcher about which features are part of the base profile of psychopathy and which may ‘only’ be labeled as moderators or as specifiers (typical for a certain subtype) (Sellbom & Drislane, 2020).

4.2.4 *Adaptiveness in psychopathic leadership*

The last few years have seen some advancements in the research on ‘successful’ manifestations of psychopathy in the general community (Benning et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2015a; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013; Wallace et al., 2020). Studies indicate that such ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals may be especially drawn to leadership positions in profit and non-profit organizations (Babiak et al., 2010; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Landay et al., 2019; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019).

According to Palmen et al. (2018, 2019), those high in the controlled primary psychopathic subtype in the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a) may have the most adaptive set of traits to obtain and maintain leadership positions. In psychopathic leadership, this controlled primary psychopathy type may show high levels of the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits, high self-control, a desire for calculated sensation seeking, and a need to control and dominate other people (Palmen et al., 2019, 2021).

The combination of these traits may enable these psychopathic individuals to ruthlessly charm and manipulate themselves into a high profile position in order to gain personal goals in the workplace, or in any other organizational environment (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Ray, 2007). Although, the combination of these traits in psychopathic leadership may lead to adaptive outcomes for these psychopathic individuals themselves, studies indicate that the outcomes may be maladaptive for the environment of these psychopathic leaders (e.g. Babiak, et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Bucy et al., 2008; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007).

Despite these maladaptive outcomes, psychopathic leaders may employ impression management skills to present a façade of an attractive and ideal leader for prolonged periods of times (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Weiss et al., 2018). The traits underlying the high levels of impression management of psychopathic leaders may clarify why these psychopathic individuals are often selected for such high profile positions, even after proven incompetence (Babiak et al., 2010).

4.2.5 *The outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders*

In this chapter the hypothesis is proposed that the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders can be explained by their high levels of psychopathic boldness (Weiss et al., 2018). The different traits in the higher order dimension of boldness such as social dominance, venturesomeness, lack of nervousness, persuasiveness, self-confidence, emotional stability, and social poise, are highly desired personality features in leadership positions (Babiak, 1996; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019).

Indeed, in a study by Hill and Scott (2019), it was found that in advertisements for recruiting presidents, vice-presidents, directors, vice-chancellors, members for the board of directors, superintendents of instruction, CEOs, CAOs, CIOs, CSOs, and CFOs in profit and non-profit organizations, these organizations sought these specific traits in leaders.

Among the group of desired features and behaviors for these high profile leadership positions that were outlined in these advertisements were: courage, risk-taker, confidence, can live with tough decisions, and gets the hard job done (Hill & Scott, 2019). These requested traits and behaviors are all closely related to the features and behaviors defined in psychopathic boldness (Hill & Scott, 2019; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Patrick, 2021).

The results from Hill and Scott's study (2019) dovetail with Hare's statement that psychopathic individuals may easily find their way to the boardroom (2002), and with Babiak (1995, 1996) who postulates that certain outward psychopathic behavioral traits may be labeled as highly adaptive during the hiring process of certain high profile positions including leadership roles (Palmen et al., 2019).

4.3 **Boldness in Psychopathy**

4.3.1 *What is boldness in psychopathy?*

Lykken (1995) described one specific type of (primary) psychopathy as follows: 'In some of the more interesting cases, the indifference to conventional morality may be successfully masked behind an appearance of social compliance...'. 'Thus, this species of primary psychopathy may include certain unincarcerated leaders of commerce and industry, some police officers or other members of the criminal justice system, certain artists, politicians, or statesmen.' (p. 36).

In his seminal work on psychopathy, *The Mask of Sanity*, Hervey Cleckley (1941/1976) accordingly portrayed psychopathic individuals that are immoral and antisocial but who at the same time display an attractive outward persona of amiable charm and social compliance. Cleckley (1941/1976) referred to this superficial appearance of healthy adjustment as the 'mask of sanity'. Thus, although the total psychopathic syndrome results in antisociality and maladaptiveness, Cleckley (1941/1976) and Lykken (1995) both postulated that certain outward psychopathic behaviors may be quite adaptive in a social context. Patrick (2006) postulates that in psychopathy, the higher order dimension of boldness may best capture 'the mask' Cleckley (1941/1976) referred to in his book.

Boldness in psychopathy is a set of apparent adaptive personality traits that include positive affect, charm, social poise, interpersonal dominance, physical fearlessness, lack of anxiety, novelty seeking, and venturesomeness (Patrick, 2006). According to Lilienfeld et al. (2018), Cleckley

(1941/1976) clearly showed that although psychopathic individuals behave antisocially they are very different from the ‘ordinary’ antisocial or criminal in prison. Although antisocial in their behavior, those high in psychopathy combine their antisocial conduct with an outward appearance of a healthy personality, emotional stability, and a façade of adaptiveness (Cleckley 1941/1976; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lykken, 1995).

Lilienfeld and colleagues (2018) posit that psychopathic individuals may outwardly present this façade of healthy adjustment with high levels of charm and amiability, a combination of traits which may make these individuals interpersonally highly dangerous. It is exactly this superficial outward appearance of an ordinary and likeable persona that may so effectively mask the inward emotional disturbance and interpersonal precariousness of psychopathic individuals (Holtzman & Strube, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2016a; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Weiss et al., 2018).

4.3.2 *Boldness as the façade of interpersonal adaptiveness*

In line with the aforementioned anomaly of the interpersonal behavior of psychopathic individuals, Lilienfeld and colleagues (2018) have recently introduced a proposed model of psychopathy in which the significance of the aforementioned interpersonal impact of psychopathy is accentuated. These scholars were inspired by Lykken (1991) who defined the concept of ‘impact traits’ as: *‘the impact that the person has on his or her environment’* (p. 18). Lilienfeld et al. (2018) assert that after the work of scholars such as Cleckley (1941/1976) and Lykken (1991), many researchers of psychopathy have minimized the implications of these impact traits on the environment of psychopathic individuals.

In this theory on impact traits it is stipulated that the combination of the contrasting patterns of social interaction displayed by individuals high in psychopathy may be regarded paradoxical (Cleckley, 1941/1976; Lykken, 1991). The expression of their social behavior appears to be a blend of outwardly seemingly attractive and adaptive interpersonal traits such as social poise, charm, and trustworthiness which conceal a mix of maladaptive interpersonal behavioral traits such as manipulation, lying, stealing, and other antisocial behavior (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

It is this specific combination of apparently contradictory interpersonal behaviors of adaptiveness and maladaptiveness, that may make those high in psychopathy especially successful at deception; as swindlers, when applying for parole, or in leadership positions (Babiak et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2019; Porter et al., 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012a; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

The aforementioned ‘adaptive’ traits of positive affect, charm, social competence, and credibility may be the group of traits that effectively mask the maladaptive, antisocial intentions of certain criminal and also of ‘successful’ psychopathic individuals. According to Lilienfeld et al. (2018), the combination of these outward ‘adaptive’ interpersonal traits (with underlying maladaptive intentions), may be most connected to the interpersonal and affective traits of psychopathic boldness (Patrick, 2006).

4.3.3 *Boldness in the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy*

Although the operationalization of the construct of boldness in psychopathy has its roots in research with the PPI/PPI-R (Lilienfeld, 1990; Lilienfeld & Andrews, 1996; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005), the most important model that explicitly conceptualizes boldness in psychopathy is the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy (TMP; Patrick et al., 2009). This model was developed by Patrick and colleagues (2009) to integrate the diverse conceptualizations of psychopathy that have recurred

in the history of psychopathy research. The three facets of boldness, meanness, and disinhibition are distinguished in the Triarchic model and these facets can be combined as building blocks in varying degrees to specify different psychopathic subtypes (Patrick & Drislane, 2015; Patrick et al., 2009; Skeem et al., 2011). Although the three dimensions in this model are interrelated, they can be understood independently as they are phenotypically distinct (Patrick et al., 2009).

The facet of disinhibition in this model is connected to traits that represent irresponsibility, impatience, lack of self-control, and impulsivity (Patrick & Drislane, 2015). The facet of meanness consists of traits such as lack of empathy, exploitativeness, lack of affiliation, proactive use of aggression, and callousness. The dimension of meanness may, according to some scholars, be regarded as a central facet of psychopathy in different conceptualizations including Hare's two-factor model, Cleckley (1941/1976), McCord and McCord (1964), and Karpman (1941) (Drislane & Patrick, 2017; Drislane et al., 2014; Ljubin-Golub & Sokić, 2016; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020; Sleep et al., 2019).

The third facet, boldness, represents traits that may be associated with possible adaptive qualities in psychopathy, such as fearlessness and low anxiety, in combination with self-assured dominance, positive emotionality, and assertiveness (Benning et al., 2003, 2005b; Patrick et al., 2009). The facet of boldness measures aspects of all three psychopathy components: affective (high in resilience, low anxiety, positive affect), interpersonal (social dominance, leadership, assertiveness, persuasion), and behavioral (thrill-and adventure seeking, daring) (Patrick et al., 2009). See figure 4.1 for the full model.

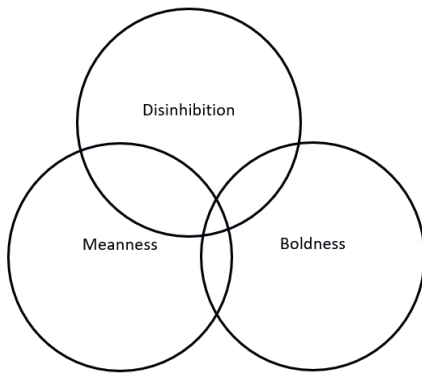


Figure 4.1. The Triarchic Model of Psychopathy derived from Patrick et al. (2009).

4.3.4 *Boldness in assessment instruments of psychopathy*

Boldness as a facet (a group of traits) in psychopathy is represented in several assessment instruments used in measuring the psychopathic personality. However, boldness is not represented in the PCL-R (Hare, 1991, 2003), which is considered the gold standard for assessing psychopathy in incarcerated populations (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013), nor the SRP-4 (Self-Report Psychopathy scale: Paulhus et al., 2016), the most recent self-report instrument based on the PCL-R to measure psychopathy in community samples. The two psychopathy measures in which boldness is most

explicitly represented are the Psychopathic Personality Inventory Revised (PPI-R; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005) and the Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM; Patrick, 2010).

4.3.4.1 Boldness in the PPI-R and the TriPM

Boldness as a psychometric construct historically originated in the Psychopathic Personality Inventory (PPI; Lilienfeld, 1990; Lilienfeld & Andrews, 1996) and its revised version PPI-R (Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005). This self-report instrument is the most widely used measure to assess boldness in psychopathy today and it measures the facet of boldness through the higher order dimension Fearless Dominance. In the process of developing the PPI, eight lower-order subscales initially emerged from the analyses of student samples (N=1,156). These eight subscales are: Machiavellian Egocentricity, Social Potency (in the PPI-R renamed as Social Influence), Fearlessness, Impulsive Nonconformity (renamed in the PPI-R as Rebellious Nonconformity), Stress Immunity, Carefree Nonplanfulness, Blame Externalization, and Coldheartedness (Lilienfeld, 1990; Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Later factor analyses in a community twin sample by Benning et al. (2003) aimed to identify those elements in the earlier established lower order subscales which may be associated with low or high levels of aversive startle response (by utilizing indicators such as eyeblink reactivity to sudden noise during threatening visuals). These scholars found two higher order dimensions, named Fearless Dominance (FD; Benning et al., 2005a) and Impulsive Antisociality (Benning et al., 2005a), later renamed Self Centered Impulsivity (Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005), and one stand-alone dimension, labeled Coldheartedness in the PPI (Benning et al., 2005a).

Fearless Dominance showed high loadings on the subscales Social Potency (charm, the talent to influence others and derive pleasure of doing so, the desire to be in the center of attention), Fearlessness (propensity to risk-taking, lack of anticipating fear for immediate danger), and Stress Immunity (a relative lack of anxiousness under pressure).

Self Centered Impulsivity (SCI) showed high loadings on the low order scales of Machiavellian Egocentricity (cynical, ruthless, instrumental use of other people), Impulsive Nonconformity (a propensity to disregard authority and defy traditions and social rules), Blame Externalization (antagonistic, blaming others for problems in life), and Carefree Nonplanfulness (lack of planfulness and an insouciant attitude towards the future).

The third dimension, Coldheartedness, did not load on any of the two higher order dimensions and is considered a stand-alone dimension. Coldheartedness measures lack of empathy, guilt, and shame, as well as low affiliation (Benning et al., 2005a). Interestingly, in contrast with other psychopathy measures (e.g. the PCL-R), the two higher order dimensions Fearless Dominance and Self Centered Impulsivity are largely uncorrelated (Benning et al., 2003). See table 4.2 for example items of the subscales of Fearless Dominance in the PPI-R.

Psychopathic Personality Inventory Revised (PPI-R)	
<i>Facets of Fearless Dominance</i>	Fearless Dominance Example items (r = reversed scoring)
Fearlessness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>I think that it might almost be exciting to be a passenger on a plane that appeared certain to crash, yet somehow managed to land safely.</i> - <i>I am a daredevil.</i> - <i>I would find the job of movie stunt person exciting</i>
Stress Immunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>I don't let everyday hassles get on my nerves.</i> - <i>I'm the kind of person who gets "stressed out" pretty easily. (r)</i> - <i>I worry about things even when there's no reason to. (r)</i>
Social Potency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Even when others are upset I can usually win them over with my charm.</i> - <i>I could be a good "con artist".</i> - <i>I have a talent for getting people to talk to me.</i>

Table 4.2. The PPI-R Factor for Boldness: Fearless Dominance and its subscales derived from Lilienfeld and Widows (2005).

The Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM; Patrick, 2010) is a more recently developed measure to assess boldness in psychopathy and originates from the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy (TMP; Patrick et al., 2009). Patrick (2010) developed the Triarchic Psychopathy Measure to assess the facets of meanness, disinhibition, and boldness as defined in the Triarchic model. Meanness in this self-report measure is assessed through items associated with callousness, low affability, lack of empathy, exploitative behavior, empowerment through cruelty, and excitement seeking. Disinhibition is measured through items connected to impulsivity, non-planful behavior, irresponsibility, and behavior focused on short term rewards. The facet of boldness in the TriPM represents a self-assured nature, assertiveness, calmness in dangerous situations, social efficaciousness, and a talent for persuasion.

Of the three facets of the TriPM and the PPI-R, boldness is most related to adaptiveness, although certain studies also found maladaptive associations, such as the connection between boldness and verbal aggression, decreased empathy, and non-physical victimization (e.g. Benning et al., 2005a; Fanti et al., 2016, Gatner et al., 2016). See table 4.3 for example items of the different subscales of the facet of boldness in the TriPM.

The Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM)	
<i>Subscales for boldness</i>	Boldness Example items (r = reversed scoring)
Optimism	<i>I have a hard time making things turn out the way I want. (r)</i>
Intrepidity	<i>I have no strong desire to parachute out of an airplane. (r)</i>
Resilience	<i>I am well-equipped to deal with stress.</i>
Courage	<i>I am afraid of far fewer things than most people.</i>
Dominance	<i>I am a born leader.</i>
Persuasiveness	<i>I can convince people to do what I want.</i>
Tolerance for uncertainty	<i>I function well in new situations, even when unprepared.</i>
Social Assurance	<i>I never worry about making a fool of myself with others.</i>
Self Confidence	<i>I don't stack up well against most others. (r)</i>

Table 4.3. The TriPM subscales for boldness derived from: Patrick (2021).

4.3.4.2 Boldness in other assessment instruments of psychopathy

In the last few years new conceptual models of psychopathy with corresponding assessment instruments have emerged to measure psychopathy in diverse populations (EPA; Lynam et al., 2011; CAPP; Cooke et al., 2012; CPI-R; Fritzon et al., 2013, 2017; PID-5; Krueger et al., 2012). In these more recently developed instruments, operationalizations of concepts very similar to the facet of boldness have been included as part of the psychopathic profile (EPA; Lynam et al., 2011; CAPP; Cooke et al., 2012; CPI/CPI-R; Fritzon et al., 2013, 2017; PID-5; Krueger et al., 2012).

4.3.4.2.1 Boldness in the EPA, CAAP, CPI-R, PID-5

The Elemental Psychopathy Assessment (EPA; Lynam et al., 2011) is a self-report assessment to measure psychopathy which is based on the building blocks of the personality traits of the five-factor model (FFM; Digman, 1990). The scales of the EPA include: Antagonism (self-centeredness, manipulation, distrust, opposition, callousness, and arrogance), Disinhibition (impersistence, disobliged, and rashness), Emotional Stability (dominance, thrill-seeking, and coldness), and Narcissism (anger, self-contentment, self-assurance, urgency, invulnerability, and unconcern) (Lynam et al., 2011). Total EPA scores are significantly related to a history of antisocial behavior, alcohol use and substance use, and reactive and proactive aggression (Wilson et al., 2011). Preliminary studies of the EPA found strong convergent validity between the EPA and the following three scales: the LSRP (Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale: Levenson et al., 1995), the SRP-III (Self Report Psychopathy Scale-III: Paulhus et al., 2015), and the PPI-R (Wilson et al., 2011). The Emotional Stability scale most closely resembles the concept of boldness and shows strong relations with TriPM boldness and PPI-R Fearless Dominance (Crego & Widiger, 2014; Few et al., 2013).

The Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality Model (CAPP model; Cooke et al., 2012) was initially developed to measure and detect changes in symptoms of psychopathic individuals across time. In the CAPP concept map there are six domains to indicate psychopathy: the self domain, the dominance domain, the attachment domain, the behavioral domain, the cognitive domain, and the emotional domain. Each of the six domains reflects several personality features and symptoms. In total there are 33 different personality characteristics underlying this model (Sellbom et al., 2015a). Using this six domain framework, Cooke and colleagues (2012) have developed several assessment instruments to measure psychopathy, including: CAPP-Symptom Rating Scale (CAPP SRS-CI: Cooke & Logan, 2018), CAPP Self Report Scale (CAPP-SR; Cooke & Logan, 2015), CAPP SRS-Informant Report (CAPP-SRS-IR: Cooke & Logan, 2018); CAPP Lexical Ratings Scale (CAPP-LRS; Sellbom et al., 2015a), and CAPP Self Report Scale (CAPP-SR; Cooke & Logan, 2015). Preliminary findings using these measurements show that there may be a general psychopathy factor that can be combined with sub-facets that may vary among subtypes.

These findings suggest that there are certain core personality traits shared by all psychopathy subtypes in this model. The various subtypes that may be measured through these instruments may be distinguished through variations in the levels of the domains regarding emotional detachment, disinhibition, and boldness/emotional stability (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020; Drislane et al., 2014, Sellbom et al., 2015a). According to Cooke et al. (2012), criminal and noncriminal psychopathy may show overlap in the behavioral, cognitive, attachment, and emotional domains. However, noncriminal psychopathy may be most represented by the psychopathic traits from the self and dominance domains (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020). In this model, the concept of boldness may be reflected best by a combination of traits from the self-domain (sense of invulnerability) and the emotional domain (lack of anxiety, emotional instability and lacking pleasure (both negative correlations) (Cooke & Logan, 2018; Sellbom et al., 2015a).

Another recently designed instrument to measure psychopathy specifically in corporate settings is the Corporate Personality Inventory Revised (CPI; Fritzon et al., 2013; CPI-R; Fritzon et al., 2017). A self-report (CPI-R) and third party (CPI-3R) measure were developed through an exploratory approach based on testing construction of the item selection which was drawn from an expert panel of forensic psychologists, business managers, and academics (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020). The items on these measures reflect statements that are suitable for business environments and also include potentially adaptive aspects of psychopathy. Items such as: “I am a talented communicator” and “I am not afraid to take bold business decisions” reflect the psychopathic traits of low fear and anxiety combined with social potency (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020). The self-report measure of the CPI-R consists of three subscales: Ruthlessness, Interpersonal dominance, and Boldness. Boldness measures behavior such as flourishing in fast-paced environments and being able to make quick decisions under pressure. Ruthlessness assesses traits connected to a willingness to exploit the weaknesses of others. Interpersonal Dominance is reflected in items that show the ability to apply pressure on others to reach personal goals, and as being seen as a leader (Fritzon et al., 2017).

The third party measure of the CPI-R, the CPI-3R, is based on the items of the self-report measure but without those items that are more difficult to be observed by a third party. Exploratory factor analyses found three dimensions in the CPI-3R: Impulsive egocentricity, Ruthless determination, and Adaptive façade (Wiseman, 2014). All three dimensions show high intercorrelations (Wiseman, 2014). Impulsive egocentricity is measured by items such as lack of planfulness, impulsive behavior, and failing to meet obligations and is similar to Self-centered

Impulsivity in the PPI-R (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020). Ruthless determination resembles the meanness facet of the TriPM and assesses behavior such as taking advantage of others, disregard for authority, and destructiveness. The facet of Adaptive façade (boldness in the self-report version) represents the more adaptive traits of psychopathy such as persuasiveness and being charming and sociable. This facet (and the facet of boldness in the CPI-R) most closely resembles the concept of boldness in the triarchic model (Brooks & Fritzon, 2020).

Brooks and Fritzon (2020) postulate that the traits and behaviors in the subscales of adaptive façade (CPI-3R) and boldness (CPI-R), such as superficial charm and amiability, enable psychopathic individuals to outwardly present themselves as the perfect workplace candidates. Although at face value the facets of boldness and adaptive façade in the CPI scales appear to be exclusively adaptive, Brooks and Fritzon (2020) stress that the seemingly adaptive outcomes of these subscales exist in correlation with the more malevolent behaviors assessed through the subscales of ruthless determination, impulsive egocentricity (CPI-3R), and interpersonal dominance, and ruthlessness (CPI-R). Research has demonstrated maladaptive associations for the facet of boldness with the CPI. A study by Strickland et al. (2013) has shown that CPI boldness is strongly positively related to Antagonism as measured by the Personality Inventory for the DSM-5 (PID-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013b; Krueger et al., 2012). Further studies by Rodrigo (2016) and Hughes (2016) showed high correlations between CPI boldness and dominance (as highly negative related to submissiveness) and between CPI boldness and manipulativeness.

For the first time in the history of the DSM releases (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: APA), the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013a) includes a psychopathy specifier for Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) (Crego & Widiger, 2014). The DSM-5 Section III introduces models of psychiatric disorders in the DSM that may in the future replace the section II diagnosis of the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013b). A personality assessment to measure personality traits as described in section III of the DSM-5 is the PID-5, Personality Inventory for DSM-5 (Krueger et al., 2012). The PID-5 assesses personality disorders on five domains: Antagonism, Negative Affect, Detachment, Disinhibition, and Psychoticism. The psychopathy specifier of ASPD in section III is described by the traits of low anxiety and fear. Moreover, as a further specifier of psychopathy, this section describes: ‘*a bold interpersonal style that may mask maladaptive behaviors (e.g., fraudulence)*’ (p. 765, American Psychiatric Association, 2013a).

These specifying traits are similar to the operationalizations of boldness in the TriPM and the PPI-R (Anderson et al., 2014; Few et al., 2015). Preliminary research with the PID-5 psychopathy specifier found negative associations with traits more typical of ASPD such as hostility, negative affect, and disinhibition (as operationalized through PPI-R self-centered impulsivity and TriPM disinhibition) (Anderson et al., 2014). Furthermore, other research with the PID-5 showed large positive correlations between PID-5 Antagonism and CPI boldness (Hughes, 2016; Rodrigo, 2016; Strickland et al., 2013).

4.3.4.2.2 Boldness in the PCL-R

The dominant instrument to assess psychopathy in incarcerated samples is the Psychopathy Checklist- Revised (PCL-R; Hare, 1991, 2003). The PCL (Hare, 1980) and its derivatives are originally based on the criteria Cleckley (1941/1976) laid out in *the Mask of Sanity*, a book that is still regarded

as the most fundamental work on the psychopathic personality (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Hare et al., 2018; Patrick, 2006; Patrick, 2018). From the 16 diagnostic criteria Cleckley (1941/1976) outlined to diagnose psychopathy, four criteria can be regarded as positive adjustment features (Patrick, 2006). According to Lilienfeld and colleagues (2018), these four criteria that may together constitute the ‘mask’ of apparent healthy adjustment, map largely onto the concept of boldness. See Crego and Widiger (2014) and Hare et al. (2018) for a different view.

Patrick (2006) postulates that although many of the interpersonal and affective traits as well as the behavioral deviance criteria defined by Cleckley (1941/1976) are well represented in the PCL-R, the positive adjustment traits defined by Cleckley are not. The four criteria: superficial charm and good ‘intelligence’, absence of delusions and other signs of irrational thinking, absence of ‘nervousness’ or psychoneurotic manifestations, and suicide rarely carried out, are scarcely represented in the PCL-R. This may be due to reasons of the item selection strategy which was aimed at indexing a unitary psychopathy concept (Patrick, 2006).

Only one Factor 1 item of the PCL-R, ‘glibness and superficial charm’, shows some resemblance to Cleckley’s criterium of superficial charm and good ‘intelligence’ (Patrick, 2006). However, the instructions to assess this item using the PCL-R contain a more deviant interpretation of this criterium when compared to Cleckley’s characterization of this concept (Edens et al., 2008; Patrick, 2006). In the PCL-R assessment this item is outlined as slickness, insincerity, excessive talkativeness, and lack of believability (Hare, 1991, 2003). Cleckley’s description for the criterium of superficial charm and good ‘intelligence’ is more neutral or even positive. It appears that Cleckley may have intended to label this trait with adaptive outcomes rather than with maladaptive outcomes. The association with adaptiveness is reflected in Cleckley’s choice of words describing the behavior for this item when represented by a psychopathic individual ‘...he tends to embody the concept of a well-adjusted, happy person.’ (Cleckley, 1976, p. 338) (Patrick, 2006).

Research confirms this lack of resemblance between Cleckley’s criteria that are close to the concept of boldness and items in the PCL-R. When comparing the two factors of the PCL-R with the operationalization of boldness in the PPI-R through Fearless Dominance (FD), associations between the two PCL-R factors and FD are only modest ($r = .23$ for Factor 1, and $.07$ for Factor 2; Miller & Lynam, 2012; Marcus et al., 2013). See also Venables et al. (2014) and Murphy et al. (2016). According to Lilienfeld et al. (2016b) these outcomes can be explained by the origin of the PCL and the PCL-R. These instruments were developed in prison samples in which traits of individuals are more clearly related to maladaptive outcomes. In such samples it is less likely to find traits that are operationalized in terms that reflect adaptiveness in the same way that Cleckley may have intended (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2016a; Patrick, 2006). See Hare et al. (2018) for a different view.

4.3.5 The debate on boldness in psychopathy

During the last few years the facet of boldness in psychopathy has been subject of considerable debate among scholars (e.g. Lilienfeld et al., 2012a, 2016a, 2016b; Lynam & Miller, 2012; Miller & Lynam, 2012; Neumann et al., 2013; Patrick et al., 2013). The facets of meanness and disinhibition, as represented in the Triarchic model of psychopathy or in the PPI-R, are both widely accepted by scholars as dimensions of psychopathy (Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Lynam & Widiger, 2007). Furthermore, meanness and disinhibition are in coherence with the majority of the models of psychopathy (e.g. Hare, 2003; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Lynam & Widiger, 2007), although these

models vary in their precise conceptualizations of these dimensions (Patrick et al., 2009; Skeem et al., 2011).

The discussion on boldness is part of a broader debate regarding which traits are core to psychopathy, which traits or facets may be specifiers of certain psychopathy subtypes, or which traits may be regarded more as outcomes of the psychopathic profile than as core traits of psychopathy (e.g. Cooke & Michie, 2001; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020; Steinert et al., 2017). Besides boldness, other traits and behaviors, such as criminal behavior, antisociality, and the levels and types of impulsivity in psychopathy are also subject of academic dispute (e.g. Cooke & Michie, 2001; Poythress & Hall, 2011; Palmen et al., 2019; Skeem & Cooke, 2010).

Several scholars have contended that certain traits (or facets) in psychopathy which are associated with adaptiveness, such as boldness, may not be fundamental to the psychopathic personality (Lynam & Miller, 2012; Marcus et al., 2013; Miller and Lynam, 2012). These experts in the field have postulated that boldness is not part of the group of core traits of psychopathy, but may rather be a specifier to delineate between the possible subtypes of psychopathy (Lynam & Miller, 2012; Weiss et al., 2018). Those scholars that have raised concerns regarding the vitality of boldness to the psychopathy construct have delineated several arguments in this scientific controversy (Miller & Lynam, 2012; Lynam & Miller, 2012; Marcus et al., 2013; Weiss et al., 2018). These arguments are based on findings that the concept of boldness associates mainly with adaptive outcomes, is primarily unrelated or relates negatively to maladaptive outcomes, shows small to negative relations to antisocial behavior, is only weakly correlated to the PCL-R, and lacks factorial coherence (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Marcus et al., 2013; Miller & Lynam, 2012).

These concerns regarding the vitality of boldness to psychopathy can be categorized in three larger issues. The first major topic in this debate is the association of boldness with ostensibly adaptive outcomes and with its lack of association with antisocial behavior, criminal behavior, and maladaptiveness in general (Marcus et al., 2013; Miller & Lynam, 2012). The second major criticism of the relevance of boldness to psychopathy is related to findings that several prominent psychopathy measurements, especially the PCL-R, do not operationalize boldness as part of psychopathy (Patrick, 2006). The third major topic concerns the lack of factorial coherence of boldness as operationalized in the Fearless Dominance component of the PPI-R (e.g. Neumann et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2011). Opposed to the critiques regarding boldness as part of psychopathy, there are also arguments from other scholars in favor of the inclusion of boldness in the framework of psychopathy (e.g. Patrick, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012a; Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

First, the importance of boldness to psychopathy has historically been described in psychopathy research as typical and most intriguing to the concept of psychopathy (e.g. Cleckley 1941/1976; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lykken, 1996; Murphy et al., 2016; Venables et al., 2014; Wall et al., 2015). Cleckley's influential treatise, *the Mask of Sanity* (1941/1976) portrayed 15 classic case histories of psychopathic individuals and delineated 16 distinct characteristics including adaptive features such as absence of anxiety, and superficial charm and poise, all of which are traits unequivocally related to boldness, according to Lilienfeld et al. (2018).

Furthermore, several studies found that boldness may be the group of traits that distinguishes psychopathy from ASPD (Murphy et al., 2016; Venables et al., 2014; Wall et al., 2015). The finding that boldness may be the differentiating facet between psychopathy and ASPD is in line with the new psychopathy specifier for ASPD in the DSM 5 in which important markers of boldness; low social withdrawal, high attention seeking, and low anxiousness are outlined as those traits that

define psychopathy in comparison with non-psychopathy ASPD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013a) (Anderson et al., 2014; Few et al., 2015).

Miller and Lynam (2012) have questioned whether boldness, which is foremost associated with adaptiveness, can be part of a personality disorder such as psychopathy, as personality disorders are maladaptive in their core. In contrast, in line with Cleckley (1941/1976) and Lykken (1995), Hare (2002) postulated that psychopathic individuals may flourish in business settings and specifically in high profile positions in the boardroom, indicating that certain individuals high in psychopathy may be able to show adaptive qualities that can translate to their personal success and advancement (c.f. Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006).

Research on 'successful' manifestations of psychopathy may give a special insight on precisely how maladaptiveness and adaptiveness can be combined in psychopathy. From the perspective of the psychopathic individual in these studies, the outcomes of the psychopathic profile may indicate 'adaptiveness' or 'successfulness'. Indeed, in these studies on 'successful' manifestations of psychopathy, those high in psychopathy were able to successfully attain and sustain high profile positions in business and politics (e.g. Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b). The outcomes for the organizations with which these 'successful' psychopathic individuals are involved may be maladaptive or unsuccessful, as demonstrated in research findings on lower employee work motivation, higher staff turnover, and white collar crime indicate (e.g. Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Ray, 2007).

Moreover, in line with the aforementioned hybrid composition of psychopathy as adaptive and maladaptive, research has also found that the facet of boldness is not exclusively associated with adaptive outcomes, but also relates to maladaptive outcomes, especially in combination with the presence of other psychopathic traits such as meanness and disinhibition (e.g. Rulseh et al., 2017; Strickland et al., 2013). Thus, although findings of low levels of maladaptiveness associated with boldness in psychopathy in certain studies may clash with the notion of criminal psychopathy, it may not conflict with 'successful' manifestations of psychopathy (Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lynam & Miller, 2012; Miller & Lynam, 2012).

Second, there is controversy among scholars about the lack of correlation between boldness and the PCL-R and its derivatives (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Marcus et al., 2013; Miller & Lynam, 2012). Although the PCL-R is considered the gold standard to measure psychopathy in criminal samples, it may not capture all of the potentially adaptive traits as represented by the facet of boldness (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Lilienfeld et al. (2016b) conducted a meta-analysis to examine the associations between 11 non-PCL based instruments to assess psychopathy and boldness across 32 samples ($N=10,693$). The association between boldness and these instruments was $r = .38$, which rose to $r = .44$ when only well-validated psychopathy measures were used. These mean effect sizes were considerably higher than those found in the meta-analytic studies on correlations of FD boldness with PCL-R based measures by Marcus and colleagues (2013) and Miller and Lynam (2012), which was $r_s = .16$.

Furthermore, even though the meta-analytic studies by Marcus and colleagues (2013) and Miller and Lynam (2012) found weak associations between FD with total PCL-R scores, FD and PCL-R Factor 1 showed a modest association of $r_w = .23$. The association between FD and PCL-R Factor 2 was only $r_w = .07$ (Miller & Lynam, 2012; Marcus et al., 2013). See also Venables et al. (2014) and Murphy et al. (2016). Moreover, a study by Berg et al. (2017) found that mental health professionals and psychology graduate students considered boldness as important to the

psychopathic profile as the facet of disinhibition. Among these two samples, meanness was perceived the most central to psychopathy, above boldness and disinhibition (Berg et al., 2017).

Third, another counterargument against the inclusion of boldness in psychopathy is that in the operationalization of boldness in the PPI/PPI-R, Fearless Dominance (FD) lacks factorial coherence (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Several studies found that Fearlessness and Stress Immunity, lower order dimensions of FD, also frequently show substantial high cross loadings on the other higher order dimension of the PPI and PPI-R. Fearlessness exhibited positive cross loadings, and Stress Immunity negative cross loadings with Self-Centered Impulsivity in these studies (SCI) (e.g. Neuman et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2011). Lilienfeld and colleagues (2018) argue that these findings may be explained by the development of PPI and PPI-R in which a higher order factor structure was not initially intended but was found in later analyses (Benning et al., 2018; Lilienfeld, 1990). Furthermore, Lilienfeld et al. (2018) question whether optimal factor structural fit is realistic for many personality assessments. In the case of boldness as well as for many other larger personality facets, such facets are combinations of different items that may fall between major personality dimensions (in boldness low anxiousness is combined with high social dominance) (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

4.3.6 The adaptiveness and the maladaptiveness of psychopathic boldness

4.3.6.1 The adaptiveness and maladaptiveness of psychopathy in different populations

In the debate on boldness, the dispute regarding the adaptiveness of boldness in psychopathy may be most conceivable as psychopathy is traditionally related to a large range of maladaptive outcomes. Most of the research on psychopathy shows strong associations with antisociality and in many cases also with criminal behavior (Kiehl & Hoffman, 2011; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Some scholars argue that such findings may be primarily caused by sample choice as most studies have focused on incarcerated criminal psychopathic individuals (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Whether the psychopathic profile in criminal samples is different from the psychopathic profile in community samples or in ‘successful’ psychopathy is still being debated (Gao & Raine, 2010; Palmen et al., 2019; Ishikawa et al., 2001). Furthermore, some experts in the field postulate that criminal and antisocial behavior may not even be part of the core profile of psychopathy, but may be better regarded as a logical outcome of the personality traits of Factor 1 (Cooke & Michie, 2001; Skeem & Cooke, 2010).

The existence of different psychopathic subtypes in diverse samples, in which there are variations in the combination of psychopathic traits with certain non-psychopathic features, may explain the diversity in adaptive and maladaptive outcomes. In some psychopathic subtypes certain protective factors, or moderators, may mitigate the maladaptive outcomes of psychopathy, or may even lead to some level of ‘adaptiveness’ or ‘success’, at least for the psychopathic individuals themselves (Gao & Raine, 2010; Palmen et al., 2019; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Steinert et al., 2017).

4.3.6.2 The adaptiveness versus the ‘adaptiveness’ of psychopathic boldness

Although most studies on boldness in psychopathy show that this facet is positively related to features that are considered psychologically adaptive (e.g. Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Miller & Lynam, 2012; Persson & Lilienfeld, 2019; Vize et al., 2016), associations between boldness and maladaptiveness have also been found (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Notwithstanding, the majority of

studies have shown that the facet of boldness is related to a large set of adaptive outcomes, especially in comparison with the facets of meanness and disinhibition in psychopathy. Boldness, as operationalized through fearless dominance (PPI/PPI-R) or through TriPM boldness, is associated with adaptive traits in the affective, interpersonal, and behavioral domains (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Boldness is connected to adaptiveness in the affective domain through traits such as high levels of positive emotionality, stress immunity, well-being, optimism, emotional resilience, tolerance for uncertainty, low levels of anxiety, stress, and fear, and low predisposition for internalizing psychological disorders (Blonigen et al., 2010; Drislane et al., 2014; Patrick et al., 2009; Sellbom et al., 2005; Marcus et al., 2013; Sokić & Ljubin-Golub, 2019; Sellbom et al., 2015b; Shou et al., 2017; Witt et al., 2009b).

In the interpersonal domain, boldness shows adaptive qualities in connection to charm, low detachment, self-confidence, soft tactics of influence, social potency, perspective taking, low hostility, being viewed as a world leader, satisfaction with a manager, being a team player, low interpersonal distress, servant leadership, social influence, positive interpersonal performance, extraversion, persuasiveness, and leadership/authority (Almeida et al., 2015; Blagov et al., 2016; Donnelan & Burt, 2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Patrick et al., 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Marcus et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2001; Poy et al., 2014; Sanecka, 2013; Sellbom et al., 2015b; Schütte et al., 2018; Sica et al., 2015; Sutton et al., 2020).

In the behavioral domain, boldness is connected to adaptive traits such as job performance, enhanced executive cognitive functioning, achievement, novelty seeking, initiating new programs and legislations, functional impulsivity, adept at crisis management, cognitive flexibility and conscientiousness (Claes et al., 2009; Crego & Widiger, 2014; Drislane et al., 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b, 2015b; Poy et al., 2014; Sellbom & Verona, 2007; Sokić & Ljubin-Golub, 2019; Stanley et al., 2013).

4.3.6.2.1 The 'adaptiveness' of psychopathic boldness

Although boldness shows strong associations with adaptiveness in the affective, interpersonal, and behavioral domain in the aforementioned studies, an important issue is whether the positive outcomes of the facet of boldness are beneficial for the environment of these psychopathic individuals, or only for the psychopathic individuals themselves. In a large majority of the aforementioned studies that showed associations between boldness and adaptiveness, the positive outcomes are primarily connected to the psychopathic individual, not necessarily to their environment (e.g. Blonigen et al., 2010; Claes et al., 2009; Marcus et al., 2013; Patrick et al., 2009; Sellbom et al., 2005).

These findings are in accordance with the concept of 'impact traits' in psychopathy in which the maladaptive outcomes of the psychopathic behavior are connected to those people with whom the psychopathic individual interacts (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lykken, 1991). (See 4.3.2 Boldness as the façade of interpersonal adaptiveness). Indeed, in a recently developed assessment instrument to measure psychopathy, the CPI-R (Fritzon et al., 2017), the operationalization of boldness in psychopathy is defined in ways that indicate how boldness is connected to adaptiveness. The outcomes of boldness in psychopathy in the CPI-R are described in terms that are adaptive for the psychopathic individual, but maladaptive for the psychopathic individual's environment. In the self-report version of the CPI-R, boldness in psychopathy is labeled as boldness (see 4.3.4.2.1

Boldness in the EPA, CAAP, CPI-R, PID-5). However, in the third party version (CPI-3R), the equivalent dimension of boldness is operationalized through a facet named adaptive façade. The combination of these two operationalizations of boldness precisely indicate the possible ambiguity of the outcomes of boldness in psychopathy. In the third party measure, adaptive façade represents traits that reflect outwardly interpersonal qualities such as positivity, charm, and personability that are employed by psychopathic individuals to reach their antisocial goals.

Fritzon et al. (2017) argue that individuals high in boldness/adaptive façade may only *appear* to express positive and adaptive behavior, as the word ‘façade’ indicates. Psychopathic individuals high in this facet can be identified by their competence in reading other people and in easily adapting to new situations and environments. At the same time, such psychopathic individuals high on the facet of boldness/adaptive façade have the predatory ability to quickly perceive the vulnerabilities in others whom they want to exploit (Fritzon et al., 2017).

Although boldness/adaptive façade may be regarded as adaptive or successful from the perspective of the psychopathic individual, the outcomes connected to boldness are clearly maladaptive for their environment (hence the term adaptive façade). Because the adaptiveness in the context of boldness may thus be ambiguous, it may better be labeled as ‘adaptiveness’. According to Fritzon (2020), the underlying traits of the facet of boldness/adaptive façade may function as moderators in psychopathy and may lead to adaptive outcomes for psychopathic individuals themselves.

Furthermore, Fritzon (2020) argues that those psychopathic individuals high in boldness/adaptive facade may be the manifestations of high functioning or ‘successful’ psychopathy. This operationalization of boldness as ambiguous in its outcomes is in line with the definition of ‘successful’ psychopathy by Benning et al. (2018) and Persson and Lilienfeld (2019). In this definition ‘success’ exclusively focuses on the beneficial outcomes for the psychopathic individual; their environments are not taken into consideration. According to Fritzon (2020), the profile of such a high functioning or ‘successful’ psychopathic individual high in boldness may contrast with the profile of low-functioning or unsuccessful psychopathic individuals in which levels of boldness may be much lower on average (Hall & Benning, 2006; Benning et al., 2018; Fritzon, 2020; Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

A psychopathic individual high on the facet of boldness/adaptive facade may thus also appear to be an ideal candidate for a leadership position. These facets of the CPI-R/3R may reflect traits such as the superficial charm of Factor 1 of the PCL-R, social poise and emotional stability from the boldness factor of the TriPM, and social dominance and fearlessness in the Fearless Dominance component of the PPI-R (Fritzon, 2020; Fritzon et al., 2013). This chapter argues that the façade of boldness employed by these psychopathic leaders may be regarded as the impression management techniques at which certain psychopathic individuals are particularly adept (Schütte et al., 2018).

Indeed, competency in presenting an outward adaptive and attractive façade was found in a study on psychopathic leadership by Babiak et al. (2010). These scholars showed that the psychopathic high potentials in their sample were regarded by others as creative, good communicators, and strategic thinkers, despite their proven incompetence for the assessed leadership positions (Babiak et al., 2010). Although higher levels of impression management may be more prevalent among the ‘successful’ manifestations of psychopathy, a talent for impression management through deception has also been found among psychopathic individuals in incarcerated samples (Häkkinen-Nyholm & Hare, 2009; Porter & Woodworth, 2007; Porter et al.,

2009; Seto & Barbaree, 1999). Porter et al. (2009) found that sexual offenders high in psychopathy were able to present themselves to the parole board in such a way that they were two and a half times more likely to be granted their application for conditional release in comparison with non-psychopathic sexual offenders.

Although this study failed to find heightened levels of PCL-R Factor 1 in the psychopathic sexual offender group, this psychopathic sample ‘successful’ at deceiving the parole board may have had heightened levels of boldness in their profile (Gao & Raine, 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Patrick, 2006).

4.3.6.2.2 *The maladaptiveness of psychopathic boldness*

Although the facet of boldness is connected more to ‘adaptive’ outcomes than other facets of psychopathy, boldness also shows associations with maladaptive outcomes (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b). Boldness has shown positive correlations with maladaptiveness on several aspects of the four components of psychopathy (affective, interpersonal, lifestyle, and antisocial).

On the affective component of psychopathy, scholars found positive associations between boldness and amorality, as well as callous and unemotional features (Claes et al., 2009; Uzieblo et al., 2010).

On the interpersonal dimension of psychopathy, studies have shown positive relations between boldness and the following traits: antagonism, need for power, low emotional empathy, grandiosity, low agreeableness, facets of self-centered impulsivity (rebellious nonconformity and Machiavellian egocentricity), entitlement, narcissism, lack of guilt, exhibitionism, low empathetic concern, lack of modesty, and manipulateness (Benning et al., 2005b; Blagov et al., 2016; Donnelan & Burt, 2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Fanti et al., 2016; Hughes, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Palmen et al., 2019; Rodrigo, 2016; Sellbom et al., 2015b; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Sica et al., 2015; Strickland et al., 2013; Tellegen & Waller, 2008; Witt et al., 2009a).

In the lifestyle domain, boldness is positively connected to thrill seeking and adventure seeking, motor impulsivity, low behavioral inhibition, sensation seeking, erratic lifestyle, and lack of planfulness (Benning et al., 2005a; Drislane & Patrick, 2017; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Ray et al., 2009; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Sellbom et al., 2015b; Sokić & Ljubin-Golub, 2019; Uzieblo et al., 2007).

Correlations between boldness and maladaptiveness have also been found in the antisocial domain; studies by Hecht et al. (2016) and Sokić and Ljubin-Golub (2019) found that boldness showed associations with proactive aggression. Gatner et al. (2016) found that boldness is correlated with non-physical victimization and in a study by Fanti et al. (2016) associations were found between boldness and verbal aggression. See Lynam and Miller (2012) for a different view on the associations between boldness and maladaptiveness found in several of these studies.

In most of the outlined studies, data on the relations between boldness and maladaptiveness are in line with the theory of ‘impact traits’ of psychopathy (Lykken, 1991; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). The maladaptive outcomes of boldness in psychopathy mostly impact the environment of the psychopathic individual, as evidenced by the relationship between boldness and proactive aggression, lack of guilt, low agreeableness, grandiosity, antagonism, lack of modesty, amorality, narcissism, low empathic concern, rebellious nonconformity, Machiavellian egocentricity, need for power, low emotional empathy, entitlement, exhibitionism, manipulateness, verbal aggression, non-physical victimization, and callous and emotional traits (Blagov et al., 2016; Donnelan & Burt,

2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Fanti et al., 2016; Hughes, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Palmen et al., 2019; Rodrigo, 2016; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Sica et al., 2015; Strickland et al., 2013; Witt et al., 2009a).

In spite of the fact that boldness can be connected to some possible maladaptive outcomes for the psychopathic individual (such as low planfulness, motor impulsivity, sensation seeking, and low behavioral inhibition), the overwhelming majority of the maladaptive outcomes of boldness in psychopathy are associated with the environment of the psychopathic individual. Moreover, while these aspects of impulsivity in psychopathic individuals may lead to maladaptive outcomes for the psychopathic individuals themselves, these impulsivity traits may have an additional negative impact upon those with whom these psychopathic individuals interact.

4.3.6.3 Diversities in 'adaptiveness' and maladaptiveness in primary and secondary psychopathy types

It is proposed that the controversial connection between psychopathic boldness and adaptiveness may be explained by the ambiguity of adaptiveness in this context. As the data in the previous paragraphs indicate, the outcomes of boldness in psychopathy may be adaptive primarily for psychopathic individuals but maladaptive for their environment. Based on these findings it has been proposed that it may be semantically more precise to refer to the term 'adaptiveness' in connection to psychopathic boldness.

Furthermore, the controversial association between boldness and adaptiveness may additionally be clarified through the possible variations in psychopathic subtypes. Edens and colleagues (2008) have hypothesized that boldness, as a more adaptive facet of psychopathy, may be part of primary but not of secondary psychopathy. Indeed, in the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) (outlined in 4.2.2. Psychopathic subtypes), only one of the four psychopathic subtypes, labeled the primary controlled psychopathy type, is associated with 'adaptiveness' or 'successfulness' (Palmen et al., 2019). The three other subtypes in this continuum (the disinhibited primary psychopathic type, the detached secondary psychopathic type, and the unstable secondary type) are all associated with maladaptive outcomes (Palmen et al., 2018, 2019; Yildirim & Derksen 2013, 2015a; Yildirim, 2016). Although the disinhibited primary psychopathy type is also high in boldness, the combination of boldness with high levels of impulsivity in this type may primarily lead to maladaptive outcomes, not only for the environment of this psychopathic type but also for these psychopathic individual themselves.

In this proposed continuum, the controlled primary psychopathic type is described as having high levels of the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits, as operationalized by the PCL-R Factor 1, PPI-R Fearless Dominance combined with certain aspect of cold heartedness, or TriPM boldness combined with certain aspects of meanness (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; see table 4.1). This combination of higher levels of factor 1, lower levels of factor 2, and high self-control in this type may lead to more 'successful' outcomes such as the attainment of high profile leadership positions in business or politics (Lykken, 1995; Palmen et al., 2018; 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b).

4.3.6.4 'Adaptiveness' in the proposed model of the psychopathic leader

Palmen and colleagues (2019) recently developed a proposed model on psychopathic leadership (the PL-model) that is based on the most adaptive psychopathic subtype in the proposed

continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy: the controlled primary psychopathic type (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). This controlled primary psychopathic subtype may manifest itself in psychopathic leadership through high levels of the interpersonal and affective traits, especially boldness, that may be combined with the moderating trait of high self-control (Palmen et al., 2019; Steinert et al., 2017). The PL-model proposes that the moderators calculated sensation seeking and the need for domination may function as motivators to attain a specific type of successful professional career, such as high profile leadership positions in business or politics (see figure 4.2; Palmen et al., 2019). For an elaborate outline of the PL-model see Palmen et al. (2018, 2019) and Palmen et al. (2021).

The possible ‘adaptiveness’ of certain psychopathic subtypes that are high in the affective and interpersonal traits is indicated by data from studies that investigated the outcomes of factor 1 and factor 2 psychopathy profiles. These studies on Factor 1 and Factor 2 of the PCL-R show almost orthogonal associations regarding adaptiveness and maladaptiveness (e.g. Hare, 2003; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks & Patrick, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Patrick et al., 2005; Patrick & Zempolich, 1998; Porter & Woodworth, 2006; Verona et al., 2001).

The interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits were found to be primarily related to adaptive outcomes and minimally related to maladaptiveness. Although PCL-R Factor 1 is associated with some maladaptive outcomes such as low empathy, negative character, impeachment resolutions, poor job performance, and narcissism (e.g. Babiak et al., 2010; Hare, 2003; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b), Factor 1 is also connected to more adaptive traits such as social dominance, winning elections with a landslide, creativity, strategic and innovative thinking (e.g. Babiak et al., 2010; Hall et al., 2004; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Verona et al., 2001), positive emotionality, and low levels of stress, depression, and fear (e.g. Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks & Patrick, 2006). Furthermore, Hall et al. (2004) found that the interpersonal facet of PCL-R Factor 1 was most strongly connected to adaptiveness.

In contrast, PCL-R Factor 2 is related to a broad diversity of maladaptive outcomes such as alcohol and drug abuse, reactive aggression, negative affect, neuroticism, anxiety, recidivism in criminal behavior, high sensation seeking, major mental disorders, low stress immunity, and impulsivity (e.g. Blackburn et al., 2008; Blagov et al., 2011; Hare, 2003; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Lee & Salekin, 2010; Patrick & Zempolich, 1998; Patrick et al., 2005; Porter & Woodworth, 2006; Skeem et al., 2007).

4.4 Boldness in Psychopathic Leadership

Turner and Board (2020) postulate that psychopathy and other Dark Triad personalities (narcissism and Machiavellianism) are difficult to detect in the workplace because they are initially hidden behind a façade of highly adaptive social skills that give an attractive impression of a perfect candidate for a leadership position. In this chapter it is proposed that the attractive façade of psychopathic leaders may be clarified by impression management skills these psychopathic individuals employ (Neo et al., 2018; Roulin & Bourdage, 2017; Schütte et al., 2018). Furthermore, in this chapter it is contended that these impression management skills in psychopathic leadership are best represented through the ‘adaptive’ qualities of boldness (Benning et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et

al., 2012b; Sanecka, 2013; Schütte et al., 2018). Moreover, in accordance with Hall and Benning (2006), it is proposed that, on average, the levels of boldness among psychopathic individuals in leadership positions may be significantly higher than in community or prison samples (Hall & Benning, 2006).

Indeed, in a study by Brooks (2017) in which the psychopathic profiles among a prison sample, a community sample, and a business sample were compared, it was found that the levels of boldness were highest in the business sample (Brooks, 2017; Brooks et al., 2019). In this study more than 50% of individuals in the business sample worked in leadership positions (Brooks, 2017). The levels of boldness in the business sample were more than four times higher than in the criminal sample and almost twice as high as in the community sample (Brooks, 2017; Brooks et al., 2020) (c.f. Blickle et al., 2018; Howe et al., 2014).

4.4.1 Studies on boldness in psychopathic leadership

Although the research is still scarce, there are some studies that specifically investigated boldness and its connection to adaptive and maladaptive outcomes in psychopathic leadership.

Sutton et al. (2020) found correlations between the psychopathic traits in managers and several within-person and between-person effects using a quantitative two-phased data collection method. Correlations between these variables were found in two samples. The first sample comprised 651 managers (first measurement) of whom 286 were also assessed in the second measurement. The second sample was composed of 668 employees (first measurement) of whom 318 were also assessed in the second measurement. All these respondents filled out several questionnaires in an online survey (Sutton et al., 2020). The psychopathic traits of these managers were assessed through the use of the TriPM self-report and TriPM other-report. The managers filled out the TriPM self-report measure and measures on their well-being, burn-out, performance, and engagement (work-related outcomes). The employees filled out the TriPM other-report (adapted to the work environment) and measurements of servant leadership and abusive leadership; all of these measurements were focused on their manager. Furthermore, they also reported on their own levels of well-being, burn-out, performance, and engagement (work-related outcomes). It is important to mention that sample 2 (employees) did not report on the managers in sample 1 (no matched samples) (Sutton et al., 2020).

Sutton and colleagues (2020) found that in sample 1 (managers self-report) the facet of boldness in these managers was positively related to the within-person effect. Boldness in these managers was related to higher levels of well-being, engagement, and performance, and to lower levels of burn-out. Meanness and disinhibition in this sample were both positively related to burn-out in these managers.

In sample 2 (subordinates other-report on their manager and self-report on work-related outcomes), the managers' perceived psychopathy total scores, perceived boldness, and perceived disinhibition were not significantly related to the subordinates' work-related outcomes (well-being, burn-out, performance, and engagement). Only a manager's perceived meanness predicted lower levels of employee engagement and increased levels of burnout in these employees (Sutton et al., 2020). Furthermore, in this second sample, a manager's perceived boldness was related to servant leadership and a manager's perceived meanness was related to abusive supervision. Servant leadership in this study is defined as a leadership style that focuses on the needs of subordinates combined with concern for the organization as a whole and the community (Eva et al., 2019).

Abusive leadership is described as behavior including a supervisor's verbal and non-verbal hostility toward subordinates (excluding psychical contact) (Tepper, 2000).

Lilienfeld et al. (2012b) studied boldness and other psychopathic traits in the 42 U.S. presidents (through George W. Bush). A group of historical experts rated these 42 presidents on their personality, performance, and leadership. Additionally, these scholars sought further corroboration through the use of other objective indicators of the behaviors of these presidents such as the initiation of new programs and legislation. Using the five factor model (FFM), Lilienfeld et al. (2012b) mapped the 30 facets on the two factors of the PCL-R and on the Fearless Dominance factor, the Self-Centered Impulsivity factor, and Coldheartedness of the PPI-R.

In this study, boldness as operationalized through FFM-FD was found to correlate with adaptive outcomes, such as positive job performance (e.g. leadership), public persuasiveness, the initiation of new programs and legislation, being viewed as a world leader, and crisis management.

In contrast, FFM-SCI and also FFM Factor 2 correlated with maladaptive outcomes; both were positively related to Congressional impeachment resolutions, negative character, and accepting immoral behavior in subordinates.

Interestingly, the FFM facets indicative for PCL-R Factor 1 showed both maladaptive and adaptive outcomes: positive associations were found with negative character and impeachment resolutions, but also with winning elections by a landslide. In contrast, FFM-FD boldness was not correlated with the adaptive outcome, winning elections with a landslide. Notably, FFM-FD boldness was positively associated with need for power, which is connected to maladaptive outcomes (Palmen et al., 2019).

FFM-Coldheartedness showed no significant correlation with most of the presidential performance variables, except for a significant negative association with presidential pursuit for equal justice and presidents' ability to compromise.

In evaluating these data, Lilienfeld et al. (2012b) suggest that presidents high in total psychopathy scores (a combination of FD, CHD, and SCI) will not make effective presidents. The facet of boldness (FD) in this study is associated with mostly adaptive outcomes. However, boldness was also associated with maladaptiveness as it showed positive correlations with the need for power. The facets of meanness (CHD) and disinhibition (SCI) are both connected to maladaptiveness. These scholars further stress that those presidents who scored high on only the facet of boldness should not be considered psychopathic (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b).

Neo et al. (2018) studied boldness in a large corporate sample of 343 respondents. In this sample, 13 people held a senior manager position and 118 held a manager/supervisor position. These scholars studied the associations among the facets of boldness, meanness, and disinhibition (as measured through the TriPM) and adaptive and maladaptive workplace behavior.

In this study it was found that only TriPM disinhibition uniquely predicted counter-productive workplace behavior (CWB). Counter-productive workplace behavior involves maladaptive work behavior such as theft, abuse, sabotage, production deviance, and withdrawal (Bennet & Robinson, 2000). A combination of high levels of disinhibition and high levels of meanness enlarged the levels of CWB.

In this study the associations between the psychopathic traits and different types of leadership (as represented through the Full Range Leadership Model: FRLM (Avolio & Bass, 1991) were also investigated. Adaptive and maladaptive types of leadership are differentiated in this model. Disinhibition was found to be positively associated with passive leadership (cf. Mathieu et al., 2014a). Passive leadership is considered a maladaptive leadership style in which a leader is

uninvolved or only reacts to subordinates' mistakes (Avolio et al., 1999; Judge & Picollo, 2004). Meanness was positively associated with being a poor team player, using hard tactics of influence, and making unethical decisions. The facet of boldness was positively related to adaptive leadership and negatively associated with passive leadership. In the FRLM, transformational and transactional leadership are considered adaptive leadership styles connected to higher organizational performance (Bass & Avolio, 1993; Bass et al., 2003). A leader who has a transformational leadership style focuses on the development of subordinates through the use of positive influence and consideration. Transactional leadership focuses on a structural pattern of rewards and discipline in order to increase employees' work quality (Avolio et al., 1999).

Neo et al. (2018) found that boldness was also associated with the use of soft tactics of influence and being a team player, but not with creativity (cf. Babiak et al., 2010).

Sanecka (2013) studied the levels of boldness, meanness, and disinhibition in supervisors as measured by the TriPM. 153 employees were assessed on their perception of their supervisors' levels of psychopathic traits. In addition, these employees were assessed on their job satisfaction, their satisfaction with their manager, and their commitment to the organization for which they work.

Sanecka (2013) found that the assessed employees' job satisfaction, satisfaction with this supervisor, and organizational commitment were negatively influenced by the perception of their manager as psychopathic. The employees' perception of their supervisor as psychopathic negatively influenced the cognitive component of job satisfaction. This was the case for all the three psychopathy facets of boldness, meanness, and disinhibition. The cognitive component of job satisfaction in this study is defined as a positive or negative mental assessment employees make about their jobs. The affective component of job satisfaction refers to the positive or negative emotions employees feel about their jobs (Sanecka, 2013; Zalewska, 2001). Although meanness and disinhibition negatively predicted organizational commitment, as well as the affective component of job satisfaction, boldness had no significant effect on these two outcomes. Moreover, although meanness and disinhibition negatively influenced the satisfaction with this supervisor, boldness showed positive associations with the satisfaction with this manager.

According to Sanecka (2013) certain aspect of boldness, such as high self-assurance and low levels of fear and anxiety, can be qualities that are appreciated in leaders in organizational environments when combined with integrity and conscientiousness (low levels of meanness and disinhibition). However, boldness in a psychopathic leadership profile may not be beneficial; in combination with higher levels of meanness and disinhibition it may lead to maladaptive outcomes.

According to Sanecka (2013), certain aspects of boldness in psychopathic leadership, such as social dominance and low anxiety, combined with low empathy and callousness (medium to high levels of meanness) can be misinterpreted for leadership qualities such as resilience and toughness (cf. Babiak, 1996). Within the boldness group, particularly the traits of high dominance, self-assurance, and stress resilience can be outwardly displayed by psychopathic leaders to present a façade of a strong and focused leader.

Blickle et al. (2018) studied boldness, meanness, and disinhibition in managers by employing the PPI-R. Boldness in the PPI-R is operationalized through the facet of Fearless Dominance; meanness through the facet of Coldheartedness; and disinhibition through the facet of Self-Centered Impulsivity (Blickle et al., 2018).

These scholars found that high levels of psychopathy had a negative effect on leadership consideration behavior, and an indirect negative effect on a manager's job performance. This was

specifically the case for those managers who scored high on the meanness dimension of psychopathy. The meanness dimension of psychopathy was 'trait activated' in managers when prospects of ascendancy and income increases for managers were present (Blickle et al., 2018). The theory on trait activation refers to a psychological mechanism in which certain personality traits are inactive until they are triggered by circumstances or in a specific context (Blickle et al., 2018). These trait activation effects were not established for the facets of boldness and disinhibition.

Furthermore, these scholars also compared these findings with a prison sample and concluded that the scores among the manager sample were higher for overall psychopathy and the mean scores for boldness and meanness; in contrast, disinhibition was higher in the prison sample (Blickle et al., 2018).

Lilienfeld and colleagues (2014) studied the relations between the different facets of the PPI-R and the probability of occupying a leadership position. Through the use of an online survey (N=3,388), these scholars found that total psychopathy scores were positively and moderately associated with holding a management or other leadership position (see also Spencer & Byrne, 2016).

Furthermore, this study showed that the facet of boldness as measured through PPI-R Fearless Dominance was most significantly related to being in a leadership position.

Schütte and colleagues (2018) investigated the complex association among the different psychopathic traits as operationalized through the PPI-R and levels of interpersonal influence, interpersonal counter-productive workplace behavior (CWB-I; toxic interpersonal work behavior) and levels of interpersonal job performance (CP; positive contextual interpersonal performance). 161 employees with different types of occupations participated in an online study in which they first completed a self-assessment on psychopathy and interpersonal influence. Although it was not outlined in this study what percentage of this target sample occupied a leadership position, all 161 employees worked at the top level of their organizations.

After the target sample filled out their self-assessments, they then selected two co-workers who were invited to participate in the study by providing information on the levels of CWB-I they observed from the target employee (total of 443 valid coworkers ratings). Although confidentiality was granted to all respondents in this study by the use of pseudo-anonymized randomized code, the target's self-assessments could be linked to the coworker's rating.

The competence of interpersonal influence was defined in this study as 'a dimension of political skill reflecting an ability to adapt one's behavior in subtle, sophisticated, and situationally effective ways' (p. 1138). Interpersonal counter-productive working behavior (CWB-I) as assessed in this research is behavior referring to the violation of social norms in the workplace which can negatively affect employee well-being (Bennet & Robinson, 2000). Finally, contextual (interpersonal) performance (CP) in this study refers to cooperative and consideration behaviors, helping coworkers with their tasks, and working hard (Van Scotter & Motowidlo, 1996).

Schütte and colleagues (2018) found that when boldness (Fearless Dominance) was combined with high levels of interpersonal influence, this interaction positively predicted interpersonal performance (low CWB-I, high CP). Conversely, those managers high in boldness and low in interpersonal influence were rated as having high levels of CWB-I and no relations were found with CP (as rated by others). Disinhibition (Self Centered Impulsivity) and meanness (Coldheartedness) showed no significant interactions with interpersonal influence to predict CWB-I or CP.

Interestingly, total psychopathy scores did show a significant interaction with interpersonal influence to predict interpersonal performance, similar to the interaction of boldness and interpersonal influence (low CWB-I, high CP). Furthermore, the facet of Self Centered Impulsivity negatively predicted interpersonal performance (high CWB-I, low CP). Although Coldheartedness was found not be significantly related to the interpersonal performance variables in this study, these scholars found a curvilinear relation with CP. Managers with intermediate levels of Coldheartedness showed the highest levels of CP, whereas lower and higher levels of Coldheartedness showed lower CP associations, as rated by others (Schütte et al., 2018).

4.4.2 The maladaptive outcomes of psychopathic leadership

Psychopathic leadership has also been researched with assessment instruments that do not explicitly measure boldness as a facet of psychopathy (e.g. Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak, et al., 2010; Boddy, 2011; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Boddy et al., 2010; Bucy et al., 2008; Landay et al., 2019; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014a, 2014b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019). In the majority of these studies on psychopathic leadership, as well as the studies discussed in the previous paragraph, psychopathic leadership is connected to diverse maladaptive outcomes.

Psychopathic leaders in these studies were found to be connected to low performance rates, negative character, poor management skills, using hard tactics of influence, low levels of ability to compromise, low levels of leadership consideration behavior, being a poor team player, dysfunctional leadership styles, the need for power, abusive supervision, burn-out, and unethical decision making in these leaders (Babiak et al., 2020; Blickle et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mathieu & Babiak, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Neo et al., 2018; O’Boyle et al., 2012; Schütte et al., 2018; Sutton et al., 2020; Westerlaken & Woods, 2013).

Furthermore, the behavior of the psychopathic leaders in these studies negatively impacted the people in their environment. Employees working for these psychopathic leaders experienced more work and family related conflict, low organizational commitment, low career satisfaction, lower levels of well-being, job demotivation, low levels of job satisfaction, decreased engagement, and higher levels of burn-out (Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014a, 2014b; Sanecka, 2013; Schütte et al., 2018; Sutton et al., 2020; Volmer, Koch, & Göritz, 2016). In these studies on the impact of working for psychopathic leaders, employees also showed higher rates of job-neglect and higher turn-over intentions (Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016).

In addition to the incompetence of these psychopathic leaders and their negative influence on their employees, research has indicated maladaptive consequences for the organizations and institutions for which these psychopathic leaders work. These studies indicate that leaders with a psychopathic profile are not only connected to poor firm performance, accepting immoral behavior in employees, counter-productive workplace behavior, low levels of pursuit for equal justice, and Congressional impeachment resolutions (Bouncken et al., 2020; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Schütte et al., 2018), but also to a diversity of white-collar crime (Benson & Simpson, 2015; Bucy et al., 2008; Kolthoff, 2016; Lingnau et al., 2017; Neo et al., 2018; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019).

4.4.3 ‘Adaptive’ or adaptive outcomes of psychopathic leadership

Although psychopathic leadership is connected to diverse maladaptive outcomes, most scholars consider psychopathic leadership a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy (Benning et al., 2018;

Lilienfeld, 1998; Palmen et al., 2019). As outlined earlier in this chapter, it is proposed that the successfulness or the adaptiveness associated with successful psychopathy and psychopathic leadership may have an ambiguous nature. Indeed, as outlined in the previous paragraph, psychopathic leadership is related to a range of unfavorable outcomes such as poor managerial performance, poor firm performance, lower work motivation of employees, abusive supervision, and white collar crime (e.g. Babiak et al., 2010; Bouncken et al., 2020; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Sanecka, 2013).

Interestingly, although these studies have found a large diversity of maladaptiveness connected to leaders with a psychopathic profile, many of these leaders appear to simultaneously demonstrate certain ‘adaptive’ qualities in the environments in which they operate. Indeed, Babiak and colleagues (2010), based on the findings in their study, conclude that the high levels of psychopathic traits in the researched leaders did not have detrimental effects for these leaders’ personal advancement. Most of the psychopathic leaders in this study were offered opportunities for promotion into the higher ranks of the organization, despite their negative performance reviews. Moreover, nine of the psychopathic leaders in the sample of high management potentials (PCL-R score of 25 or higher) were already positioned in the higher echelons of their organization (Babiak et al., 2010). Other research has also detected similar findings on ‘adaptive’ outcomes that are beneficial to the psychopathic leaders themselves (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

Only one study found a negative outcome of psychopathic leadership for these leaders themselves. Sutton et al. (2020) found the psychopathic facets of meanness and disinhibition (but not boldness) to be positively associated with higher levels of burn-out in these leaders. This maladaptive outcome directly disadvantages the psychopathic leader and may be understood in the same light as the maladaptiveness of secondary psychopathic types who have a propensity for negative emotionality and internalizing disorders such as anxiety and depression (e.g. Blackburn et al., 2008; Blagov et al., 2011; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks et al., 2010). In the Triarchic model, combinations of higher levels of meanness and disinhibition are more closely related to secondary psychopathy than to primary psychopathy (Anderson et al., 2014; Crego & Widiger, 2014; Few et al., 2015; Strickland et al., 2013; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a).

In addition to studies showing ‘adaptive’ outcomes providing advantages to psychopathic leaders themselves, some studies found adaptive outcomes that were apparently beneficial for the subordinates and also for the organizations of the psychopathic leaders. These studies found psychopathic leaders to be creative, good communicators, strategic and innovative thinkers (Babiak et al., 2010), showing servant leadership (Sutton et al., 2020), adaptive leadership, soft tactics of influence, being a team player (Neo et al., 2018), positive job performance, being viewed as a world leader, adept at crisis management, winning elections by a landslide, public persuasiveness, initiating new programs and legislation (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b), satisfaction with this manager (Sanecka, 2013), and positive interpersonal performance (Schütte et al., 2018). Notably, the great majority of these studies found that these adaptive outcomes were most strongly connected to either PCL-R Factor 1 (especially the interpersonal facet) or to the facet of boldness, as operationalized by the PPI-R or the TriPM.

4.4.4 *The façade of adaptiveness in psychopathic leadership*

The contrasting findings on adaptiveness and maladaptiveness in the aforementioned studies may give some indication as to which traits in the psychopathic leadership profile facilitate the attainment of high profile positions and enable these psychopathic individuals to hold their ground in such a demanding career. The question is: which traits in the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader facilitate the behavior that convinces decisionmakers to promote these leaders in spite of their awareness of the psychopathic leader's negative performance reviews (Babiak et al., 2010). The aforementioned positive outcomes, especially connected to the career advancement of these psychopathic leaders in spite of incompetence, may indicate some level of 'adaptiveness' related to certain psychopathic traits (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Blickle et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Neo et al., 2018; Sanecka, 2013; Schütte et al., 2018; Sutton et al., 2020).

Babiak and colleagues (2010) found that the psychopathic leaders in their study were perceived by others as good communicators, as innovative and strategic thinkers, and as being creative. These scholars clustered these results in a profile they labeled the charisma/presentation style. These positive qualities of psychopathic leaders, at least as perceived by others, are in sharp contrast with the negative outcomes that were found in relation to the second profile (Babiak et al., 2010). These high scorers on the *good communicator profile* (charisma/presentation style) were perceived by others to be low performers on management style, as poor team players, and as low scorers on overall performance (*the responsible performer profile*). In addition, performance data confirmed the low scores on the overall performance of the psychopathic leaders (Babiak et al., 2010).

According to Babiak et al. (2010), these data provide evidence that psychopathic individuals in leadership positions are especially adept at managing the impression they give of themselves when interacting with others; in fact they are so skilled at managing their outward image that they can mask their actual poor performance. Indeed, Babiak and colleagues (2010) propose that '*psychopathy is more associated with style than with substance*' (p. 192), and this impression management style of psychopathic leaders may very successfully hide their poor performance and other detrimental conduct from the view of others. These postulations are in line with other research in which individuals high on the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) and low on the profile of Honesty-Humility (equivalent with the Dark triad profile) were found to achieve their goals through strategic and manipulative behaviors in the interactions with others (Jonason & Smitt, 2012; Hilbig & Zettler, 2015; O'Boyle et al., 2012).

Furthermore, many of the previously discussed adaptive outcomes of psychopathic leadership that appear to be beneficial for the organization or its employees, such as the high levels on the profile of *the good communicator* (Babiak et al., 2010), public persuasiveness (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b), positive interpersonal performance (Schütte et al., 2018), and soft tactics of influence (Neo et al., 2018) may all be representations of the 'style' (impression management) over 'substance' (actual results) description of psychopathic leadership provided by Babiak and colleagues (2010) (p. 192). It may be questioned whether other adaptive outcomes of psychopathic leadership, such as positive job performance, initiating new programs and legislation, winning elections by a landslide, being adept at crisis management (Lilienfeld et al., 2012b), positive leadership styles, being a team player (Neo et al., 2018; Sutton et al., 2020), and subordinates' satisfaction with their leader (Sanecka, 2013), are more closely associated with 'substance' than with 'style' in psychopathic leadership.

Indeed, as the study by Schütte et al. (2018) indicates, the psychopathic managers who demonstrated high levels of interpersonal skills were perceived by their subordinates as cooperative, considerate, helpful, hardworking, and as working in accordance with the social norms of the organization's. Whether these managers' cooperative and helpful behavior is more reflective of 'style' or 'substance' is an important question in this context. It is feasible that these psychopathic managers only outwardly present such pro-social behavior to impress and manipulate others in thinking that they are trustworthy, in order to reach their egotistical goals.

Furthermore, in the study by Schütte and colleagues (2018) high boldness interacted differently with low levels of interpersonal competence in these psychopathic managers. When the psychopathic profile of these managers showed a combination of high boldness with low interpersonal competence, they were perceived by others as disregarding the social norms at work (Schütte et al., 2018). These contrasting outcomes regarding the facet of boldness found in this study may be clarified through differences in the levels of the underlying traits of PPI-R Fearless Dominance. It is feasible that the group high in boldness and high in interpersonal skills may score higher on the levels of the Social Influence Scale of the PPI-R, and the group high in boldness and low in interpersonal skills may score lower on the same scale of the PPI-R. The Social Influence Scale is represented by traits such as charm and the skills to influence others and derive pleasure of doing so, all traits that are closely connected to interpersonal skills and interpersonal influence (Benning et al., 2005a; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005).

4.4.4.1 Impression management as the façade of adaptiveness in psychopathic leadership

Studies on the interpersonal skills of impression management in psychopathy may give some clues about how effectively psychopathic individuals apply impression management techniques in social interactions. Impression management is a technique that can be defined as 'conscious or unconscious attempts to control the images that are projected in social interactions' (Schlenker, 1980). These tactics are applied by individuals to impress and manipulate an audience in a positive way (Paulhus, 1998). For example, when impression management is applied by interviewees during job interviews, this often results in higher interview ratings (Barrick et al., 2009).

In the literature on impression management, an important differentiation is made between honest impression management (honest IM) and deceptive impression management (deceptive IM). Honest IM refers to social strategies through which individuals truthfully present themselves, their competencies, accomplishments, and experience in a favorable way (Amaral et al., 2019; Levashina & Campion, 2007; Roulin et al., 2014). In deceptive IM, an individual pretends to have certain desired qualities, experience, or competencies which they do not actually possess (Roulin & Bourdage, 2017). In some cases it may be hard to distinguish between honest IM and deceptive IM, especially when these impression management techniques are applied by those high in psychopathy (Bourdage et al., 2015; Furtner et al., 2017).

Roulin and Bourdage (2017) found in their study that the researched individuals high in psychopathy were especially skilled at adapting their IM tactics to the different interview settings in which they found themselves. The psychopathic individuals used deceptive IM tactics in the interview settings (image creation and image protection), but also applied honest IM tactics if they thought these tactics would lead to success in that specific interview context (Roulin & Bourdage, 2017).

The contextual flexibility in the IM tactics these psychopathic individuals displayed in Roulin and Bourdage's study (2017) is in line with the literature on the competence of interpersonal influence (Ferris et al., 2005, 2007). Interpersonal influence is defined as a nuanced but convincing interpersonal style through which a person is able to create rapport with others through adapting their behavior and allows them to exert influence in a certain situation (Ferris et al., 2005, 2007; Schütte et al., 2018). Schütte and colleagues (2018) studied the levels of interpersonal influence in psychopathic individuals within the upper levels of organizations and found that total psychopathy scores and boldness (but not meanness or disinhibition), showed interactions with interpersonal influence. Schütte and colleagues (2018) propose that psychopathic individuals high in boldness and in interpersonal influence skills may be exceedingly competent in pursuing their own egotistical goals while still being perceived as engaging in positive interpersonal behaviors (Schütte et al., 2018).

4.4.4.2 Psychopathic traits that may support impression management

Chiaburu et al. (2013) propose that individuals from the primary psychopathy type may be especially adept at deceptive IM techniques. Utilizing their high levels of charm and refined manipulation skills, primary psychopathic individuals can easily fabricate an outward image of a competent leader. In a study on careerism and psychopathy, Chiaburu and colleagues (2013) found that primary psychopathy is a predictor of careerism, a strategy of career advancement pursuit in which deceptive IM plays a central role. In this study, careerism is defined as a strategy 'in which employees misrepresent themselves and their competencies by acting in social desirable ways, disguising their personalities to gain employment or by taking on 'chameleon-like' behaviors to gain promotions and get ahead while also distorting their own true interests.' (p. 473).

These findings are in line with studies on psychopathic leadership and studies on the differences between 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' psychopathy. In these studies, 'successful' psychopathic individuals including leaders high in psychopathy were found to show elevated levels of Factor 1, especially on the interpersonal facet of Factor 1 (Babiak, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa, et al., 2001; Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013). In studies on primary and secondary subtypes, primary subtypes score high on the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits and low on the lifestyle and antisocial factor 2 traits (Benning et al., 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2013; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Karpman, 1941; Lykken, 1995; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020).

In leadership roles within business or political settings, psychopathic individuals may demonstrate the ability to effectively manipulate and deceive others, utilizing tactics of persuasion, charm, and other impression management techniques. In prison environments, psychopathic individuals may primarily exert other types of influence such as manipulation through intimidation and overt aggression in order to gain certain objectives (Weiss et al., 2018). However, incarcerated psychopathic samples have also been found to be adept at impression management in certain contexts (e.g. when applying for parole) (Häkkinen-Nyholm & Hare, 2009; Porter & Woodworth, 2007; Porter et al., 2009; Seto & Barbaree, 1999). We propose that these individuals in incarcerated samples competent at impression management may show elevated levels of primary psychopathy, specifically of boldness (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Patrick, 2006).

4.4.4.3 *Boldness as the impression management tool to create an attractive leadership façade*

Weiss and colleagues (2018) studied the associations between perceived persuasiveness and the different psychopathic traits as operationalized through the TriPM. These scholars found that boldness was positively related to perceptions of persuasiveness, and that disinhibition and meanness were negatively connected with the perceptions of persuasiveness. Based on these findings, Weiss and colleagues (2018) propose that psychopathic individuals higher in the facet of boldness may be particularly effective at manipulating others through the softer tactics of persuasion (charm and friendliness) so as to secure financial or social rewards (c.f. Neo et al., 2018). Furthermore, based on these results, these scholars suggest that boldness may be connected to an enhanced ‘natural’ interpersonal skillfulness. Interpersonal competency is considered, by both scholars and professionals to be a key asset for success at the workplace (e.g. Hogan & Shelton, 1998; Klein et al., 2006; Pfeffer, 2009). Additionally, the study by Schütte et al., (2018) found an interaction between boldness and interpersonal influence that was not established for disinhibition and meanness in employees in high-ranking positions.

The direct associations between boldness as operationalized through the PPI-R and impression management tactics such as excellent social skills and persuasiveness may be connected most with the social influence subscale of the PPI-R (including a desire for attention, charm, and the ability to influence and derive pleasure of doing so) (Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005). Moreover, these competencies as represented in the social influence subscale, are all considered desirable assets in a leadership position (e.g. Hogan & Shelton, 1998; Klein et al., 2006; Pfeffer, 2009).

The subscales of stress immunity and fearlessness in the facet of PPI-R boldness are additionally connected to desirable leadership traits. Indeed, the study by Hill and Scott (2019), grouped the different traits outlined in advertisements for diverse high profile leadership positions and found characterizations that appear similar to the subscales of stress immunity and fearlessness of the facet of boldness such as a propensity for risk-taking, not afraid to make tough business decisions, daring, high self-assurance, and gets the hard job done (Hill & Scott, 2019).

This combination of high social dominance, interpersonal efficacy, and stress resilience, combined with a desire for excitement and risk in the facet of boldness as operationalized either through the TriPM or the PPI-R may most closely represent the outward façade of attractiveness a psychopathic leader can present. As many of these traits are already intrinsically highly desirable in a leadership profile, psychopathic leaders can utilize these traits to also effectively camouflage their undesirable psychopathic meanness traits, such as their low levels of affiliation, callousness, low integrity, and egotistical pursuit of personal objectives (Sanecka, 2013). We argue that psychopathic leaders do this by employing their high levels of social efficacy into impression management tactics (Sanecka, 2013).

The outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders high in the facet of boldness may also be confirmed through the boldness-related adaptive outcomes found in several studies. These adaptive outcomes are all connected to traits and behaviors sought after in leaders. In the affective domain, boldness is positively related to low levels of stress and fear, high levels of well-being, emotional stability, resilience in the presence of uncertainty (Blonigen et al. 2010; Drislane et al., 2014; Patrick et al., 2009; Sellbom et al., 2005; Witt et al., 2009a). In the interpersonal domain, boldness is positively linked to charm, self-assurance, interpersonal potency, extraversion, persuasiveness, low hostility, leadership/authority, perspective taking, low social distress (Almeida et al., 2015; Blagov et al., 2016; Donnellan & Burt, 2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b;

Marcus et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2001; Patrick et al., 2009; Poy et al., 2014; Sica et al., 2015). Finally, in the lifestyle domain, boldness is associated with achievement, conscientiousness, functional impulsivity, novelty seeking, and cognitive flexibility (Claes et al., 2009; Crego & Widiger, 2014; Drislane et al., 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2015b; Poy et al., 2014; Sellbom & Philips 2007; Stanley et al., 2013).

4.4.4.4 *Impression management may mask maladaptive outcomes*

The aforementioned adaptive traits notwithstanding, boldness is also connected to a range of maladaptive outcomes. Whether boldness in psychopathic leadership is connected to adaptive or maladaptive outcomes may depend on the levels of social influence in the facet of boldness. High levels of social influence are most closely associated with impression management; these impression management tools in turn may allow the psychopathic leader to mask the unfavorable traits and behaviors (Schütte et al., 2018).

Furthermore, boldness shows overlap with meanness and disinhibition within the Triarchic model (see figure 4.1) as confirmed by most studies with the TriPM and some with the PPI-R. Based on the overlap of boldness with meanness and disinhibition, this chapter theorizes that in the studies that show maladaptive outcomes of boldness, these studies may also show higher levels of meanness and disinhibition (Blagov et al., 2016; Gaughan et al., 2009; Uzieblo et al., 2007; Witt et al., 2009a, 2009b).

Indeed, the maladaptive outcomes related to boldness in these studies are also connected to higher levels of meanness such as the relations between boldness and callousness, rebellious nonconformity, unemotional features, Machiavellian egocentrism, immorality, low agreeableness, low affective empathy, lack of guilt, low empathetic concern, manipulativeness, antagonism, verbal aggression, and non-physical victimization (Blagov et al., 2016; Claes et al., 2009; Donnelan & Burt, 2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Fanti et al., 2016; Gatner et al., 2016; Hughes, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Palmen et al., 2019; Rodrigo, 2016; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Sokić & Ljubin-Golub, 2019; Sica et al., 2015; Strickland et al., 2013; Uzieblo et al., 2010; Witt et al., 2009).

Other maladaptive associations that were found in connection to boldness have also been found to be related to higher levels of disinhibition, such as the connection between boldness and higher levels of motor impulsivity, low behavioral inhibition, pro-active aggression; lack of planfulness, and an erratic lifestyle (Benning et al., 2018; Hecht et al., 2016; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Ray et al., 2009; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Sokić & Ljubin-Golub, 2019; Uzieblo et al., 2007).

There are, however, also some maladaptive outcomes that may be exclusively related to the facet of boldness such as higher levels of narcissism, the need for power, grandiosity, entitlement, exhibitionism, and a lack of modesty (Blagov et al., 2016; Donnelan & Burt, 2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Palmen et al., 2019; Sellbom & Philips, 2013). Although the traits of grandiosity, narcissism, lack of modesty, the need for power, entitlement, and exhibitionism may draw psychopathic individuals who are high in boldness toward leadership positions (Lilienfeld et al., 2014; Palmen et al., 2021; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a), they are considered unfavorable traits in leadership (Palmen et al., 2021; Sanecka, 2013). Whether psychopathic leaders are able to effectively hide these undesirable traits from others may depend on their level of social efficacy in the facet of boldness, as this may allow them to successfully employ their impression management skills (Babiak et al., 2010; Sanecka, 2013; Schütte et al., 2018).

4.4.5 *'Adaptiveness' in psychopathic leadership: the final model of the psychopathic leader*

Palmen et al. (2019) argue that the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader may show important differences with the 'traditional' profile of incarcerated psychopathic individuals (Bucy et al., 2008; Gao & Raine, 2010; Gustafson & Ritzer, 1995; Hall & Benning, 2006; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018; Perri, 2011; Poythress et al., 2010; Ray, 2007; Skeem et al., 2003; Widom, 1978). According to these scholars, the most important distinction between these two profiles may lay in the differences in the levels of adaptive and maladaptive outcomes connected to the traits in each of these profiles (Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Steinert et al., 2017).

Palmen and colleagues (2019) recently developed a theoretical model on psychopathic leadership in which a specific group of traits show a variety of relations with possible 'adaptive' outcomes (see also Palmen et al., 2018). This proposed model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model) is developed using two routes. First, Palmen et al. (2018, 2019) employed the proposed continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy of Yildirim and Derksen (2015a) as a starting point and established which of the four psychopathy types in this continuum (see 4.2.2. in this chapter) could best represent psychopathic leadership, based specifically on the research and theory of 'successful' psychopathy and psychopathic leadership. Second, as data indicate that psychopathic leadership may also be connected to white collar crime, the findings from the first pathway were then compared to data from studies on white collar criminals high in psychopathy and the discrepancies between the psychological profiles of white collar and blue collar criminals (Palmen et al., 2018, 2019).

On the grounds of this comparison, Palmen et al. (2018, 2019) proposed that the controlled primary psychopathic type in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy types most closely resembles psychopathic leadership. In line with Steinert et al. (2017), the core set of traits in the PL-model was delineated from this controlled psychopathic primary type, after which the group of moderating traits was additionally established (Palmen et al., 2019).

On the grounds of the analyses outlined in the previous paragraph, this chapter theorizes that psychopathic individuals in leadership positions utilize the core traits of factor 1 (interpersonal and affective traits) to impress others through interpersonal behaviors such as charm, manipulation, or deceit, in order to create an image of a strong and competent leader. It is further proposed that the other core traits of low levels of fear and anxiety in this model may be perceived by others as desirable assets in such high-demanding positions because they may assist leaders in handling the pressures of leadership.

In addition to the group of core factor 1 traits and fearlessness in this model, Palmen et al. (2019) additionally defined three moderating traits as part of the profile of the psychopathic leader. The first moderator in the PL-model is the trait high self-control. This trait is in line with the psychological profile of the controlled primary psychopathy type (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a) and is connected to 'successfulness' in psychopathic leadership. The ability to stay calm and focused at crucial moments, in combination with higher levels of broad executive functioning, enables psychopathic leaders to obtain their goals in their professional environment. Furthermore, these behaviors related to self-control are considered to be essential competencies in high-profile positions in business and politics (Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Board & Fritzon, 2005;

Cleckley, 1941/1976; Dutton, 2012; Gao & Raine, 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Lykken, 1995; Widom, 1978).

The second moderating trait in the profile of the psychopathic leader is that of sensation seeking. Although high impulsivity is considered a core trait in incarcerated psychopathic samples, it has been questioned whether it is a vital factor in more ‘successful’ psychopathic samples (Gao & Raine, 2010; Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Palmen et al. (2019) investigated the associations between the different types of impulsivity as represented in the UPPS-Model (Whiteside & Lynam, 2001) and levels of adaptiveness and maladaptiveness in psychopathy. From the four domains in the UPPS-Model (urgency, lack of perseverance, lack of premeditation, and sensation seeking), sensation seeking was found to be most strongly connected to adaptiveness in the analyzed studies.

Furthermore, sensation seeking was found to most related to trait high self-control, the first moderating trait in the PL-model (Palmen et al., 2019). Based on this study, Palmen et al. (2019) conclude that sensation seeking in conjunction with trait high self-control may most strongly support the ‘success’ of psychopathic individuals in leadership, as compared to institutionalized psychopathic samples. Sensation seeking may additionally function as a motivator in psychopathic leadership, as the need for more exhilarating environments may be satisfied by certain high profile positions in business and politics.

The third moderator in the PL-model is the trait need for domination. This trait may function as a behavioral motivator in this profile, as psychopathic individuals from the controlled primary psychopathy type may be especially driven to seek out leadership because of their preference to have power and control over other people (e.g. Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Kramer et al., 2011). Palmen and colleagues (2021) propose that the trait need for domination functions as a behavioral motivator in psychopathic leadership; this need for domination may clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leadership (Palmen et al., 2021).

4.4.5.1 Boldness in psychopathic leadership

This chapter focused on the outward attractiveness in certain psychopathic types which may conceal the incompetence and the antisocial conduct in psychopathy and in psychopathic leadership. It has been proposed that this outward façade of attractiveness in psychopathic leadership may be best represented by the facet of psychopathic boldness. In this chapter it has been outlined that although psychopathic boldness is highly debated among scholars of psychopathy, we propose that psychopathic boldness is a vital part of psychopathic leadership.

In this chapter it has been argued that the most fundamental critique of boldness in psychopathy – that psychopathic boldness is associated with adaptiveness – can actually be seen as crucial to the argument that boldness is of critical significance in ‘successful’ manifestations of psychopathy and especially in psychopathic leadership (Hall & Benning, 2006). It has been suggested that the adaptive outcomes of psychopathic boldness are foremost beneficial for psychopathic leaders themselves and may be primarily maladaptive for the environments in which psychopathic leaders operate. Therefore, it has been asserted that the adaptiveness related to psychopathic boldness is ambiguous and may better be defined as ‘adaptiveness’.

Finally, it has been proposed that boldness in psychopathy may be employed by psychopathic leaders through the use of impression management techniques. The impression management

techniques enable these psychopathic leaders to create an adaptive façade of a competent, charming, and powerful leader. These techniques allow them to maneuver themselves into positions of leadership in for-profit or nonprofit environments where they are often able to successfully remain, regardless of incompetence or immoral behavior (Babiak et al., 2010; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Neo et al., 2018).

4.4.5.2 Boldness in the elaborated model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model)

In psychopathic leadership, a specific manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy, a combination of psychopathic traits and non-psychopathic traits may lead to both ‘adaptive’ and maladaptive outcomes. In the model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model), the core group of traits is represented by the Factor 1 traits (interpersonal and affective traits) and fearlessness; these are combined with three moderating factors: high self-control, sensation seeking, and the need for domination.

Working in concert, this group of traits may have ‘adaptive’ qualities that may support psychopathic leaders in achieving their personal objectives. However, the outcomes for the environment of such a psychopathic leader may be primarily maladaptive. Based on the analyses on the significance of boldness to psychopathic leadership in this chapter the previous version of the model of the psychopathic leader will be refined (the PL-model; Palmen et al., 2019) by including the facet of boldness (see figure 4.2). The next section will delineate in which ways boldness may intertwine with the different aspects of the elaborated model of the psychopathic leader.

4.4.5.2.1 Boldness, fearlessness, sensation seeking and high self-control in the PL-model

Based on the findings outlined in this chapter and the overview of the adaptive and maladaptive outcomes of boldness, it has been argued that in the PL-model boldness shows moderate to high overlap with fearlessness and moderate overlap with sensation seeking. Fearlessness, as well as venturesomeness and excitement seeking (highly related to sensation seeking), are all lower order facets of psychopathic boldness in the Triarchic model and its most important operationalizations: the TriPM and the PPI-R. Furthermore, the studies on the adaptive and maladaptive outcomes of boldness outlined in this chapter have also found correlations between boldness and both fearlessness (Blonigen et al., 2010; Drislane et al., 2014; Patrick et al., 2009; Sellbom et al., 2005; Marcus et al., 2013; Witt et al., 2009b) and sensation seeking (Benning et al., 2005b; Drislane & Patrick, 2017; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Sellbom & Philips, 2013; Sokić & Ljubin-Golub, 2019; Uzieblo et al., 2007; Weidacker et al., 2017).

Moreover, Whiteside and Lynam (2001) found in their research that from the four domains of impulsivity (urgency, lack of premeditation, lack of perseverance, sensation seeking), sensation seeking is described as the only impulsivity domain that is related to forethought, planfulness, and inhibitory control, all behavioral traits that require high levels of self-control.

Palmen et al. (2019) analyzed the relations between boldness and sensation seeking in more detail and found that boldness was not connected to operationalizations of sensation seeking that reflect restlessness and negative emotionality. In Zuckerman’s (1990) conceptualization of sensation seeking, sensation seeking is operationalized in four different concepts. Boldness was not correlated to the concepts of Disinhibition (Dis) and Boredom Susceptibility (BS); however, boldness was related to Thrill and Adventure Seeking (TAS) as well as to Experience Seeking (ES)

(Benning et al., 2005a, 2005b; Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Sellbom & Philips, 2013). Thrill and Adventure Seeking (TAS) and Experience Seeking (ES) may be more related to the facet of sensation seeking as defined in the study by Whiteside and Lynam (2001), in which sensation seeking is regarded as a desire for new exciting experiences without thoughtlessness when acting on these desires (Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011).

These findings on the relations between boldness and fearlessness, sensation seeking and higher levels of self-control are also established in studies that researched physiological responses to certain stimuli in psychopathic individuals. These studies showed that PPI-FD boldness is connected to deficits in the response to threatening and fearful stimuli, but is unrelated to defects in inhibitory control (Benning et al., 2005a, 2005b).

4.4.5.2.2 Boldness and the need for domination in the PL-model

Palmen et al. (2021) analyzed the motivations for psychopathic individuals to seek out leadership positions and proposed that a need for domination may be an important motivational factor in this context. Although most scholars regard dominance motivation to be a central part of psychopathy, in the research of psychopathy and specifically of psychopathic leadership, data on this subject are still scarce.

However, several studies in subclinical psychopathy samples have found the association between the need for domination and psychopathy (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2017; Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2012; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Kajonius et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2013; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Rauthmann & Kohler, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015).

Some studies found boldness as operationalized through PPI-R Fearless Dominance to be positively associated with the need for domination (Benning et al., 2005b; Fanti et al., 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012b; Tellegen & Waller, 2008). Lobbestael et al. (2018) found the same positive associations between boldness and the need to dominate in an interpersonal context with the use of the TriPM. Lilienfeld et al. (2012b) found a connection between boldness and the need for domination specifically in psychopathic leadership.

4.4.5.2.3 Boldness and PCL-R Factor 1 in the PL-model

In the model of the psychopathic leader the interpersonal and affective Factor 1 traits represent the core group of traits in this model (in combination with fearlessness (Palmen et al., 2018, 2019, 2021). However, in the debate on boldness in psychopathy, one major point of contention is whether or not there is a lack of correlation between boldness and the PCL-R (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Several studies found weak correlations between boldness as operationalized through the PPI-R Fearless Dominance and the PCL-R and its derivatives (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Marcus et al., 2013; Miller & Lynam, 2012). Others studies have shown that there are modest associations between Factor 1 and boldness, specifically with the interpersonal facet of the PCL-R (Hall et al., 2014; Murphy et al., 2016; Venables et al., 2014; Wall et al., 2015). Murphy and colleagues (2016) researched the incremental validity of boldness, as operationalized through the PPI-FD and the PPI-Tri-Boldness (operationalizing the boldness facet of the Triarchic Model), in a sample of 1565 offenders. Both operationalizations of boldness predicted the interpersonal facet of Factor 1 of the PCL-R better than for PPI-R coldheartedness or PPI-Tri-Meanness, or for PPI Self-

Centered Impulsivity or PPI-Tri-Disinhibition. This was especially the case for boldness as operationalized through PPI-R-FD.

Based on these findings, Murphy et al. (2016) conclude that boldness as operationalized using the higher order dimension of Fearless Dominance is most related to the PCL-R interpersonal traits of grandiosity, superficial charm, glibness, cunning and manipulative behavior, and pathological lying. In this chapter it has been argued that a psychopathic individual can apply these interpersonal psychopathic traits as impression management tools to create a façade of leadership qualities in psychopathic leadership.

Moreover, Murphy et al. (2016) found that the second strongest association between boldness and the facets of the PCL-R in this study was with the affective factor of the PCL-R. Boldness, as operationalized through Fearless Dominance, was also modestly related to the antisocial facet of PCL-R factor 2, and slightly less for PPI-Tri-Boldness in this study (Murphy et al., 2016). The findings for the female sample in this study showed a different result than for the male sample: the only incremental validity of boldness was found for the interpersonal facet of the PCL-R, which was lower than for the male sample (Murphy et al., 2016). Based on the outlined findings, it is argued that boldness may be modestly related to the interpersonal facet of PCL-R Factor 1 and to a lesser degree to the affective traits of PCL-R Factor 1 (Murphy et al., 2016; Venables et al., 2014).

Furthermore, in line with Lilienfeld et al. (2018), it is postulated that these findings on the weak to moderate associations between boldness and the PCL-R may be understood in the light of the differences in adaptive and maladaptive outcomes in different psychopathic samples. Although the PCL-R is regarded as the gold standard to assess psychopathy in incarcerated samples, it may not capture most of the adaptive qualities in ‘successful’ psychopathic samples (Lilienfeld, et al., 2018, Patrick, 2008). Indeed, the study by Lilienfeld et al. (2016b), in which the relations between boldness and 11 non-PCL-R based measures to assess psychopathy were researched, associations between these instruments and boldness were considerably higher than the relations found between boldness and the PCL-R.

A specific clarification for the only modest correlation levels between boldness and the interpersonal facet of PCL-R Factor 1 (Murphy et al., 2016) may lie in the divergent operationalizations of the interpersonal traits in the PCL-R, and in the TriPM and the PPI-R (Patrick, 2006). In the PCL-R, the items superficial charm and glibness are operationalized in a way that emphasizes maladaptive outcomes, despite the fact that in a certain context, these traits may be considered socially adaptive (Patrick, 2006). The semantic choices made in the PCL-R definition of superficial charm and glibness influence the perception of the initial adaptive social mask in a such a way that it appears to vanish before it can be identified as a façade. The conceptualizations of charm and general social poise as traits within the boldness facet of the PPI-R and the TriPM more closely reflect Cleckley’s chimera of an outward display of social adaptiveness that conceals a maladaptive and antisocial inward personality (1946).

Indeed, although the PCL-R conceptualization of superficial charm and glibness focuses more directly on the antisociality that is hidden behind these traits, Babiak and Hare (2007, 2019) postulate that psychopathic individuals high in charm are especially effective at masking their antisocial interpersonal motivations (Babiak et al., 2010). The skills of impression management through which psychopathic individuals high on the interpersonal facet of Factor 1 manipulate and deceive others are considered difficult to detect for even trained clinicians and researchers in the field (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010). Because of these impression management skills, the use of the PCL-R assessment requires elaborate training before clinicians can apply this

assessment instrument (Hare, 1991, 2003). In addition, the PCL-R manual recommends two assessors for every assessment to increase validity. Moreover, when scoring the PCL-R, interviews should be conducted in combination with an extensive review of the assessed individual's dossier to compare documented facts with the interview content (Hare, 1991, 2003). These thorough precautions are imperative when diagnosing psychopathy using the PCL-R, primarily because psychopathic individuals are especially adept at using impression management to create an effective façade (Babiak et al., 2010; Häkkänen-Nyholm & Hare, 2009; Porter & Woodworth, 2007; Porter et al., 2009; Seto & Barbaree, 1999).

The impression management skills in certain psychopathic individuals are also underlined in the CPI-R/3R. The CPI-R/3R, which assesses psychopathy in corporate settings, employs different conceptualizations of boldness in the self-report version and the third-party version. Although both the self-report version and the third-party version of the CPI measure the facet of boldness, this facet is conceptualized as *boldness* in the self-report measure and as *adaptive façade* in the third-party measure. The conceptualization of boldness as adaptive façade in the third party version is indicative of the instrumental use of the facet of boldness by psychopathic individuals as an impression management tool. The facet of boldness employed by psychopathic individuals appears to be socially adaptive outwardly but may instead be an 'adaptive' social façade to instrumentally conceal underlying maladaptive motivations.

This difference between a self-report assessment and a third-party assessment to measure psychopathy may be important in the debate concerning adaptiveness and maladaptiveness of certain psychopathic traits such as those expressed through the facet of boldness. In a self-report version to measure psychopathy, the adaptive outcomes of boldness are apparent for the psychopathic individual as through the traits of boldness psychopathic individuals can attain their antisocial goals, more easily. However, as conceptualized in a third party assessment to measure psychopathy, boldness is an impression management tool to conceal antisocial motivations. Thus, for those people that are first charmed by a psychopathic individual may end up being manipulated and conceived through the social poise of these individuals. The facet of boldness will eventually be connected to maladaptive outcomes for those conceived individuals interacting with psychopathic individual high in boldness.

Those instruments that operationalize the more adaptive traits of psychopathy such as the social attractiveness in antisocial wordings such as the PCL-R (glib, insincere, superficial), may primarily show associations with maladaptive and antisocial outcomes in research. In contrast, research utilizing those instruments that operationalize these outward socially adaptive traits in words that reflect Cleckley's mask may discover more adaptive outcomes of psychopathy (1941/1976). For the reasons outlined in this chapter it is important to explicitly include the facet of boldness in the model of the psychopathic leader in addition to PCL-R Factor 1. For the elaborated model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model) see figure 4.2.

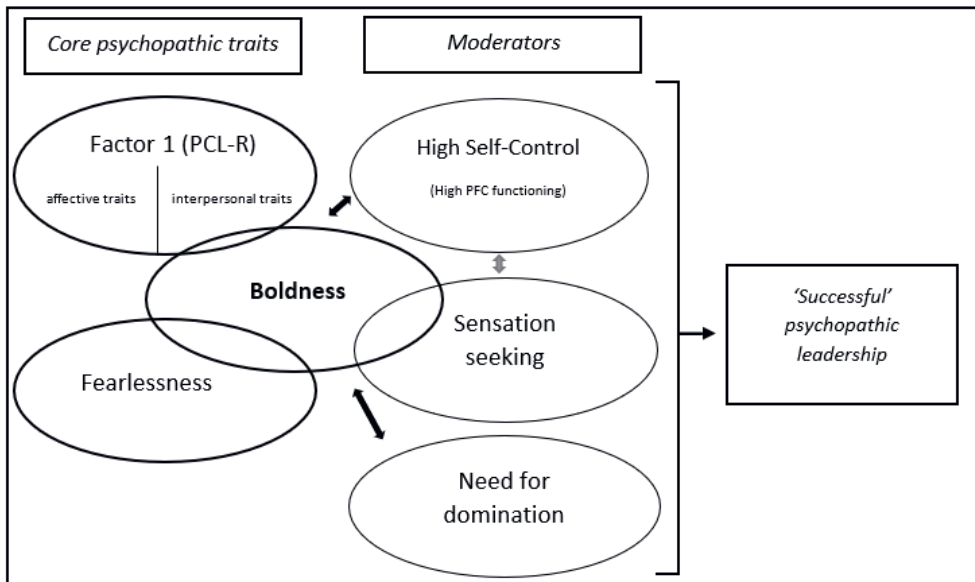


Figure 4.2. The elaborated model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model): boldness and its theorized interactions with other traits in the PL-model.

4.5 Conclusions and Future Directions

In this chapter the relevance of boldness to psychopathic leadership has been discussed. It has been proposed that the traits in the facet of boldness may clarify the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders. It was argued that the 'adaptive' qualities of the traits of boldness may enable psychopathic individuals to employ impression management tactics to outwardly present themselves as the charismatic and courageous leader sought after by organizations.

Furthermore, in the process of outlining the importance of boldness in psychopathic leadership some vital issues were discussed that may illuminate and help to resolve certain matters of contention in the academic dialogue on the specific role of boldness to psychopathy. In the next section the most significant conclusions, which should be the focus of attention in future discussions on psychopathic boldness, are summarized.

Four main suggestions for the advancement of the academic dialogue on psychopathic boldness

First, the most important issue in resolving the debate whether boldness is part of psychopathy may lie in defining what is psychopathy and what is not psychopathy. This also holds true for other debated facets such as impulsivity and criminality. It has been argued that one way to find answers to these questions is by establishing which traits are core to psychopathy and which traits are not.

Studies indicate that the best candidates for the group of core traits in psychopathy may be PCL-R Factor 1, meanness in the TriPM, and coldheartedness in the PPI-R.

In defining psychopathy it is vital to acknowledge that there is agreement that psychopathy is a combination of different facets in the psychopathic profile. Even though most scholars agree that antisociality is part of psychopathy (or at least a definite outcome), when antisociality is not combined with the core traits of psychopathy such as lack of affiliation, shallow affect, and low empathy it may in fact be ASPD, rather than psychopathy (Venables et al., 2014; Wall et al., 2015). In the same vein, it is posited that the facet of boldness in the absence of meanness, does not represent psychopathic boldness (or psychopathy), but may instead be regarded as a representation of stable extraversion.

Second, one path to connect the different standpoints on boldness in psychopathy may be to accept the possibility that there is a diversity of manifestations of psychopathy (e.g. Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Mokros et al., 2015; Yildirim & Derksen 2013, 2015a). Each manifestation may typify a specific psychopathy subtype comprising a group of core traits and a group of specifiers. It may be helpful to consider categorizing these variations of subtypes of psychopathy under the umbrella of the broader division of primary and secondary psychopathy. The theoretical continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015a), outlined earlier in this chapter, may help to classify where every subtype may best fit on the continuum from primary to secondary psychopathy.

Whether boldness (or impulsivity or criminality) is an essential part of psychopathy may depend on the studied subtype within the primary or secondary psychopathic continuum. Some scholars have regarded primary psychopathy to be the only 'true' form of psychopathy (e.g. Lykken, 1996). If that is the case, boldness may be an essential part of psychopathy. When psychopathy is regarded as a continuum of both primary and secondary subtypes (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015a), then boldness is an essential part of the two primary types, but not of the two secondary types.

Furthermore, a diversity of well-validated assessment instruments to measure these different psychopathy subtypes are of vital importance to future research. Some of these instruments may be better equipped for measuring psychopathy in unsuccessful psychopathic subtypes in prison and forensic samples (e.g. the PCL-R) and others may be better suited for assessing 'successful' manifestations of the more 'adaptive' psychopathic subtypes such as psychopathic leadership (e.g. the PPI-R).

Third, the academic dispute regarding adaptive versus maladaptive outcomes must be addressed: whether psychopathy or facets of psychopathy such as boldness can be related to adaptive outcomes or whether all outcomes of the psychopathic profile, or facets of the psychopathic profile are per definition maladaptive. It is argued that although boldness in a non-psychopathic profile may be largely associated with adaptiveness, psychopathic boldness may be related to adaptive and additionally to maladaptive outcomes.

As discussed earlier, it has been argued that psychopathic boldness may be adaptive for psychopathic individuals themselves (except when in combination with high levels of disinhibition). In contrast, the organizations and individuals interacting with such psychopathic individuals may primarily experience maladaptive outcomes connected to the psychopathic boldness of these psychopathic individuals. Therefore it is proposed to refer to 'adaptiveness' in connection to the outcomes of psychopathic boldness to indicate the semantic ambiguity.

Fourth, it is hypothesized that the higher associations between boldness and adaptiveness than between boldness and maladaptiveness may be explained by the operationalization of boldness in the PPI-R and in the TriPM. In contrast to the PCL-R, the 'adaptive' traits in psychopathy such as

charm and social competence in PPI-R boldness and TriPM boldness are operationalized in behavior that is outwardly apparent to the observer: an attractive personality including social poise and amiability. The antisocial motivations underlying the appealing mask in psychopathy, such as using charm and outward friendliness to attain selfish goals, are hardly operationalized in the facet of boldness in these instruments. The PPI-R and TriPM operationalize these antisocial motivations through the facet of meanness.

In the PCL-R, the Factor 1 traits that may be considered more adaptive are defined in both positive (charm) and negative terms (glib, superficial charm, and insincere). The associations of PCL-R Factor 1 with adaptive and maladaptive outcomes is to be expected when utilizing such an operationalization. In the PCL-R operationalization the ‘adaptive’ traits of outward charm and social adequacy are already evident to the observer as additionally maladaptive and insincere (dishonest). The elaborate training that is needed before clinicians can adequately apply the PCL-R is indicative of how challenging it may be for the untrained observer to accurately identify the maladaptiveness resulting from the insincerity or superficiality of the alluring social exterior of psychopathic individuals, especially when they are interacting with those high in psychopathic boldness.

Future directions

This section will propose several directions for future studies on psychopathic leadership that may shed light on how psychopathic individuals employ the traits of boldness as an impression management tool to create an attractive leadership façade in order to attain and maintain the leadership positions they desire.

Furthermore, additionally several pathways for future studies are proposed that may contribute to illuminating the complexity of the underlying issues that are connected to the controversy surrounding psychopathic boldness in psychopathic leadership and in psychopathy.

First, it is suggested that future studies on the relevance of boldness to psychopathy should focus on specific samples. As boldness may represent the ostensibly adaptive qualities those high in psychopathy may display, studies on psychopathic leadership may best detect this specific facet. High-profile positions, including leadership, require certain outward behaviors that resemble the underlying traits in the facet of boldness. These traits of social poise, high self-assurance, low anxiousness, high social dominance, and self-controlled sensation seeking are considered highly attractive in many high-profile positions, especially in leadership. An aligned research question should focus on which of the different subtypes of primary and secondary psychopathy can be found in psychopathic leadership samples in comparison to incarcerated psychopathy samples.

Second, future studies on psychopathic leadership should investigate how psychopathic individuals high in boldness employ the underlying traits as impression management tools to create an attractive and adaptive facade of a competent leader and which of the underlying scales of boldness (e.g. social influence) are most strongly linked to these impression management skills. An aligned research question is which traits in the facet of boldness are considered most attractive by those people that hire for leadership positions (Babiak, 1996).

Third, an important issue regarding the hypothesis that boldness may clarify the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders is whether this is true for both genders. According to Landay et al. (2019), it may be less acceptable for women in leadership positions to display their psychopathic traits (such as boldness), as this may conflict with gender norms or common views on female leadership (Johnson et al., 2008) (cf. Murphy et al., 2016). However, other scholars argue

that psychopathic women in leadership may translate their psychopathic traits into more gender-conforming behavior (Budworth & Mann, 2010; Buss, 1981; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Forouzan & Cooke, 2005; Hare, 1993; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Semenyina & Honey, 2015). Future research that focuses on the differences between male and female psychopathic leaders may shed further light on this issue of the perceptions of gender appropriate behavior in leadership.

Fourth, as previously outlined in the conclusion section, several scholars have stressed that boldness is part of the psychopathic profile only when it is found in combination with meanness (and possibly disinhibition) (e.g. Lilienfeld et al., 2012b). This postulation may be of vital importance in the debate on the relevance of boldness to psychopathy. Boldness without meanness and disinhibition is not the same as psychopathic boldness (combined with meanness and possibly disinhibition). Indeed, boldness exclusive of the psychopathic profile may be labeled as ‘stable extraversion’ or as ‘a healthy personality’ (Miller & Lynam, 2012).

However, psychopathic boldness may instead be contraindicative of a healthy mental state; boldness combined with emotional poverty, low conscientiousness, and low affiliation may be particularly interpersonally hazardous and maladaptive (Sanecka, 2013). These maladaptive outcomes may have wide-ranging consequences when psychopathic individuals occupy leadership positions that are vital to the public, such as financial institutions, government, and politics. Leadership in which the enjoyment of risk-taking, a need for domination, and personal financial gain are more important than ethics, integrity, and loyalty may have catastrophic results for our society as a whole.

Thus, studies that focus on the ‘adaptive’ and maladaptive outcomes of boldness in psychopathic leadership should focus on psychopathic boldness and not on the type of boldness that represents stable extraversion (without other core psychopathic traits). Studies on boldness in leadership should therefore first establish whether or not the investigated leaders are psychopathic leaders. The levels of boldness among this psychopathic leader group should then be clarified and the associations with adaptive and maladaptive outcomes should be examined. Consequently, based on the findings in this chapter it is strongly suggested to employ the full PPI-R assessment to study psychopathic leadership. This provides for the inclusion of the facet of Coldheartedness (in addition to the facets of Fearless Dominance and Self Centered Impulsivity) in order to establish the adaptive and maladaptive outcomes of psychopathic boldness, rather than the outcomes related to non-psychopathic boldness.

It may be expected that when boldness is measured in psychopathic individuals in leadership positions, not only will higher levels of boldness be apparent in this psychopathic group when compared to the levels of boldness in incarcerated psychopathic individuals, there may also be a different associational pattern with adaptive and maladaptive outcomes between these two groups.

Fifth, in concordance with the previous suggestion for future studies, it is further proposed that in future research focused on the adaptiveness or maladaptiveness associated with psychopathy, scholars should be more specific as to who is on the receiving end of such outcomes, the psychopathic leader or their environment. In line with this specification, a clear definition of both adaptiveness and maladaptiveness is imperative to shed light on issues regarding adaptiveness and maladaptiveness in relationship to psychopathic leadership. These recommendations for future research dovetail with the questions concerning ‘successful’ psychopathy, such as: who is successful, and what successfulness comprises. Based on the findings outlined in this chapter, it is proposed that adaptiveness and successfulness in psychopathy and psychopathic leadership refer

to the adaptiveness and successfulness for the psychopathic individual themselves and not for their environments, and may therefore better be defined as 'adaptiveness' and 'successfulness'.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

If it Appears to be Too Good to be True it Probably is

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If it Appears to be Too Good to be True it Probably is

".. individuals with psychopathic traits are likely to raise within the corporate hierarchy, their leadership styles are predominantly negative."

(Stephen Benning, Noah Venables, & Jason Hall)

In this thesis the psychological profile of the psychopathic leader was deconstructed. This exploration has resulted in three main outcomes.

The first outcome of this thesis is *a novel theoretical model on the profile of the psychopathic leader: the PL-model*. This model has undergone different stages in its development and has found its finalized version in the final PL-model.

The second outcome of this thesis has been generated in the same process of the evolution of the PL-model, during which the profile of the psychopathic leader was simultaneously contrasted with the 'traditional' profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. This study has delivered *new theory on the differentiating traits between the 'successful' profile of the psychopathic leader and the unsuccessful 'traditional' profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual*

The third outcome of this thesis proposes new theory on the clarifications of three salient phenomena that may be specific to psychopathic leadership: the 'successfulness' of psychopathic leaders, the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders, and the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders.

Thus, in this concluding section the novel hypotheses that have been constructed during the process of this thesis will successively be outlined regarding 1. the specific traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader as proposed in the model of the psychopathic leader: the PL-model (5.1),

2. the differentiating traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader in comparison to the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual (5.2), and 3. the clarifications on three specific phenomena associated with psychopathic leadership: the ‘successfulness’, the estimated high prevalence, and the outward attractiveness (5.3).

5.1 The Profile of the Psychopathic Leader: a Novel Model

This thesis has focused on deconstructing the profile of the psychopathic leader in order to develop new theory on the specific traits of this manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy. This novel model on psychopathic leadership (the PL-model) has evolved during the course of this PhD project.

The first phase of the development of the PL-model: Adaptiveness versus Maladaptiveness

In the first phase of the construction of the PL-model it was explored which of the two psychopathic types in the broader division of primary and secondary psychopathy may best fit the profile of the psychopathic leader as represented through theory and research (Palmen et al., 2018). This approach is in accordance with Gao and Raine’s findings of their exploration of the differences between ‘successful’ and unsuccessful manifestations of psychopathy (2010). The base model of the psychopathic leader as constructed in the first phase of the construction of the model was established through three pathways.

First, the theoretical continuum on primary and secondary psychopathy types of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) was analyzed to establish which of the four subtypes in this continuum is most connected with ‘*successfulness*’ or with ‘*adaptiveness*’. This first approach is based on the differentiation in the psychopathy literature between ‘successful’ and unsuccessful psychopathy types: in this differentiation psychopathic leadership is considered a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Goa & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). Second, these findings were then compared with data from studies and theory on the personality traits of psychopathic leaders. Data and theory from studies of psychopathic leadership and ‘successful’ psychopathy indicate that psychopathic leaders may show higher levels of the interpersonal and affective Factor 1 traits combined with higher levels of conscientiousness (Babiak et al., 2010; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). Third, these results were then additionally combined with findings of an analysis of relevant data from those studies focusing on white collar crime as committed by leaders high in psychopathic traits in contrast with personality traits of those individuals committing blue collar crime. The analysis of the comparison between the personality traits of individuals found guilty of white-collar or blue collar crime showed that those leaders found guilty of white-collar crimes exhibited not only several psychopathic traits most similar to those represented in the interpersonal and affective psychopathic Factor 1 traits but they also displayed higher levels of conscientiousness in planning their crimes (Bucy et al., 2008; Kolthoff, 2016; Lingnau et al., 2017; Perri, 2011; Ray, 2007).

Research of psychopathy has shown that primary psychopathic types are most connected to ‘*successfulness*’ or ‘*adaptiveness*’ in comparison to secondary psychopathy types (Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Poythress & Skeem, 2006; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). This differential association is also apparent in the continuum of primary and secondary

subtypes of Yildirim and Derksen (2015). Yildirim and Derksen's secondary psychopathy types are associated most with unsuccessfulness or with maladaptiveness in comparison to primary psychopathic types (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015; Yildirim, 2016).

In the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy types of Yildirim and Derksen (2015), the two primary types: the disinhibited primary psychopathy type and the controlled primary type are both defined as high in the Factor 1/interpersonal and affective traits and low in the Factor 2 / lifestyle and antisocial traits. These scholars propose that an inborn hyperstable serotonin system may typify both primary psychopathic subtypes. According to Yildirim and Derksen (2015) such a neuropsychological profile causes both primary psychopathy types to show high levels of fearlessness and low levels of anxiousness which may underlie the high levels of the Factor 1 traits (Yildirim & Derksen, 2013, 2015).

Although research has found that higher levels of Factor 1 combined with lower levels of Factor 2 are associated with adaptive outcomes in psychopathy (Babiak et al., 2010; Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Yildirim & Derksen 2015), in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum (2015) the disinhibited primary psychopathy type combines the high levels of Factor 1 and fearlessness, with high levels of impulsivity which in combination may lead to an unsuccessful lifestyle.

In contrast, the controlled primary psychopathy type in this continuum combines the high levels of Factor 1 and fearlessness with high levels of self-control which in combination may predispose this type to the largest probability to a successful life in comparison to the other three types in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy (2015). This primary controlled psychopathic type was the psychopathic profile on which the model of the psychopathic leader was constructed in the process of this thesis.

The main goal of this thesis has focused on deconstructing the profile of the psychopathic leader. This first phase in the evolution of the model of the psychopathic leader provided the base profile of the psychopathic leader in which the PCL-R Factor 1 traits are combined with fearlessness and high PFC functioning (Prefrontal Cortex) including high levels of self-control. The profile as represented through the controlled primary psychopathy type is also most in line with the findings of research on psychopathic leadership and 'successful' psychopathy, and with the findings of the differentiating traits between individuals conducting white-collar crime and those conducting blue-collar crime (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). This base model of the profile of the psychopathic leader as outlined in figure 5.1 has been introduced in the first article that has been peer-reviewed and published as: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltboff, E.W. (2018). House of Cards: Psychopathy in politics. Public Integrity, 20(5), 427-443.* See also chapter 1: 'The composition of 'adaptive' and maladaptive personality traits in psychopathic leadership, in this manuscript.

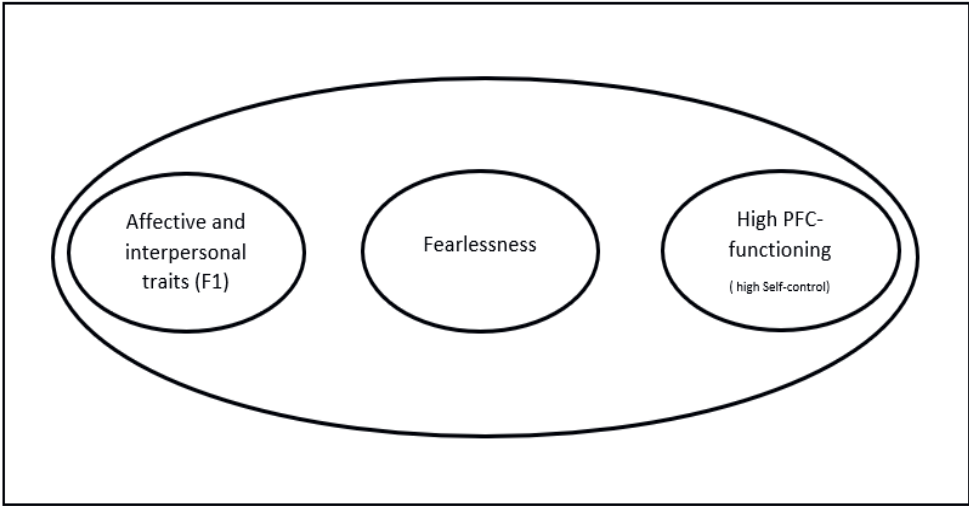


Figure 5.1. The base profile of the psychopathic leader: ‘adaptiveness’ in psychopathic leadership (Palmen et al., 2018).

The second phase of the development of the PL-model: Core traits and Moderators

In the second phase of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader, the initial model of the psychopathic leader as constructed in the first phase was refined by building on the theory of the elaborated moderated-expression model of Steinert and colleagues (2017) to conceptualize ‘successful’ psychopathy. With this theory the base model of the psychopathic leader was analyzed in order to distinguish between those traits that are part of *the core group* of traits in the model of the psychopathic leader and those traits that function as *moderators* in this model. Moderating traits in the elaborated moderated-expression model are those traits that are not part of the group of core psychopathic traits but they moderate the maladaptive outcomes of the core psychopathic traits into more adaptive outcomes (Steinert et al., 2017). Furthermore, this analysis was combined with a further exploration of the controlled primary psychopathic type in the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) to establish whether additional core traits or moderators could be incorporated in the model of the psychopathic leader.

In the process of establishing the core traits and the moderators as proposed in the theory of the elaborated moderated expression model by Steinert and colleagues (2017), it was found that the *Factor 1 traits* and *fearlessness* best represent the core traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader. Furthermore, based on the aforementioned analysis it was concluded that the moderators in the profile of the psychopathic leader are best represented by the trait *high self-control*, *sensation seeking* and *the need for domination*. During the course of this analysis the trait need for domination was included as a moderator in the model of the psychopathic leader. The need for domination is labeled as a motivational moderator in the model of the psychopathic leader as it may draw certain psychopathic individuals towards positions of power, such as leadership positions. An elaborated study of the trait need for domination can be found in the third article on the motivations and goals in psychopathic leadership (see chapter 3) (Palmen et al., 2021).

The second phase of the evolution of the profile of the psychopathic leader primarily focused on the clarification of the ‘successfulness’ of the psychopathic leader in comparison to the unsuccessfulness of incarcerated psychopathic individuals. In the review of theory and research on the differences between ‘successful’ and unsuccessful manifestations of psychopathy, the levels of impulsivity have been the focus of attention in several studies (Poythress & Hall, 2011; Gray et al., 2019; Weidacker et al., 2017). Although both ‘successful’ and unsuccessful manifestations of psychopathy may be impulsive, the precise conceptualization of impulsivity may differ between ‘successful’ and unsuccessful psychopathy.

In this second phase of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader it was elucidated that in psychopathic leadership the conjunction of *high self-control* with one specific conceptualization of impulsivity: *sensation seeking* may lead to ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership. For an elaborate outline of the conclusions regarding the clarification of the ‘success’ of the psychopathic see 5.3. The analysis on the conjunction between high self-control and sensation seeking has been peer-reviewed and published as: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltzoff, E.W. (2019). High self-control may support ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership: self-control versus impulsivity in psychopathic leadership. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 50, 1-17.* See also chapter 2 of this thesis: A clarification for the ‘success’ of the psychopathic leader.

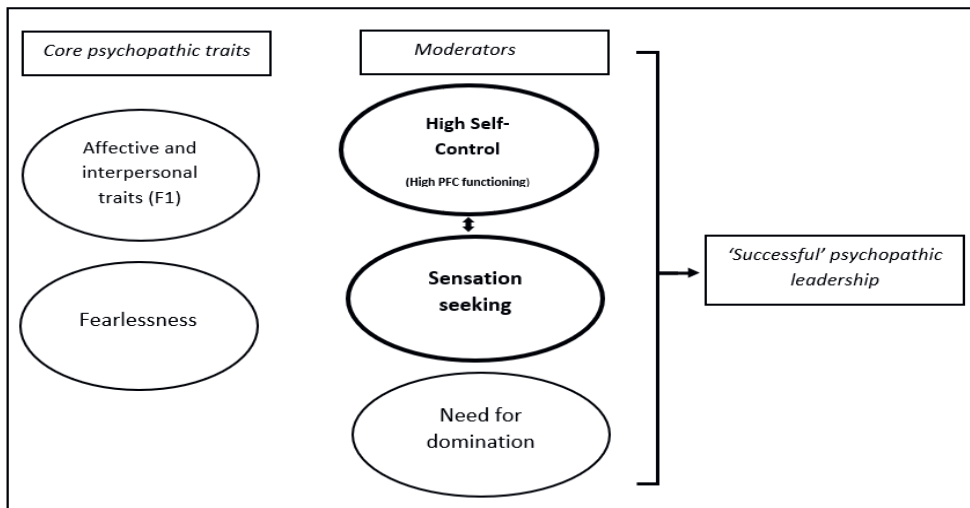


Figure 5.2. The model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-Model): the proposed conjunction between high self-control and sensation seeking as moderators.

The third phase of the development of the PL-model: Motivations and Goals

In the third phase of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader, the focus was on *the need for domination* and its interaction with the core traits of Factor 1 (specifically with the interpersonal facet of Factor 1). In the second phase of the development of the PL-model the need for domination was included as a motivational moderator.

In this third phase the theory and research on the motivations and goals in psychopathy and psychopathic leadership were reviewed and analyzed to clarify the estimated higher prevalence of

psychopathic leadership. Several studies have shown that the prevalence of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions may be higher than the prevalence of psychopathy in the general community (estimates of 3.6 % versus 0.6 % - 1.2 %) (Babiak et al., 2010; Coid et al., 2012). Based on this analysis it was theorized that in comparison with other motivations in life the motivation to dominate others may be the most important motivation in life for psychopathic leaders.

Furthermore, the higher levels of the need for domination may be especially present in those psychopathic individuals high in the Factor 1/interpersonal and affective traits. Moreover, in this third phase new theory on the possible association between the trait need for domination in the profile of the psychopathic leader and the interpersonal traits of Factor 1 was constructed.

For the model of the psychopathic leader focused on the need for domination see figure 5.3 below. For an elaborate outline of the conclusions regarding the clarification of the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders see 5.3. The exploration on the need for domination as a motivational factor in the profile of the psychopathic leader has been peer-reviewed and published as *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltboff, E.W. (2021). The need for domination in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 60, 1-16.* See chapter 3: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leadership, in this manuscript.

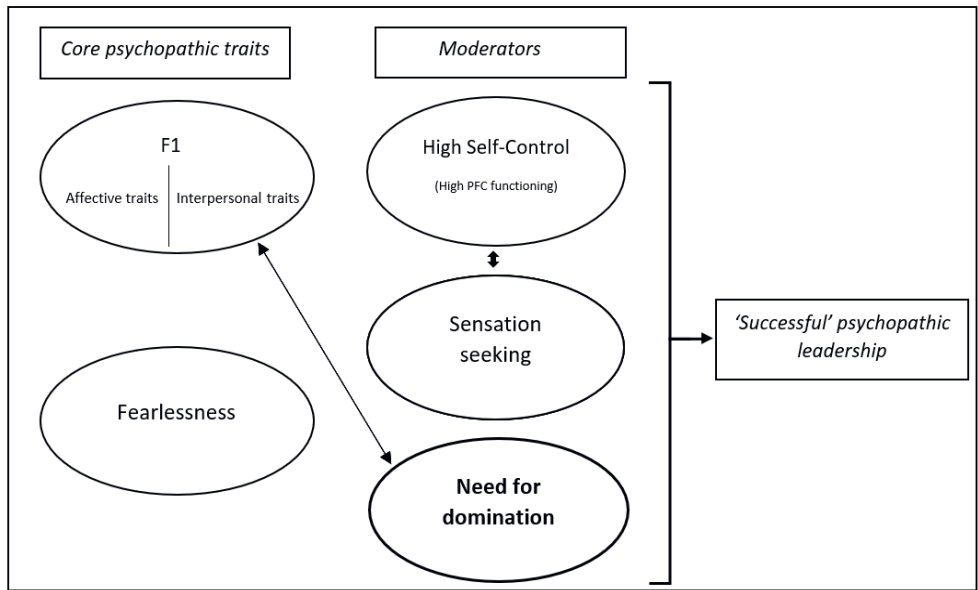


Figure 5.3. The model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model): hypotheses on the need for domination in psychopathic leadership.

The fourth phase of the development of the PL-model: the Outward Attractiveness

In the fourth version of the model of the psychopathic leader the facet of *boldness* was included into the model. Boldness in psychopathy represents traits such as fearlessness, social poise, sensation seeking, resistance to stress, and high self-confidence (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Boldness in the profile of the psychopathic leader represents a group of traits that may, in terms of the elaborated moderated expression model (Steinert et al., 2017), serve as an element of the core group of traits, as well as an element of the group of moderators. In the theoretical continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) boldness is part of both primary psychopathy types and may thus be regarded as part of the core traits of the profile of the psychopathic leader. At the same time, boldness in psychopathic leadership may moderate the less adaptive psychopathic traits into a more adaptive expressions and may thus function as part of the group of moderators.

In line with Patrick (2006), Hall and Benning (2006), and Lilienfeld et al. (2018), this thesis proposes that boldness in the profile of the psychopathic leader underlies the outward attractive leadership façade. This thesis theorized that psychopathic leaders utilize their interpersonal skills, social dominance, and charm as impression management skills represented through the facet of boldness to paint an attractive picture of a charismatic and powerful leader (e.g. Neo et al., 2018; Roulin & Bourdage, 2017; Schütte et al., 2018; Weiss et al., 2018). Furthermore, many of the traits in the facet of boldness may already be perceived as desirable traits in leadership (Hill & Scott, 2019; Hogan & Shelton, 1998; Klein et al., 2006; Pfeffer, 2009). In this way, boldness may serve as a moderator, as in the view of Steinert and colleagues (2017) this facet may moderate the less adaptive traits in the psychopathic profile into adaptive outcomes in psychopathic leadership.

Based on the analysis of research on the outcomes of boldness in psychopathy and psychopathic leadership, this thesis proposes that the adaptiveness of boldness in the profile of the psychopathic leader is foremost connected to the psychopathic leader and not to their environment. Hence, it is hypothesized that the outcomes of boldness as well as of psychopathic leadership may be expressed best as ‘adaptiveness’. Such a semantic expression of the adaptiveness of boldness and of psychopathic leadership is in coherence with other research on ‘successful’ psychopathy (e.g. Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). For an elaborate outline of the conclusions regarding the clarification of the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders see 5.3. For the model of the psychopathic leader focusing on boldness see figure 5.4. This fourth version of the PL-model is outlined in the article currently under review at a peer-reviewed journal as: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolkhoff, E.W. (under review). The adaptive façade of boldness in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the outward attractiveness in psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior. See chapter 4: A clarification for the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders, in this manuscript.*

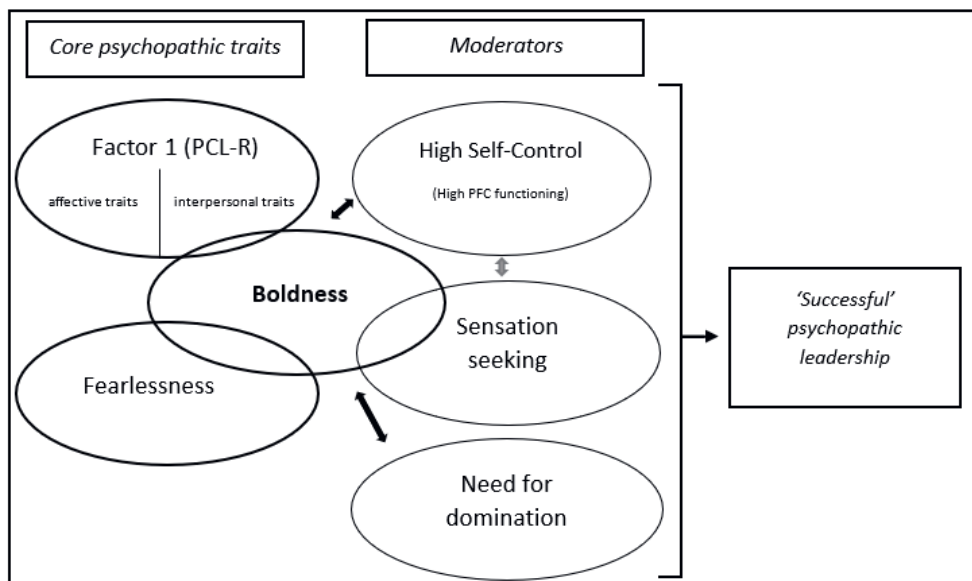


Figure 5.4. The model of the psychopathic leader focusing on the facet of boldness as the outward attractive façade in psychopathic leadership.

The Final Model of the psychopathic leader: Novel Hypotheses combined in the final PL-Model

During the four phases of the development of the PL-model novel hypotheses on the specific traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader and their mutual interactions have been generated. These hypotheses constructed on the core traits and the moderators in the model of the psychopathic leader are summarized below in table 5.1. For the final version of the PL-model see figure 5.5 .

The Profile of the Psychopathic Leader: the final PL-Model	
Core traits	F1 (PCL-R)
	Fearlessness
	Boldness
Moderating traits	High Self-Control (High PFC)
	Sensation seeking
	Need for domination
	Boldness

Table 5.1. Hypotheses on the core traits and the moderating traits in the proposed profile of the psychopathic leader: the final PL-model.

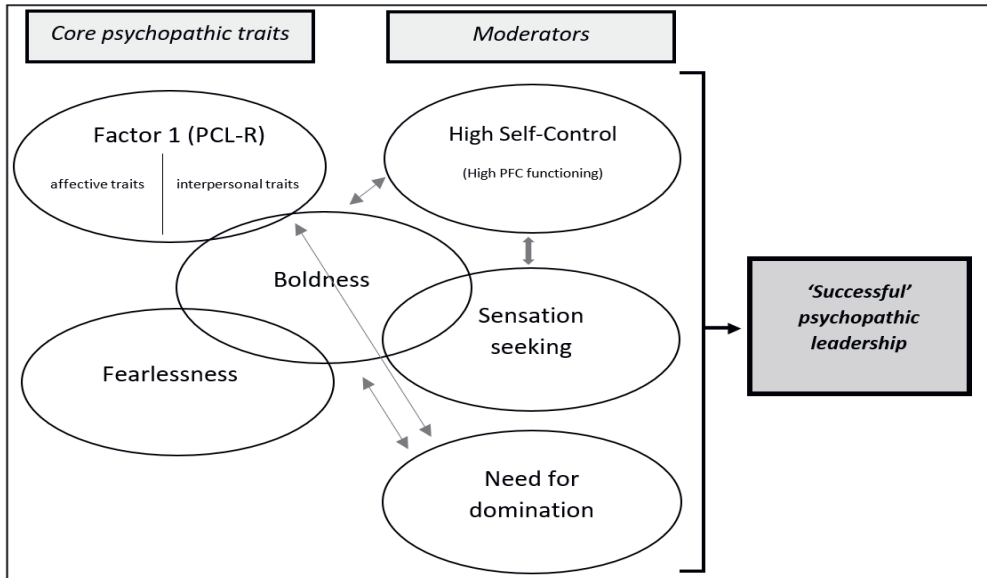


Figure 5.5. The model of the psychopathic leader (the final PL-Model): Core traits and moderators and the interactions between traits.

5.2 The Differentiating traits: the Profile of the Psychopathic Leader versus the 'Traditional' Profile of the Incarcerated Psychopathic Individual

Although most of the research on psychopathy has focused on incarcerated samples, several scholars have acknowledged that certain psychopathic traits may show adaptive qualities in society (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Cleckley, 1946; Karpman, 1948; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Lykken, 1996; Schneider, 1923). This postulation has motivated researchers to investigate the differences between 'successful' and unsuccessful subtypes of psychopathy (Benning et al., 2018; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Steinert et al., 2017). In these studies scholars have differentiated between those traits in the psychopathic profile that may be connected more to adaptiveness and those traits more connected to maladaptiveness (e.g. Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001).

Differences in the levels of Factor 1, Factor 2, and Fearlessness

In this thesis the focus has been on the specific traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader. Simultaneously this thesis theorized which are the differentiating traits between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the 'traditional' profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. During the first phase of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader it was found that important differences may lie in the higher levels of Factor 1 and fearlessness combined with lower levels in the Factor 2 traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader, in comparison to the lower levels of Factor 1 and fearlessness and higher levels of Factor 2 traits in the 'traditional' criminal psychopathic profile (Palmen et al., 2018).

Differences in the levels of Self-control and different levels and operationalizations of Impulsivity and Sensation seeking

Based on the review study of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) in combination with data from studies on psychopathic leadership and ‘successful’ psychopathy, this thesis proposed that in the profile of the psychopathic leader the levels of self-control may be higher than in the ‘traditional’ profile of incarcerated psychopathic samples (Palmen et al., 2019).

Moreover, there may also be an important distinction between the two profiles regarding not only the levels of impulsivity in each profile but also the specific operationalization of impulsivity in each profile. Impulsivity in the profile of the psychopathic leader may be conceptualized more through forms of impulsivity not only connected to emotional positivity, but also to forethought and self-control (Palmen et al., 2019).

Based on the review of the literature and research on the different conceptualizations of impulsivity in ‘successful’ and unsuccessful psychopathy types, this thesis theorized that impulsivity in psychopathic leadership may best be represented through the concept of sensation seeking. More specifically, sensation seeking as defined in the lower order scale of thrill- and adventure seeking and experience seeking in Zuckerman’s outline of the operationalization of sensation seeking (1990) (Palmen et al., 2019).

In contrast, unsuccessful psychopathic variants, more typically represented as the ‘traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile, may on average, not only show higher levels of impulsivity, but may show higher levels in all the impulsivity domains as described by Whiteside and Lynam (2001). Thus, psychopathic individuals showing this ‘traditional’ psychopathy profile may not only score high on the domain of sensation seeking, but also on urgency, lack of premeditation, and lack of perseverance. Urgency, lack of premeditation, and lack of perseverance may all be considered as traits related to higher levels of maladaptiveness and unsuccessfulness (Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011).

Additionally, although two of the conceptualizations in Zuckerman’s domains of sensation seeking (1990) (thrill- and adventure seeking and experience seeking) may show more connection to positive emotionality and forethought, these more adaptive domains of sensation seeking may be connected to psychopathic leadership, but not to the ‘traditional’ psychopathic profile. Individuals with a ‘traditional’ psychopathic profile show higher levels of sensation seeking that can be described in Zuckerman’s operationalizations of sensation seeking in the scales of disinhibition and boredom susceptibility. These scales are both connected to maladaptive outcomes (Palmen et al., 2019; Poythress & Hall, 2011; Zuckerman, 1990).

These theoretical conclusions suggest that in the profile of the psychopathic leader, conceptualizations of impulsivity and sensation seeking are not only defined in more adaptive and positive terms, they may also be related to higher levels of self-control. The elaborated review on the differences in levels of Factor 1, Factor 2, self-control, and diversities in the levels and the conceptualization of impulsivity and sensation seeking between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ psychopathic profile has been published as: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltboff, E.W. (2019). High self-control may support ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership: self-control versus impulsivity in psychopathic leadership. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 50, 1-17.* See also chapter 2 in this manuscript: A clarification of the ‘success’ of the psychopathic leader.

Differences in the levels of the Need for Domination

In stage three of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader, the importance of the trait need for domination as a motivational factor in psychopathic leadership, in comparison to the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual was investigated. This research led to the hypothesis that the levels of the trait need for domination may vary among psychopathy subtypes. In the theoretical continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) the levels of the need for domination are theorized to be the highest in the controlled primary psychopathy type and in the detached secondary psychopathy type in comparison to the other two types in this continuum (the disinhibited primary psychopathy type and the unstable secondary psychopathy type). In the first phase of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader it was theorized that out of the four psychopathy subtypes the controlled primary psychopathy type may be the psychopathy type most connected to adaptiveness. When comparing the levels of the trait need for domination in the profile of the psychopathic leader with the ‘traditional’ psychopathic profile this thesis proposed that in the psychopathic leadership profile these levels may be high and in the ‘traditional’ psychopathic profile these levels may vary from low to high depending on which specific psychopathic subtype is considered.

For an elaborated outline of the importance of the trait need for domination in the profile of the psychopathic leader see: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (2021). The need for domination in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leadership. Aggression and Violent Behavior. 60, 1-16.* See also chapter 3: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders, in this manuscript.

Differences in the levels of Boldness

In stage four of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader the focus was on the significance of the facet of boldness to psychopathic leadership, in comparison to the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. Boldness reflects social poise, charm and charisma, low levels of fearlessness, and high levels of stress resistance (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

This facet of boldness in psychopathy has been at the center of much discussion among scholars in the last ten years, primarily because of the higher levels of adaptiveness associated with this facet (Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lynam & Miller, 2012; Miller & Lynam, 2012).

Boldness in psychopathy represents a group of adaptive features that outwardly appear to resemble many of the traits that are considered attractive in a leadership profile (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Based on this theory this thesis contrasted boldness in the profile of the psychopathic leader with boldness in the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. On the grounds of an analysis of the findings of this review, this thesis proposes that on average the levels of boldness may be higher in the profile of the psychopathic leader than in the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. An elaborated outline on the importance of the facet of boldness to psychopathic leadership can be found in the fourth article currently under review at a peer-review journal as: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (under review). The adaptive façade of boldness in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the outward attractiveness in psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior.* See also chapter 4: A clarification for the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders, in this manuscript.

Summary of the Proposed Hypotheses: the Profile of the Psychopathic Leader versus the ‘Traditional’ Profile of the Incarcerated Psychopathic Individual

In the tables outlined below the hypotheses on the differences between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile as discussed in the previous section are summarized.

Table 5.3 outlines the proposed differences in the levels of Factor 1, Factor 2, fearlessness, self-control (high PFC), the need for domination, impulsivity, sensation seeking, and boldness between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile.

Table 5.4 displays the proposed differences in the levels of the four impulsivity domains of Whiteside and Lynam (2001) between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile.

Table 5.5 outlines the proposed differences in the levels of Zuckerman’s domains of sensation seeking (1990) between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile.

Traits	Psychopathic leadership (proposed profile)	‘Traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile
F1 (PCL-R)	High	Medium to High
F2 (PCL-R)	Low	Medium to High
Fearlessness	High	Low to High
Self-Control (High PFC)	High	Low
Need for Domination	High	Low to High
Impulsivity	Low to Medium	Medium to High
Sensation Seeking	High	Low to High
Boldness	High	Low to high

Table 5.3. Hypotheses on the differences in trait levels between the proposed profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile.

Impulsivity domains (retrieved from Whiteside & Lynam, 2001)	Psychopathic leadership (proposed profile)	‘Traditional’ criminal psychopathic profile
Urgency	Low	Medium to High
(lack of) Perseverance	Low	Medium to High
(lack of) Premeditation	Low	Medium to High
Sensation Seeking	High	Low to High

Table 5.4. Hypotheses on the impulsivity domains: the profile of psychopathic leadership and the ‘traditional’ profile of criminal psychopathy compared.

Sensation seeking scales (retrieved from Zuckerman, 1990)	Psychopathic leadership (proposed profile)	'Traditional' criminal psychopathic profile
Thrill- and Adventure Seeking	Medium to high	Low to High
Experience Seeking	Medium to high	Low to High
Disinhibition	Low	Medium to High
Boredom Susceptibility	Low	Medium to High

Table 5.5. Hypotheses on the sensation seeking scales: the profile of psychopathic leadership and the 'traditional' profile of criminal psychopathy compared.

5.3 Three Specific Phenomena of Psychopathic Leadership Clarified

During the course of this research three phenomena were identified that may be specific to psychopathic leadership and that may be regarded as 'eye-catching'.

First, studies indicate that in many cases psychopathic leaders are 'successful' at attaining and maintaining leadership positions for prolonged periods of time, even after proven incompetence (e.g. Babiak et al., 2010; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). Second, based on several studies scholars propose an estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders in comparison to the prevalence of psychopathy in the general community (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). Third, scholars have theorized that in psychopathic leadership there appears to be an outward attractiveness that shows a strong resemblance with a desirable leadership profile (Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Fritzon, 2020; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). In this section novel hypotheses will be proposed on the clarification of 1. the 'success' of the psychopathic leader, 2. the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders, and 3. the outward attractiveness of the psychopathic leader.

A Clarification for the 'Success' of the Psychopathic Leader: the conjunction of high self-control with sensation seeking

Among scholars psychopathic leadership is considered a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). Most studies on psychopathic leadership indicate that psychopathic individuals in leadership positions may show a certain level of adaptiveness or success in life (Babiak et al., 2010; Babiak & Hare, 2007; 2019). This thesis proposes that the adaptiveness of psychopathic leaders may be ambiguous and may therefore better be defined as 'adaptiveness'.

The second article (chapter 2 of this thesis) focused on those traits in the proposed profile of the psychopathic leader that may support the 'adaptiveness' or 'success' of psychopathic leaders. Which traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader support these leaders to successfully attain a leadership position and maintain such a position for prolonged periods of time?

Through an analysis of the diverse conceptualizations of impulsivity in different psychopathy subtypes this thesis theorized that higher levels of self-control in the profile of the psychopathic leader may support the ‘success’ of the psychopathic leader the most. This hypothesis was also in accordance with the conceptualization of impulsivity in psychopathic leadership. Through a review of the research and theory on impulsivity in ‘successful’ psychopathy and psychopathic leadership it was concluded that a conceptualization of impulsivity in Whiteside and Lynam’s domain of sensation seeking (2001) best represents impulsivity in the profile of the psychopathic leader. Furthermore, after examining the four facets of sensation seeking as proposed by Zuckerman (1990), it was found that thrill- and adventure seeking and experience seeking may be most connected to the conceptualization of sensation seeking in the profile of the psychopathic leader. Such a conceptualization of sensation seeking as a subdomain of impulsivity may be connected most to fore-thought and high self-control and therefore may enable the psychopathic leader to successfully attain and maintain the desired leadership positions. Sensation seeking in the four impulsivity domains in the UPPS-P model of Whiteside and Lynam (2001) is most connected with foresight and planning. Furthermore, sensation seeking may be associated with positive emotionality and enjoyment when engaging in new and exciting experiences. Although sensation seeking is a form of impulsivity it may be the impulsivity domain most connected to pleasure and self-control before and during the engagement in new experiences (Berg et al., 2015). These qualities of sensation seeking in comparison with the other impulsivity domains in the UPPS model (urgency, lack of premeditation, lack of perseverance) (Whiteside & Lynam, 2001) may support ‘success’ in the profile of the psychopathic leader. For the model of the psychopathic leader focusing on the conjunction between high self-control and sensation seeking see figure 2 below.

The elaborated review that focuses on the importance of high-self-control in conjunction with sensation seeking for the ‘success’ of psychopathic leaders has been published as: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltzoff, E.W. (2019). High self-control may support ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership: self-control versus impulsivity in psychopathic leadership. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 50, 1-17.* See also chapter 2 of this manuscript.

A Clarification for the Estimated High Prevalence of Psychopathic Leaders: the need for domination

Several scholars have proposed that there may be an overrepresentation of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions in the general community (Babiak & Hare, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). Based on data from their study, Babiak and colleagues (2010) hypothesized that there may be four times more psychopathic individuals in leadership positions than in the community on average (3.9 % versus 0.6 % - 1.2 %) (Babiak et al., 2010; Coid, Freestone & Ulrich, 2012).

In the third article (chapter 3 of this thesis), the possible goals and motivations of psychopathic leaders were analyzed in order to propose a clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders. Although scholars consider the need for social dominance to be a typical feature of psychopathy, research on the link between psychopathy and the need for dominance has been scarce. Nevertheless, in those studies on the psychopathy-need for domination link, this link was well-established (e.g. Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Semenyna & Honey, 2014).

To illuminate the specific meaning of the need for domination to psychopathy and to psychopathic leadership, the different goals and motivations within the larger group of the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) were compared. All three personality types in the Dark Triad are considered antisocial in their conduct and all three types are associated with leadership because of the high levels of impression management, high self-confidence, and manipulation skills in each type (Ekizler & Bolelli, 2020). Through the comparison among the Dark Triad new theory was developed on the different levels of the need for domination, the need for hedonism, the need for financial success, the need for achievement, and the need for sensation seeking in psychopathic leadership.

In the analysis on the goals and motivations in psychopathy and psychopathic leadership this review study found that the need for domination may be more important to psychopathic individuals in leadership than the need for hedonism, the need for financial success, and the need for sensation seeking. The findings from this review additionally indicated that the need for achievement as a life goal may be low for psychopathic leaders (see table 5.6). Although in most people, the motivation for power may typically be combined with the motivation for achievement, studies have shown that in psychopathic individuals the motivation for power may not be combined with the motivation for achievement (Glenn et al., 2017). When power and achievement are valued together people may attain leadership positions through hard work. In contrast, in psychopathic leadership, obtaining positions of power may be achieved through antisocial behavior. The low levels of affiliation typical of psychopathy may result in antisocial behaviors focused on the people these psychopathic leaders work with (Glenn et al., 2017).

The findings of the review additionally indicated that the need for domination in psychopathy may be connected the most to the Factor 1 traits (e.g. Fanti et al., 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014). Studies on psychopathic individuals in leadership have found that these leaders show higher levels of the interpersonal and affective Factor 1 traits, specifically on the interpersonal facet (Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2014). Furthermore, other studies have indicated that psychopathic individuals with higher levels of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), which is connected to the need for domination and to Factor 1, may be drawn to leadership positions (Hirschfeld & Van Scotter II, 2018; Jones and Figueredo (2013). Based on this analysis the third article (chapter 3 of this thesis) proposed that psychopathic leaders may search out positions of power such as leadership to gratify their desire to exert power over other people. Therefore, this thesis theorized that the trait need for domination in the profile of the psychopathic leader may best clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leadership. An elaborated outline of the motivational importance of the trait need for domination in the profile of the psychopathic leader can be found in chapter 3: A clarification for the high prevalence of psychopathic leaders in this thesis or in: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltboff, E.W. (2021). The need for domination in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leadership. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 60, 1-16.*

Motivation for	Psychopathic leader
Dominance	High
Pleasure (hedonism)	Medium
Financial success	Medium
Sensation seeking	Medium
Achievement	Low

Table 5.6. Hypotheses on the levels of the motivation for: dominance, pleasure, financial success, and sensation seeking in psychopathic leadership.

A Clarification for the Outward Attractiveness of the Psychopathic Leader: the facet of boldness

Babiak and colleagues (2010) observed a paradoxical phenomenon in their study of psychopathic individuals in a group of management high potentials. Despite the low levels of performance of these psychopathic individuals most of them were still selected to be the future managers of their organizations. Babiak and colleagues (2010) labeled these contrasting findings in their study as the difference between high scores on an outward charismatic style of self-presentation and low scores on the responsible performance profile. In line with Babiak et al. (2010), other studies on psychopathic leadership or ‘successful’ psychopathy have shown similar results: these individuals high in psychopathy are able to attain high profile leadership positions and often succeed in maintaining such positions despite associations with maladaptive outcomes (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019; Babiak et al., 2010; Bickel et al., 2006; Cangemi & Pfohl, 2009; Landay et al., 2019; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). In these studies the studied psychopathic leaders were associated with a range of maladaptive outcomes such as low levels of employee wellbeing, unethical decision-making, and low performance rates of these leaders (Babiak et al., 2010; Chiaburu et al., 2013; Lilienfeld et al., 2012 ; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2014; Stevens et al., 2012).

Based on the conflicting findings in their study, Babiak and colleagues (2010) posited that psychopathic leadership may be connected more with *style* than with *substance*. The fourth article (chapter 4 of this thesis) theorized which traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader may be most connected to the outward attractive style of psychopathic leaders. In line with Hall and Benning (2006), Patrick (2006) and Lilienfeld et al. (2018), it was hypothesized that the facet of boldness may best represent the outward attractive mask in psychopathy (Cleckley, 1941/1976), especially in psychopathic leadership (Fritzon, 2020). The fourth article analyzed studies on the adaptive and the maladaptive outcomes associated with boldness in psychopathy in order to build new theory on how boldness in psychopathic leadership may serve the purpose of the outward attractive leadership façade.

Through this analysis it was theorized that psychopathic leaders may utilize impression management techniques in order to translate the traits in the facet of psychopathic boldness into an outward competent leadership profile. The social competency and high levels of persuasiveness

in the facet of boldness may enable psychopathic leaders to convince others of their leadership qualities (e.g. Chiaburu et al., 2013; Sanecka, 2013; Schütte et al., 2018; Weiss et al., 2018). Furthermore, these excellent social and persuasion skills are in and by itself desirable assets in a leadership position (Hogan & Shelton, 1998; Klein et al., 2006; Pfeffer, 2009). Additionally, the social dominance, combined with the low levels of stress and fearlessness in the facet of boldness, are equally connected to desirable leadership traits (Hill & Scott, 2019). The way boldness may manifest itself as the outward attractive leadership mask is also confirmed by studies on the associations between boldness and adaptive outcomes such as the high levels of emotional stability, resilience to stress, extraversion, low social distress, and charm (Almeida et al., 2015; Blagov et al., 2016; Donnelan & Burt, 2015; Drislane et al., 2014; Lilienfeld, et al., 2012; Marcus et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2001; Patrick et al., 2009; Poy et al., 2014; Sica et al., 2015).

Importantly, although in the last decade boldness has been questioned as vital to psychopathy, mostly because of its association with adaptiveness (e.g. Miller & Lynam, 2012), based on the aforementioned analysis, this study proposes that boldness may be crucial in the profile of the psychopathic leader. Furthermore, additionally this study theorized that the analysis shows that the adaptive outcomes associated with boldness in psychopathy are foremost beneficial to the psychopathic leader. In contrast, the maladaptive outcomes associated with boldness are mostly connected to the environment of the psychopathic leader. Therefore, this study concluded that psychopathic boldness may be connected to ‘adaptiveness’, to indicate the ambiguity of the outcomes in psychopathic leadership. An elaborated outline of the facet of boldness as the outward attractive façade in psychopathic leadership can be found in chapter 4: A clarification for the outward attractiveness of the psychopathic leader in this thesis or in: *Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Koltboff, E.W. (under review). The adaptive façade of boldness in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the outward attractiveness in psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior.*

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CHAPTER 6

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CRITICAL COMMENTS

Where do we Go from Here?

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"Although their inability to build teams, effectively manage their staff, or deliver measurable results was evidenced in the written record, all of the corporate psychopaths in this subgroup were considered 'successful' executives within their organizations, and none was in jeopardy of losing their job."

(Paul Babiak)

In this thesis it has been elucidated which traits may be specific to the profile of the psychopathic leader. Simultaneously, the profile of the psychopathic leader was contrasted with the 'traditional' profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. Finally, in the same process this thesis proposed which specific traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader may most contribute to the 'success' of the psychopathic leader, the (estimated) high prevalence of psychopathic leaders, and the outward attractiveness of the psychopathic leader. Now that the constructed hypotheses of this thesis have been outlined, it is essential to critically discuss these proposed hypotheses and suggest directions to subject this new theory to future studies.

These suggestions for future research will not only subject these novel hypotheses to future studies but they are also aimed at addressing some other important questions to gain a deeper insight into the research topics investigated in this thesis. The future directions for research will be discussed in five different sections.

The first section will focus on the ways future research could help to understand some broader issues that are connected to the conceptualization of psychopathy as a clinical construct. Shedding more light on the subject of *psychopathic subtypes* may be of vital importance to the conceptualization

of specific manifestations of psychopathy such as psychopathic leadership. Furthermore, future research regarding *gender in psychopathy and in psychopathic leadership* will also be discussed in this section.

In the second section directions for future studies will be suggested focused on the main theme of this thesis: *the profile of the psychopathic leader*. Different models underlying the model of the psychopathic leader are discussed and further possible specifications of the group of moderating traits are suggested.

The third section will address the subtheme of the differences between the profile of the psychopathic leader and the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. Studies aimed at contrasting the psychological profiles of ‘successful’ and unsuccessful manifestations of psychopathy may illuminate which traits are associated with adaptive versus maladaptive outcomes in psychopathy and in psychopathic leadership.

In the fourth section suggestions for future studies will be discussed regarding the three phenomena that may be connected to psychopathic leaders: *the ‘successfulness’*, *the estimated high prevalence*, and *the outward attractiveness*.

Finally, in the fifth section the focus will be on future studies that aim at selecting the *best fitting assessment instruments* to assess psychopathic leadership and the urgency of studying psychopathic leadership despite the complexity involved when undertaking such studies.

Concerning the directions for future research, the chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 in this thesis, have outlined more detailed directions for future studies focused on the specific theme of each chapter.

6.1 Future Directions for Research of Psychopathic Leadership

6.1.1 Two Broader Issues related to Psychopathic Leadership: Psychopathic Subtypes and Gender

Psychopathic Subtypes: Dissimilar Branches from the Same Tree?

Although the majority of psychopathy research has focused on incarcerated samples, psychopathy has also been studied in community samples and in populations that may be considered ‘successful’, such as in leadership positions in business and politics. These different manifestations of psychopathy may be connected to specific psychopathic subtypes (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Hicks & Drislane, 2018). For future research it may be of vital importance to acknowledge that there are different subtypes of psychopathy comprising a variety of combinations of psychopathic and non-psychopathic traits. Research into psychopathic subtypes may support the categorization of the larger and diverse group of psychopathic individuals from diverse samples in order to reduce the heterogeneity among psychopathic individuals (Hicks & Drislane, 2018).

In order to accurately categorize and define these diverse manifestations of psychopathy it is important to establish which traits are core to psychopathy and which traits are not (Sellbom & Drislane, 2020). Although scholars consider antisociality to be highly correlated with psychopathy, antisociality without the interpersonal and affective Factor 1 traits may represent ASPD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) rather than psychopathy (e.g. Wall, Wygant, & Sellbom, 2015).

Future research aimed at establishing the core traits in the psychopathic profile are not only important in order to reduce the heterogeneity among psychopathic individuals but additionally for the precise conceptualization of the profile of the psychopathic leader.

Psychopathic Leadership and Gender: Different Leadership Styles or Gender Neutral?

There is still much unclear about the similarities and differentiations between psychopathic male and female samples, primarily because most studies on psychopathy have focused on males (Verona & Vitale, 2018). However, preliminary studies suggest that similar psychopathic subtypes (primary and secondary psychopathy) can be determined in male samples as well as in female samples (Hicks et al., 2010; Verona & Vitale, 2018).

Preliminary research on psychopathic subtypes indicates that male and female secondary psychopathy samples may both be characterized by high disinhibition and negative affect. In contrast, studies of women high in primary psychopathy suggest low levels of internalizing problems even in the case of significant trauma in early childhood and youth, which is similar to the profile of primary psychopathic males (Hicks et al., 2010; Verona & Vitale, 2018). Although, more research is needed in female psychopathic samples, based on these findings, Hicks and colleagues (2010) conclude that primary and secondary psychopathic groups may show similar psychopathic profiles in both genders, although the manifestations of each subtype may differ between men and women (e.g. intimidation and physical aggression in men versus seduction and relational aggression in women to manipulate others) (Budworth & Mann, 2010; Buss, 1981; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Hare, 1993; Hicks et al., 2010; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Semenyina & Honey, 2014).

This thesis proposes that the psychopathic leadership profile may show a combination of psychopathic and non-psychopathic traits that comprises a profile that may be outwardly appealing in leadership positions. Landay et al. (2019) have argued that psychopathic traits may be more accepted in male leaders than in female leaders because traits related to social dominance, fearlessness, and other psychopathic traits may conflict with views of ideal female leadership (Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, & Reichard, 2008). However, as research indicates that psychopathic traits may manifest differently between men and women, in psychopathic leadership women may show more gender conforming leadership behavior (Budworth & Mann, 2010; Buss, 1981; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Forouzan & Cooke, 2005; Hare, 1993; Hicks et al., 2010; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Semenyina & Honey, 2015; Verona & Vitale, 2018). For example, when female leaders displayed explicit social dominance these female leaders were less well-liked. However, implicit social dominance was not negatively associated with female leaders likeability (Williams & Tiedens, 2016). It is conceivable that psychopathic women in leadership positions may display behavior that is more in line with gender conforming leadership behavior such as showing more implicit social dominance than explicit social dominance in interactions with others (Budworth & Mann, 2010; Buss, 1981; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Forouzan & Cooke, 2005; Hare, 1993; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Semenyina & Honey, 2015).

Hitherto, the great majority of studies on psychopathic leadership have focused on male samples (Landay et al., 2019). Further studies are needed that focus on female psychopathic leaders in addition to research on male psychopathic leaders. In such studies the similarities and differences between the psychopathic leadership profiles of male and female psychopathic leaders can be investigated. Not only the similarities and differences between the traits in the profile of the male and female psychopathic leader should be the focus of attention in these studies, but also the similarities and differences in the behavioral manifestations of these traits should be investigated.

6.1.2 *What Makes a Psychopathic Leader? Pathways to Moderate Success*

This thesis has theoretically defined the profile of the psychopathic leader on the grounds of the broader division of primary and secondary subtypes to establish which are the core group of psychopathic traits in this profile (Palmen et al., 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Furthermore, it was then theorized which personality traits could moderate these core psychopathic traits into a more successful manifestation of psychopathy (Palmen et al., 2019; Steinert et al., 2017). In this thesis it has been proposed that the core traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader are represented by the Factor 1 traits combined with trait fearlessness. These traits are the core traits in the two primary psychopathy types in the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary types as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015). In the fourth phase of the development of the model of the psychopathic leader (the PL-model) the facet of boldness was included as part of the core group of traits as well as to the group of moderating traits.

The structural moderators in the profile of the psychopathic leader are the traits high self-control and the need for domination as defined in the controlled primary psychopathy type from the same theoretical continuum (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). In Yildirim and Derksen's psychopathy continuum (2015) the controlled primary psychopathy type is the psychopathy type with the largest associations with 'adaptive' or 'successful' outcomes. In the evolution of the PL-model sensation seeking was also included as one of the moderating traits. Moderating traits may enable psychopathic individuals of this primary type to reach a certain level of 'success' in a leadership position. In the last phase of the construction of the model of the psychopathic leader the facet of boldness was included as a fourth structural moderator in the PL-model. The facet of boldness may partly be considered as a core trait of psychopathy (in the primary psychopathic type; as indicated in the beginning of this section) but may additionally be regarded as a fourth structural moderator that may elevate the 'success' of the psychopathic leader.

The profile of the psychopathic leader as proposed in the final PL-model is presented in the theoretical division of core traits and moderating traits as suggested by Steinert and colleagues (2017). Future research should investigate whether this division is the best representation of 'successful' manifestations of psychopathy such as psychopathic leadership. A further question is whether boldness is part of the core group of psychopathy traits or whether the facet of boldness may be regarded only as a moderator of the core psychopathic traits. Finally, the selection of the traits in the model and the subdivision in core traits and moderating traits was undertaken through utilizing several conceptual psychopathy models. Utilizing other conceptual models of psychopathy could lead to other combinations of traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader.

Moreover, the PL-model is a model comprised of personality traits. The moderating traits that were selected for the PL-model were part of the group of structural moderators (personality traits) as proposed by Steinert and colleagues (2017). However, in the elaborated moderated expression model by Steinert et al. (2017) environmental and contextual moderators may also be considered as traits that may interact with the core psychopathic traits. Environmental moderators may include moderators such as socioeconomic status or parental style (Steinert et al., 2017). Contextual moderators have not yet received much attention in studies of psychopathy or psychopathic leadership. Examples of possible contextual moderators for psychopathic leadership may be work demand and presence of authority (Steinert et al., 2017). Investigating these environmental and contextual moderators in addition to the structural moderators in psychopathic leadership may

shed further light on which moderators may interact with the core psychopathic traits and in which ways these interactions may lead to ‘adaptive’ or maladaptive outcomes in psychopathic leadership.

6.1.3 The Psychopathic Leader versus the Incarcerated Psychopathic Individual: Broadening the Psychopathy Research Horizon

The research on psychopathy with the use of the PCL-R has been invaluable for the advancement of our knowledge of psychopathy today (Hare et al., 2018). At the same time this may have led to narrowing the focus of the psychopathy research because the PCL-R has primarily aimed at incarcerated male samples (Skeem & Cooke, 2010a, 2010b; Skeem et al., 2011). However, the investigation into psychopathic prison samples to gain further insight in psychopathy will remain essential as the antisocial and criminal behavior displayed by this specific group has a devastating effect on the victims and their families (Hare et al., 2018).

Notwithstanding, the acknowledgement of the potential serious consequences of the psychopathic conduct in unexpected environments such as in high-profile leadership positions in business and politics may be equally important when setting goals for research (Lingnau et al., 2017; Stevens et al., 2012). Psychopathic leaders working in such influential leadership positions may negatively impact the effectiveness of the organizations for whom they work and may thus pose a potential risk to the stability of our corporate, social, political, and financial institutions (e.g. Boddy, 2011; Dutton, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018, 2019). Therefore it is imperative to investigate these new environments in which psychopathic individuals may operate.

Research has indicated that the psychopathic profiles in unsuccessful incarcerated samples and ‘successful’ samples may show important dissimilarities (Gao & Raine, 2010; Ishikawa et al., 2001). Hence, establishing the precise differentiating traits between these groups may support targeting psychopathic individuals in these new environments.

Constructing a novel theoretical model on the profile of the psychopathic leader may be the first step to enhance the research on this psychopathic group. Future studies on psychopathic leadership should be aimed at gathering new data on the differentiating traits between the psychopathic leadership profile and the ‘traditional’ profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. Through such studies the profile of the psychopathic leader can be defined more accurately. Furthermore, such research may additionally give insights on which traits are connected to ‘success’ in the profile of the psychopathic leader and which traits are associated with unsuccessfulness in the incarcerated psychopathic sample.

6.1.4 The Psychopathic Leader: Three intriguing Phenomena that Catch the Eye

The ‘Successful’ Psychopathic Leader

Among scholars psychopathic leadership is considered a manifestation of ‘successful’ psychopathy. In this thesis it has been theorized which traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader may most

support their ‘success’ (Palmen et al., 2019). Before future studies can investigate which traits most support the ‘success’ of psychopathic leaders, some important issues need to be addressed first.

Resolving how to precisely define ‘success’ or ‘adaptiveness’ in this context is an important issue (Benning et al., 2018; Persson & Lilienfeld, 2019; Steinert et al., 2017). Does the success refer to outcomes related exclusively to the psychopathic leader or are the outcomes for the organization and their employees also taken into account? Furthermore, what outcomes should be the focus of attention when studying psychopathic leadership in politics? The possible maladaptive outcomes of psychopathic leadership may be broader and may impact societies nationally or even internationally (Boddy, 2011; Dutton, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2018). Overall, how to best define ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership may also vary between small and large organizations, between for-profit and nonprofit organizations, or among cultural diverse organizational environments (Babiak, 1995; Kinner, 2003; Steinert et al., 2017; Wexler, 2008). Future research should focus on a large diversity of work environments psychopathic leaders may operate in, in order to investigate important potential differences influencing the ‘success’ of these psychopathic leaders.

When addressing such issues, future studies should additionally investigate whether the proposed trait of high self-control as proposed in the model of the psychopathic leader is indeed the trait that most supports ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership or whether other structural moderators or environmental and contextual moderators may additionally support ‘success’ in this profile (Steinert et al., 2017).

The Estimated High Prevalence of Psychopathic Leaders

Another important issue that needs to be the focus of future studies is whether the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders is accurate. Several scholars have proposed that psychopathic individuals in the general population may disproportionately find their way to positions of leadership (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). If future studies will confirm these estimates this may support a larger focus of the psychopathy research on psychopathic individuals in these new environments and more data can be collected on the specific profile of psychopathic leaders and on the outcomes with which they are associated.

In this thesis it has been theorized that the trait need for domination may be an important motivational trait for psychopathic individuals to seek out leadership. Furthermore, this thesis has proposed that this trait may best clarify the possible high prevalence of psychopathic leaders (Palmen et al., 2021). Although most scholars subscribe the need for social domination as part of the psychopathic profile (Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Kramer et al., 2011; Fennimore & Sementelli, 2016; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015), the research into this specific trait has been neglected in the psychopathy research and this should be corrected in the future (Glenn, et al., 2017; Palmen et al., 2019).

Furthermore, studying what motivates psychopathic individuals in life more broadly may shed more light on the choices that are made by those high in psychopathy, whether they operate in leadership positions or whether they are involved in severe criminal and antisocial conduct (Glenn et al., 2017).

The Outward Attractiveness of the Psychopathic Leader

One of the most infamous phenomena in psychopathy is the contradictory combination of the outward aimable façade which effectively covers the underlying antisocial nature of psychopathic individuals (Cleckley, 1941/1976; Patrick, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). The study of the outward attractiveness as displayed by psychopathic individuals may be especially relevant to the subgroup of psychopathic leaders (Fritzon, 2020; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Studies have shown that although those high in psychopathy that opt for leadership positions may lack vital leadership skills, they are very capable of initially attaining these leadership positions and at remaining in such positions, even after proven incompetence (Babiak et al., 2010; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2019). According to Babiak et al. (2010) this phenomenon may be explained as the importance of style over substance in psychopathic leadership. Certain types of psychopathic individuals are able to present a charming and attractive outward façade that enchants observers into convincing them of these psychopathic individuals leadership talent, sometimes after proven underperformance (Babiak et al., 2010; Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

In this thesis it has been theorized that the outward attractiveness of psychopathic leaders may be best represented by the facet of boldness in psychopathy (see chapter 4 in this manuscript). Boldness reflects traits such as social poise, interpersonal dominance, resilience to stress, and low levels of fear (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). All of these traits may be considered desirable assets in leadership positions (Hill & Scott, 2019). Although the interpersonal and affective PCL-R Factor 1 traits are also related to adaptive outcomes, boldness may better represent the outward attractive leadership façade. Future studies should investigate whether boldness may indeed represent the outward attractiveness of the psychopathic leader more accurately than the interpersonal and affective Factor 1 traits of the PCL-R.

This thesis theorized that psychopathic leaders employ the traits in the facet of boldness as impression management techniques to present the attractive façade of a strong and competent leader with which they may not only effectively mask the lack of leadership competencies, but also their underlying egotistical and antisocial intentions (Hall & Benning, 2006; Sanecka, 2013; Schütte et al., 2018). These hypotheses on the effectiveness of impression management related to the facet of boldness should be subjected to future studies. Furthermore, such studies should additionally focus on which traits in the facet of boldness may be related the most to the impression management techniques. Some studies have indicated that variations in the levels of the different traits in boldness, or levels of total scores on boldness, may affect the levels of adaptiveness of boldness (Howe et al., 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2021). Therefore, future studies should additionally focus on the levels of the facet of boldness and the levels of the underlying traits in the facet of boldness and the connection of these levels with adaptiveness and maladaptiveness in psychopathic leadership.

Studying these and other research questions related to boldness in psychopathy may help the advancement of the academic dialogue on the validity of boldness to psychopathy and to psychopathic leadership (e.g. Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Lynam & Miller, 2012; Miller & Lynam, 2012).

6.1.5 *The Assessment of the Psychopathic Leader: Which Assessment Suits the Snakes in Suits?*

Scholars have proposed that it may be particularly challenging to accurately identify psychopathic individuals in (future) leadership positions (Babiak et al., 2010; Babiak & Hare, 2007, 2019). Besides the low prevalence rates (in comparison to prison samples) and problems with the accessibility of this sample due to privacy laws, there is also a dearth of knowledge about the psychopathic profile of this sample (Benning et al., 2018; Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013; Steinert et al., 2017).

The specific combination of traits found in the profile of the psychopathic leader may simultaneously show certain similarities but also certain important dissimilarities with the 'traditional' profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. A first important step to accurately assess individuals with the psychopathic leadership profile in future studies is precisely defining the specific traits in this profile. The construction of the profile of the psychopathic leader in this thesis may facilitate the successful selection of the assessment instruments that may best operationalize the specific traits in this profile. Based on the outcomes of this thesis some guidelines for selecting the assessment tools for the study of psychopathic leaders can be outlined. Assessment instruments that measure the facet of *boldness* as part of the psychopathic profile are more suitable in such studies than instruments that do not explicitly measure this facet. It is also important that assessments are chosen which measure different types of impulsivity (including *sensation seeking*, combined with a certain degree of self-control) instead of a general operationalization of impulsivity. In addition, the various subtypes within the operationalization of sensation seeking should be assessed because certain types are typical of the profile of the psychopathic leader but not of the profile of the psychopathic criminal in prison. Finally, the *need for domination* in the psychopathic profile or in psychopathic leadership has not received much attention in research. For measuring this motivational trait in the profile of the psychopathic leader assessments that include an interview in which behavioral expressions of social dominance towards others are triggered and measured are the appropriate method.

Furthermore, the low prevalence rates of psychopathic leaders (in comparison to prison samples; estimates of 3,9% in comparison to approximately 25% in prison samples) requires researchers to more effectively identify and target potential psychopathic leader samples. The model of the psychopathic leader may support this goal. In the PL-model it is outlined that psychopathic leaders may be very competent at hiding their anti-social behavior behind their attractive leadership façade because of their high self-control and impression management techniques. Therefore, future research should focus on those samples of charming and charismatic leaders who outwardly appear to be competent in their leadership but who at the same time are associated with certain 'red flags'. Examples of these 'red flags' may be: suspicions or accusations of manipulation, lying, or other unethical conduct, high levels of the need for social dominance, but also low work motivation of subordinates, high staff turnover, and a climate of fear in the work environment of this leader. These 'red flags' may be connected to the 'hidden' psychopathic traits such as low empathy, lack of conscience, and anti-sociality in a psychopathic leader. Such research should be conducted by researchers that are qualified to assess psychopathy. Furthermore, in such studies research ethics are essential and should be followed thoroughly.

In the end, the greatest challenge of all is to find ways to execute the assessment of these psychopathic leaders. Although several scholars have been able to gain data on this specific sample, it is not an easy task to undertake studies of psychopathy in leadership environments, whether through self-report or other-report assessments. In contrast with psychopathic individuals in prison

settings it will not be easy to motivate leaders who are currently in a leadership position to agree to an assessment of psychopathic traits. Unfortunately, up to date there is no easy solution for this problem.

Nevertheless, hopefully in the near future it may be possible to assess psychopathic traits in future leaders. The research on the negative outcomes related to psychopathic leaders may create awareness of the risks of a psychopathic individual in a leadership position in profit and non-profit organizational and political environments. Such awareness may motivate human resource departments to establish ways to assess and screen for certain personality traits connected to psychopathy (among a larger group of personality traits) during the hiring process for important leadership positions. The outcomes of this thesis may help in this process. In such research new data could be collected on psychopathic leaders but it may also help to prevent the risks that may be involved when a leader high in psychopathic traits occupies vital leadership positions in our society.

The advancement of research into psychopathic leadership may most importantly be imperative for the prevention of the potential maladaptive outcomes connected with psychopathic leadership. Psychopathic leadership may not only have severe consequences for those employees working with these psychopathic leaders (e.g. Blickle et al., 2018; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015, 2016; Mathieu et al., 2014b; Sanecka, 2013), they may also be a liability to the organization as a whole (e.g. Blickle et al., 2006; Mathieu et al., 2014a; Westerlaken & Woods, 2013; Ray, 2007). Psychopathic leadership in government, financial institutions, or in politics, may be especially hazardous as the conduct associated with psychopathy is not only merely focused on the goals and motivations valuable for the psychopathic leaders themselves, it may also be highly unethical (Laurijssen, 2014; Lingnau et al., 2017; Stevens et al., 2012). Psychopathic leaders operating in such crucial leadership positions may disrupt vital institutions in our society and consequently possibly destabilize our society as a whole (Boddy, 2011; Dutton, 2016; Lilienfeld, et al., 2012; Palmen, et al., 2018).

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APPENDIX

PUBLISHED AND SUBMITTED ARTICLES

In this book, chapters 1, 2, and 3 can be found in their published version in peer-reviewed journals. Chapter 4 is currently under review at a peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 1 ‘The Composition of ‘Adaptive’ and Maladaptive Traits in Psychopathic Leadership: *An Illustration of Psychopathic Leadership in Politics.*’ is published as:

Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (2018). *House of Cards: Psychopathy in politics. Public Integrity*, 20(5), 427-443.

Chapter 2 ‘A Clarification for the ‘Success’ of the Psychopathic Leader: *An Adaptive Combination of Trait High Self-Control with Sensation Seeking*’ is published as:

Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (2019). *High self-control may support ‘success’ in psychopathic leadership: self-control versus impulsivity in psychopathic leadership. Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 50, 1-17.

Chapter 3 ‘A Clarification for the Estimated High Prevalence of Psychopathic Leaders: *The Need for Domination as a Motivational Moderator in Psychopathic Leadership*’ is published as:

Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (2021). *The need for domination in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior*. 60, 1-16.

Chapter 4 ‘A Clarification for the Outward Attractiveness of Psychopathic Leaders: *Boldness as the alluring Mask in Psychopathic Leadership*’ is currently under review as:

Palmen, D.G.C., Derksen, J.J.L., & Kolthoff, E.W. (under review). *The adaptive façade of boldness in psychopathic leadership: A clarification for the outward attractiveness in psychopathic leaders. Aggression and Violent Behavior*.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

De 'psychopaat'?

Het woord 'psychopaat' roept bij veel mensen beelden op van seriemoordenaars en andere zware criminelen die zij kennen uit films en series. Wat de meeste mensen echter niet weten is dat er achter het woord 'psychopaat' een grotere verscheidenheid aan individuen schuilgaat dan het beeld dat in deze films en series wordt getoond.

Onderzoek naar psychopathie in de gevangenis en de TBS

In de forensische psychologie en psychiatrie wordt psychopathie omschreven als een ernstige persoonlijkheidsstoornis waarbij er sprake is van een combinatie van persoonlijkheidskenmerken waaronder een onderontwikkeld geweten, sociale dominantie, oppervlakkige charme, manipulatief en leugenachtig gedrag, een gebrek aan empathie, schaamte en schuld, impulsiviteit en antisociaal en crimineel gedrag. Psychopathische personen zijn vaak erg bekwaam in het langdurig verborgen houden van hun negatieve kanten door het veelvuldig gebruik van charme, leugens en manipulatie. Aan de buitenkant is deze stoornis daarom vaak buitengewoon moeilijk te herkennen. Mensen met een psychopathische persoonlijkheid kunnen in eerste instantie op anderen vaak als normaal en soms zelfs als charmant en sympathiek overkomen. Het vergt veel kennis, kunde en het gebruik van uitgebreide assessments en vragenlijsten om mensen met deze persoonlijkheidsstoornis in de gevangnissen en TBS instellingen adequaat te kunnen diagnosticeren en te onderzoeken.

Het meeste onderzoek naar psychopathie is wereldwijd voornamelijk gericht geweest op de crimineel psychopathische groep in de gevangenis. Uit dit onderzoek is gebleken dat van de gevangenispopulatie ongeveer 25% aan het psychopathische persoonlijkheidsprofiel voldoet. Deze psychopathische groep is in de meeste gevallen veroordeeld voor zeer zware misdrijven zoals moord, doodslag, gewapende overvallen en verkrachting.

Een 'succesvolle' uitingsvorm van psychopathie : de psychopathische leider

In 2002 deed de vooraanstaande psychopathie onderzoeker Robert Hare een opvallende uitspraak die destijds door de media over de hele wereld werd opgepikt. Deze wetenschapper beweerde namelijk dat de groep die hij al decennialang had onderzocht in de gevangenis: de individuen met een psychopathische persoonlijkheid, zich ook weleens veelvuldig zouden kunnen bevinden in leiderschapsfuncties in de bestuurskamers van bedrijven en organisaties. De gedachte dat deze gewetenloze individuen ook buiten de gevangensemuren te vinden zijn, en zelfs belangrijke leidinggevende posities zouden kunnen bekleden veroorzaakte een gevoel van afschuw in de samenleving.

Sinds het begin van het onderzoek naar psychopathie zijn er echter onderzoekers geweest die postuleerden dat psychopathie zich ook veelvuldig buiten de muren van gevangnissen manifesteert en voor kan komen in alle lagen van de bevolking. Data vanuit onderzoek laat zien dat in de samenleving ongeveer 1% van de mensen aan het psychopathische profiel voldoet. Over

deze psychopathische groep is veel minder bekend dan over de psychopathische groep in de gevangenis. Het is nog steeds veelal onduidelijk waar deze psychopathische groep zich mee bezig houdt, waar ze zich ophouden in de samenleving en of ze net zo antisociaal en crimineel zijn als de psychopathische individuen in de gevangenis en de TBBS instellingen.

Al ver voor de uitspraken van Hare in 2002 werd er in de kranten en andere media regelmatig bericht over grensoverschrijdende en fraudeleuze praktijken van vooraanstaande leiders bij financiële instellingen en in de politiek. Dit was echter de eerste keer dat in de media dit roekeloze en immorele gedrag in verband werd gebracht met psychopathie. Psychologen die het immorele gedrag van deze leiders hebben geanalyseerd hebben dit gedrag omschreven als leugenachtig, gewetenloos en egocentrisch. Daarnaast stelden deze psychologen vast dat deze leiders dit gedrag combineerden met een bepaald charisma, charme en overtuigingskracht. De combinatie van deze kenmerken vertoont een opvallende gelijkenis met wat in de psychologie en psychiatrie bekend staat als een psychopathisch persoonlijkheidsprofiel.

Hare's stelling met betrekking tot psychopathische individuen in de bestuurskamer is een weerspiegeling van de theorie dat er weleens een uiterlijke gelijkenis zou kunnen zijn tussen de competenties en eigenschappen waarnaar wordt gezocht in getalenteerde leiders en bepaalde kenmerken van psychopathie. Psychopathische individuen zijn vaak charmant, stressbestendig, en ze vertonen een natuurlijke sociale dominantie. Doordat zij emoties oppervlakkig ervaren en weinig last hebben van gevoelens van schaamte en schuld zouden zij in hun leiderschap gemakkelijk harde beslissingen kunnen nemen. Door hun gebrek aan geweten, hun zeer hoge mate van egocentrisme en hun antisociaal gedrag veronderstellen experts op het gebied van psychopathie echter dat psychopathische personen een groot risico vormen in leiderschapsposities. Het overgrote deel van het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders heeft dit beeld aangaande de negatieve gevolgen van de aanwezigheid van psychopathische leiders bevestigd. Desondanks wordt dit psychopathische leiderschapstype door onderzoekers beschouwd als een manifestatie van 'succesvolle' psychopathie, vooral in vergelijking met de criminele psychopathische persoon in de gevangenis. Alhoewel psychopathische leiders in verband worden gebracht met verschillende negatieve gevolgen zijn ze wel in staat om leiderschapsposities te verwerven en deze ook voor langere tijd te behouden. De laatste 10 tot 15 jaar is de focus van het psychopathie onderzoek verruimd van het onderzoek naar psychopathie in de gevangenis naar deze 'succesvolle' psychopathische leider.

Opvallende bevindingen in het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders

Het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders, mede in vergelijking met het onderzoek naar psychopathie in de gevangenispopulatie staat nog in de kinderschoenen. Vanuit het beperkt aantal studies naar psychopathische leiders zijn wel een aantal voorlopige opbrengsten te benoemen. Tot nu toe zijn er, naast de negatieve consequenties van de aanwezigheid van psychopathische leiders, een aantal andere opvallende bevindingen die meer onderzoek behoeven:

1. Opbrengsten uit onderzoek lijken er op te duiden dat het psychologische profiel van een psychopathisch leider op belangrijke punten zou kunnen verschillen van het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische crimineel in de gevangenis.
2. Studies laten zien dat psychopathische leiders vaak competent zijn in het verkrijgen en behouden van leiderschapsposities, ondanks de negatieve consequenties van hun leiderschap.

3. Onderzoek heeft schattingen opgeleverd die aangeven dat er weleens vier keer zoveel psychopathische individuen in leiderschapsposities zouden kunnen zijn dan dat er gemiddeld in de bevolking voorkomen.
4. Opbrengsten uit onderzoek lijken er op te wijzen dat de psychopathische leider bepaalde persoonlijkheidskenmerken inzet om naar buiten een aantrekkelijk beeld van een sterke en competente leider uit te stralen.

Het doel van dit proefschrift en toegepaste onderzoeksmethoden

In dit proefschrift is naar al deze vier thema's onderzoek gedaan en is er nieuwe theorie ontwikkeld aangaande deze specifieke onderwerpen. Het onderzoek naar deze thema's heeft uiteindelijk geleid tot een nieuw theoretisch model van het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider: het PL-model.

Dit proefschrift heeft als doel om het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders te bevorderen door het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider in kaart te brengen op grond van onderzoek en theorie. Dit doel is bereikt door gebruik te maken van een combinatie van twee onderzoeksmethoden: kwalitatieve meta-analyse en kwalitatieve vergelijkende analyse.

Het model van de psychopathische leider waarin het psychologische profiel uiteen wordt gezet is ontwikkeld in verschillende fasen. Deze ontwikkelingsfasen zijn weergegeven in de eerste vier hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift, waarna in hoofdstuk 5 de conclusies van dit proefschrift uit de eerste vier hoofdstukken zijn samengevat en hoofdstuk 6 de suggesties voor toekomstig onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders beschrijft.

Conclusies per hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift

In *hoofdstuk 1* wordt een eerste basismodel van het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider gepresenteerd op grond van een theoretische indeling van primaire en secundaire psychopathische subtypen. Daarbij is het onderzoek in dit proefschrift gericht geweest op het onderscheiden van die psychopathische subtypen die vanuit onderzoek het meest gerelateerd worden aan succes en adaptiviteit (aanpassingsvermogen) in vergelijking met die psychopathische subtypen die duidelijk het profiel van het psychopathische individu in de gevangenis weergeven en die gerelateerd worden aan onsuccesvolle uitkomsten. In dit hoofdstuk wordt geconcludeerd dat het profiel van de psychopathische leider het meest gerelateerd kan worden aan één specifiek subtype binnen de verdeling van psychopathische subtypen vanuit de literatuur: namelijk het *gecontroleerde primaire psychopathische subtype*. Aan de hand van het fictieve personage van politiek leider Frank Underwood in de Netflix serie *House of Cards* worden de verschillende persoonlijkheidskenmerken uit dit basismodel van de 'succesvolle' psychopathische leider geïllustreerd aan de hand van scènes uit deze serie.

In *hoofdstuk 2* wordt het basismodel van het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider verfijnd door te onderzoeken op welke manier de persoonlijkheidskenmerken van de psychopathische leider er toe bijdragen dat deze leider 'succesvol' is in een leiderschapsfunctie. In dit hoofdstuk wordt geconcludeerd dat een samensmelting van de kenmerken zelfbeheersing (*self-control*) en het zoeken naar sensatie (*sensation seeking*) ervoor zorgen dat een psychopathische leider in staat is om een leiderschapsfunctie te verkrijgen en te behouden. Deze hoge mate van zelfbeheersing in het profiel van de psychopathische leider vormt een belangrijk verschil met het profiel van het crimineel psychopathische individu in de gevangenis. Dit laatste profiel laat juist

een hoge mate van impulsiviteit en een lage zelfbeheersing zien. Belangrijk in dit hoofdstuk is de conclusie dat de opbrengsten van het leiderschap van de psychopathische leider vooral succesvol lijken te zijn voor de psychopathische leider zelf, de opbrengsten voor diens omgeving lijken veelal negatief. Daarom wordt er in dit proefschrift steeds gesproken over het ‘succes’ van de psychopathische leider.

In *hoofdstuk 3* wordt de focus gelegd op een persoonlijkheidskenmerk in het profiel van de psychopathische leider waarmee een mogelijke verklaring wordt gegeven voor (schattingen van) de hoge prevalentie van psychopathische leiders. Volgens deze schattingen zouden er bijna vier keer zo veel psychopathische individuen in leiderschapsposities te vinden zijn dan dat psychopathie gemiddeld in de samenleving voorkomt (3,9% ten opzichte van tussen de 0,6% tot 1,2 %). In dit hoofdstuk is onderzocht wat psychopathische individuen motiveert in het leven. In dit proefschrift is er nieuwe theorie ontwikkeld over wat de motieven zijn voor bepaalde psychopathische individuen om leiderschapsfuncties na te streven. De belangrijkste motivatie: de behoefte aan sociale dominantie (*need for domination*) wordt uiteengezet en er wordt verklaard waarom deze motivatie belangrijker is voor de psychopathische leider dan andere belangrijke drijfveren in het leven, zoals bijvoorbeeld de behoefte aan de verbinding met anderen (*need for affiliation*).

In *hoofdstuk 4* wordt uiteengezet welke kenmerken uit het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider ten grondslag liggen aan de hoge mate van aantrekkelijkheid van de psychopathische leider. Deze aantrekkelijkheid zou er toe bij kunnen dragen dat leiders met een psychopathisch profiel vaak geselecteerd worden voor een leiderschapspositie. Deze hoge mate van aantrekkelijkheid in het profiel van de psychopathische leider is een combinatie van een groep van persoonlijkheidstrekken die samen *boldness* vormen. *Boldness* in het psychopathische profiel is een combinatie van een zelfverzekerde uitstraling, stressbestendigheid en sociale dominantie. In dit hoofdstuk is nieuwe theorie ontwikkeld over de wijze waarop de persoonlijkheidskenmerken behorende bij *boldness* ingezet worden door de psychopathische leider als een instrument om de juiste indruk op anderen te maken. *Boldness* zou bij een psychopathische leider voornamelijk de functie kunnen vervullen van het creëren van het aantrekkelijke masker van een sterke en invloedrijke leider, en zo de onderliggende egocentrische en antisociale intenties te verbergen voor de buitenwereld. In dit hoofdstuk wordt op grond van onderzoek en theorie geconcludeerd dat *boldness* in hogere mate aanwezig is in het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider in vergelijking met het profiel van de crimineel psychopathische groep in de gevangenis. Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat de persoonlijkheidsstoornis psychopathie bij psychopathische leiders nog moeilijker te identificeren is dan bij psychopathische criminelen in de gevangenis.

De verschillende studies in dit proefschrift vormen samen nieuwe theorie met betrekking tot het psychologische profiel van de psychopathische leider. Met behulp van dit profiel kunnen nieuwe onderzoeken naar psychopathische leiders gericht en adequater worden ingezet.

Toekomstig onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders

Toekomstig onderzoek naar psychopathische individuen in leiderschapsposities is van groot belang omdat onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat er mogelijk veel negatieve consequenties verbonden zijn aan de aanwezigheid van een psychopathische leider. Uit deze onderzoeken blijkt dat er sprake is van demotivatatie van medewerkers, een groot verloop van personeel, grensoverschrijdend gedrag naar medewerkers en verbaal agressieve benadering van medewerkers, onethisch en immoreel handelen door deze leider, slechte bedrijfsprestaties en incompetentie van deze leider. Ook is er onderzoek dat psychopathische leiders in verband brengt met witteboordencriminaliteit.

Het is geen gemakkelijke taak om onderzoek naar leiders met een psychopathische persoonlijkheid te ondernemen. De opbrengsten van dit proefschrift kunnen een belangrijke eerste stap vormen voor nieuw onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders. Door nieuwe theorie over het specifieke profiel van de psychopathische leider kunnen betere keuzes worden gemaakt over de te gebruiken assessment instrumenten en vragenlijsten. Op grond van de resultaten van dit proefschrift zijn enkele richtlijnen voor de keuze van de meest geschikte assessmentinstrumenten om psychopathische leiders te onderzoeken te benoemen. Onderzoeksinstrumenten die het facet van *boldness* binnen het psychopathische profiel meten zijn geschikter voor dit onderzoek dan instrumenten die dit facet niet expliciet meten. Ook is het van belang dat er instrumenten worden ingezet die verschillende typen impulsiviteit (*sensation seeking*, gecombineerd met een bepaalde mate van zelfbeheersing: *high self-control*) meten in plaats van een brede operationalisatie van impulsiviteit. Daarbij zou vervolgens verder ingezoomd kunnen worden op verschillende subtypen binnen de operationalisatie van *sensation seeking* omdat bepaalde vormen typerend zijn voor de psychopathische leider maar niet voor het crimineel psychopathische individu in de gevangenis. Ten slotte: de behoefte aan sociale dominantie (*the need for domination*) in het psychopathische profiel is een thema waar tot nu toe weinig aandacht aan is besteed in het psychopathie onderzoek in zijn algemeenheid of in het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders in het bijzonder. Voor het meten van dit kenmerk in het profiel van de psychopathische leider zijn assessments die een interview bevatten waar uitingen van sociale dominantie naar anderen wordt getriggerd en gemeten de aangewezen methode.

Onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders wordt verder bemoeilijkt doordat de prevalentie van psychopathische personen in leiderschapsfuncties lager is dan psychopathie in de gevangenispopulatie (schattingen van 3,9 % in vergelijking met ongeveer 25% in gevangenispopulaties). Het model van de psychopathische leider dat ontwikkeld is in dit proefschrift kan bijdragen aan het effectiever detecteren van mogelijke casussen voor het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders. In het PL-model wordt weergegeven dat psychopathische leiders door hun hogere mate van zelfbeheersing (self-control) en hun sociale vaardigheden (impression management) lange tijd zeer bekwaam kunnen zijn in het verbergen van hun gebrek aan geweten en antisociale intenties achter een masker van een aantrekkelijke en competente leider. Het detecteren van mogelijke casussen voor het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders zou zich moeten richten op die charmante en charismatische leiders die voor het oog van de buitenwereld goed lijken te functioneren maar die tegelijkertijd regelmatig geassocieerd worden met bepaalde 'red flags'. Voorbeelden van 'red flags' zijn: verdenkingen en aanwijzingen voor het veelvuldig gebruik van leugens en manipulatie of ander onethisch of immoreel gedrag, een hoge mate van de behoefte aan sociale dominantie (*the need for domination*), maar ook sterk verminderde werkmotivatie van medewerkers, groot verloop van personeel en tekenen van een angstcultuur op de werkvloer. Deze 'red flags' zouden verband kunnen houden met de gemaskeerde psychopathische trekken zoals lage empathie, gewetenloosheid en antisociaal gedrag in een psychopathische leider. Deze werkwijze zou tot potentiële casussen van psychopathische leiders kunnen leiden. Van groot belang is dat deze taak door een onderzoeker uitgevoerd dient te worden die over kennis en vaardigheden beschikt ten aanzien van het in kaart brengen van de psychopathische persoonlijkheid om zo een afgewogen inschatting te maken over potentiële casussen voor zulk onderzoek. Dit onderzoek dient daarbij uitgevoerd te worden met de inachtneming van de ethische regels die van kracht zijn voor het uitvoeren van dit onderzoek.

De grootste uitdaging in het onderzoek naar psychopathische leiders is de ontoegankelijkheid van deze groep. In tegenstelling tot de psychopathische groep in de gevangenis, is de kans klein dat leiders bereid zijn medewerking te verlenen aan onderzoek naar psychopathie. Tot op heden is er geen gemakkelijke en eenduidige oplossing voor dit probleem.

Hopelijk zullen er in de nabije toekomst mogelijkheden voor onderzoek ontstaan bij Human Resource afdelingen van bedrijven, organisaties en instellingen. Als er bij deze HR afdelingen een groter bewustzijn zal ontstaan ten aanzien van de gevaren die te relateren zijn aan leiders met een psychopathisch profiel zullen zij mogelijk gemotiveerd kunnen worden om ruimte te creëren om ook psychopathische trekken zoals gedefinieerd in het PL-model te screenen bij kandidaten voor belangrijke leiderschapsfuncties. Dit zou niet alleen nieuwe kennis kunnen opleveren voor het onderzoek naar psychopathie en naar psychopathische leiders maar ook een belangrijke preventieve werking kunnen hebben ten aanzien van de mogelijke negatieve gevolgen van de aanwezigheid van een psychopathische leider in een organisatie of instelling. In het geval van politiek leiderschap of leiderschapsfuncties binnen financiële instellingen of andere cruciale organisaties in de samenleving zou een screening van deze persoonlijkheidskenmerken van het allergrootste belang zijn. De aanwezigheid van psychopathische leiders op zulke vitale posities zou een groot risico kunnen vormen en onze maatschappelijke orde in ernstige mate kunnen ondermijnen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS/DANKWOORD

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Since my childhood I have always been interested in psychology and what differentiates one person from another. When engaging with an individual for prolonged periods of time certain patterns of emotions, behaviors, and personality traits become more evident. The variety of possible combinations of these psychological phenomena expressed by a human being is endless and as every combination is different from person to person this is what makes every individual unique. In this infinite variety of psychological profiles there is one group of people that has always fascinated me since I started to study psychology: those with the psychopathic personality disorder. Individuals with a psychopathic profile show an intriguing but frightening combination of apparently contradictory personality traits that may be challenging to conceptualize in our minds. The idea that a paradoxical composition of an initially outward attractive and trustworthy appearance and behavioral pattern may conceal a superficial emotional life and an egotistical and anti-social behavioral structure is for most of us counterintuitive to envision, let alone accept. The awareness that these psychopathic individuals may not only be found in prison environments, but that some of them may occupy important leadership positions in business and politics may be even harder to take in.

There are several great scholars whose work has helped me to gain insights into this intriguing but complex concept. Among them are Robert Hare, Scott Lilienfeld, David Lykken, Paul Babiak, Christopher Patrick, Jason Hall, Stephen Benning, Hervey Cleckley, and many others.

I want to express my gratitude to one prominent scholar of psychopathy in particular. Scott Lilienfeld was one of the reviewers of my second article. It was a great honor and privilege to receive feedback and insights from one of the most influential researchers in the field. He saw potential in my writing and my plea regarding the importance of high self-control in the profile of the psychopathic leader. His kind words and his detailed points of feedback guided me to bring this article to another level and he helped me to gain more confidence in my work. Sadly, last year he passed away at the young age of 59. He was a giant of psychology and of the research of psychopathy. His students described him as a dedicated and warmhearted mentor who guided them in their path to become a critical researcher.

Ik ben veel dank verschuldigd aan mijn promotoren prof. dr. Emile Kolthoff en prof. dr. Jan Derksen. Jan, toen ik het plan had om onderzoek te gaan doen naar psychopatische leiders was jij diegene die geloofde in de mogelijkheden om dit thema te onderzoeken en je geloofde ook in mij, dat ik het in me had om dit tot een goed einde te brengen. Emile, jouw begeleiding en steun in het hele proces waren onmisbaar. Jouw aimabele en positieve inborst, jouw humor en je zorgzaamheid hebben mij geholpen om optimistisch door te blijven gaan, ook als het weleens tegenzat. Het College van Bestuur van Avans Hogeschool wil ik bedanken voor het faciliteren van dit promotietraject. Ook bedank ik het Expertisecentrum Veiligheid, het lectoraat Ondermijning, en de opleiding Social Work voor de ruimte en ondersteuning die ik gedurende het proces heb gekregen.

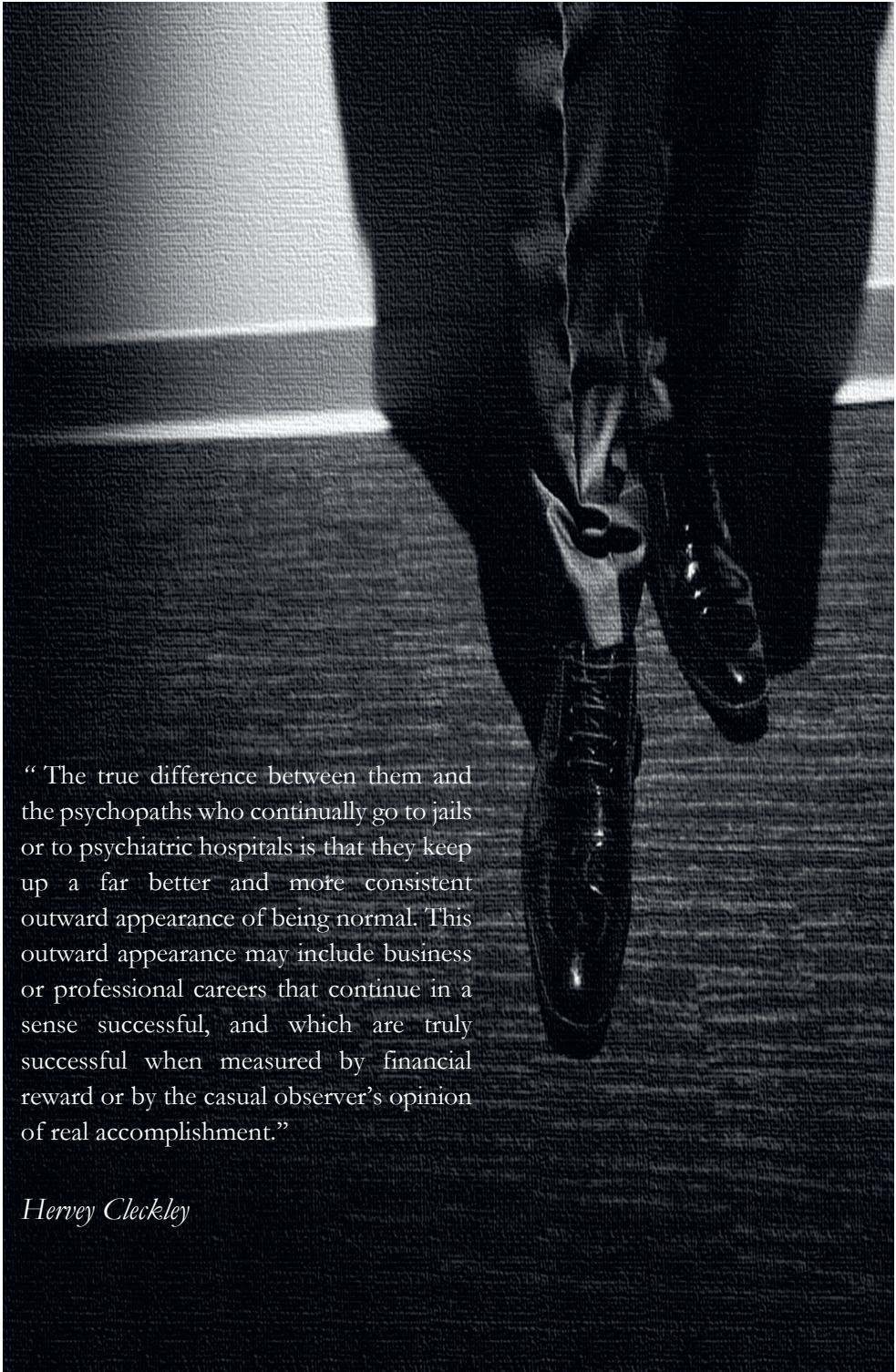
Ik had het niet gered zonder alle vrienden, bekenden en collega's die er in deze tijd voor me waren. Sommigen daarvan staan dicht bij me, sommigen iets verder, soms letterlijk en soms figuurlijk. Velen van jullie hebben de enge verhalen over psychopathische moordenaars moeten aanhoren, mijn klaagzangen over de 'pijn' bij het schrijven en de hobbels die ik steeds weer over moest. De mooie films, af en toe een concert of museumbezoek, weekendjes weg, boeiende gesprekken over boeken, films en documentaires en lekkere etentjes uit en thuis zorgden voor de nodige ontspanning en afwisseling. Ook de tijd en ruimte die ik kreeg op het werk, de lieve kaartjes, gesprekken met andere psychopathie onderzoekers, het meeleven en de interesse in dit traject waren belangrijk. Velen hebben me ook regelmatig geholpen met praktische zaken zoals het maken van modellen, het controleren van de literatuurlijst, het bestuderen en analyseren van casussen, het opzoeken van literatuur, het doorlezen van tekst, het bewerken van foto's, het perfectioneren van de lay-out, het nazoeken van bronnen etc. etc. Ik ben dank verschuldigd aan Paul, Niels, Viola, Diana, Henny, Michel, Henk, Hans, Aimee, Gabriëlle, Chantal, Inti, Mieke, Eelco, Karin, Tonnie, Jeanet, Imke, Klaas, Frank, Lisette, Bartje, Reyhana, Miriam (en nog vele anderen) voor alle directe en indirecte steun en inzet bij mijn promotie traject. Rachel, jij was onmisbaar en bepalend voor de publicatie van mijn artikelen. Onur, het inzicht over wat psychopathie is en wat het niet is, hoe primaire psychopathie verschilt van secundaire psychopathie en de complexiteit van deze stoornis had ik niet kunnen verkrijgen zonder jouw kennis en de vele gesprekken die we er over hebben gehad.

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Ten slotte, mijn ouders Wiel en Hanny Palmen. Ik had jullie er graag bij gehad vandaag. Dat zijn jullie in gedachten wel. Papa, ik heb tijdens dit traject vaak gedacht aan wat je vroeger vaak tegen mij zei: 'Je kan niet meer dan je best doen'. Terugkijkend op dit lange en moeilijke proces kan ik bevestigen dat ik jouw wijze woorden nog steeds in me draag en dat ze mij al die jaren tot grote steun zijn geweest.

Désiré Palmen
Nijmegen, 2021



“ The true difference between them and the psychopaths who continually go to jails or to psychiatric hospitals is that they keep up a far better and more consistent outward appearance of being normal. This outward appearance may include business or professional careers that continue in a sense successful, and which are truly successful when measured by financial reward or by the casual observer’s opinion of real accomplishment.”

Hervey Cleckley

“Not all psychopaths are in prison.
Some are in the Boardroom.”

Robert Hare



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