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Jones, D.N., & Paulhus, D.L. (2011). Differentiating the Dark Triad within the interpersonal circumplex. In L.M. Horowitz & S. Strack, *Handbook of interpersonal psychology: Theory, research, assessment, and therapeutic interventions* (pp.249-269). New York: Wiley & Sons.

# 15 DIFFERENTIATING THE DARK TRIAD WITHIN THE INTERPERSONAL CIRCUMPLEX

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## INTRODUCTION

The Dark Triad of personality consists of three conceptually distinct, but empirically overlapping constructs: Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Psychopathy is a personality trait characterized by callousness, impulsive thrill-seeking, and criminal behavior. Narcissism, on the other hand, is associated with grandiosity, egocentrism, and a sense of personal entitlement. Machiavellianism is marked by strategic manipulation. Although conceptually distinct, all three project onto Quadrant 2 of the interpersonal circumplex. In this chapter, we investigate which aspects of the dark personalities can be captured within interpersonal space and which cannot. We conclude that additional moderating variables are necessary to elucidate the distinctive behavioral style of the Dark Triad members.

To begin, we examine and then refute the notion that these three personalities are the same construct. Our refutation draws on a review of recent empirical evidence showing key differences. To determine the fundamental roots of these differences,

we return to the seminal theorists of each construct and uncover two systematic moderators: temporal orientation and identity need. We go on to discuss in detail several new studies supporting the efficacy of these two moderators for differentiating the Dark Triad. We conclude with an attempt to integrate the two moderators within interpersonal theory.

If successful, this approach will permit us to predict the distinct behavioral patterns of the Dark Triad without losing sight of their overlapping nature. At a broader level, we seek to articulate what it may mean for personality variables to share similar interpersonal space while displaying different behavioral manifestations.

## UNIFICATIONIST THEORIES

Not all researchers agree that it is worthwhile to discriminate the Dark Triad. Evidence for that unificationist position can be organized into three sources: circumplex research, trait research, and evolutionary arguments. In each of the three subsections below, we provide the strongest case for the unificationist position.

### Evidence From Circumplex Research

In terms popularized by Bakan (1966), two basic themes underlie social interactions: agency (getting ahead) and communion (getting along). When positioned as the axes of a two-dimensional space, agency and communion provide a powerful framework for representing individual differences in both normal and abnormal behavior (Leary, 1957). A plot of all possible blends of the two tendencies maps out a circular pattern now known as the interpersonal circumplex (e.g., Wiggins, 1979). The same circular pattern emerges whether the plotted variables are trait adjectives (Gurtman, & Pincus, 2000; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985), trait statements (P. M. Markey & Markey, 2009), motives (Locke, 2000), values (Trapnell & Paulhus, in press), or interpersonal problems (Horowitz, Alden, Wiggins, & Pincus, 2000). The blends are held to capture more than the weighted sum of the two motives: Each quadrant represents a unique interpersonal perspective (for a recent review, see Horowitz, 2004a).

For example, Quadrant 2 of the interpersonal circumplex (i.e., high-agency low-communion) is inhabited by individuals variously characterized as arrogant, calculating, callous, and manipulative. Another label, unmitigated agency, highlights the emphasis on personal achievement to the neglect of interpersonal connectedness. As indicated in Figure 15.1, circumplex projections invariably land the Dark Triad of personalities in Quadrant 2.

To date, only a handful of studies have simultaneously projected all three of the Dark Triad onto the circumplex (Paulhus, 2001, August). Those studies confirmed the location of the Dark Triad as depicted in Figure 15.1. Many other studies have included one or two of the Dark Triad in the context of the circumplex. We discuss the evidence for each triad member one at a time.

**Psychopathy.** As a rule, personality disorders with antisocial implications tend to fall in Quadrant 2 of the circumplex (e.g.,

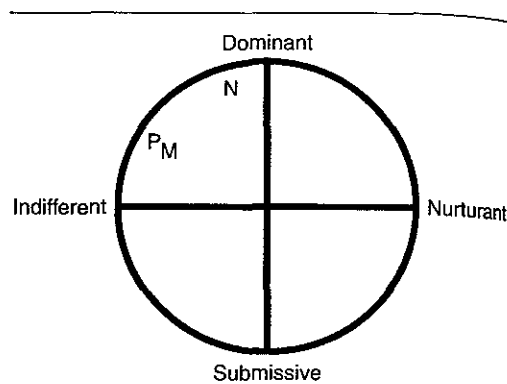


FIGURE 15.1 Typical Location of the Dark Triad on the Interpersonal Circumplex N = narcissism; P = psychopathy; M = Machiavellianism.

Pincus, 2006; Ruiz, Dickinson, & Pincus, 2002; Strack & Lorr, 1994). This pattern holds for self-report measures of psychopathy collected on normal samples, that is, subclinical psychopathy (Blackburn & Maybury, 1985; Hicklin & Widiger, 2005; Salekin, Trobst, & Krioukova, 2001). The same pattern holds whether the circumplex is represented in terms of traits, values, or motives. This same circumplex location has even been found in adolescent psychopaths (Salekin, Leistico, Trobst, Schrum, & Lochman, 2005) suggesting a developmental continuity of psychopathic traits.

**Machiavellianism.** The same circumplex pattern has been found for Machiavellianism (see Jones & Paulhus, 2009). Measures of the construct are invariably positively correlated with agency and negatively correlated with communion, thus locating them in Quadrant 2 of the interpersonal circumplex of traits (Gurtman, 1992; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985) or values (Trapnell & Paulhus, in press).

**Narcissism.** Finally, narcissism (as measured with the Narcissistic Personality Inventory) shows the same pattern of associations with agency and communion (Bradlee & Emmons, 1992; Emmons, 1987; Ruiz, Smith, & Rhodewalt, 2001). The overall pattern was partially corroborated by Rhodewalt and Morf (1995), who found

that total NPI scores with communion, but with agency.<sup>1</sup> Summing the relevant research (narcissism is associated weakly) with communion with agency. Again, it is of the interpersonal circumplex.

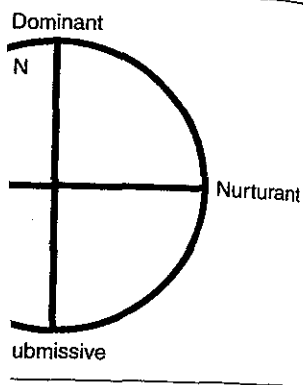
**Summary.** It is evident that the circumplex projections of Machiavellianism and psychopathy are identical. Narcissism loads more positively on communion. Nonetheless, the Dark Triad fall in Quadrant 2 of the circumplex. This location of the circumplex is measured in terms of goals, values, or psych

### Evolutionary Psychology

Several evolutionary psychologists argue that the Dark Triad personalities are positive for the same reasons that can be subsumed with Machiavellianism (Mealey (1995), for example, exploitative tendencies). A given population with a limited number of successful individuals because the advantage they decrease as the population grows. In making these arguments, they use the term *psychopathy* and *Machiavellianism*.

Another evolutionary psychologist, Near, and Miller (1995) argue the notion that Machiavellianism is a variety of societal strategies. Societal colleagues argued that a society of noncheaters would eventually short-cut themselves to short-term gains after which they will be detected and their repercussions will erode their actions (Wilson).

A third group, Babiak (2002) articulated how individuals use exploitative strategies both impulsive and



Location of the Dark Triad on circumplex N = narcissism; P = Machiavellianism.

and Pincus, & Dickinson, & Pincus, 1994). This pattern holds for measures of psychopathy complexes, that is, subclinical psychopathy (Burns & Maybury, 1985; 2005; Salekin, Trobst, & ...). The same pattern holds for the circumplex is represented in terms of values, or motives. This location has even been found for psychopaths (Salekin, ... & Lochman, 2005) and experimental continuity of

The same circumplex is used for Machiavellianism (Paulhus, 2009). Measures of agency and negative communion, thus locating the Dark Triad in the upper-right quadrant (Curtman, 1992; Wiggins & ... or values (Trapnell &

and narcissism (as measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory) show the same pattern of positive agency and communion (Curtman, 1992; Emmons, 1987; ...). The results partially corroborated the work of (1995), who found

that total NPI scores were uncorrelated with communion, but positively associated with agency.<sup>1</sup> Summarizing across all the relevant research, we conclude that narcissism is associated negatively (albeit weakly) with communion and positively with agency. Again, it lands in Quadrant 2 of the interpersonal circumplex.

**Summary.** It is evident from Figure 15.1 that the circumplex projections of Machiavellianism and psychopathy are virtually identical. Narcissism is nearby, although it loads more positively on both agency and communion. Nonetheless, the overall message is that the Dark Triad members all fall in Quadrant 2 of the interpersonal circumplex. This location applies whether the circumplex is measured in terms of traits, goals, values, or psychological problems.

#### Evolutionary Psychology

Several evolutionary theorists have implied that the Dark Triad personalities are adaptive for the same reason and, therefore, can be subsumed within a single concept. Mealey (1995), for example, detailed how exploitative tendencies can flourish up to a point. A given population can sustain only a limited number of such chronic "cheaters" because the advantage conferred on each of them decreases as their frequency increases. In making these arguments, Mealey uses the term *psychopathy* interchangeably with *Machiavellianism*.

Another evolutionary group, Wilson, Near, and Miller (1996), further reinforced the notion that Machiavellians are but one of a variety of societal cheaters. Wilson and colleagues argued that those who cheat in a society of noncheaters would best restrict themselves to short-term social interaction, after which they move on. Otherwise, they will be detected and reported, and repercussions will ensue as a consequence of their actions (Wilson et al., 1996, p. 4).

A third group, Book and Quinsey (2004) articulated how individuals who pursue exploitative strategies have benefited from both impulsive aggression and a lack of

empathy: the adaptiveness of this style has created and sustained psychopathy. The authors draw the distinction between the exploitative "cheater" and the impulsive "aggressor" (i.e., warrior-hawk). But they conclude that the two would naturally have coevolved to create a deceptive, aggressive, and impulsive character.

Other researchers have drawn on evolutionary theories to explain similar correlates obtained with measures of the Dark Triad. Jonason, Li, Webster, and Schmitt (2009), for example, reported that all three of the Dark Triad members were high in short-term mating. This finding is consistent with a previous report of similar (positive) correlations between Dark Triad members and rates of sexual activity (Harms, Williams, and Paulhus, 2001; Reise & Wright, 1996). The latter writers, however, argued that these similar associations ensued from different strategies and motivations.

Jonason and colleagues also reported no correlation between each member of the Dark Triad and long-term mating. More recent research has not supported these findings, suggesting instead that the Dark Triad members actually have very different long-term mating strategies as well as other sexual behaviors (Jones & Paulhus, 2010c).

The Jonason data found modest correlations among the Dark Triad (.28, .39, .20)—values that are similar to those from other studies. Surprisingly, Jonason and colleagues concluded that these modest associations provided evidence that the Dark Triad are interchangeable.

#### Evidence From Trait Approaches

Other researchers have been led by trait research to conclude that members of the Dark Triad are simply three labels for previously established personality constructs.

For example, in a series of studies, McHoskey, Worzel, and Szyarto (1998) compared various members of the Dark Triad to a variety of personality correlates. Dark Triad measures overlapped substantially and shared similar relationships to

variables such as disinhibition, forcefulness, self-reported antisocial behavior, prosocial behavior, and cooperativeness. All three were negatively related to impression management. McHoskey and colleagues concluded that Machiavellianism is nothing more than a mild form of psychopathy.

Evidence for unifying the Dark Triad can also be found in Big Five research. The most common finding is that all three members score low on agreeableness (Egan, 2009; Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006; Paulhus, 2001; Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Vernon, Villani, Vickers, & Harris, 2008; Widiger & Lynam, 1998). Although other personality correlates have been found, the correlation between the Dark Triad and disagreeableness is robust and consistent.

Interestingly, the relation of the Dark Triad to fundamental personality traits appears to shift under the six-factor model (Ashton et al., 2004). Subsequent factor analytic work by these researchers showed that measures of the Dark Triad can jointly be defined by a sixth personality factor called honesty-humility (Lee & Ashton, 2005). The convergence of the Dark Triad could not be explained with the Big Five alone. Thus the convergence of the Dark Triad members on their sixth factor helped advance the authors' "Big Six" model of personality (Lee & Ashton, 2005). Incidentally, their findings also support the unificationist view of the Dark Triad.

### Summary

Research based on the interpersonal circumplex appears to support the unificationist position. All three members of the Dark Triad locate in Quadrant 2: In other words, they score high on agency and low on communion. In Big Five trait terms, they share a common element of disagreeableness. Finally, research within an evolutionary framework supports the unificationist claim in that all three of the Dark Triad have a sexually promiscuous mating style. In sum, the unificationist arguments outlined in this section appear to justify

the allegation: Personality psychologists have unwittingly been referring to the same (dark) wine in three different bottles.<sup>2</sup>

### CONTRADICTIONARY EVIDENCE: YES, THEY DO DIFFER!

We will dispute the unificationist claim by pointing to several key studies. Because of their overlap, The Dark Triad members should often show the same correlates. If, however, they show some distinctive correlates, that evidence should suffice to indicate that the Dark Triad constructs require separate measurement.<sup>3</sup>

Even in the original paper, Paulhus and Williams (2002) provided evidence that the Dark Triad members have distinctive correlates. For example, narcissism was associated with openness and extraversion, whereas the other two were not. Machiavellianism and psychopathy were negatively correlated with conscientiousness whereas narcissism was not. Jakobowitz and Egan (2006) also showed differential correlates among the Dark Triad, although they were not entirely consistent with those found by Paulhus and Williams (2002).

Differences in associations with self-enhancement were also evident in the original Paulhus and Williams data. Narcissism was associated with higher scores on two objective measures of self-enhancement. A small association was observed with psychopathy but no association emerged for Machiavellianism. Interestingly, there were differences in cognitive functioning as well: Those high in Machiavellianism and psychopathy had higher than average verbal-nonverbal discrepancy scores, and those high in narcissism scored the highest on global IQ (Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

Dark Triad differences have also emerged with respect to antisocial behavior. Whereas psychopathy is a robust predictor of delinquency, Machiavellianism and narcissism are not (Williams & Paulhus, 2004). Psychopathy also is uniquely

associated with violent and antisocial behavior (Williams, McAuliffe, Harms & Paulhus, 2001) and piercings and tattoos (Nathanson & Williams, 2006a).

In relation to aggression, evidence has been established as a predictor across a range of contexts (Bushman & Maybury, 1985; Paulhus & Polich, 1998; Reidy, Zeichner, & Paulhus, 2008). This is consistent with research on Machiavellianism which shows no overall association with aggression, revenge, or violence (Paulhus, 2004). Narcissism is associated with aggression but only after provocation (Baumeister, Benjamin, & Valentine, 2002).

Differences among the Dark Triad also emerged in work on behavior. Machiavellianism has a social environment component whereas narcissism and psychopathy were almost entirely by genetic and environmental factors (Vernon, Vickers, & Harris, 2008). Psychopathy has an environment component in that individuals acquire Machiavellianism over time, and possess enough behavioral plasticity to adjust to their environment. In contrast, results with the other two members of the Dark Triad suggest a genetic component.

The same research team has followed a line of research in an evolutionary study addressing the origins of Machiavellianism (Campbell, Sherman, Villani, Vernon, 2009). Machiavellianism and psychopathy share a positive genetic correlation with the "moral development—that be a self-interest schema" (e.g., do what benefits the self). By contrast, psychopathy was the only member of the Dark Triad correlated (negatively) with stages of abstract moral reasoning. This finding suggests that those high in Machiavellianism, unlike those high in psychopathy, are not impaired in their ability to reason through moral dilemmas and see others' perspectives, but nonetheless.

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associated with violent and antisocial enter- tainment (Williams, McAndrew, Learn, Harms & Paulhus, 2001) and with sporting piercings and tattoos (Nathanson, Paulhus, & Williams, 2006a).

In relation to aggression, psychopathy has been established as a consistent predictor across a range of conditions (Blackburn & Maybury, 1985; Patrick & Zempolich, 1998; Reidy, Zeichner, & Martinez, 2008). This indiscriminant aggression contrasts with research on Machiavellianism, which shows no overall association with aggression, revenge, or violence (Williams & Paulhus, 2004). Narcissists do aggress, but only after provocation (Bettencourt, Talley, Benjamin, & Valentine, 2006).<sup>4</sup>

Differences among the Dark Triad have also emerged in work on behavior genetics. Machiavellianism has a substantial shared-environment component whereas narcissism and psychopathy were accounted for almost entirely by genetic and nonshared environmental factors (Vernon, Villani, Vickers, & Harris, 2008). The shared-environment component suggests that individuals acquire Machiavellian traits over time, and possess enough phenotypic plasticity to adjust to their environment. In contrast, results with the other members of the Dark Triad suggest a genetic etiology.

The same research team extended this line of research in an even more recent study addressing the origins of moral reason (Campbell, Shermer, Villani, Vickers, & Vernon, 2009). Machiavellianism and psychopathy share a positive phenotypic and genetic correlation with the lowest level of moral development—that based on a “personal interest schema” (e.g., it is right to do what benefits the self). By contrast, psychopathy was the only member of the Dark Triad correlated (negatively) with higher stages of abstract moral reasoning. This finding suggests that those high on Machiavellianism, unlike those high in psychopathy, are not impaired in their ability to reason through moral dilemmas; they can see others’ perspectives, but act selfishly nonetheless.

Taken together, the studies in this section indicate that—contrary to the unificationist claim—the Dark Triad members differ in important ways. While helpful, those studies do not specify the precise nature of those differences.

Note that we are not arguing the Dark Triad members are entirely different—some overlap does exist. Indeed, the range of data cited under the unificationist section above points to substantial overlap. But what characteristics overlap? And what characteristics are distinct? To tease apart the array of similarities and differences, we must return to the conceptual roots of each Dark Triad member.

#### A CONCEPTUAL REVIEW: GUIDED BY THE MASTERS

Our original rationale for studying narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism as a triad was their conceptual similarity (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). All three show an indifference to the harm they cause to others in the course of achieving their goals. We will summarize this common behavioral style under the label “exploitative,” that is, agentic striving at the expense of communal welfare.

This shared exploitativeness is consistent with the notion of convergent evolution: It is the process whereby selective pressures culminate in similar behaviors in different organisms, despite unique evolutionary roots (e.g., Buss, 1994). The concept has recently been addressed with respect to individual differences in humans (Fraleigh, Brumbaugh, & Marks, 2005). Applying the notion to the Dark Triad, we note the possibility that some behavioral similarities have emerged despite different evolutionary adaptations. That is, the exploitativeness common to the Dark Triad members may originate in three different personality dynamics.

Our review of the empirical literature above, however, leaves us with the task of tracking down the systematic differences

among the Dark Triad members. To clarify the nature of these differences, it is necessary to delve into the seminal works on each of the triad. Ideally we will be able to pinpoint cardinal features that distinguish the three.

#### Machiavellianism (According to Machiavelli and Sun Tzu)

Machiavellianism, as expounded and measured by Christie and Geis (1970), was based almost entirely on the 16th-century writings of Niccolo Machiavelli. The most recent review (Jones & Paulhus, 2009), however, reaches further back in intellectual history to include the writings of the Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu.

Originally written in 500 B.C., Sun Tzu's *Art of War* predates Machiavelli's (1513) advice to use duplicitous tactics. Sun Tzu placed special importance on strategic planning. Below we detail a number of strategies subsumed by this broad theme: long-term goals, planning and preparation, impulse control, situational adaptation, alliance building, and reputation maintenance. Because Machiavelli and Sun Tzu offered similar profiles for success, we will allude to their ideal characters more-or-less interchangeably and refer to them as Machiavellians.

*Long-term goals.* Possibly of greatest importance in characterizing Machiavellianism is his emphasis on long-term achievement through any means necessary (e.g., "... a prince who wishes to remain in power is often forced to be other than good"; Machiavelli, p. 75). Both Machiavelli and Sun Tzu consistently emphasized the avoidance of any behavior that might impair the realization of the long-term goal. Sun Tzu specified five such pitfalls: Recklessness, cowardice, a hot temper, pride, overconcern for his soldiers (i.e., empathy). To win in the long-term, one must be pragmatic, cautious, slow to anger, self-aware, and callous.

*Planning and preparation.* The advantage of preparatory work is also discussed by both master writers (e.g., "... never submit to idleness in time of peace, but rather endeavor to turn such time to advantages

so as to profit from it in adversity. Thus when fortune turns against him, he will be prepared to resist it" (Machiavelli, p. 61). In short, Machiavellians employ long-term preparations and planning in order to accomplish their goals. By contrast, Cleckley (1976) characterizes the psychopathic character by a dearth of preparation, planning, and strategy. These writers do not address the degree of planning by narcissists.

*Impulse control.* Both masters emphasized impulse control as key to victory. A commander should keep outright warfare to a minimum because of the toll it can take on morale (e.g., "No nation has ever benefited from protracted war"; Sun Tzu, p. 10). Tempting the enemy to make that mistake is ideal (e.g., "He causes the enemy to make a move and awaits him with full force"; Sun Tzu, p. 29).

A cautious style helps facilitate a rational cost-benefit analysis: "The wise leader in his deliberations always blends consideration of gain and harm" (Sun Tzu, p. 48). Similarly, Machiavelli recommended that a leader should take risks only when well-calculated. For example, one should cheat or aggress only when there is little cost or risk involved or the payoffs are sufficient (e.g., "Prudence lies in knowing how to distinguish between degrees of danger and in choosing the least danger as the best"; Machiavelli, p. 86).

*Situational adaptation.* Unlike the psychopathic individual who is rigidly locked into short-term orientation, Machiavelli and Sun Tzu (similar to Machiavelli) suggested that leaders should be able to adapt to the situation and be flexible in applying tactics both in the short-term and long-term. Long-term strategies need to be executed skillfully and include honesty as well as outright deception. Accordingly, Machiavellian tactics can take the form of alternating ruthlessness and benevolence (e.g., Machiavelli: "... he must stick to the good so long as he can, but, being compelled by necessity, he must be ready to take the way of evil"; Machiavelli, p. 69; Sun Tzu: "victory belongs to the man who

can master the strat. the straight"; p. 43)

*Alliance building.* Machiavellians can be especially callous individual. One can exploit the selfish. Hence, but one should divide and build alliances: "P and divide the spoils and distribute the profit

*Reputation.* Both Sun Tzu elucidated the optimal reputation. A persuasive message garnering support. Machiavellian theory of excessive force breeds ill-will, and poor morale may help you later. One ought to consider being obligated to inflict them all at once. (Sun Tzu, p. 42) and "The soldier should not attack the enemy without preparation" (Sun Tzu, p. 16). Such a psychopath who brakes on temptations gratification (Cleckley, 1976).

*Summary.* Based on the masters—Sun Tzu and Machiavelli—the key theme has emerged: Machiavellian must be flexible that incorporates flexible execution. A great asset because of deceptive and useful in the service. However, criminal activities are appropriate only when they are maladaptive responses to be eschewed. Expect only select behaviors (financial fraud, exhibited by Machiavelli) should be typified by the probability of detection.

Of course, the famous figures offered

can master the stratagem of the crooked and the straight"; p. 43).

*Alliance building.* Accumulating supporters can be especially challenging for the callous individual bent on selfishness. But one can exploit the fact that others are selfish. Hence, both masters argued that one should divide the spoils judiciously to build alliances: "Plunder the countryside and divide the spoil; extend territory and distribute the profits" (Sun Tzu, p. 42).

*Reputation.* Both Machiavelli and Sun Tzu elucidated the complexities of creating optimal reputations. Inspirational and persuasive messages can be effective in garnering support or raising fear. But Machiavellian theory discourages the use of excessive force because it creates distrust, ill-will, and poor morale among those who may help you later ("... in seizing a state, one ought to consider all the injuries he will be obligated to inflict and then proceed to inflict them all at once so as to avoid a frequent repetition of such acts" (Machiavelli, p. 42) and "The skillful strategist defeats the enemy without ever doing battle" (Sun Tzu, p. 16). Such advice would be lost on a psychopath who has no ability to put the brakes on temptation and seeks immediate gratification (Cleckley, 1976).

*Summary.* Based on insights gleaned from the masters—Sun Tzu and Machiavelli—a key theme has emerged: The successful Machiavellian must exploit long-term strategies that incorporate careful planning and flexible execution. Cold instrumentality is a great asset because it facilitates the application of deceptive and manipulative tactics, useful in the service of greater goals. However, criminal activity or coercion is appropriate only when the payoffs are sufficient; maladaptive responses such as revenge are to be eschewed. As a result, we would expect only select kinds of antisocial behavior (financial fraud, white-collar crime) to be exhibited by Machiavellians: Such crimes should be typified by high gain and low probability of detection.

Of course, the fact that these two historical figures offered such recommendations

does not guarantee their existence in contemporary societies. Nonetheless, they are abundant and they can be diagnosed via standard measures such as the Mach IV (Jones & Paulhus, 2009).

#### Psychopathy (According to Cleckley)

Cleckley's seminal work continues to influence how psychopathy is defined. Along with the exploitativeness common to the Dark Triad, Cleckley pointed to a unique feature of psychopaths, namely, their impulsive and inconsistent behavior (Cleckley, 1976). This maladaptive behavior is so pervasive that it seems to imply a self-sabotage dynamic. Although they practice lying, psychopaths fail to coordinate their duplicitous behaviors in such a way that would allow them to reap the benefits. Lacking impulse control, they appear to show no concern for reputation.

The result is a wide variety of maladaptive behaviors ranging from violence to casual irresponsibility and erratic inconsistency. A hair-trigger aggression is part of a reckless and hot-tempered profile. In seeking to obtain a goal through coercion, those high in psychopathy often strike for little benefit at high-risk times (e.g., "He will commit theft, forgery, adultery, fraud, and other deeds for astonishingly small stakes and under much greater risks of being discovered than will the ordinary scoundrel. He will, in fact, commit such deeds in the absence of any apparent goal at all"; Cleckley, p. 390).

Psychopaths are also theorized to be rigid in their tactics, seemingly unable to learn from mistakes (Cleckley, 1976). This rigidity makes sense insofar as the psychopath never feels regret, and does not engage in long-term planning. There exists little to no impulse control in the psychopath: Rather than the right time, they strike at any time. Unable to adjust, psychopaths are seemingly locked into a short-term frame of mind.

In sum, Cleckley argued that psychopaths are driven by impulsive

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gratification: that is, getting what they want and getting it now. Interestingly psychopaths seem to break several basic rules of the Machiavellian philosophy: they are reckless, impulsive, and hot-tempered. Of key importance to this chapter is the fact that a similar profile is evident in subclinical psychopaths (Lilienfeld & Andrews, 1996; Williams, Paulhus, & Hare, 2007).

#### Narcissism (According to Kernberg and Kohut)

The two writers most associated with theoretical conceptions of narcissism are Otto Kernberg and Heinz Kohut. Although there are subtle differences in their approaches, their contributions are typically cited together and interchangeably (e.g., Mollon, 1986; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). We will follow suit.

The masters concur that narcissism is characterized primarily by the presence of grandiosity in self-perception. As articulated by Kernberg (1975), "The main characteristics of these narcissistic personalities are grandiosity, extreme self-centeredness, and remarkable absence of interest in and empathy for others in spite of the fact that they are so very eager to obtain admiration and approval from other people" (p. 228). Grandiosity is driven ultimately by fragility of self (Kohut, 1951, p. 28).

According to both writers, there are strong identity elements to narcissism. In traditional psychoanalytic language, the narcissistic identity involves object relations (Kernberg, 1975, p. 29). The vulnerability of the grandiose self requires symbolic objects for confirmation (p. 43). Because the ego is insatiable in its need for continual reinforcement, the behavioral manifestations are chronic. One reason offered by Kohut and Kernberg is that narcissists remain psychologically tethered to long-past parental conflicts.

Consider how concern with one's identity might relate to exploitativeness of those in Quadrant 2. The subset high on identity need must come up with a satisfying

interpretation of their exploitativeness. A grandiose self-image would provide the identity that they seek. After all, if one is truly superior to others, it is quite appropriate to exploit them and ignore their feelings. Narcissists feel entitled to take what they want, and can rationalize it; the ensuing grandiosity then feeds back into their sense of entitlement (Kernberg, 1975, p. 17).

Narcissists will also praise those who provide them with narcissistic reinforcement, but shun, avoid, or openly derogate those who cease (or refuse) to do so (e.g., "... They envy others, tend to idealize some people from whom they expect narcissistic supplies and to depreciate and treat with contempt those from whom they do not expect anything (often their former idols)" (1975, p. 17). This rigid strategy involving a lofty elusive goal runs in stark contrast to the Machiavellian strategy. It even contrasts with that of the psychopath, who is motivated by more pedestrian, short-term goals.

*Summary.* For reasons offered above, the grandiose identity of narcissists provides a symbolic satisfaction of their motives. They seize any opportunity that would reinforce (and strike out at any threat to) their identity. Narcissists rarely engage in criminality per se, perhaps because such behavior brings about only practical or instrumental goals; it rarely helps to reinforce the ego.

Although they share exploitativeness with the other members of the Dark Triad, the etiology is different: Narcissists are callous and manipulative because their grandiosity and sense of entitlement lead to a disregard for others. The grandiose identity ensues from their attempt to extract meaning from knowledge of their exploitative interpersonal style: The only sensible interpretation is that they are indeed superior individuals and entitled to such interpersonal liberties.

#### Summary and Moderator Extraction

We have gleaned two major themes from our review of the seminal writers.<sup>5</sup> The first theme concerns a set of behavioral

tendencies that distinguish this trait from the other two in the Dark Triad: They are planning, flexibility, impulse control, goals, and reputation. They are long-term strategists. With exploitativeness, they are slow but cautious character.

It is this long-term orientation that distinguishes this trait from the other two in the Dark Triad: They are planning, flexibility, impulse control, goals, and reputation. This individual variable moderates the link between the trait and behavior; henceforth be referred to as a moderator.

A second theme that emerges has to do with the goals pursued by the members of the Dark Triad. Those high in Machiavellianism focus on goals such as sex and money, but those high in narcissism, however, involves the pursuit of goals at an abstract level. The reinforcement of the grandiose identity is the concern of these individuals. In sum, the necessity of a second moderator that distinguishes narcissism from the other two in the Dark Triad. We refer to this moderator as identity.

#### EXPLICATING THE MODERATOR

##### Moderator 1: Temporal Orientation

The first moderator is captured by contrasting the trait with the behavior. Some people more closely resemble a grasshopper (short-term focused) and some more closely resemble an ant (long-term focused). Some may sacrifice the long-term gain and some will not. The distinction as temporal orientation is that the long-term strategy is known constructs such as identity and delay of gratification, beyond them. It also includes reputation-build and identity.

In evolutionary terms, the trait (STO) may be adapted



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**Extraction**

major themes from minimal writers.<sup>5</sup> The a set of behavioral

tendencies that distinguish Machiavellianism from the other two members of the Dark Triad: They are planning, preparation, flexibility, impulse control, long-term goals, and reputation. Together they suggest a long-term strategist. When combined with exploitativeness, they yield a malevolent but cautious character.

It is this long-term and flexible orientation that distinguishes Machiavellians. It stands in sharp contrast with the short-term tactics associated with psychopathy and narcissism. This individual difference variable moderates the link between circumplex location and behavior and will henceforth be referred to as temporal orientation.

A second theme that emerges from the masters has to do with the tangibility of the goals pursued by the members of the Dark Triad. Those high in psychopathy and Machiavellianism focus on concrete goals such as sex and money. Narcissism, however, involves the pursuit of goals at an abstract level. The reinforcement of a grandiose identity is the consuming motive of these individuals. In sum, we argue for the necessity of a second overarching moderator that distinguishes narcissism: We will refer to this moderator as identity need.

**EXPLICATING THE MODERATORS**

**Moderator 1: Temporal Orientation**

The first moderator is captured in Aesop's fable contrasting the ant with the grasshopper. Some people more closely resemble the grasshopper (short-term focused) than the ant (long-term focused). Some individuals may sacrifice the long-term for short-term gain and some will not. We refer to this distinction as temporal orientation. Note that the long-term strategy subsumes well-known constructs such as impulse control and delay of gratification, but goes well beyond them. It also includes planning, flexibility, and reputation-building.

In evolutionary terms, short-term orientation (STO) may be adaptive in situations

where cues to appropriate behavior are not reliable or where life expectancy is short. Otherwise, in social species like humans, a long-term orientation (LTO) tends to be more adaptive (Figueredo et al., 2009).

Let's apply this notion to the interpersonal circumplex. The behavioral display of agency and communion should vary with the temporal orientation of the individual. Differences on this moderator should predict the different tactics to achieve their ends.

Key to our argument is that Quadrant 2 inhabitants differ along this dimension. Machiavellian individuals, in particular, are distinctive. Their exploitativeness is played out over time and in the service of long-term, higher order goals. By contrast, psychopathic and narcissistic individuals exhibit their exploitativeness with little regard for the future consequences.

To incorporate this moderator geometrically, a third dimension needs to be appended to the circumplex. Geometrically, this new dimension is represented by the vertical axis in Figure 15.2. Therefore, the similar locations of the Dark Triad in the interpersonal circumplex mask their distinct locations in three-dimensional space.

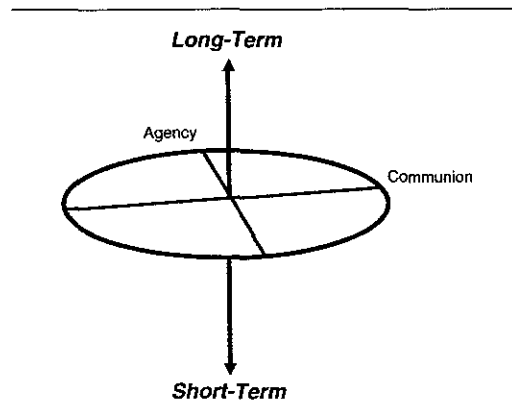


FIGURE 15.2 Interpersonal Circumplex Plus Moderator 1

### Recent Research

Recently, we have conducted several studies expressly designed to evaluate the moderating power of temporal orientation. The first example applied the distinction to academic dishonesty (Nathanson, Paulhus, & Williams, 2006b; Williams, Nathanson, & Paulhus, in press). Although both Machiavellianism and psychopathy were linked with academic dishonesty, they differed with respect to the preferred behavioral strategies. Impulsively driven "opportunistic" cheating (e.g., copying someone's multiple choice answers), was predicted by psychopathy scores (Williams et al., in press). Machiavellianism did not predict this risky and impulsive cheating strategy. By contrast, planned dishonesty (e.g., plagiarism on term papers) was predicted by Machiavellianism (Nathanson et al., 2006b).

A second study showed how temporal orientation influences behavioral tactics in the domain of sexual and romantic relationships. Jones and Paulhus (2010c) used a new and improved measure of sociosexuality that assesses both long-term as well as short-term mating orientation (Jackson & Kirkpatrick, 2007). Results showed that psychopathy was the only one of the Dark Triad associated with an exclusively short-term profile: They are sexually promiscuous, short-term focused, and strongly averse to any long-term romantic commitment. Psychopaths also have an abundance of casual sex, lifetime partners, and act unfaithfully.

A third study showed that Machiavellians adjust their mate retention tactics according to the type of relationship they are pursuing (long-term vs. short-term), whereas the other two personality types do not. For example, mate retention tactics, which are often coercive and ultimately destructive to a relationship, may serve the short-term benefit of keeping a partner from straying, even if it leads to the dissolution of the relationship in the future. Jones and Paulhus (2010c) showed that all three members of the Dark Triad engage in

similar mate retention tactics for short-term relationships, but only Machiavellianism was associated with a mitigation of those tactics when a long-term relationship was the goal.

A fourth study by Jones and Paulhus (2010b) directly contrasted the Dark Triad with respect to measures of impulsivity. Overall, psychopathy showed the strongest association. The correlation with narcissism was in the same direction, but weaker. Machiavellianism was either neutral or negatively associated with all forms of impulsivity. Interestingly, narcissism was exclusively associated with "functional" impulsivity or confidence, whereas psychopathy was exclusively associated with "dysfunctional" impulsivity (Dickman, 1990).

### Summary

We have detailed the need for a moderator variable to differentiate Machiavellians from the other two Dark Triad members. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that Machiavellians are long-term oriented whereas the other two members are short-term in orientation. Although exploitative like other members of the Dark Triad, Machiavellians have long-term relationships, are behaviorally flexible, are less impulsive, and cheat in a calculated fashion.

### Moderator 2: Identity Need

We now turn to a second moderator variable—identity need—which helps distinguish narcissism from the other two Dark Triad members. This construct captures the distinction between (a) goals of a concrete, instrumental nature, and (b) goals of an abstract, symbolic nature.<sup>6</sup> The latter goals involve making subjective meaning out of (often chaotic) objective life events (Frankl, 1968; May, 1953).

This distinction was anticipated in the social exchange theory of U. G. Foa and Foa (1974). They laid out an exchange dimension ranging from concrete to abstract.

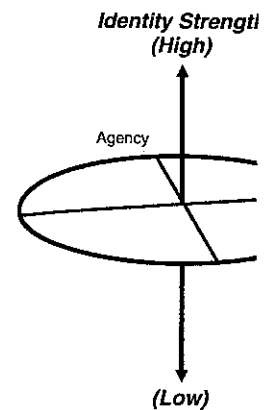


FIGURE 15.3 Interpersonal Moderator 2

Abstract goals included self-identity, whereas concrete goals included the attainment of goods or services. For example, communication theorists (1979) included a higher level of identity making others labeled "instrumental" (e.g., Clark & Delmonico, 1979). To say, instrumental and concrete goals map onto the agency motives of the interpersonal relationship respectively. The identity need responds to our identity need.

Experimental work in social psychology corroborates the moderational power of meaning, which periodically undermines meaning, which then motivates the creation of new meaning (Heine, Proulx, & Vohs, 2001). Individuals who encounter events are motivated to create meaning. Consistent with this, psychologists such as Maslow (1954) and meaning-making quell the anxiety of everyday life.

*Application to personal research.* Personal researchers deal with the level of identity (see Singer, 2004). Identity can be defined as the creation of an abstract integration of information about the

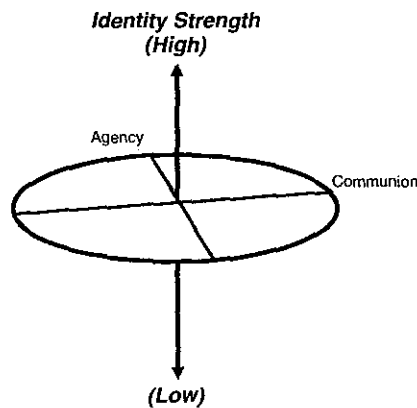


FIGURE 15.3 Interpersonal Circumplex Plus Moderator 2

Abstract goals included status, esteem, and identity, whereas concrete goals included the attainment of goods or services. Another example may be found in the literature on communication theorists: Clark and Delia (1979) included a higher order dimension labeled "identity making," along with two others labeled "instrumental" and "relational" (e.g., Clark & Delia, 1979). Needless to say, instrumental and relational dimensions map onto the agentic and communal motives of the interpersonal circumplex, respectively. The identity dimension corresponds to our identity need moderator.

Experimental work from contemporary social psychology corroborates the motivational power of meaning-making: Temporarily undermining meaning creates anxiety, which then motivates the extraction of new meaning from the situation (Heine, Proulx, & Vohs, 2006). For example, individuals who encounter an inexplicable event are motivated to find meaning in their situation. Consistent with existential psychologists such as Frankl and May, meaning-making quells the inevitable anxiety of everyday life.

*Application to personality.* Personality researchers deal with meaning-making at the level of identity (see special issue edited by Singer, 2004). Indeed, personality can be defined as the creation and maintenance of an abstract integration of a broad range of information about the self (Baumeister,

1986; McAdams, 1985). Included in one's identity are historical narratives as well as static traits (Singer, 2004). To Hogan and Smither (2001), identity-seeking represents a third motive on equal footing with the circumplex axes of "getting ahead" (agency) and "getting along" (communion). Figure 15.3 shows a third dimension along with communion and agency; this dimension concerns the strength of a motive to affirm one's identity.

Only recently have social scientists called for empirical attention to individual differences in identity need. Ryff (1989), for example, showed that concepts such as purpose in life and personal growth are missing from common conceptions of health, and are a dimension that must be explored when considering human goals (Ryff & Singer, 1998). Horowitz (2004b) described how strength of self-image has repercussions for psychopathology.

The proposition that the identity process has an interpersonal basis is not a new one. As the symbolic interactionists argued many years ago, identity emerges primarily from information inferred from others' reactions to the self (Cooley, 1956). Feedback from interactions is continually integrated into the self-concept and, if consistent, creates a strong identity (Singer, 2004).

In sum, identity need is a second individual difference variable that moderates the relation between circumplex location and observable behavior. We have argued that the concept is especially apt for articulating the process of turning meaning-making inward, that is, interpreting ongoing behavior and events in relation to the self. As such, it provides the moderator necessary for distinguishing narcissism from the other two members of the Dark Triad.

*Narcissism: A strong and positive identity.* This moderator of identity need explains where narcissists part company from subclinical psychopaths and Machiavellians. Whereas the latter two pursue functional goals such as sex, money, or status, narcissistic goals are abstract in nature. For the narcissist, the desired identity is clear: "I am a superior and entitled individual."

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Attaining this identity requires status, admiration, and respect rather than tangible resources or outcomes (Kernberg, 1975).

In searching for an identity that justifies their dispositions, narcissistic individuals face the difficult task of incorporating low communion into a positive identity. A strong sense of superiority and entitlement is necessary to justify their indifferent dominance of others. Moreover, the narcissistic need for maintaining this positive identity is a never-ending pursuit (Brown & Bosson, 2001).

By contrast, neither Machiavellians nor psychopaths appear to have the continual self-enhancement needs of the narcissistic individual. Without a strong identity need, these personalities remain unconcerned about their self-concept and focus on the instrumental benefits of their behavior.

*Our aggression study.* Recently, we designed an experiment that directly addresses the role that identity need plays in triggering aggression (Jones & Paulhus, 2010a). We drew on previous research indicating that narcissists aggress when their egos are threatened (e.g., Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Twenge & Campbell, 2003). Our rationale was that interference with the identity need process (via ego threat) should upset narcissistic individuals but not Machiavellians or psychopathic individuals.

Two forms of provocation were manipulated: Participants were randomly assigned to be threatened with an abstract ego threat (an insult or no insult to an essay they wrote). Their aggression was also measured before and after a physical threat (a blast of white noise). Results indicated that only the narcissists responded to the symbolic threat whereas only psychopaths responded to the physical threat. Machiavellians responded to neither threat.

Narcissists' identity as superior was threatened by the insult: At an abstract level it represented an identity threat (Vohs & Heatherton, 2001). Psychopaths did not respond to the insult; however, they did respond to a direct physical threat.

Although not on a par with other forms of physical threat (i.e., a punch in the face), a blast of white noise fits the definition of physical aggression because it is an act intended to do physical harm to another.

Also as predicted, Machiavellianism did not predict aggression under either provocation. Under the proper conditions, we suspect, Machiavellianism could be related to aggression: But such aggression would only occur for those high in Machiavellianism when the context was one of high profit and low risk (see Jones & Paulhus, 2009).

### Summary

We have called for a second moderator variable to differentiate narcissists from the other two Dark Triad members. Exploitative individuals (those in Quadrant 2), trying to interpret their own behavior and traits, find identity in a narcissistic self. For them, the question is: "Why am I indifferent to other people's feelings and want to manipulate them?" . . . and the answer is: "I am a superior person who is entitled to do so."

### INTEGRATION

Our challenge was to reconcile the distinctiveness of the Dark Triad within a common framework of the interpersonal circumplex. Although the three exploitative personalities project into the same quadrant in interpersonal space, their overt behavior often differs.

Our solution was to undo the knot with two twists—that is, two conceptual moderators. The first moderator is temporal orientation. An individual's interpersonal predispositions can be played out strategically in the long-term or impulsively in the short-term. Compared to the other two inhabitants of Quadrant 2, Machiavellians are more long-term in the pursuit of their goals.

A second conceptual moderator honors individual differences in identity need. Self-construals may or may not be transformed into a meaningful identity. In Quadrant 2, individuals high in identity need develop

the grandiose self-image narcissists. That choice necessary to explain a complex personal motives that appear. By contrast, Machiavellian paths may be aware of behaviors but have no need of them as an identity.

In sum, we combined variables with the two-dimensional plane to form a four-dimensional. We believe that it has application. Our goal of reconciling variables.

### Beyond Quadrant 2

Our two-moderator model explains the behavioral tactics in any quadrant of the circumplex. The first moderator: temporal orientation. Behaviors typically associated with Quadrant 1 can be short-term tactics. For example, one could express communal values through such as street protests for short-term tactical. Alternately, Machiavellians manifest these values through political movement, a long-term tactic.

Similar to temporal orientation, the identity need distinction is not unique to Quadrant 2 of the circumplex (indifferent and submissive might differentiate two quadrants). Those high in identity need create an identity of "alienated" individuals. Those low on the moderator acknowledge their negative identity. Quadrant 4 (submissive and communal) differentiated by the identity need. Those high on the moderator create an identity out of competition with others, whereas others create an identity of "alienated" individuals (Aron, Paris, & Aron, 1995).

We do not argue that circumplex research needs to be differentiated with respect to these moderators. For one thing, much interest is concerned with self-structure of self-reported

with other forms of punch in the face), fits the definition because it is an act of harm to another. Machiavellianism did not occur under either provocation conditions, we could be related to aggression would be high in Machiavellianism as one of high profit (Paulhus, 2009).

second moderator narcissists from the members. Exploitative (Quadrant 2), trying to behave and traits, find self. For them, the indifferent to other want to manipulate her is: "I am a superman to do so."

concile the distinction within a common interpersonal circumplex. Exploitative personalities in the second quadrant in interpersonal behavior often

undo the knot with conceptual moderator is temporal orientation; interpersonal preferences are laid out strategically and exclusively in the short-term. The other two inhabitants Machiavellians are the result of their goals. The moderator honors identity need. Self cannot be transformed. In Quadrant 2, identity need develop

the grandiose self-image characteristic of narcissists. That choice of identities is necessary to explain a combination of interpersonal motives that appears exploitative. By contrast, Machiavellians and psychopaths may be aware of their traits and behaviors but have no need to formulate them as an identity.

In sum, we combined two moderator variables with the two-dimensional IPC plane to form a four-dimensional system. We believe that it has applications beyond our goal of reconciling the Dark Triad variables.

#### Beyond Quadrant 2

Our two-moderator model may help explain the behavioral tactics of individuals in any quadrant of the IPC. Consider the first moderator: temporal orientation. Behaviors typically associated with Quadrant 1 can be short-term or long-term. For example, one could express these (agentically communal) values through activities such as street protests for the homeless, a short-term tactic. Alternatively, one could manifest these values by fashioning a political movement, a long-term tactic.

Similar to temporal orientation, the identity need distinction is not limited to Quadrant 2 of the circumplex. In Quadrant 3 (indifferent and submissive), identity need might differentiate two other characters. Those high in identity need might invoke an identity of "alienated victim" whereas those low on the moderator might simply acknowledge their negative traits. Quadrant 4 (submissive and communal) could also be differentiated by the identity need moderator. Those high on the moderator might create an identity out of their connections with others, whereas others might not (e.g., Aron, Paris, & Aron, 1995).

We do not argue that every finding in circumplex research needs to be reevaluated with respect to these two moderators. For one thing, much interpersonal research is concerned with self-perceptions: The structure of self-reported traits or values

can usefully be analyzed independently of observed behavior. Even behavioral analyses are likely to show that similar locations in the circumplex are matched by similar behavioral tactics. In some cases, there are no striking phenotypic differences to be explained. In the case of Quadrant 2, it seems impossible to understand our three exploitative personalities without the two moderators.

Nor should the addition of moderators be limited to our two offerings. Other moderators are likely to be necessary to deal with other sets of variables that project adjacently on the IPC. Tracey and colleagues, for example, have demonstrated the conceptual richness of adding moderators such as anxiety and self-esteem (Tracey, Rounds, & Gurtman, 1996). They went further to evaluate the shape of the IPC at different levels of the moderators.

Our two moderators were derived from seminal writers with the explicit purpose of clarifying three distinct personalities that are all associated with high agency and low communion. Although the circumplex is powerful on its own, moderators may help to disentangle apparently overlapping constructs that are actually distinct in other important ways. Left on the agenda is the examination of the shape of the IPC within various levels of the IPC (Tracey, Rounds, & Gurtman, 1996).

#### Underlying Personality Processes

From a process point of view, the IPC confluence of the Dark Triad members in Quadrant 2 may seem misleading. It is likely that their common tendency to be exploitative juxtaposes them in Quadrant 2. However, the underlying psychological mechanisms that led Machiavellians, psychopaths, and narcissists to exhibit these predispositions may differ substantially. Without clarifying the underlying motivations, it is difficult to fully understand personality constructs (Horowitz et al., 2006).

In fact, the IPC location of the Dark Triad may not jibe with the necessity to

use interpersonal theory for distinguishing them. A fully noninterpersonal interpretation is worth considering (cf. Shechtman & Horowitz, 2006). First is the case of narcissism.<sup>8</sup> That personality can be manifested without the involvement of other people (e.g., gazing into the mirror). The exploitation of others may simply be a side effect of self-centeredness. Other narcissistic behaviors, such as self-enhancement, derogation, and self-handicapping, are also consistent with this overriding egocentrism.

For psychopaths, exploitation of others may simply be a side effect of poor impulse-control. Assuming that their temptations are similar to nonpsychopaths, psychopathic individuals will cause more harm to more people. As their inadvertent harm to others accumulates, their callousness hardens much as a physical callus forms from consistent use (Blair, 2005).

Similarly, Machiavellian individuals may be motivated by goals similar to non-Machiavellians. If other people interfere with their goals, their indifference (lack of empathy) will play a role. Others are no different from inanimate pawns to be maneuvered. But Machiavellians often manifest their exploitativeness in noninterpersonal domains: For example, on tax returns they attempt to cheat businesses or society as a whole. In none of these cases is it necessary to engage directly with another person. In sum, the strong IPC projection of the Dark Triad may be misleading in implying that the Dark Triad behaviors are intrinsically interpersonal.

### Two Interpersonal Views?

Finally, we reflect on the Dark Triad in terms of interpersonal theory in the Sullivanian sense (e.g., Carson, 1969; Sullivan, 1953). All three of the variables can be construed as fundamentally interpersonal. Consider narcissism: It can be construed as an interpersonal trait to the extent that narcissists require others' praise to counter their underlying insecurity. According to Morf and Rhodewalt (2001), narcissists report that others' praise is more important

than personal accomplishments. One can also argue that Machiavellians require others to manipulate: Without others, they cannot satisfy their motivation for duping delight (Ekman, 1980). Finally, psychopathy may be interpersonal to the degree that psychopaths need someone to hurt. Their exploitation of others may reflect an intrinsic motivation to see others suffer.

Interestingly, these conjectures appear to undermine the claim that the low end of communion is indifference. Instead, low communion scores may entail an intrinsic motivation to exploit others. For example, some degree of interpersonal connection is required to explain such behaviors as aggression, hostility, mate-poaching, mating interference, cruelty, and torture. They go well beyond detachment; they are consistent with studies locating aggression as the polar opposite of communion (Hopwood, Koonce, & Morey, in press).

Yet we hesitate to dismiss the indifference interpretation because it has a solid theoretical and empirical basis (Horowitz, Wilson, Turan, Zolotsev, Constantino, & Henderson, 2006). Instead, a reconciliation of the interpersonal circumplex and interpersonal theory may require yet another moderator variable—one that distinguishes hot versus cold versions of low communion. Such an orthogonal moderator would help explain why many studies of the circumplex have landed variables such as hostile and cold adjacent to each other on the circumplex (e.g., Horowitz et al., 2006; Wiggins & Pincus, 1992).

Resolving these issues is well beyond the scope of the current chapter. A great deal of further empirical and theoretical work is required. One possible approach to determining the interpersonal saturation of the Dark Triad is to apply techniques developed by Shechtman and Horowitz (2006).

### CONCLUSION

The interpersonal circumplex harbors a wealth of information about interpersonal values, goals, motives, and traits. For the

most part, evaluation does not require the me here; the attributes are by the circumplex alone respect to the Dark Tri captures perfectly their c high agency and low cc of their common exploit

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most part, evaluation of these attributes does not require the moderators proposed here; the attributes are fully characterized by the circumplex alone. Specifically with respect to the Dark Triad, the circumplex captures perfectly their overlap: they are all high agency and low communion because of their common exploitative tendencies.

An accurate evaluation of the behavioral tactics of the Dark Triad, however, requires both the circumplex location and a specification of one or both of the moderators—temporal orientation and identity need. If the moderators prove equally useful in the other quadrants, a more wholesale integration with the circumplex might be in order.

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accomplishments. One can Machiavellians require: Without others, they motivation for duping (80). Finally, psychopaths personal to the degree need someone to hurt. If others may reflect an to see others suffer.

These conjectures appear to imply that the low end of the circumplex entails low motivation for duping others. For example, the interpersonal connection can such behaviors as mate-poaching, matricide, and torture. They are consistent with aggression as the low end of the circumplex (Hopwood, 2006).

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## NOTES

1. Most similar in location to the other Dark Triad members is the NPI facet labeled "exploitative-entitled."
2. Convinced by the unificationist arguments, Lilienfeld has concretized the unificationist position in his influential measure of antisocial behavior. The Psychopathic Personality Inventory (PPI) subsumes all three Dark Triad members under one label, "psychopathy" (Lilienfeld & Andrews, 1996).
3. Later in this chapter, we detail several other studies designed specifically to explain this distinctiveness within a moderated circumplex.
4. Our most recent research on this issue is detailed in the moderator section later in this chapter.
5. We acknowledge that other important writers on these topics take rather different theoretical positions.
6. The notion of meaning-making has strong philosophical roots. In the existential literature, the creation of symbolic representations out of mundane human events was central to the writings of

philosophers such as Nietzsche, and Frankl and Maslow. For example, Maslow argued that the chaos of life is an inevitable anxiety. We must acknowledge grandiosity as a moderator of the insecurity, for

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philosophers such as Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, and psychologists such as Frankl and May. Frankl (1968), for example, argued that meaning-making was a motive that transcended biological systems and concrete goals. May (1953) argued that extracting meaning from the chaos of life is necessary to overcome the inevitable anxieties of life.

7. We must acknowledge alternatives to grandiosity as the key element of this moderator dimension. Fundamental insecurity, for example, may be the

psychological mechanism that distinguishes narcissists from the other Dark Triad members. May (1953), for example, argued that anxiety drives a fundamental search for meaning, which at the personality level creates an identity need.

8. A less explored variant, *vulnerable narcissism*, entails an even more complex process model (Dickinson & Pincus, 2003). It also falls in Quadrant 2, but may require another moderator—neuroticism, perhaps.

to the other Dark Triad NPI facet labeled

inflationist argument concretized the concept in his influential behavior. The Narcissism Inventory (PPI) Dark Triad member "psychopathy" (Miller, 1996).

We detail several facets specifically to address the differences within a

focus on this issue is presented in a section later in

other important factors like rather differ-

meaning-making has been discussed. In the existence of symbolic and mundane human activities the writings of