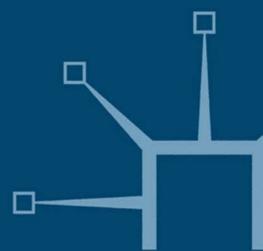
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Corporate Psychopaths

Organisational Destroyers

Clive R. Boddy



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Contents

List	of Tables	vi
List	of Figures	viii
Ack	nowledgements	ix
1	Introduction – Corporate Psychopaths as Organisational Destroyers	1
2	The Origins of Corporate Psychopaths	26
3	Corporate Psychopaths, Bullying, Conflict and Unfair Supervision in the Workplace	44
4	Corporate Psychopaths, Corporate Social Responsibility and Organisational Commitment to Employees	63
5	Corporate Psychopaths and Organisational Constraints	77
6	Corporate Psychopaths and Workload	87
7	Corporate Psychopaths and Job Satisfaction	93
8	Corporate Psychopaths and Organisational Seniority	99
9	Corporate Psychopaths and Organisational Type	113
10	Corporate Psychopaths and Withdrawal from Work	120
11	Critical Incidents in the Behaviour of Corporate Psychopaths	129
12	Encouragement of Corporate Psychopaths by Organisations	137
13	Corporate Psychopaths Compared with Other Dark Leadership Personalities	143
14	The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis	163
15	Ethical Issues Involving Corporate Psychopaths	167
Refe	erences	176
Ind	ех	195

Tables

1	identification of Corporate Psychopaths in this research	14
2	Items for the conflict and bullying construct	15
3	Items for the corporate social responsibility construct	16
4	Items for the organisational constraints construct	17
5	Items for the workload construct	17
6	Items for the job satisfaction construct	18
7	Items for the withdrawal construct	19
8	Summary reliability statistics	20
9	Pearson's correlation matrix for all constructs	21
10	Regression Model 1 (independent variable: corporate	
	psychopathy)	22
11	PCL-R characteristics of psychopaths	28
12	Reported frequency of witnessing unfavourable	
	treatment of others at work (bullying)	49
13	Reported frequency of getting into	
	arguments with others at work	51
14	Reported frequency of people yelling	
	at respondent at work	51
15	Reported frequency of people being	
	rude to respondent at work	52
16	Reported incidence of experiencing conflict and bullying	53
17	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for conflict and bullying	54
18	Supervisor fairness	54
19	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for supervisor unfairness and lack of interest	55
20	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for corporate social responsibility	68
21	Reported agreement and disagreement on corporate	
	social responsibility and organisational	
	commitment variables	72
22	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for organisational constraints	80
23	Reported incidence of workload items	88
24	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for workload	89

25	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for job satisfaction	95
26	Experience of Corporate Psychopaths and	
	seniority by position	106
27	Experience of Corporate Psychopaths and	
	seniority by years worked	106
28	Experience of Corporate Psychopaths	
	by organisational type	116
29	Organisational type and reported corporate	
	social responsibility	117
30	Reported incidence of withdrawal behaviours	122
31	Means, standard deviations and significance	
	scores for withdrawal	123
32	Perceived organisational values and personal	
	characteristics of respondents	138
33	Perceived organisational values and personal	
	characteristics of Corporate Psychopaths	140
34	Personal characteristics of respondents and	
	perceived characteristics of Corporate Psychopaths	141
35	Comparison of the criteria for psychopathy, anti-social	
	personality disorder and dissocial personality	151
36	Theoretical likelihood of toxic personalities	
	attaining leadership positions	160

Figures

1	Strategies which Corporate Psychopaths use	47
2	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy	
	against bullying at work	56
3	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy	
	against conflict at work	57
4	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy	
	against reports of the company behaving	
	in a socially desirable manner	70
5	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against	
	reports of the company behaving in an	
	environmentally friendly manner	70
6	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against	
	reports of the company behaving in a way	
	that benefits the local community	71
7	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against	
	reports of the company behaving in a way	
	that demonstrates commitment to its employees	71
8	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against	
	organisational constraints	81
9	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against workload	90
0	Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy	
	against job satisfaction	96
1	Estimated incidence of Corporate Psychopaths	
	in organisations	105
2	Scatter plot of Corporate Psychopathy against withdrawal	124
3	Clinical model of personality disorders	152
4	Dysfunctional leadership model of personality disorders	159

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1

Introduction – Corporate Psychopaths as Organisational Destroyers

When large corporations are destroyed by the actions of their senior directors, employees lose their jobs and sometimes their livelihoods, shareholders lose their investments and sometimes their life savings, and societies lose key parts of their economic infrastructure. Capitalism also loses some of its credibility. These corporate collapses have gathered pace in recent years, especially in the western world, and have culminated in the global financial crisis that we are now in. When we watch these events unfold, it often appears that the senior directors involved walk away with a clear conscience and huge amounts of money. They seem to be unaffected by the corporate collapses they have created. They present themselves as glibly unbothered by the chaos around them, unconcerned about those who have lost their jobs, savings and investments, and lacking any regrets about what they have done. They cheerfully lie about their involvement in events, are very persuasive in blaming others for what has happened and have no doubts about their own continued worth and value. They are happy to walk away from the economic disaster that they have managed to bring about, with huge payoffs and with new roles advising governments how to prevent such economic disasters. Many of these people display several of the characteristics of psychopaths, and some of them are undoubtedly true psychopaths. Psychopaths are the 1 per cent of people who have no conscience or empathy and who do not care for anyone other than themselves. Some psychopaths are violent and end up in jail; others forge careers in corporations. This book calls the latter group Corporate Psychopaths and examines aspects of their behaviour in organisations.

Commentators on business ethics have noted that corporate scandals have assumed epidemic proportions and that once-great companies have been brought down by the misdeeds of a few of their leaders. These commentators raise the intriguing question of how resourceful and successful organisations end up with impostors as leaders in the first place (Singh 2008). In commenting on this, one writer on leadership even goes so far as to say that modern society is suffering from an epidemic of poor leadership in the private and the public sectors of the economy (Allio 2007). An understanding of Corporate Psychopaths helps to answer the question of how organisations end up with impostors as leaders and how those organisations are then destroyed from within, as this book shows.

Although they may appear smooth, charming, sophisticated and successful, Corporate Psychopaths should theoretically be almost wholly destructive to the organisations that they work for. For example, it has long been hypothesised by psychologists that the psychopaths who work for corporations and other organisations destroy the morale and emotional well-being of their fellow employees (Hare 1999a). They do this by humiliating them, lying about them, abusing them, using organisational rules to control them, not giving them adequate training, blaming them for mistakes made by the psychopath, bullying them and coercing them into unwanted sexual activities (Clarke 2005; Clarke 2007; Stout 2005b). Research involving case studies suggests that this increases levels of employee withdrawal from organisations as employees seek to minimise their exposure to such unpalatable and stressful behaviour (Clarke 2005).

Having good employees leave because of the nasty behaviour of other employees should logically be detrimental to organisational success and contribute to organisational destruction as the human resource is gradually undermined, depleted and weakened. It has also been hypothesised that Corporate Psychopaths will behave in an unethical manner when doing business - that they will, for example, parasitically claim the good work of others as their own, set employees up for failure by giving them unreasonable work tasks to complete, sabotage others' work and refuse to take responsibility for their own destructive actions (Babiak & Hare 2006). This behaviour could be expected to increase the workload that other employees have to cope with as the Corporate Psychopaths not only fail to do their own jobs properly but also disrupt the efficient functioning of other employees. They are masters at conning and fooling other people about their supposedly great abilities and trustworthiness while simultaneously behaving in a destructive manner (Babiak & Hare 2006; Hare 1999a).

It is further thought that these destructive behaviours are amplified because, through their skills at manipulation and the cultivation of power networks, Corporate Psychopaths are able to move up the corporate hierarchy to gain positions of power and influence well above their actual managerial abilities (Babiak 1995; Babiak & Hare 2006). They are also said to be disruptive to team work and job satisfaction and therefore to productivity (Clarke 2005). This jeopardises the decision-making capability of the organisations that they work for and adversely influences the moral and ethical behaviour of the whole organisation through their example (Clarke 2005).

Corporate Psychopaths are also hypothesised to jeopardise the longterm success of an organisation by doing whatever it takes to win contracts, such as over-promising on deliverables to clients and then failing to meet those promises, thereby damaging the reputation and attractiveness of the company they work for. They are hypothesised to jeopardise the long-term success of an organisation by using corporate resources for their own ends (Hare 1999a). They are basically predators who prey on the easiest sources of sustenance and who parasitically destroy organisations from within (Babiak & Hare 2006). This organisational damage is exacerbated by the emotional turmoil they cause to employees within corporations through their abusive and selfish actions (Babiak & Hare 2006; Clarke 2005; Clarke 2007). This behaviour is said to lead to organisational inertia and even paralysis, as employees become anxious and depressed, lose their ability to concentrate and experience more problems dealing with other employees.

In these ways, the probable mal-effects of the presence of psychopaths in the workplace have been hypothesised about in recent times by a number of experts and leading commentators on psychopathy (Babiak 1995; Babiak & Hare 2006; Boddy 2005b; Boddy 2006b; Clarke 2005; Hare 1994; Hare 1999a). Babiak and Hare note that there must be Corporate Psychopaths in leadership positions at greater rates than their (1 per cent) incidence in the total population would suggest, and that they must thus be creating organisational damage below the radar of the law and unnoticed by those to whom they are accountable (Babiak & Hare 2006).

Theoretically, then, Corporate Psychopaths can be assumed to be great destroyers of organisations on many levels. This book presents research that for the first time empirically examines the extent of this destruction in the workplace. This subject – poor corporate management and governance through bad leadership - has become a topic of academic research because it is increasingly recognised that inept, dysfunctional or immoral leaders can damage the welfare of corporate stakeholders (Allio 2007; Ferrari 2006; Lubit 2002).

Management psychologists have written about the negative effects that leaders with personality disorders can have on corporations both through their own behaviour and as influencers of the behaviour of others in the organisation (Goldman 2006; Siegel 1973). Popular management literature is also coming to understand that the personality issues that some senior executives exhibit are a valid topic for research into organisational success, such as research into the role of emotional intelligence (Goleman 1998; Goleman 2007) and the five-factor model of personality (Digman 1990) in leadership effectiveness. Increasingly, it is being recognised that senior executive behaviour often walks a fine line between what some may consider charismatic leadership and others autocratic bullying (Pepper 2005). The existence of leaders with personality disorders, and their potential impact on corporate life, has also emerged as a subject of interest to business academics. For example, links between leaders with personality disorders and dysfunctional management have been increasingly reported in the literature (Boddy 2006a; Morse 2004; Mount, Ilies & Johnson 2006).

One such personality disorder is psychopathy, and in the fields of psychology and criminology the study of psychopaths has received a great deal of research attention in the past twenty-five or so years. In a business context, the subject has received attention from leading business journals and in television documentaries (BBC 2004; Hipern 2004; Morse 2004; *The Times* 2005; Walker 2005) and a number of recently published books on the subject (Babiak & Hare 2006; Clarke 2005; Clarke 2007; Stout 2005b). Psychopathy has become one of the most researched constructs in psychology, and considerable research into the reliable identification of psychopaths has been undertaken by psychologists (Boddy 2009).

Hare, the leading research psychologist in this area, states that psychopathy is a syndrome, with a collection of characteristics which together create the profile of a psychopath. However, he notes that it is not definitively known whether this syndrome stems from physical, biological or environmental factors and that it is probably the result of the interplay of all of these (Hare 1994). Whatever the cause, it is apparent that the self-control and emotions of a psychopath are undeveloped and that no conscience is present. Research increasingly indicates that a neurophysiological factor may be affecting psychopaths and that some areas of their brains and brain connectivity may be undeveloped or underactive (Blair 2001; Blair et al. 1995; Pridmore, Chambers & McArthur

2005; Richell et al. 2003; Weber et al. 2008). This is discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this book, on the origins of Corporate Psychopaths.

Psychopaths are thus people who, possibly because of brain function abnormalities in the ventrolateral, orbitofrontal cortex and amygdala, have no conscience and no ability to love or feel any empathy for other people (Blair 2001; Blair & Cipolotti 2000; Dolan 2008; Howard & McCullagh 2007; Kiehl et al. 2004). This makes psychopaths emotionally cold, extraordinarily self-seeking and potentially menacing to society. The syndrome of psychopathy, in its broadest sense, is usually manifested as violent, anti-social behaviour (Herve et al. 2004). Not surprisingly, these behavioural characteristics often result in the psychopath ending up incarcerated, and criminal psychopaths are much written about in popular crime literature and are the subject of many films

On the other hand, Clarke describes a subset of psychopaths, termed Corporate Psychopaths (Babiak & Hare 2006; Newby 2005), who are often seen as successful people, especially by those around them who have not vet experienced the personal impact of their ruthless behaviour and lack of any kind of a conscience (Clarke 2005). These Corporate Psychopaths seek leadership positions because of their desire to access the associated power, influence, prestige and money. Some psychologists have described these psychopaths who live undetected in society and work seemingly unnoticed in organisations (Corporate Psychopaths) as 'successful psychopaths' (Babiak 1995; Board & Fritzon 2005; Levenson 1993). However, Hare describes them as 'sub-criminal psychopaths' – psychopaths who, because of social skills gained from their intelligence and advantageous family backgrounds, are able to avoid detection by legal entities and are typically involved in whitecollar activities of an ethically questionable and legally borderline nature (Hare 1999a).

Other commentators, reporting on the work of Hare, state that there are no shortages of opportunities for these white-collar, or Corporate, Psychopaths, that the chances of their being detected are often slim and that the punishments are mild and trivial (McCormick & Burch 2005; The Times 2005). They add that Corporate Psychopaths are characteristically insincere, arrogant, untrustworthy and manipulative in their personal style; insensitive, remorseless, shallow and blaming in their interpersonal relationships; impatient, erratic, unreliable, unfocused and parasitic in their organisational maturity; and dramatic, unethical and bullying in their social tendencies.

Psychologists have only fairly recently come to understand the implications of the fact that a type of psychopath exists who is not prone to outbursts of impulsive violent criminal behaviour and who therefore lives relatively undetected and successfully in society (Babiak 1995; Board & Fritzon 2005; Cooke, Michie & Hart 2004; Levenson, Kiehl & Fitzpatrick 1995). Such psychopaths have been called successful because they evade contact with legal authorities. When they work in corporations, they have been called Corporate Psychopaths, industrial psychopaths, organisational psychopaths or executive psychopaths (Babiak & Hare 2006; Boddy 2005a; Clarke 2005; Morse 2004; Newby 2005). In the research outlined in this book, they are referred to as Corporate Psychopaths, mainly to differentiate them from their more violent criminal counterparts. These differences in terminology reflect the fact that no commonly accepted nomenclature yet exists in this emerging field of study.

Until the research presented here was published in a series of academic papers in forward-thinking journals and then in this book, no empirical research into the effects of Corporate Psychopaths on organisations had been reported, apart from individual and anecdotal case studies (Babiak 1995; Clarke 2007). A tool for the reliable identification of psychopaths was used in this research to identify Corporate Psychopaths in the workforce. This psychopathy measurement tool is called the Psychopathy Measure–Management Research Version (PM-MRV) (Boddy 2009).

As psychopaths form 1 per cent of the population, it is logical to assume that every large corporation has psychopaths working within it and influencing it to a greater or lesser extent. Academic research into the effects of Corporate Psychopaths on corporations has only recently started, but it is already evident that the implications for business are significant (Boddy 2005b; Boddy 2006b).

One aim of this book is to stimulate debate on this issue in academic circles outside the disciplines of psychology and criminology, and in particular to bring it to the attention of business and management academics. It is important to study Corporate Psychopaths because of the large-scale financial, environmental and human resources that many modern international corporations have at their disposal. Many corporations are bigger financially than some nation-states: of the 100 largest economic entities in 2002, 50 per cent were corporations (Assadourian 2005).

Senior corporate managers thus have the financial power and resources to have a significant impact on the world's population and on

the environment. If these senior managers are Corporate Psychopaths then this has implications for the morality and appropriateness of the corporate decisions that may be made. It is also apparent from a review of the literature that criminal psychopaths are responsible for a much greater share of crimes than their numbers would suggest (Hare et al. 2004), and it is logical therefore that Corporate Psychopaths might be responsible for far more than their fair share of unethical organisational behaviour, including a lack of corporate social responsibility, fraud, unnecessarily high redundancy rates and environmental damage. This reinforces the view that psychopaths who work in corporations are worthy of investigation and research.

This book examines some of the implications outlined above. It presents the findings from one piece of empirical research among 346 senior white-collar employees from a variety of organisations in Australia and from another, smaller study of 61 Australians. The book compares these findings with other research and with existing theoretical expectations. The research clearly links the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation with conflict, bullying, unfair supervision and a wide variety of other negative outcomes in the workplace.

Corporate Psychopaths

In summary, then, the concept of the Corporate Psychopath simply marries the terms 'psychopath' from the psychological literature and 'corporate' from the area of business to denote a psychopath who works and operates in the organisational arena (Boddy 2005b). As discussed above, these people have also been called executive psychopaths, industrial psychopaths, organisational psychopaths and organisational sociopaths (Pech & Slade 2007). In this current research, it was decided to call them Corporate Psychopaths.

The leader in psychopathy research is Professor Robert Hare. He developed a means of identifying psychopaths - the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) - for use in clinical psychiatry and psychology (Hare 1991). This checklist has been adopted worldwide as the standard reference for researchers and clinicians to assess psychopathy and is often described as the gold standard measure for the identification of psychopaths in clinical settings (Mahmut, Homewood & Stevenson 2007; Molto, Poy & Torrubia 2000; Wormith 2000). Hare says that a subset of his checklist caters to the identification of Corporate Psychopaths: they are glib and superficially charming; have a grandiose sense of self-worth; are pathological liars, good at conning and manipulating others; have no

remorse about harming others; are emotionally shallow, calculating and cold; are callous and lacking in empathy; and fail to take responsibility for their own actions. Other researchers agree that these are the core characteristics of a psychopath (Cooke et al. 2004; Cooke et al. 2005; Cooke & Michie 2001; Cooke, Michie & Hart 2004; Neumann et al. 2005).

This set of characteristics has been developed into a measure of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths within organisations called the Psychopathy Measure–Management Research Version (PM-MRV) (Boddy 2009). Corporate Psychopaths are those workplace employees who score 75 per cent or more of the total possible score on the traits identified as psychopathic in the scale used.

The cold-heartedness and manipulativeness of the psychopath are reported to be the traits that are the least discernible to others, and this allows psychopaths to gain other people's confidence and facilitates their entry into positions where they can gain most benefit for themselves and do most harm to others (Mahaffey & Marcus 2006). One researcher suggests that the types of organisational behaviour that a corporation managed by psychopaths indulges in could include harsh treatment of employees, the sudden termination of employment contracts, unhealthy and environmentally damaging production practices, dangerous working conditions and the breaking of human rights conventions and the laws of employment (Ketola 2006). This marks psychopaths who work in corporations as potential agents of organisational and environmental destruction and thus as worthy of further investigation. In terms of the incidence of psychopaths in society, Hare reports that about 1 per cent of the general population will meet the clinical criteria for psychopathy (Hare 1994). Hare further claims that the prevalence of Corporate Psychopaths will be higher in the business world than in the general population. Unfortunately, even with this very small percentage of psychopaths in a corporation, Corporate Psychopaths can do enormous damage when they are positioned in senior management roles (Walker 2005).

This book provides a series of measures of this damage. However, it is obvious that much more research needs to be undertaken in this area, and funds are needed to establish a research centre which can systematically conduct this research and thus help to prevent further crises of capitalism.

Research and methodology

A sample of 346 well-educated white-collar workers was drawn from a variety of professional and managerial associations. Respondents were members of chambers of commerce, members of voluntary charitable organisations, postgraduate business alumni and business students, and members of other commercial organisations in Perth, Australia. The sample of respondents was managerial or professional, of working age (aged 21–60, with 60.5 per cent aged over 40) and 53.8 per cent male. The majority (65 per cent) were from companies with more than 100 employees in the manufacturing, mining, cultural, financial services and governmental sectors. The majority (75.7 per cent) had more than 12 years' work experience. According to the psychopathy definition used in this research, 5.75 per cent of respondents were working with a Corporate Psychopath as their current manager, and 32.1 per cent had worked at some time with a manager who could be classified as a Corporate Psychopath.

A self-completion survey was used among these respondents to investigate the influence of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Selfcompletion questionnaires are reported to be useful in management research as they encourage, by their confidential nature, truthful and candid responses from respondents (Buchanan 2008).

The questionnaire used in the study asked respondents to rate their managers on a variety of behavioural traits. The research was a survey of management behaviour, and it was anonymous and confidential in terms of both the respondents and the managers they reported on, to avoid biased responses. The questionnaire contained questions about the respondent's current manager and about any experience of working with a dysfunctional manager. One question comprised a list of behaviours (the PM-MRV) that enabled the identification of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

This research exercise yielded 346 complete questionnaires containing 345 responses about current managers and 227 responses about dysfunctional managers with whom respondents had worked, making 572 responses in total. Eighty-five of these were incomplete in terms of the psychopathy scale answers and so were not included in the analysis, which was therefore based on 487 responses.

In the study of psychopaths, samples are sometimes broken down into dichotomous or trichotomous subgroups according to the psychopathy scores of respondents. This is done so that differences in the reported behaviour of the groups can be investigated categorically. These subgroups are typically labelled 'non-psychopaths' and 'psychopaths' in a dichotomous breakdown. In a trichotomous breakdown they are typically labelled 'non-psychopaths', 'intermediate or moderate psychopaths' and 'psychopaths'. These breakdowns are based on the distribution of respondents on the psychopathy measure used.

In clinical settings and many research studies, a score of 75 per cent and above (e.g. 30 out of 40 points on the PCL-R) is used to define psychopaths (Herve, Hayes & Hare 2001) and a score of below 50 per cent (e.g. <20 out of 40 on the PCL-R) is used to define non-psychopaths (Blair et al. 1995; Richell et al. 2003). A low psychopathy score is thus deemed to be one in the range 0-19, and a moderate score one in the range 20-29, for the full version of the PCL-R checklist. The equivalent scores are 0-12 (out of 24) and 13-17 (out of 24) for the screening version of the test (PCL-SV) (Guy & Douglas 2006). About the same percentages were followed for psychopathy measurement in this research. Managers were rated on each of the eight elements in the PM-MRV and given a score of 0 (not present), 1 (somewhat present) or 2 (present) according to the presence of the element in their personality and behaviour. The maximum possible score, therefore, was 16 (2 \times 8), and the minimum was $0 (0 \times 8)$.

The Psychopathy Measure-Management Research Version was thus built into the questionnaire and used to determine the presence or absence of psychopaths in a given workplace environment. The answers from this research were categorised by score on the psychopathy scale. In line with the conventional procedures for the classification of psychopathy, scores of 13 and above were taken to indicate the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation. Scores of 9-12 were taken to indicate the presence of what were termed 'Dysfunctional Managers' (dysfunctional in that some psychopathy was evident but not to the extent of their being full psychopaths) in an organisation. Scores of 8 and less were taken to indicate the presence only of what were called 'Normal Managers' in an organisation.

This gave 264 responses about managers in whom no psychopathy was present, 104 in whom some was present and 119 in whom psychopathy was present.

One methodological decision to be made was whether to treat the measure used to identify Corporate Psychopaths as a categorical or continuous variable. It was decided to do both, as discussed below. There is some debate over whether psychopaths are a discrete category of people or just those who are at the top end of a continuous scale of psychopathy (Board & Fritzon 2005). Psychologists sometimes treat them categorically. Recently, for example, researchers examined the distribution of psychopathy in a representative sample of 638 adults in the UK. The PCL-SV was used as the psychopathy measure by these researchers, and an independent scale measuring social and behavioural problems was used as an external measure of validity. The researchers found an exceptional rise in behavioural problems beyond a cut-off score of 11.8 on the PCL-SV, which is in line with the recommended cut-off score for identifying psychopaths (12) for that measure. The researchers concluded that psychopathy can be defined categorically because individuals become an exceptional risk at a score of 12 and above (Coid & Yang 2008).

After the data from this current research were categorised into groups for Normal Managers, Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths, as described above, the presence of any statistically significant differences between the findings related to the three groups was investigated. One of the reasons that the psychopathy results were trichotomised was so that they could be presented in a crosstabulated manner familiar to management practitioners. In terms of analysing the significance of any differences found between the categories of Normal Managers, Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths two sets of statistical analyses were looked at in the first instance. The Pearson chi-square figures were investigated for any significant associations or differences between the three categories, and then ANOVA (analysis of variance) statistics were analysed as another measure of the same thing to confirm these differences. If differences were indicated then Bonferroni (T-test) statistics were investigated to see where (between which of our three categories) the differences lay, and, in particular, whether there was a significant difference between the Normal Managers and the Corporate Psychopaths and between the Normal Managers and the Dysfunctional Managers.

The main groups of interest in this research were the Corporate Psychopaths and the Normal Managers. The Dysfunctional Managers were reported on for the sake of completeness. Logically, if the psychopathy scale is accurate, then the behaviour of the mid-psychopathy group (i.e. the Dysfunctional Managers) should fall between that of the Corporate Psychopaths and that of the Normal Managers. This was indeed the case in this research, and this gives the findings a good degree of face validity.

Instrument reliability

Unlike in the physical sciences, where such dimensions as length and depth can be measured directly using commonly agreed-on units of measurement, the measurement of psychological characteristics is, of necessity, indirect, because psychological characteristics are not

directly observable (Cooke et al. 2005). Measurement is therefore made of observable behaviour such as verbal reports of symptoms, and a person's standing in terms of the psychological characteristic is inferred from this (Cooke et al. 2005). The difficulties of taking a clinical assessment tool to research a management environment have been discussed by Goldman in his work on personality disorders in leaders (Goldman 2006). Goldman points out that a minimum number of the factors which make up a personality disorder are necessary for a diagnosis and that there is little agreement or consistency over how and by whom assessments can be made. He advocates the setting of objective standards and claims that a clinical participant-observer of organisations, such as himself, is qualified to make such judgements.

The research reported in this book undertakes such an exercise in that it sets objective standards as to what defines a Corporate Psychopath and applies these to the management setting by asking respondents whether the managers they know or have known exhibit or exhibited such behaviours. This may not be as accurate as full clinical psychological diagnosis, at least in terms of identifying individual psychopaths, but it acts as a pragmatic substitute and enables this important research to be undertaken at all.

The method chosen for this research relies on the observation, by respondents, of psychopathic behaviour in others. To assess the validity and reliability of this approach, it was important to investigate whether expert psychologists believe that psychopaths can be identified by observation. Fortunately, there is evidence from a number of studies that psychopathic traits are detectable by ordinary, untrained individuals who are well acquainted with the people concerned (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996; Mahaffey & Marcus 2006). Fowler and Lilienfeld, for example, speculate that observer ratings from people who are better acquainted with their peers could be useful in terms of identifying psychopaths (Fowler & Lilienfeld 2007).

Hare, the leading researcher in the field of psychopathy, considers that the reports of colleagues can be used to identify psychopaths, at least at a screening level, and this is testament to the potential usefulness and validity of such an approach. Other researchers have also asked for the views of third parties, including teachers and parents, in identifying the callous, unemotional and anti-social traits of a psychopathic personality (Dadds et al. 2005). This lends credibility and face validity to the approach used in this research.

There is thus consistency of opinion among psychologists on this point on the basis of the research they have undertaken into the identification

of psychopaths. This consistency in results lies at the heart of the standard definition of reliability: consistency in results from the repetition of the same procedures or studies (Gill & Johnson 1997).

The fact that peer observation has repeatedly been found capable of identifying psychopathic behaviour provided encouragement about the reliability of its use in this research. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency and reliability, and an alpha coefficient measures how correlated each question is with each of the other questions in a scale, the logic being that if the items in the scale are all related then it is an internally consistent scale (Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper 2007). An alpha coefficient of 0.7 is considered an acceptable statistical measure of reliability (Norland 1990; Radhakrishna 2007), although some researchers report that a level as low as 0.6 is acceptable (Todd, Bieber & Grandjean 2004). With Cronbach's alpha as the measure of internal consistency, the coefficient for the research construct of the Corporate Psychopath used here was very strong, at 0.93 for all responses.

This high coefficient is not surprising given the well-established nature of this type of psychopathy measure, even though the measure was used in a very new and much abbreviated form in this research. In this research the alphas for the Corporate Psychopath construct would not have been improved by the deletion of any of the eight individual items, and the inter-item correlations were all positive. This suggests that the Corporate Psychopath construct used is internally consistent and reliable. The coefficient for the construct of corporate social responsibility was also strong, at 0.87 for all responses. The alpha levels for the construct of corporate social responsibility would not be improved by the deletion of any of the four individual items in the construct, and again the inter-item correlations were all positive. This suggests that the construct of corporate social responsibility used is also internally consistent and reliable. Similarly encouraging indications of reliability were obtained for all the other measures used in this research.

The items used to identify Corporate Psychopaths in this research were those shown in Table 1.

For the questions and scales to measure the other constructs of interest in this research, such as job satisfaction and conflict at work, existing scales were used wherever possible; any derivative scales were based on existing research modified for use in this research.

These scales are described below. Items were chosen to meet minimum thresholds of reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.6 or more where these alphas were reported.

 Table 1
 Identification of Corporate Psychopaths in this research

Characteristic (Boddy 2009)	Sources
Are glib and superficially charming Such behaviours as being friendly and extroverted on first meeting, being an entertaining speaker, being very smooth and being very persuasive when it suits them	Cleckley (1988); Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Are accomplished liars Such behaviours as being able to lie convincingly when they need to, being good at bullshitting and being able to talk themselves out of trouble when discovered to be lying	Cleckley (1988); Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Are manipulative and conning Such behaviours as being good at using people, being good at conning people, having well-developed political/networking skills and being good at seducing other people	Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Have a grandiose sense of self-worth Such behaviours as bragging about themselves, downplaying their personal problems and blaming others for them, and behaving as if they are above the rules	Cleckley (1988); Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Display a lack of remorse about how their actions harm other employees Such behaviours as saying that they feel bad about their harmful actions but not acting as though they really do feel bad, blaming others for trouble they cause themselves and having no shame about their ruthlessness in pursuing their careers at any cost	Cleckley (1988); Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Are emotionally shallow, calculating and cold Such behaviours as not being affected by someone close dying or suffering, making dramatic displays of emotion that do not look real or heartfelt, claiming friendship with you but being unconcerned about your welfare	Cleckley (1988); Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Display a lack of empathy; show no capacity to experience the feelings of others Such behaviours as openly making fun of others, being able to fire people without worrying about it, being selfish and being emotionally or verbally abusive	Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)
Refuse to take responsibility for their own actions Such behaviours as always having an excuse when things go wrong, blaming others for their own mistakes and claiming responsibility for the good work that other employees do	Cooke & Michie (2001); Hare (1991); Hare (1999a)

Individual questions from these established questionnaires were selected on the basis of the judgement of the researcher based on theoretical knowledge, and a decision was made as to which questions were the most appropriate according to the objectives of this research study and the hypotheses to be tested. Tables 2 to 7 identify the sources of the individual questions used in this research.

The items in Table 2 relate to the hypotheses that 'employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report higher levels of conflict at work than those who do not' and that 'employees in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report higher levels of bullying than those who do not'.

Researchers have found that conflict at work can affect other personnel and the organisation itself, depending to some extent on whether the source of the conflict is seen as personal (usually a peer) or corporate (usually a superior). They have found that conflict originating with a superior is more likely to result in a reaction towards the organisation than in a reaction towards the person (Bruk-Lee & Spector 2006), manifested, for example, as counterproductive workplace behaviour. The superior is assumed to be representing the organisation, and so the organisation is blamed for any unfairness perpetrated by the superior.

The four conflict at work questions include three items from Spector and Jex's Interpersonal Conflict at Work Scale, which is designed to measure how respondents get along with others at work, with high scores representing frequent personal conflicts at work (Spector & Jex 1998). The researchers who invented the scale report a good level of internal consistency or reliability, with an average alpha of 0.74 across

Item	Source(s)
How often do/did you get into arguments with others at work?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How often do/did other people yell at you at work?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How often are/were people rude to you at work?	Harvey et al. (2007); Spector & Jex (1998)
How often did you witness unfavourable treatment of one employee by another in this workplace?	Dierickx (2004); Djurkovic, McCormack & Casimir (2004)

Table 2 Items for the conflict and bullying construct

thirteen studies. The bullying question (fourth item) was a new item based on common definitions of workplace bullving (Dierickx 2004; Djurkovic, McCormack & Casimir 2004).

The items in Table 3 relate to the hypothesis that 'employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report lower levels of workplace corporate social responsibility than those who do not'. The items were developed for this study on the basis of recent literature on corporate social responsibility (Aupperle, Hatfield & Carroll 1983; Carroll 1983; Carroll 1998; Carroll 2000; Carroll 2004; Dong & Lee 2008; Ketola 2006; Laczniak & Murphy 2006; Verschoor 2008).

The items in Table 4 relate to the hypothesis that 'employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report higher levels of organisational constraints than those who do not'. This is the Organisational Constraints Scale made operational by Spector and Jex (Spector & Jex 1998). They do not regard the individual items in this scale as parallel forms of the underlying construct; rather, the items together constitute the construct of organisational constraints. As such, the alpha coefficient is not deemed an appropriate index of reliability for the scale and is not given by the authors.

The items in Table 5 relate to the hypothesis that 'employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report greater workloads than those who do not'. The five-item scale was designed to measure the quantity of work involved in a job rather than the qualitative difficulty of undertaking a job, and the designers report an average internal consistency (alpha) of 0.82 across fifteen studies (Spector & Jex

Item	Source
The organisation does/did business in a socially responsible manner	Carroll (2000)
The organisation does/did business in an environmentally friendly manner	Ketola (2006)
The organisation does/did business in a way that benefited the local community	Carroll (1998)
The organisation does/did business in a way that showed commitment to its employees	Verschoor (2008)

Table 2 Items for the corporate social responsibility construct

Table 4 Items for the organisational constraints construct

Item	Source
How often do/did you find it difficult or impossible to do your job because of?	
Poor equipment or supplies	Spector & Jex (1998)
Organisational rules and procedures	Spector & Jex (1998)
Other employees	Spector & Jex (1998)
Your supervisor	Spector & Jex (1998)
Lack of equipment or supplies	Spector & Jex (1998)
Inadequate training	Spector & Jex (1998)
Interruptions by other people	Spector & Jex (1998)
Lack of necessary information about what to do or how to do it	Spector & Jex (1998)
Conflicting job demands	Spector & Jex (1998)
Inadequate help from others	Spector & Jex (1998)
Incorrect instructions	Spector & Jex (1998)

Table 5 Items for the workload construct

Item	Source
How often did/does your job require you to work very fast?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How often did/does your job require you to work very hard?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How often did/does your job leave you with little time to get things done?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How often is/was there a great deal to be done?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How often do/did you have to do more work than you can/could do well?	Spector & Jex (1998)
How many hours per week do/did you work in this job?	New item

1998). The question about hours worked per week was included as an additional objective measure of workload.

Another hypothesis in this research was that 'managers displaying the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will be perceived to be more common at higher levels of management within workplaces than at lower levels'. This was deemed to be testable via the demographic analysis of the spread of psychopathy scores. This hypothesis therefore has no single construct associated with it apart from the construct of psychopathy itself.

The items in Table 6 relate to the hypothesis that 'employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will experience lower levels of job satisfaction than those who do not'. Items were taken from Spector's Job Satisfaction Survey (Spector 1985). Not all of the original thirty-six items were used; some were omitted in the interests of keeping the questionnaire to a reasonable length.

Psychologists debate whether job satisfaction is influenced by personal differences in response to situations or whether situations themselves are the most important factor in job satisfaction (Spector 2005), and probably both factors are at play. Working with a psychopathic colleague would be salient and memorable, as discussed above, and so it was assumed that working with a psychopathic colleague would affect job satisfaction.

The items in Table 7 relate to the hypothesis that 'employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report higher levels of withdrawal from the workplace than those who do not'. These four items are taken from the thirty-three-item version of the Counterproductive Work Behaviour Checklist.

The thirty-three-item version produces five subscales: abuse (harmful and nasty behaviours that affect other people), production deviance (purposely doing the job incorrectly or allowing errors to occur), sabotage (destroying the physical environment), theft, and withdrawal (avoiding work through being absent or late). These were developed by Spector and

Item	Source	
When I do/did a good job, I receive/received the recognition for it that I should receive	Spector (1985)	
I like/liked the people I work with	Spector (1985)	
Communications seems/seemed good within this organisation	Spector (1985)	
My supervisor is/was unfair to me	Spector (1985)	
I do not/did not feel that the work I do/ did is/was appreciated	Spector (1985)	
I find/found I have/had to work harder at my job because of the incompetence of people I work/worked with	Spector (1985)	
My supervisor shows/showed too little interest in the feelings of subordinates	Spector (1985)	
I don't/didn't feel my efforts are/were rewarded the way they should be/have been	Spector (1985)	

Table 6 Items for the job satisfaction construct

Item	Source
How often have you?	
Come to work late without permission	Spector et al. (2006)
Stayed home from work and said you were sick when you weren't	Spector et al. (2006)
Taken a longer break than you were allowed to take	Spector et al. (2006)
Left work earlier than you were allowed to	Spector et al. (2006)

Table 7 Items for the withdrawal construct

colleagues (Spector et al. 2006). Withdrawal is reportedly linked to being upset and to working alongside someone who displays psychopathic behaviour, and so these items were considered appropriate to use in this research (Clarke 2005). The alpha for internal consistency and reliability for these items was reported as 0.63 in Spector and colleagues' research.

Key statistical findings

Tables 8 and 9 show the key results for the research conducted. These are not commented on in any detail in this chapter but are referred to throughout the book as each topic is discussed.

Table 8 shows summary reliability statistics and details of the key reliability measure for all the constructs used in this research.

The alphas for the constructs measured in this research were all high, and the inter-item correlations were all positive, meaning that the research instrument as a whole can be successfully used as it is for management research. Researchers report that a measure of good internal consistency is a Cronbach's alpha above 0.70 and mean inter-item correlations above 0.15 (Falkenbach et al. 2007). Against these criteria the measure used for identifying Corporate Psychopaths scored well, with an alpha of 0.93 and with all the inter-item correlations exceeding 0.15 (i.e. all positive).

Further, where comparisons were available, the alphas of the constructs used as dependent variables were also very much in line with what has been found in previous research. This logically suggests that there was nothing unusual about how they were used in this research, and this gives a further element of reliability to the results.

Correlation is a measure of the relationship between variables (Garner 2005). Correlation analysis was undertaken using the corporate psychopathy score as a continuous variable from 0 to 16 and the total scores for the other constructs: withdrawal, workload, bullying, organisational

Construct	Cronbach's alpha	Inter-item correlations all positive?	Could Cronbach's alpha be improved by deletion of any item?		
Corporate psychopathy (8 items)	0.93	Yes	No		
Withdrawal (4 items)	0.79	Yes	Yes, but only very marginally, in the case of one item		
Workload (5 items)	0.88	Yes	No		
Conflict (including bullying) (4 items)	0.78	Yes	No		
Organisational constraints (10 items)	0.90	Yes	No		
Corporate social responsibility (4 items)	0.87	Yes	No		
Job satisfaction (8 items)	0.90	Yes	No		

Table 8 Summary reliability statistics

constraints, conflict, corporate social responsibility and job satisfaction. The results are shown in the Pearson's correlation matrix in Table 9.

As might be expected from the literature, corporate psychopathy correlated significantly with all the constructs under consideration in this research. It can be concluded, therefore, that all the variables in this research are related to, and not independent of, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Corporate Psychopathy correlated most positively with bullying and most negatively with job satisfaction.

Regression analysis is commonly used for testing hypotheses and for prediction (Garner 2005). Regression analysis thus goes beyond correlation analysis, which tests the strength of any relationship between variables, and makes the stronger claim that it demonstrates the predictive properties of one or more variables for another variable. That is, one basic objective of regression analysis is to measure the extent to which change in one variable affects variations in another variable. This type of analysis is used to infer causal relationships between variables, although it is debatable whether regression analysis alone can be used to prove a causal relationship (Garner 2005). Some researchers suggest that it cannot be used to infer causality but can be said to predict a particular outcome.

Table 9 Pearson's correlation matrix for all constructs

Corporate social Job Conflict responsibility satisfaction

Organisational constraints

Mean deviation psychopathy Withdrawal Workload Bullying

Standard Corporate

							1		-0.613***		
						П	-0.388***		-0.525***		
				1		0.559***	-0.447***		-0.0629***		
			1	0.615***		0.619***	-0.412***		-0.571***		
		1	0.267***	0.367***		0.170***	-0.128***		-0.245***		ed).
	1	0.005	0.248***	0.311***		0.300***	-0.212***		-0.293***		P < 0.01) (2-taile
1	0.246***	0.275***	0.564***	0.526***		0.475***	-0.493***		-0.702***		at the 0.01 level (
5.68	0.62	0.95	1.07	0.81		0.63	1.29		1.30		significant
7.05	1.57	3.56	2.18	2.18		1.64	4.15		3.84		atistically
Corporate psychopathy	Withdrawal	Workload	Bullying	Organisational	constraints	Conflict	Corporate social	responsibility	Jop	Satisfaction	*** Correlation is statistically significant at the 0.01 level ($P < 0.01$) (2-tailed).

			Standard	
	Dependent variable	\mathbb{R}^2	error	P-value
1a	Conflict	0.231	1.67	0.000
1b	Job satisfaction	0.500	7.43	0.000
1c	Organisational constraints	0.267	6.98	0.000
1d	Corporate social responsibility	0.249	4.52	0.000
1e	Bullying	0.321	0.89	0.000
1f	Workload	0.067	4.68	0.000
1g	Withdrawal	0.060	2.41	0.000

Table 10 Regression Model 1 (independent variable: corporate nsychonathy)

In this research, simple regression analysis was used to understand the extent to which the independent variable (Corporate Psychopathy) explained the variance in the dependent variables. Regression analysis was run using each of the constructs in turn as the dependent variable and Corporate Psychopathy as the predictor (independent) variable.

The results of this simple regression analysis are shown in Regression Model 1 (Table 10). The measure used in regression analysis to understand the fraction of the total variation in the dependent variable that is explained by the variation in the independent variable is called the coefficient of determination, known as R-squared (R²). The value can range from 1, where all the variation in the dependent variable is explained by the variation in the independent variable, down to 0. When it is 0, none of the variation in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable.

Seven reasons organisations should monitor employees who are Corporate Psychopaths

The research presented in this book indicates that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths has significant negative impacts on organisations. It identifies seven main reasons organisations should monitor the Corporate Psychopaths who work within them, although there are probably many others. The research measured the perceived incidence of exposure to Corporate Psychopaths, captured critical incident reports and measured the impact of corporate psychopathic behaviour on organisational outcomes. Corporate Psychopaths are the 1 per cent or so of people who work in corporations who may be classed as psychopathic according to a reliable measurement instrument for identifying psychopaths. Such an instrument has now been developed for use in managerial research. This research shows that nearly all the expected negative effects of Corporate Psychopaths are evident when Corporate Psychopaths are present in organisations.

The six effects of Corporate Psychopaths on corporate outcomes

This research, which is the first empirical management research in this area and as such is by no means exhaustive, indicates six main effects of Corporate Psychopaths being present in an organisation and a seventh outcome that magnifies the others. This provides organisations with seven reasons they should monitor the behaviour of Corporate Psychopaths.

The first effect of Corporate Psychopaths in organisations is a heightened level of conflict. Corporate Psychopaths are said to adopt divide-andconquer strategies that include abusing their subordinates, manipulating their peers and charming their superiors. They use their advanced political skills to play people off against each other. This can be expected to create conflict in an organisation – and according to this research it does just that. Where Corporate Psychopaths are present, conflict at work is both much greater in incidence (i.e. conflict affects more people) and more frequent in occurrence (i.e. conflict also happens more often): arguments are more widespread and more frequent, yelling increases by a factor of ten, and rudeness and bullying increase dramatically.

Corporate Psychopaths have no emotional connection with others, no empathy or conscience, and they are totally ruthless. They can be expected secretly to find the whole notion of corporate social responsibility laughable. This research found a second effect of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths related to corporate social responsibility: perceptions that an organisation does business in a socially responsible manner and in a way that shows commitment to employees plummet dramatically.

Corporate Psychopaths are said to use organisational rules and procedures to their own advantage, and as they do not care at all about the welfare of those who work for them, they fail to look after the workplace needs of these employees. This is again exactly what was found. The third effect is that there are heavier than necessary organisational constraints in workplaces when Corporate Psychopaths are present. For example, the incidence of reported work difficulties due to organisational rules and procedures and to poor equipment or supplies is significantly higher where Corporate Psychopaths are present.

The fourth effect of having Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation relates to leadership and managerial competence, as reflected in workload. Psychopaths are known for their parasitic lifestyles, and in an organisation this can be expected to take the form of claiming others' work and ideas as their own, neglecting their managerial and leadership responsibilities, and blaming others for their own mistakes and omissions. This behaviour would be expected to lead to work difficulties for other employees, poor communication about what to do on the job and how to do it, and poor levels of training. This is exactly what was found in this research. Workloads were greater in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. All of those respondents who worked in an environment where Corporate Psychopaths were present reported work difficulties due to a difficult supervisor. This compares with just 13 per cent of other employees. Those who worked in an environment where Corporate Psychopaths were present also reported, more often and more frequently than other employees, work difficulties due to inadequate training and lack of information about what to do or how to do their job. When Corporate Psychopaths were present, all employees reported difficulties due to inadequate help from others, and they reported work difficulties due to incorrect instructions about six times more frequently, on average, than did employees who did not work in such an environment.

Corporate Psychopaths are reported to be selfish and emotionally uninvolved with others. They use others to their own advantage, have unemotional sexual relations with others in the workplace and cause emotional disturbances for the fun of watching others suffer. This can be expected to affect job satisfaction levels among those who work with them. The fifth effect of Corporate Psychopaths is significant negative impacts on multiple aspects of job satisfaction, including impacts on perceptions that employees get due recognition for a job well done and on employees liking the people they work with, reporting good communication within the organisation and reporting that their supervisor was fair to them. Their presence also negatively affects levels of feeling appreciated for work done and increases reports of having to work harder because of the incompetence of others, reports that supervisors show little interest in the feelings of others and feelings of not being properly rewarded.

Corporate Psychopaths create havoc around them, causing disputes, bullying and chaos and concomitantly low levels of job satisfaction. Employees who work with them might be expected to avoid such environments whenever possible. This research indicates that

they do indeed do this. The sixth effect on employees who experience Corporate Psychopaths is that they withdraw from the organisational environment. They take a day off sick when not really ill roughly five times more frequently than other employees, take longer breaks than allowed four times more frequently, and leave work early five times more frequently.

The seventh factor in assessing the impact of Corporate Psychopaths is that their incidence appears to be greater at higher levels of an organisation. This gives them power and influence that magnify their destructive capacity.

Conclusions

Corporate Psychopaths have an influence on organisations that is highly congruent with the negative expectations of leading theorists, researchers and psychologists in the field of psychopathy. Clearly the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in organisations has significant, measurable effects on corporate outcomes, costing corporations dearly in terms of lost employee time, suboptimal employee performance, increased workload, difficult working conditions, poor levels of job satisfaction and lower perceived levels of corporate social responsibility. Corporate Psychopaths need to be identified and monitored within organisations; otherwise, the negative outcomes of this behaviour on other employees and on the organisations they work for are costly and problematic for the financial, social and operational well-being of the organisation. The following chapters of this book investigate each of these areas in turn and present the evidence from the main research study on which this book is based, together with similar findings from a smaller research study and other research.

2

The Origins of Corporate Psychopaths

This chapter examines the origins of Corporate Psychopaths as a construct and the state of knowledge regarding the potential causes of psychopathy. This is a literature review conducted as part of the wider investigation into the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in workplaces and their influence on workplace outcomes. The objective of this chapter is to use the literature on psychopathy, psychopaths and Corporate Psychopaths to determine what is known about the origins of the syndrome as it applies to the area of business, corporations and organisations. The chapter first discusses the syndrome of psychopathy and how it is assessed. This is followed by a discussion of the possible physical origins of the syndrome and of childhood factors in its development. This leads to a definition of who psychopaths are and of criminal psychopaths. The realisation, by psychologists, that non-criminal or successful psychopaths exist is then discussed, and this discussion is followed by a definition of Corporate Psychopaths.

There are many papers by psychologists on the origins of psychopathy. Debate on this subject continues, but there is a growing tendency among psychologists to accept that brain structure, function and chemistry anomalies are associated with the syndrome of psychopathy (Weber et al. 2008). In terms of successful psychopaths, including Corporate Psychopaths, researchers suggest that these non-criminal psychopaths may have the same neuropsychological dysfunctions as criminal psychopaths do, resulting in a similar lack of empathy, for example. However, it has also been suggested that a superior executive function in these non-criminal psychopaths may serve as a protective factor, decreasing their risk of being involved in illicit behaviour (Mahmut, Homewood & Stevenson 2007).

This superior executive brain function would be promoted by a good socio-economic family background, good education and high intelligence, and this idea is supported by research showing that high psychopathy traits are strongly associated with the opposite of these factors – factors such as low socio-economic status and poor early parental supervision (Farrington 2005).

This chapter discusses the most commonly used existing measures for psychopathy and the measure used for corporate psychopathy. It suggests that because past research has most often been into populations of criminal psychopaths, the study of corporate, non-criminal or functional psychopaths has been neglected. The chapter discusses Corporate Psychopaths as psychopaths who work in corporations and other organisations and suggests that their acknowledgement and study by business academics is both important and overdue.

Psychopathy

Psychopathy is a syndrome of characteristics and behaviours which can be assessed using measures such as the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) (Vaughn & Howard 2005). This checklist has been adopted worldwide by researchers and clinical psychologists as the standard reference to assess psychopathy (Molto, Poy & Torrubia 2000; Vaughn & Howard 2005; Wormith 2000). Using this checklist, many recent researchers into psychopathy have drawn on the work of Robert Hare, who has published work on the reliable identification of psychopaths and who developed the PCL-R. Hare's checklist for psychopathy is summarised in Table 11 for reference (Hare, Hart & Harpur 1991).

Initially based on the work of Cleckley, an earlier commentator on psychopaths, and on his own research findings, Hare's checklist was developed for discriminating among criminal psychopaths (Benning, Patrick & Iacono 2005). He subsequently revised the checklist on the basis of further research. The checklist was a trail-blazing attempt to standardise the assessment and measurement of psychopathy for clinical and research purposes (Lorenz & Newman 2002). Its development was motivated by an understandable desire to diagnose, control and treat socially dangerous people who appeared to be rational but failed to follow conventional morality and act in accordance with societal norms (McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto 1998). A subject is assigned a score of 0, 1 or 2 on each element in the checklist according to the presence of the element in their personality and behaviour. Typically, in a criminal sample, subjects who score 30 or more are judged to be psychopathic. However, other researchers state that a

Table 11 PCL-R characteristics of psychopaths

Factor One – interpersonal and affective core characteristics	Factor Two – behavioural manifestations
Interpersonal aspects	Lifestyle aspects
Glibness/superficial charm Grandiose sense of self-worth Pathological lying Conning/manipulation	Need for excitement Parasitic lifestyle Impulsivity Irresponsibility Lack of realistic long-term goals
Affective aspects	Anti-social aspects
Lack of remorse or guilt Shallow affect (emotion) Failure to accept responsibility for actions Coldness/callousness/ lack of empathy	Poor behavioural control Early behavioural problems Juvenile delinquency Revocation of conditional release
Three items not always loaded onto the two main factors ^a	
Promiscuous sexual behaviour Many short-term marital relationships Criminal versatility	

^a From Johansson et al. (2002).

continuum of psychopathy probably exists, and lower cut-off scores (often of 25) are used in community samples (i.e. samples drawn from the general population) (Hare, Hart & Harpur 1991; Vaughn & Howard 2005).

The elements in the checklist are generally considered to consist of two fundamental stable factors, the first being the set of interpersonal and affective characteristics of the syndrome (such as callousness, lack of remorse and egocentricity) and the second its anti-social manifestations (Hare, Hart & Harpur 1991). Psychopathy is thus marked by a pattern of interpersonal, affective and behavioural manifestations, as described above (Louth, Hare & Linden 1998). It is deeply rooted in an individual's personality as affected by their environmental, socio-cultural, socio-economic and family backgrounds (Vaughn & Howard 2005). Psychopaths are thus relatively immune to treatment (Babiak & Hare 2006; Vaughn & Howard 2005).

Developmental origins of psychopaths

Hare says that it is not known definitively whether the syndrome of psychopathy stems from biological or environmental factors and that it is probably the result of an interplay of the two (Hare 1994). Debate continues over whether nature or nurture is more responsible for the development of psychopaths, with some commentators saying that the balance of evidence leans towards the view that the biopsychological factor is more important, but in ways that are yet to be precisely identified (Blair et al. 2006). Some researchers cite frontal lobe brain dysfunction as one example of a neurological abnormality that accounts for the origins of psychopathy, as the frontal lobe is thought to be the centre of an individual's executive (self-)governance (Kiehl et al. 2004; Vaughn & Howard 2005).

Somehow, internal controls and emotions are undeveloped and no conscience is present in the individuals concerned. Research by Nadis indicates that a neurophysiological factor may be affecting psychopaths and that some areas of their brains may be undeveloped or underactive (Nadis 1995). Other psychopathy research suggests that psychopaths may not be able to engage both hemispheres of the brain as well as nonpsychopaths do (Bernstein et al. 2000), and this again suggests that a neurological factor is responsible.

Various researchers thus strongly suspect that psychopathy is associated with functional anomalies in the brain circuitry involved in linguistic and affective (emotional) processing (Intrator et al. 1997; Kiehl et al. 2001). The areas of the brain sometimes referred to as the 'social brain' - including the amygdala, hippocampus and orbitofrontal regions – have been identified as being underactive in psychopaths; instead, the more intellectual or cognitive areas are brought into play to process affective words and stimuli (Soderstrom 2003).

However, in a review of twenty neuroimaging studies in psychopathy, Pridmore and colleagues point out that many of the initial findings have not been replicated and that the biological basis of psychopathy remains to be elucidated (Pridmore, Chambers & McArthur 2005). More recent research in which psychopaths and non-psychopaths were asked to detect simple, novel, target auditory stimuli found differences in responses that again implicate temporal lobe abnormalities in psychopathy. However, the researchers admit that the evidence for this is indirect and inconclusive (Kiehl et al. 2006).

The general agreement is that some dysfunction of the amygdala and/ or orbitofrontal cortex is probably involved and that the other developmental and environmental pathways of psychopathy are not fully understood (Vien & Beech 2006). It should be pointed out, however, that the detection of the presence of brain abnormalities does not necessarily mean that the causal direction has been established. It could be that learning and environmental factors contribute to changes in brain chemistry over time. Childhood neglect, with an associated lack of sensory input in infancy, has, for example, been associated with physiological changes in brain size and in metabolic activity in the orbitofrontal gyrus and amygdala (Alwin et al. 2006).

Furthermore, it is evident that, at least in the case of criminal psychopaths, there is a co-morbidity between psychopathy and alcohol and drug abuse (Reardon, Land & Patrick 2002). This abuse can affect brain chemistry, making it more difficult to identify cause-and-effect relationships in research data (Howard & McCullagh 2007). Researchers can control for this by matching groups on key characteristics such as history of alcohol abuse, as Howard and McCullagh did in their research looking at neuro-affective processing in criminal psychopaths (Howard & McCullagh 2007). They comment, however, that biophysical psychopathy research commonly fails to build in controls for alcohol abuse.

There is also other research into brain chemistry that indicates a physical aspect to psychopathy. One study showed a correlation between increased levels of the thyroid hormone triiodothyronine and decreased thyroxin in psychopathic subjects, indicating a possible pathophysiological mechanism at work (Soderstrom & Forsman 2004).

Other researchers have suggested that psychopaths have difficulty in processing non-dominant cues in their nexus of thoughts – that they can concentrate only on a dominant thought, to the exclusion of thoughts that might have a more inhibiting influence on their behaviour (Maccoon & Newman 2006). These researchers rely on studies of criminal psychopaths for their analysis, and so their suggestions may not be appropriate with regard to more successful Corporate Psychopaths.

Indeed, recent research into successful versus unsuccessful psychopaths reinforces the view that these are two distinct subgroups of psychopaths (Yang et al. 2005). Using magnetic resonance imaging, Yang and colleagues found that the prefrontal cortex volume of grey matter (i.e. not white matter or total brain volume) was lower in unsuccessful psychopaths than in non-psychopaths and successful psychopaths. This suggests that some kind of structural impairment of the prefrontal brain is a factor in psychopathy. Researchers conclude that psychopaths are fundamentally different from non-psychopaths in ways that are yet to be fully elucidated and understood but include some enhanced persuasive abilities such as the ability to con and manipulate others (Harris et al. 2007).

Other researchers have found that environmental factors such as early-stage parental rejection predict the early-onset violent criminality which is emblematic of psychopathic behaviour (Meloy 2002). Vitacco and colleagues report that ineffective parenting (i.e. poor and inconsistent parenting) is associated with impulsivity and narcissistic traits in Hispanic females (Vitacco et al. 2003). However, they also found that ineffective parenting in their study did not associate with callousness.

Callousness is arguably a more fundamental element of psychopathy than impulsivity and narcissism, and Vitacco and colleagues admit that callousness is a critical construct in psychopathy (Vitacco et al. 2003). This research is inconsistent in its findings, therefore, and far from conclusive in terms of identifying possible causes of psychopathy.

Research conducted in 1993 by Joanne Intrator, with Robert Hare collaborating, suggests a physical, neurological factor is at work (Kaihla 1996). The researchers used an emotional language test that measured brain activity in response to both neutral and emotionally loaded words by injecting test subjects with a radioactive tracer and scanning colour images of their brains. Using a sample of eight psychopaths and nine non-psychopaths, and with psychopathy being defined by the PCL-R with a cut-off score of 25 (rather than the clinical cut-off of 30), they found differences in brain activity (as measured by regionalised blood flow) between the psychopaths and the non-psychopaths. This difference was particularly evident in the areas around the ventromedial frontal cortex and the amygdala (Intrator et al. 1997). The ventromedial frontal cortex apparently has a crucial role in controlling impulses and in long-term planning and is involved in the formation of linkages between factual knowledge and bio-regulation (Blair 2001). The amygdala is often described as the seat of emotion, and it feeds into the threat-response (flight-or-fight) system of the brain (Blair 2001). Counterintuitively, the researchers found greater brain activation in psychopaths than in non-psychopaths (Intrator et al. 1997). They speculated that psychopaths might need more brain resources to process emotional words because they do not have the immediate emotional knowledge that non-psychopaths have and must therefore process the words intellectually in order to gather their emotional meaning. They concluded that the brain processes associated with the processing of words are different in psychopaths than in non-psychopaths and that psychopaths do not differentiate between neutral and emotional words in the same way that non-psychopaths do (Intrator et al. 1997).

Other researchers have come to the same conclusion. In an experimental study, Herve and colleagues found that psychopaths do not understand or make effective use of the emotional content of language. Here the experimental task was to sort metaphorical statements into

groups of positive or negative emotional content (Herve, Hayes & Hare 2001). Psychopaths were found to make more sorting errors than nonpsychopaths. For example, one psychopath assigned a positive connotation to the metaphorical statement 'man is a worm that lives on the corpse of the earth' and a negative connotation to the metaphorical statement 'love is an antidote for the world's ills'. The researchers noted that the psychopaths seemed to know what the metaphors meant at a literal or rational level but missed the essential affective meanings (Herve, Hayes & Hare 2001). Another study of brain activity using magnetic resonance imaging also found that the amygdala of psychopaths was relatively unreactive to emotional stimuli compared with nonpsychopaths (Birbaumer et al. 2005). Research by others (Bernstein et al. 2000; Herpertz et al. 2001; Seymour 2006; Stout 2005a) has reached similar findings, and Hare says that even the use of basic devices such as sweat measurement instruments can help in identifying psychopaths (Hare 1999a).

Psychopaths do not process emotional stimuli in the normal way, which makes them adept at deception and lying; for example, they do not sweat at the sight of violent pictures of mutilated faces, whereas everyone else does so to some extent (Louth et al. 1998). Psychopaths seem to process the information without emotion, at a purely intellectual level.

Research among adolescent male twins also showed that there is a genetic influence rather than an environmental one contributing to the existence of psychopathy (Taylor et al. 2003). Other research among twins showed that males with high anti-social tendencies exhibited deficient overall skin conductance magnitudes when shown pictures of neutral, positive and negative images, compared with males in a control group, and this again argues for a physical factor in psychopathy (Benning, Patrick & Iacono 2005). Such research among identical (monozygotic) and non-identical (dizygotic) twins makes it easier for researchers to differentiate between factors that are probably genetic and those that are probably environmental, because the genetic and environmental similarities of the twins are largely known. It is assumed that identical-twin similarity owes more to genetic than to environmental similarity compared with non-identical twin similarity (identical twins share 100 per cent of their genes, while non-identical twins share only 50 per cent). This research found that there was a common genetic influence on the two major trait dimensions of psychopathy, and this suggests that psychopathic behaviour is largely inherited rather than environmentally driven (Benning, Patrick & Iacono 2005).

However, further research has found that environmental factors also affect psychopathy (Marshall & Cooke 1999) and that it is probably an interplay of nature and nurture that determines how psychopathy is expressed in behaviour (Hare 1999a). For violent psychopaths, the link between early cruelty to animals and later violence towards humans has been documented by the popular press as well as by psychiatrists and law enforcement officials (Dadds, Whiting & Hawes 2006). Indeed, the Federal Bureau of Investigation lists animal abuse as one of the symptoms that predict the development of a criminal psychopath. Researchers in this area have found that a physically abusive person's first target is often an animal in the home and that the subsequent target is usually their spouse or child. Childhood manifestations of psychopathy are reported to include not only patterns of hurting or killing animals, but also casual lying, indifference to the feelings of others, petty theft, bullying and aggression, truancy and vandalism (Hare 1999a).

It thus appears to be well established that psychopaths respond differently to emotional stimuli than normal people do. They do not become apprehensive before electric shocks are delivered, for example, and the amygdala does not activate as much in psychopaths as it does in normal people in response to emotional stimuli. Similar research has led some researchers to the conclusion that the amygdala is the main area of dysfunction in psychopaths (Blair et al. 2005).

Another study using magnetic resonance imaging showed that psychopaths appear to use non-emotional, cognitive areas of the brain (outside the limbic system) to process emotional words more than non-psychopaths do, indicating that the emotional meaning of the words used is not as immediately accessible to psychopaths as to nonpsychopaths (Kiehl et al. 2001). This finding was said to be consistent with the hypothesis that psychopaths need to use alternative cognitive operations to process affective material (Pridmore, Chambers & McArthur 2005). Psychopaths also showed less affect-related activity in the amygdala, parahippocampal gyrus and bilateral anterior superior temporal gyrus than did non-psychopaths (Kiehl et al. 2001). These differences were reported to be present in the absence of any overt structural abnormalities in the brains of psychopaths (Kiehl et al. 2001).

Other researchers found temporal lobe abnormalities in semantic processing by criminal psychopaths, supporting the theory that psychopathy is associated with right-hemisphere abnormalities. Thus it may be that a biological predisposition subject to an adverse social environment creates the conditions necessary for the development of a psychopath (Kirkman 2005). The social environment, such as educational opportunities and family background, may determine whether the psychopathy is manifested as criminal psychopathy or in more successful forms such as Corporate Psychopathy.

This neurobiological research into psychopathy has been influenced by the growing belief that psychopaths are biologically different from other people in terms of brain structure and/or function. It has also been influenced by technological breakthroughs in our ability to use brain scanning and imaging equipment to look at specialised areas of the brain in greater detail and with more precision than previously, and by the belief that certain cerebral functions are located in relatively specific areas of the brain (Vien & Beech 2006).

In terms of the origins of psychopathy, then, Yang and Raine have recently pointed out that the growing number of neuroimaging studies being conducted and presented in psychopathy research increases the evidence for a neural base for the disorder (Yang & Raine 2008). However, directional causality has not been established, and it may be a psychopathic lifestyle that causes changes in the brain, rather than the other way around (Yang & Raine 2008). Another recent review of the literature on structural brain abnormalities in psychopaths outlined a variety of research findings that identified a reduction in the prefrontal grey matter of the brain in psychopaths. It also identified grey matter loss in the right superior temporal gyrus, volume loss in the amygdala, a decrease in posterior hippocampal volume, an exaggerated structural hippocampal asymmetry and an increase in callosal white matter volume in psychopaths (Weber et al. 2008). This review concluded that while the literature suggests that psychopathy is associated with brain abnormalities in a prefrontal-temporo-limbic circuit (the regions of the brain that are involved in, among other things, emotional and learning processes), no causal inference can yet be drawn from this. The reviewers concluded that the brain abnormalities documented in psychopaths are not sufficient to explain psychopathy (Weber et al. 2008).

Corporate Psychopaths, with their often better social background, upbringing and education, are harder to detect than criminal psychopaths because of their lack of overt anti-social personality traits and their charm and manipulativeness (Hare 1999a). However, some clues to identifying them can be drawn from their speech patterns and speech reactions to emotional stimuli. For example, a study into why psychopaths are able to lie so convincingly found that male criminal psychopaths were more quietly spoken than non-psychopaths, and the researchers hypothesised that this was to draw the listener into the

personal space of the psychopath so that the psychopath could use nonverbal communication skills such as hand gestures and prolonged eve contact to convince the listener of his sincerity (Louth et al. 1998).

Psychopaths tend to treat people as objects to be manipulated and used, and this lack of emotional involvement with or commitment to others gives a clue as to the possible origins of psychopathy. It has been shown that psychopaths treat emotional words the same as nonemotional ones in terms of their intellectual and affective response to them, and that their voice levels do not differ when verbalising the latter, whereas the voice levels of non-psychopaths do. Louth and colleagues hypothesise that the lack of emotional response in psychopaths allows them to lie without the tell-tale signs that a non-psychopath would display out of nervousness or fear of being caught out (Louth et al. 1998). They found that psychopaths seemed oblivious to the affective nuances of emotional words and treated them as being devoid of emotional content.

Another experiment which looked at the emotional reactions of psychopaths showed that they paid as much attention to a picture of a woman who looked as if she had been run over by a car and who had blood pouring out of her head as they did to a picture of a woman who was just riding a bike in front of cars (Nadis 1995). Normal people remembered the emotionally worrying picture of the bleeding woman in much more detail than they did the more emotionally neutral picture. Psychopaths treated both pictures in the same rational, unworried way. Once again this research indicates that a neurophysiological factor may be affecting psychopaths and that some areas of their brains may be undeveloped or underactive.

It thus appears to be well established that psychopaths respond differently to emotional stimuli than normal people do. Stout reports similarly that psychopaths respond to emotionally charged words in the same way as they respond to neutral words and that in research using brain imaging technology psychopaths showed increased blood flow to the temporal lobes compared with other subjects (Stout 2005a). This is a response usual for intellectual problems rather than for emotional issues and suggests that psychopaths react to emotional issues primarily as intellectual challenges rather than as emotional issues.

In conclusion, it appears that leading researchers are coming down on the side of nature rather than nurture concerning the origin of psychopathy. They say that there is a stronger genetic cause than a social one, and that the genetic influence leads to the emotional dysfunction, which appears to be centred on disruption in the amygdala and ventrolateral, orbitofrontal cortex of the brain (Blair et al. 2006). Whatever the cause of psychopathy, it is clear that self-control can be undeveloped in a criminal psychopath, emotions are stunted or missing and a conscience is absent.

The debate over whether nature or nurture is more responsible for the development of psychopaths is ongoing, but the balance of evidence seems to suggest a key role for nature, with nurture determining the outward manifestations of the syndrome. Thus it may be that a biological predisposition subject to a particular social environment creates the conditions necessary for the development of a psychopath (Kirkman 2005). The social environment, such as educational opportunities and family background, may determine whether the psychopathy is manifested as criminal psychopathy or as Corporate Psychopathy.

Childhood factors in psychopathy

As discussed above, research into the possible causes of psychopathy has concluded that these are probably a mixture of genetic and environmental factors (Marshall & Cooke 1999). Hare concurs, but tends to think that the societal factors influence the way psychopathy is expressed in behaviour rather than being a direct cause (Hare 1994). Other leading researchers agree with this viewpoint and say that environmental factors such as family background probably influence how psychopathy is manifested in behaviour but that such factors are not the cause of psychopathy (Blair et al. 2006).

The research by Marshall and Cooke looked into the childhood experiences of (criminal) psychopaths and non-psychopaths and concluded that negative experiences in childhood increase the risk of a psychopathic outcome. However, this study was limited in that it relied on retrospective memories of childhood experiences and – with the population under study being known to be pathological liars – there may have been some deceit present in the findings. Their study also looked only at offending psychopaths and it is possible that non-offending or successful psychopaths may present different findings.

In another paper reviewing the literature on child and adolescent psychopathy it was stated that research into the causes and risk factors that might influence or predict psychopathy was largely lacking (Farrington 2005). The paper reviewed evidence that early childhood maternal deprivation and neglect can have irreversible negative effects such as the person becoming affectionless. It also reported on evidence that parental rejection and poor supervision influence the development

of psychopathy. Childhood abuse, separation from parents and poor parental discipline were also found in those scoring highly on psychopathy measures. The paper acknowledges that psychopathy is deemed difficult to treat, partially because it is assumed to have biological causes that are not changeable via psychosocial interventions.

Mark Dadds, a professor from the University of New South Wales's Child Behaviour Clinic conducted some research into children with severe behavioural problems and found (Seymour 2006) that children with psychopathic traits could recognise emotions such as happiness and sadness but not fear.

In line with findings for adult psychopaths, the children had low levels of anxiety, empathy and emotion and were cold, calculating and predatory in their aggression. He said that these psychopathic children appeared to not be hard wired to look into other people's eyes to recognise emotions in the way that most people are. This research again suggests that there is a physical element to the cause of psychopathy.

In another paper Dadds notes that the characteristics of such children, in terms of a lack of empathy (callous, unemotional) and inhibitory control (impulsiveness) is synonymous with the traditional two-factor conceptualisation of psychopathy in adults (Dadds, Whiting & Hawes 2006). Researchers have suggested that of those children who are raised in an anti-social environment, those who are predisposed to become psychopathic will process more dominant anti-social cues from this environment, and will be more likely to develop anti-social behaviours compared to non-psychopathic children (Maccoon & Newman 2006). It is logical to suggest that psychopathic children in a non anti-social environment will not process such cues and may develop into more successful psychopaths.

Other researchers have also found evidence that supports a biophysical origin to childhood psychopathy (Loney et al. 2006). In this research, male adolescents with pronounced callous-unemotional traits (symptomatic of psychopathy) were found to have lower levels of cortisol than other adolescents. Cortisol is an emotional or stress-related hormone that indicates activity in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis (Loney et al. 2006).

Similarly, research involving a large sample of twins found that twothirds of the difference between extremely callous-unemotional children and normal children could be explained genetically (Viding et al. 2005). (Callous, unemotional traits are often used as a proxy or marker for psychopathy or as evidence of the existence of psychopathy in samples of children.) This suggests that psychopathic behaviour is largely

inherited rather than environmentally driven. Yet further research has found that environmental factors also affect psychopathy (Marshall & Cooke 1999) and it is probably an interplay of nature and nurture (Hare 1999a) that determines how psychopathy is expressed in behaviour.

In terms of the causes or origins of psychopathy in young people, more recent research demonstrates that a neurobiological influence is at work in the development of a life trajectory towards psychopathy. In particular, functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) (brain activity imaging) studies of connectivity levels between the amygdala and ventromedial prefrontal cortex circuitry in young people have found reduced connectivity in young people who scored highly (>19/40) on the psychopathy scale used in the study (Dolan 2008). This is in line with neurobiological studies of adult psychopaths.

In conclusion, then, psychopathy does appear to start in childhood, where it is associated with the same neurobiological factors as in adults. How it manifests itself appears to be dependent on the culture in which the child is raised.

Psychopaths

Psychopaths are the approximately 1 per cent of people who lack emotions (Nadis 1995; Stout 2005a) and have no conscience, and they are not troubled by their own behaviour (Tamayo & Raymond 1977). Psychopaths are not emotionally or intellectually concerned about hurting others and may even get a thrill from doing so (Clarke 2005); thus they see no reason to change their personalities. According to Hare, psychopaths see no problem with their own lack of conscience, lack empathy or remorse and do not think that they need to change their behaviour to fit in with societal norms in which they do not believe (Hare 1999a).

In line with the view that nurture determines the manifestations of the syndrome in a psychopath, it is clear that some psychopaths demonstrate severe anti-social tendencies and end up in prison, while others, who are sometimes referred to as successful psychopaths and are less researched and understood than their anti-social peers, can perhaps see that easier gains can be made by applying their ruthless skills in the commercial arena. The following sections discuss, in turn, those psychopaths who demonstrate severe anti-social tendencies and end up in prison and those psychopaths who are clever and charming enough to avoid detection and conflict with society and therefore avoid prison, who may be called successful psychopaths.

Criminal psychopaths

Historically, psychopathy has largely been studied among male criminal populations, probably because such populations have a high incidence of psychopaths and are accessible to psychologists. This means that often when psychologists talk about psychopaths in their research papers they are actually mainly talking about criminal psychopaths. This bias in the existing research has led to the confounding of psychopathy with criminality, leading some commentators to the erroneous view that all psychopaths manifest anti-social or criminal behaviour.

Indeed, one acknowledged weakness of research into psychopathy is an inability to generalise from it because of the dominant use of male criminal populations in research (Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003; Kirkman 2005; Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001). One of the reasons little research has been carried out on non-criminal samples of psychopaths is said to be that some of the measurement instruments and practices, such as Hare's PCL-R, are designed to be most easily used on criminal samples (Kirkman 2002). Institutionalised populations provide relatively easy and convenient access for psychologists and have the necessary case histories associated with them. The measurement instruments cannot, it is argued, be easily adapted for use in community (non-institutional or general population) settings (Kirkman 2002).

According to Hare, criminal or anti-social definitions of psychopathy are not problematic for referring to criminal psychopaths because such behavioural definitions were made after extensive study of these men, mainly in prison populations (Hare 1999a). However, he says that criminal or anti-social definitions of psychopathy are probably inappropriate for defining functional or Corporate Psychopaths because these psychopaths are able to control the overt manifestation of any anti-social impulses they may have and so seem to act normally. Hare states that Corporate Psychopaths are clever and charming enough to avoid detection and conflict with society, and therefore they avoid going to prison. Therefore, he says that a revised definition from that used for criminal psychopathy or anti-social personality disorder should be used for these more sophisticated psychopaths.

Other researchers (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996) also acknowledge that anti-social personality disorder characterises the behavioural aspects of criminal psychopaths rather than innate personality factors, and that psychopathy has been confounded and confused with measures of criminality because the majority of studies of psychopathy have been

conducted among incarcerated populations (Lynam, Whiteside & Jones 1999).

Non-criminal or successful psychopaths

As discussed above, in recent times there has been an acknowledgement that psychopaths are more varied and heterogeneous than past research may have indicated, and some researchers have put forward the view that subtypes of psychopathy exist (Murphy & Vess 2003). Commentators have suggested that successful psychopaths have more self-control and are able to control their behaviour in a way that criminal psychopaths cannot (McCormick & Burch 2005). This is evidenced by the fact that intelligence has been shown to correlate with violence, with low-IQ psychopaths demonstrating low impulse control and a history of violence (Murphy & Vess 2003).

It can be hypothesised that intelligent psychopaths from relatively privileged social backgrounds who have taken advantage of good educational opportunities know that they can execute their self-serving behaviour to far better effect and with much less risk of detection in a corporate setting than in criminal activity. It is acknowledged in the literature that little is known about the life trajectories of these functionally adaptive psychopaths because they have not been the subject of much study (Skeem et al. 2004; Vaughn & Howard 2005). They are not included in correctional samples because they are rarely caught doing anything illegal – and even when they are, their white-collar crimes attract only short periods of institutionalisation (Babiak & Hare 2006).

Psychopaths who are successfully integrated into the general population are by definition harder to find than incarcerated criminals are, and for this reason the suggestion has been made that research into people who have achieved celebrity status but who are reported to be devious, deceptive and disruptive could prove fruitful (Benning, Patrick & Iacono 2005). Successful psychopaths are successful inasmuch as they have deployed their skills of lying, manipulation and deception well enough to avoid detection and can avoid the displays of anti-social behaviour that would get them into trouble with the law. As a result, they can have successful careers. They are described as subtle manipulators who are good at playing the emotions of others and at using people for the value they can bring to the psychopath in terms of excitement, entertainment or material gain (Conner 2006).

In line with this emerging view of successful psychopaths, researchers argue that the construct of a psychopathic personality should not be

contaminated with criminality and socially deviant behaviour, because these elements are correlates of psychopathy rather than core characteristics of it (Johansson et al. 2002). This fits with the view of psychopathy held by leading researchers in the field such as Hare and Cleckley. who have both said that there are psychopaths who do not engage in criminal behaviour and can function well in society (Cleckley 1988; Hare 1999a).

Recent brain imaging research into successful versus unsuccessful psychopaths reinforces the view that these are two distinct subgroups and that Corporate Psychopaths exist as a separate category of psychopath (Yang et al. 2005).

Congruent with the view that functionally adaptive psychopaths exist successfully and relatively undetected in society, psychologists have taken the subject of psychopathy into the popular domain with the publication, in the past few years, of several books on the subject (Babiak & Hare 2006; Clarke 2005; Hare 1999a; Stout 2005b). Hare, in particular, has repeatedly drawn attention to the existence of psychopaths in corporations and other large organisations (Hercz 2001).

In response, business academics are becoming aware of the nature and extent of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths on businesses, and several papers on this subject have recently been published in academic journals and presented at conferences (Boddy 2005a; Boddy 2005b; Boddy 2006b; Morse 2004).

This chapter now arrives at the concept of Corporate Psychopaths, who can be classed as a subset of successful psychopaths who work in corporations.

Corporate Psychopaths

As discussed in Chapter 1, the concept of 'Corporate Psychopaths' combines the term 'psychopath' from the psychological literature with the term 'corporate' from the area of business to denote a psychopath who works and operates in an organisation. And, as mentioned above, Hare states that a subset of his PCL-R checklist caters to the identification of Corporate Psychopaths: they are glib and superficially charming; have a grandiose sense of self-worth; are pathological liars, good at conning and manipulating others; have no remorse about harming others; are emotionally shallow, calculating and cold; are callous and lacking in empathy; and fail to take responsibility for their own actions. In other words, Hare identifies Corporate Psychopaths as having the PCL-R Factor One personality characteristics identified in Table 11 above, but not as having the overtly anti-social and criminal manifestations of Factor Two.

Corporate Psychopaths are different from criminal psychopaths in that they are much more in control of themselves (and others) and can appear (Walker 2005) to be charming, polished, likeable and even charismatic. However, they are emotionally unconnected to the rest of humanity and view other people merely as objects to be used and abused as they see fit (Hare 1999b). This view that Corporate Psychopaths are much more in control of themselves than are criminal psychopaths is consistent with research that demonstrates that although they are correlated, the two main trait dimensions of psychopathy (impulsivity/ anti-social behaviour and callousness/lack of emotion) can show some independence, and that people can be high on one dimension but low on the other (Patrick 1994).

Leading researchers into psychopathy agree that there is considerable reason to believe that the way in which psychopathy is manifested in behaviour depends on the social environment of the individual psychopath (Blair et al. 2006) and that family wealth may enable psychopaths to achieve their goals in a socially acceptable manner. Corporate Psychopaths may well be such people, able to control any impulsive or anti-social tendencies to the extent of hiding them or rendering them lawful in their expression and so enable themselves to operate relatively undetected in society and corporations.

As discussed, the cold-heartedness and manipulativeness of Corporate Psychopaths are reported to be the traits that are least discernible by other people (Mahaffey & Marcus 2006), and this allows Corporate Psychopaths to gain other people's confidence, be successful in job interviews and gain promotion. Corporate Psychopaths are able to use their extroverted charm (Hare 1994) and charisma (McCormick & Burch 2005) to manipulate others shrewdly to achieve their own selfish ends of enrichment and empowerment.

Once employed within an organisation, Corporate Psychopaths systematically and cold-bloodedly go about getting rid of anyone standing in the way of their ascent of the organisational hierarchy, regardless of how valuable those people are to the corporation. Although they are not psychotic (delusional), they are ruthless and dangerous (Hofmann & Hasebrook 2004) to those around them and to the companies that employ them, and so are worthy subjects of business research. How they get into organisations is discussed in Chapter 8 of this book.

Conclusions

From a review of the literature it appears that psychopathy in an individual may develop in ways that are dependent on how that individual is nurtured during childhood. Psychopaths may become anti-social criminals or fit more successfully into society. Some successful psychopaths join organisations and become Corporate Psychopaths.

It would appear from the literature that more intelligent psychopaths who benefit from a good education and social background are often able to choose a lifestyle that is not overtly and obviously anti-social and that they can use their charm and manipulativeness to hide their more covert anti-social activities from clear view. Only limited academic research has been conducted on psychopaths in the area of business or on non-incarcerated psychopaths in general. There have been calls for such research because it may have valuable implications for understanding the syndrome (Johansson et al. 2002), how it develops from childhood and onwards, and how it manifests itself in different types of behaviour (Kirkman 2002).

While it is acknowledged that not much is known about these successful psychopaths, it is clear that if they are able easily to join and rise within the ranks of corporate society, their activities will have effects on other employees and on how and why corporate resources are deployed.

It can be hypothesised that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in organisations will affect levels of employee satisfaction and workplace conflict and bullying; firm performance; how management decisions involving morality are made and whether any attention is paid to such matters as corporate social responsibility. This may have effects on the businesses concerned, on society and on the environment that business researchers should study and recognise. These matters are discussed in the rest of this book, starting with a discussion in the next chapter of how Corporate Psychopaths influence conflict in organisations.

3

Corporate Psychopaths, Bullying, Conflict and Unfair Supervision in the Workplace

This chapter reports on the empirical research for this book that establishes strong, positive and significant correlations between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the ethical issues of bullying, conflict and unfair supervision in the workplace. The measure for bullying is the witnessing of the unfavourable treatment of others at work. Three other measures of conflict are also used: the frequencies of arguments, rudeness and velling. Unfair supervision was measured by perceptions that an employee's supervisor was unfair and showed little interest in the feelings of subordinates. The chapter discusses the theoretical links between psychopathy, conflict and bullying and notes that little empirical evidence has been gathered on the connection in management research. The findings of the research are then presented and discussed. They show that when Corporate Psychopaths are present in a work environment, the level of bullying is significantly greater than when they are not. Further, when Corporate Psychopaths are present, supervisors are strongly perceived as being unfair to employees and uninterested in their feelings. The chapter concludes that around 26 per cent of bullying is accounted for by 1 per cent of the employee population – those who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Bullying

Workplace bullying is defined as the repeated unfair, unethical and unfavourable treatment of one person by another in the workplace. This includes behaviour designed to belittle others via humiliation, sarcasm, rudeness, threats or violence or by overworking them (Dierickx

2004; Djurkovic, McCormack & Casimir 2004). Bullying can take the form of name calling, sexual harassment, making the victim a scapegoat and applying undue work pressure (Harvey et al. 2007). Bullying is reportedly undertaken to maintain the power and control of the person doing it (Dierickx 2004). Bullying in an organisation can lead to a variety of dysfunctional, negative outcomes for the organisation as well as for individuals within that organisation (Harvey et al. 2007). Bullying is widespread, inherently unfair to its victims and a key ethical problem in the workplace today (LaVan & Martin 2008; Wornham 2003).

Bullying is often characterised by superiors harming their subordinates within an organisation, and links between unfair supervision and bullying have already been made (Vandekerckhove & Commers 2003). Companies demonstrate concern over the issue by trying to promote codes of behaviour that outlaw bullying and intimidation (Kaptein 2004). Further, unethical conduct such as bullying has been shown to be associated with stress in the workplace (Giacalone & Promislo 2010). Its potential causes are therefore worthy of investigation.

Bullying, conflict and psychopathy

Narcissism, lack of self-regulation, lack of remorse and lack of conscience have been identified as traits displayed by bullies. These traits are shared with psychopaths, indicating that there is some theoretical cross-over between bullies and psychopaths (Harvey et al. 2007). It has also been suggested that the definition of bullying should include practices such as taking credit for another's work. This is also reported to be a common practice of psychopaths in the workplace (Babiak & Hare 2006). This again suggests a theoretical connection between psychopathy, conflict and bullying.

In the literature on psychopathy and bullying it is theorised that bullying can be used to intimidate others and make them afraid to confront the Corporate Psychopath involved, allowing the Corporate Psychopath more leeway in their behaviour. Bullying is used by Corporate Psychopaths as a tactic to humiliate subordinates (Clarke 2005), which may be because many psychopaths enjoy hurting people emotionally or physically (Porter et al. 2003). Bullying is also used as a tactic to scare, confuse and disorient those who may be a threat to the activities of the Corporate Psychopath (Clarke 2005). It distracts attention from the activities of the Corporate Psychopath, which might otherwise be noticed by fellow employees if they were functioning normally. Corporate Psychopaths might also use their reputations as bullies

to keep rivals away and to keep their subordinates submissive and afraid to ask questions (Babiak & Hare 2006).

The Corporate Psychopath is greatly aided by the emotional turmoil that conflict causes because victims and competitors are rendered emotional and ineffective, while the Corporate Psychopath remains rational and able to maintain control of the situation. Studies have shown a significant negative correlation between social anxiety and psychopathy, that is, that psychopaths do not become anxious to the same extent as non-psychopaths (Hofmann, Korte & Suvak 2009). Corporate Psychopaths do not feel the same emotions others do and can treat workplace turmoil as a means to an end, taking advantage of colleagues while they are at their weakest, confused and vulnerable.

From a review of the literature it seemed likely, then, that both bullying and conflict would be associated with the presence of psychopaths, and this research investigated such an association. The literature suggests that not all bullies are psychopathic but that those bullies who are psychopathic are particularly dangerous because they have a total lack of concern for other people's welfare or rights (Babiak & Hare 2006). Their skills at manipulation allow their bullying behaviour to be enacted through the manipulation of others so that their own positions are not too apparent and they can avoid any blame that arises.

Research has shown that people with high scores on a psychopathy rating scale are more likely to engage in bullying, crime and drug use than other people are, again indicating that psychopaths tend to be bullies (Nathanson, Williams & Paulhus 2006). In line with this, Hare and Babiak found that of seven Corporate Psychopaths identified in a study of about 200 high-level executives, two were also bullies. They note that this incidence (i.e. about 29 per cent of Corporate Psychopaths also being bullies) has also been reported by other researchers (Babiak & Hare 2006). The hypothesis drawn from this was that the rate of bullying would be greater in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

As described earlier in this book, psychopaths are extraordinarily cold and emotionless, and much more calculating and ruthless towards others than most people are, and they are therefore a menace to the companies they work for and to society (Brinkley et al. 2004; Viding 2004). This reported coldness and ruthlessness towards other people led to the hypothesis in this research that if Corporate Psychopaths are bullies, they will account for a much greater proportion of bullying and other types of conflict than their small numbers would imply.

Corporate Psychopaths are reported to charm those they think will be useful to them, manipulate their peers and abuse the weak and vulnerable (Babiak & Hare 2006; Clarke 2005). Because of the strategies they adopt, Corporate Psychopaths are reportedly more likely to reveal their true ruthlessness in front of those colleagues who are not useful to them as they may perceive no need to impress these people. This can lead to a situation in which Corporate Psychopaths have around them a number of useful or important people who are impressed by them and other people who really know them better and consequently despise them (Walker 2005).

The ways in which Corporate Psychopaths behave towards different colleagues are shown in Figure 1. These divisive, abusive and manipulative behaviours could be expected to cause conflict in an organisation and in the workplace.

Further, psychopaths are reported to delight in inflicting pain on others and to be willing to act ruthlessly to get what they want (Cangemi & Pfohl 2009), and such behaviour could logically be expected to cause conflict within an organisation. It would be logical to expect the presence of Corporate Psychopaths as supervisors to increase conflict.

Conflict with supervisors has been linked in previous research to such negative conduct as counterproductive work behaviour (Bruk-Lee & Spector 2006). Moreover, well-performing work teams have been linked to low levels of relationship conflict (Jehn & Mannix 2001), whereas high levels of conflict in personal relationships at work could be expected when psychopaths are present. The level of conflict was therefore considered to be an important measure, as any increase in it due to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths would have negative implications for organisational performance. This led to the hypothesis in this research that employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being

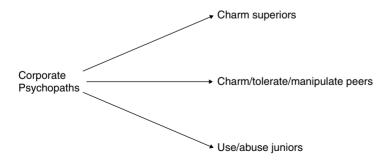


Figure 1 Strategies which Corporate Psychopaths use

Corporate Psychopaths will report higher levels of conflict at work than those who do not.

Unfair supervision and corporate psychopaths

It is recognised in the literature than an employee's supervisor is likely to be the key figure for that employee in any organisation. This is because it is largely the supervisor who determines what the job demands on an individual employee are, and this can be expected to influence how that employee evaluates organisational fairness and job satisfaction (Janssen 2001). Not surprisingly, unfair and abusive supervision involving such behaviour as public criticism, rudeness and coercion has been identified as having a negative influence on job satisfaction as well as on normative and emotional commitment to the organisation (Martinko et al. 2009; Tepper 2000; Tepper 2007).

A reading of the psychological literature on psychopaths who work in organisations identifies them as fundamentally unfair and as archetypal abusers. They enjoy hurting people because it amuses them (Clarke 2007); further, they use humiliation to cause confusion, chaos and fear in order to hide their other activities (Clarke 2005; Hare 1999a). They also ruthlessly manipulate and unfairly abuse others, without conscience, to further their own aims and objectives (Babiak & Hare 2006). However, these examples are drawn mainly from anecdotal evidence, from case studies of individual psychopaths (Babiak 1995) or from a formidable body of knowledge drawn from a lifetime of studying psychopaths (Hare 1994; Hare 1999a).

The empirical research presented in this book aims to take this knowledge further by quantifying the influence of Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace. The potential links between unfair and uninterested supervision and Corporate Psychopaths led to the hypothesis in this research that employee ratings of supervisors, as measured by the supervisors' perceived fairness and interest in employees' feelings, will be significantly lower in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Research findings

The findings from this portion of the research are presented in a variety of ways below. Table 12 presents the findings on the basis of a trichotomous categorical analysis, broken down, as shown in the column heads, into the three subgroups of Normal Managers, Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths.

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	Normal Managers present (N = 233)	Dysfunctional Managers present (N = 29)	Corporate Psychopaths present (N = 16)
Mean frequency per year	9.0	28.7***	64.4***
Cases per year computed from above figures (total = 3,959)	2,097	832	1,030
Percentage of cases per year associated with each group	53.0	21.0	26.0

Table 12 Reported frequency of witnessing unfavourable treatment of others at work (bullying)

As defined in Chapter 1, Normal Managers are those who do not display psychopathy, Dysfunctional Managers are those who display some psychopathy, and Corporate Psychopaths are those who display enough psychopathy to be described as psychopaths. The distribution into subgroups (as defined by the psychopathy scale used, the PM-MRV) was based on all respondent ratings of current managers rather than all responses about all managers. This was to make the distribution into subgroups representative of the population of white-collar Australian employees under consideration.

The total set of responses was not used for this distribution, because the total set of responses represents an over-sampling of Dysfunctional Managers, and therefore of Corporate Psychopaths, in the population. As such, it is a biased sample for the purposes of estimating the current incidence of experiencing Corporate Psychopaths. This oversampling was done deliberately to ensure that the sample size of Corporate Psychopaths was high enough for statistical analyses and to allow robust means to be drawn from the total sample. However, this particular part of the analysis seeks to uncover the extent of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths as they are currently to be found in the working population. Therefore, in Table 12, only ratings of current managers are used to establish the distribution of managers across the three groups analysed; otherwise, the incidence and therefore the extent of the influence of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths would be over-estimated.

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

The first row of data in Table 12 shows the mean number of incidents per year of the behaviour in question (witnessing unfavourable treatment of others) being displayed. This was computed on the basis of all responses (to ensure that means were based on robust sample sizes), assigning numerical values relating to the number of times per year that each type of behaviour was reported by respondents. For example, if a respondent reported that they had never come to work late without permission, this was given the corresponding numerical value of 0. If they reported that they came to work late every day, this was given the corresponding value of 240 (52 weeks, minus 4 weeks of annual holiday, multiplied by 5 working days per week to give 240 times per year). Other numerical values were assigned: 6 times per year for a report in the response category of 1 to 11 times per year, 24 times per year for a report in the response category of 1 to 3 times per month, and 120 times per year for a report in the response category of 1 to 4 times per week. Giving numerical values to the frequency intervals allowed means to be calculated for these questions, which in turn allowed statistical analysis to be performed on the data (Garner 2005). The second row in Table 12 shows the number of cases per year of the behaviour in question being displayed. This is simply the number of people in each subgroup of managers multiplied by the mean number of times per year the behaviour was experienced.

The last row in Table 12 shows the percentage of the total cases per year of the behaviour in question accounted for by each of the three subgroups. This last row shows row percentages not column percentages.

It can be seen from Table 12 (in the third column, third row) that of all cases reported of witnessing bullying at work, 26 per cent were associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. This figure is a measure of the magnitude of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths, bearing in mind that Corporate Psychopaths make up only about 1 per cent of all employees. Significant differences in means are indicated in the table using Bonferroni T-tests.

Levels for experiencing arguments with others are equally high in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were reported to be working. This is shown in Table 13. The final row in the table shows that 17.6 per cent of experiences of getting into arguments with others at work were associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Further, employees who worked in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present experienced arguments at work about five times more frequently than did employees working in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were not present.

	Normal Managers present (N = 233)	Dysfunctional Managers present (N = 29)	Corporate Psychopaths present (N = 16)
Mean frequency per year	4.8	14.9**	20.7***
Cases per year computed from above figures (total = 1,881)	1,118	432	331
Percentage of cases per year associated with each group	59.4	23.0	17.6

Table 13 Reported frequency of getting into arguments with others at work

Reported frequency of people yelling at respondent at work Table 14

	Normal Managers present (N = 233)	Dysfunctional Managers present (N = 29)	Corporate Psychopaths present (N = 16)
Mean frequency per year	1.9	4.0	10.3***
Cases per year computed from above figures (total = 724)	443	116	165
Percentage of cases per year associated with each group	61.2	16.0	22.8

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

The final row in Table 14 shows that 22.8 per cent of the workplace experiences of people yelling at respondents in this sample were associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

The final row in Table 15 shows that a large minority (25.1 per cent) of the experiences of people being rude to respondents at work were associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

^{**} Statistically significant at the 95% level of confidence (P < 0.05).

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

	Normal Managers present (N = 233)	Dysfunctional Managers present (N = 29)	Corporate Psychopaths present (N = 16)
Mean frequency per year	4.5	14.9**	31.0***
Cases per year computed from above figures (total = 1,977)	1,049	432	496
Percentage of cases per year associated with each group	53.1	21.9	25.1

Table 15 Reported frequency of people being rude to respondent at work

These computations provide a powerful way of looking at the magnitude of the problems associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had ever experienced various forms of bullying and conflict at work. The results are shown in Table 16. The data delineate the pervasiveness of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths. The mean frequencies shown in Tables 12-15 illustrate the mean number of times per year that behaviour such as bullying was observed. The percentages in Table 16 show by how many people each type of behaviour was experienced. Knowing both figures adds qualitatively to our understanding of the phenomenon.

The difference in proportions test for two proportions was applied to these percentages (in Tables 17 and 19) to test for significant differences. The percentages for Dysfunctional Managers were compared with those for Normal Managers, as were those for Corporate Psychopaths.

The means in Table 17 are mean frequencies of experiencing bullying and conflict behaviour during the past year. The scale used went from 'Never' (coded as 0 times per year) to '1 to 11 times per year' (coded as 6 times per year), to '1 to 3 times per month' (coded as 24 times per year), to '1 to 4 times per week' (coded as 120 times per year), to 'every day' (coded as 240 times per year). Frequencies were again based on 240

^{**} Statistically significant at the 95% level of confidence (P < 0.05).

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

	Normal Managers present	Dysfunctional Managers present	Corporate Psychopaths present
Ever got into an argument with others at work	47.9	71.7***	73.9***
Ever experienced people yelling at respondent at work	11.7	31.3***	47.5***
Ever experienced people being rude to respondent at work	42.4	70.7***	80.7***
Ever witnessed unfavourable treatment of others at work (bullying)	54.7	83.8***	93.3***

Table 16 Reported incidence of experiencing conflict and bullying (%)

working days per year in Australia. Chi-squares and Bonferroni T-test statistics were used to test for statistical differences.

In questions relating to their supervisor's fairness, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement on a six-point scale with no midpoint. This scale ran from 'disagree very much' (1) to 'disagree moderately' (2), to 'disagree slightly' (3), to 'agree slightly' (4), to 'agree moderately' (5), to 'agree very much' (6). Percentages are shown in Table 18 and the means are shown in Table 19. The difference in proportions test for two proportions was again applied to these percentages to test for significant differences. The percentages for Dysfunctional Managers were compared with those for Normal Managers, as were those for Corporate Psychopaths.

As the variants of the scales used in psychopathy research all commonly categorise the results and the categories treated as discrete variables, this convention was followed in the analysis above.

Prior studies have suggested the use of a cut-off score to determine whether subjects are psychopaths. This, logically, leads to the analysis of two or three groups within research results: full psychopaths, intermediate psychopaths and non-psychopaths. However, the psychopathy score can also be treated as a continuous variable, and this is the case in the analysis below.

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

Table 17 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for conflict and bullying

	NM		DM CP				T-test:	T-test:		
	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Chi- square	NM/ DM	NM/ CP	
Getting into arguments with others at work	4.8	11.7	14.9	37.8	20.7	45.0	0.000***	0.010**	0.000***	
People yelling at respondent at work	1.9	10.9	4.0	12.9	10.3	30.6	0.008***	0.915	0.000***	
People being rude to respondent at work	4.5	13.4	14.9	35.4	31.0	53.0	0.000***	0.018**	0.000***	
Witnessing unfavou- rable treatment of others at work	9.0	26.7	28.7	56.8	64.4	76.7	0.000***	0.002***	0.000***	

^{**} Statistically significant at the 95% level of confidence (P < 0.05).

Abbreviations: sd, standard deviation; NM, Normal Managers; DM, Dysfunctional Managers; CP, Corporate Psychopaths; NM/DM, Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers.

Table 18 Supervisor fairness (%)

	Normal Managers present	Dysfunctional Managers present	Corporate Psychopaths present
Reported agreement that respondent's supervisor was unfair to the respondent	16.2	61.8***	74.0***
Reported agreement that respondent's supervisor showed little interest in the feelings of subordinates	21.9	68.6***	86.3***

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

	NM		DM		CP		CL.		T-test:	T-test
	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Chi- square	ANOVA	NM/ DM	NM/ CP
Respondent's supervisor was unfair to the respondent	2.0	1.4	3.8	1.6	4.4	1.6	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
Respondent's supervisor showed little interest in the feelings of subordinates	2.2	1.4	4.1	1.3	5.0	1.3	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***

Table 19 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for supervisor unfairness and lack of interest

Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers.

Correlations

Correlation is a measure of the strength of any relationship that may exist between variables (Garner 2005). As might be expected from the literature, corporate psychopathy correlated significantly with bullying in this research. This can be seen in Table 9 in Chapter 1. It can be concluded that bullying is related to – not independent of – the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

One way to investigate correlation is visually, through scatter plots of how variables interact with each other. Measurements of the variables are made on the y- and x-axes of a graph; whether a relationship exists between them can be visualised from the existence or lack of a trend or line in the data. A flat, horizontal line indicates no relationship between the variables. A positive relationship is shown in a line moving from bottom left to top right of the scatter plot.

This is what is seen in Figure 2, which is a scatter plot of the level of corporate psychopathy found against the construct of bullying measured in this research. The scatter plot is shown with a fitted regression line to illustrate the relationship between the independent and dependent variables and to show whether the data fit the expected pattern of results. This fitted regression line is a graphical representation of the

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01). Abbreviations: sd, standard deviation; NM, Normal Managers; DM, Dysfunctional Managers; CP, Corporate Psychopaths; NM/DM, Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal

mathematical regression equation. It is plotted using the least squares method, which minimises the sum of the squared distances between the points and the fitted line. The Pearson correlation coefficient (R) is also calculated. This is a measure of the strength of the linear relationship between the two variables. This is always in the range -1 to +1, with the sign depending on whether the relationship is positive or negative. A flat line (R = 0) indicates no relationship (Taplin 2008). A P-value is also calculated for the correlation to see whether it is statistically significant.

Figure 2 graphs the mean psychopathy scores for each measured level of corporate psychopathy (from 0 to 16) against the mean frequencies of experiencing bullying. As can be seen, the levels of bullying measured – identified by the dots on the graph – are on, or very close to, the regression line. This indicates a predictable and strongly positive correlation between corporate psychopathy and bullying. In other words, as corporate psychopathy increases, bullying also increases.

As the scatter plots are calculated using mean scores rather than all the separate scores for each respondent individually, the variance in the scores is somewhat smoothed out and so the correlation coefficients are higher than those calculated earlier (Table 9) using the original data.

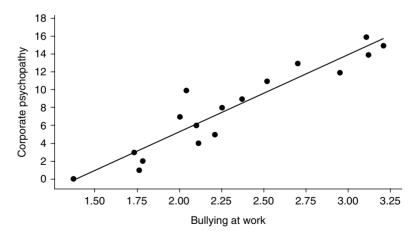


Figure 2 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against bullying at work Note: Pearson correlation of corporate psychopathy and bullying at work, R = 0.939 (P = 0.000).

In terms of the overall correlation between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the measure of bullying, there was a very strong and significant correlation coefficient (R = 0.939) in a positive direction. As corporate psychopathy increases, so does the level of witnessing bullying in the workplace. The measure for this (witnessing unfavourable treatment of others at work) was significantly different, in an ethically negative direction, when Corporate Psychopaths were present.

Figure 2 shows the nature of the correlation between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the incidence of bullying at work. This fits with the result expected from a reading of the literature. As discussed earlier, Hare and Babiak noted that about 29 per cent of Corporate Psychopaths are also bullies (Babiak & Hare 2006). Other research has also shown that people with high scores on a psychopathy rating scale were more likely to engage in bullying, again indicating that psychopaths tend to be bullies in the workplace (Nathanson, Williams & Paulhus 2006).

As corporate psychopathy increases, so conflict at work increases, as shown in Figure 3. As can be seen, the levels of conflict measured are reasonably close to the regression line, indicating a predictable fit (a degree of positive correlation) between corporate psychopathy and conflict. In other words, as psychopathy increases, so does conflict.



Figure 3 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against conflict at work

Discussion of findings

In terms of the overall correlation between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the construct of conflict, there was a significant correlation coefficient (0.475, Table 9) in a positive direction. As corporate psychopathy increases, so does conflict, as measured by the incidence of arguments, rudeness and yelling. This is graphically shown in Figure 3, the scatter plot correlating mean levels of conflict against the total corporate psychopathy score. Analysed categorically, T-tests show that all the elements of the construct of conflict at work were significantly different (P < 0.01), in a negative direction, when Corporate Psychopaths were present.

In terms of mean annual frequencies, getting into arguments with others at work, experiencing yelling at work and experiencing rudeness at work were all significantly higher under Corporate Psychopaths than they were under Normal Managers in this research. Employees who worked in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present experienced people velling at them at work more than five times more frequently than did employees who worked in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were not present. This fits with the literature, in which psychopaths in the workplace are reported as verbally abusing employees as a method of intimidation (Clarke 2005).

Any idea that Corporate Psychopaths have no effect on conflict is therefore not supported: the research concludes that Corporate Psychopaths appear to be associated with conflict at work. Regression analysis using conflict as the dependent variable (Table 10) shows that corporate psychopathy, with an R² of 0.231 (P < 0.01), is a positive and sizeable contributor to conflict. This also leads to an acceptance that corporate psychopathy does have an effect on conflict. This is important for employers, because researchers have shown that conflict at work can influence other personnel and directly affect the organisation itself. This reportedly varies according to whether the source of the conflict is perceived to be a peer or a superior, and is manifested through retaliation aimed at individuals or at the organisation as a whole, respectively (Bruk-Lee & Spector 2006).

This finding is important because prior research has shown that rudeness reduces performance in routine tasks as well as more creative ones, and, further, that rude behaviour decreases helpfulness in general (Porath & Erez 2007). Corporate Psychopaths, then, decrease organisational performance through the conflict with which their presence is associated. This finding is further important because aggression and conflict in an organisation have been found to share a significant negative relationship with overall levels of job satisfaction (Lapierre, Spector & Leck 2005). It is not surprising, then, that in this research the increased levels of conflict associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace go hand in hand with lower levels of job satisfaction, as discussed in Chapter 7.

Corporate Psychopaths are reported to revel in the suffering of fellow employees and to cause as much confusion and conflict as they can within organisations, partly for the thrill they get out of it and partly so that they can continue their manipulative behaviour under the cloak of the confusion they cause elsewhere (Clarke 2007). They are said to engage in intimidating behaviour and in encouraging others to harass and bully their victims (Clarke 2005). On this basis, it is not surprising that this research found significantly high conflict levels when Corporate Psychopaths were present in organisations. In the literature, Corporate Psychopaths are also said to create conflict between other employees so that they can control them more easily (divide-andconquer tactics) and deflect attention from themselves and what they are doing (Clarke 2007). This, again, is a possible explanation for the high levels of conflict at work found when Corporate Psychopaths were present in this research.

Another reason for high levels of conflict associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths may be the mimicking of their aggressive behaviour by their subordinates, supporters and other employees (Pech & Slade 2007), where aggressive behaviour towards employees by a psychopathic manager is seen as a behavioural blueprint by others in the organisation. Such aggressive and unsavoury behaviour is reported to spread through an organisation like a virus (Pech & Slade 2007). The finding that personal conflict at work correlates strongly with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is an addition to the literature on personal conflict at work. It highlights the role of personal and individual differences, and of managers with personality disorders in particular, on personal conflict at work.

As shown in Table 12, in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were not present, the average number of incidents per year of witnessing unfavourable treatment of others (bullying) at work was 9.0 (less than monthly), whereas it was 64.4 (more than weekly) where Corporate Psychopaths were present. Clearly, the hypothesis that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is strongly associated with the existence of bullying is supported. Table 12, showing that Corporate Psychopaths account for 26 per cent of all bullying, also demonstrates strong support

for the hypothesis that if Corporate Psychopaths are bullies then they will account for a much greater proportion of bullying than their small numbers (1 per cent of all employees) would imply.

The results in Table 16 show that where no Corporate Psychopaths were present in an organisation, 54.7 per cent of employees reported witnessing unfavourable treatment of others (bullying) at work, compared with the significantly greater figure of 93.3 per cent of employees in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present. This corresponds with other Australian research which found that bullying was prevalent in Australian workplaces (D'Angelo Fisher 2008), and with research from other countries which found that bullving is also common in the UK (Vorster 2008) and America (LaVan & Martin 2008).

There is a growing body of management research literature exploring the concept of unfair and abusive employee supervision, consisting of various non-physical forms of hostility perpetrated by managers against those who report to them (Tepper 2007). Researchers report that malevolent leaders are callously disregarding the needs and wishes of others and are prepared to lie, bully and cheat and to ignore or harm the welfare of others (Perkel 2005). It is therefore no surprise to find, in the current research, that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is so strongly associated with bullying and other measures of conflict. Corporate Psychopaths clearly deserve to take a prominent place in any future research into bullying, conflict and unfair supervision in the workplace.

The literature identifies an association between conflict and bullying and abusive supervision (Tepper 2000). However, there is also a gap in the literature: while the consequences of unfair and abusive supervision are known in terms of its influence on conflict, bullying and psychological distress, within the discipline of management the causes of abusive supervision are not known. In the discipline of psychology, one major cause of abusive supervision is well known: the presence of psychopaths in an organisation (Babiak 1995; Babiak & Hare 2006; Clarke 2005; Hare 1999a). The current research draws on this knowledge from psychology, empirically validates it and brings it to the attention of management researchers.

The literature also identifies the presence of chaos and confusion in an organisation as an antecedent to organisational bullying and establishes that chaos gives rise to bullying (Hodson, Roscigno & Lopez 2006; Sweeney 2007). Research has further established that bullying is often found in workplaces which are disorganised, chaotic and poorly managed (Sidle 2009). Previous research has also shown a significant relationship between organisational change, conflict and bullying (Baillien & De Witte 2009; Harvey et al. 2009).

These findings are highly relevant to the study of Corporate Psychopaths because, as discussed above, Corporate Psychopaths are reported to create chaos and organisational change as a smokescreen for their unsavoury self-seeking activities. Further, Corporate Psychopaths are poorly organised managers who adversely affect productivity and many other areas of organisational effectiveness (Boddy 2010). Bullying is also reported to affect productivity, and bullying in the workplace has specifically been identified as creating an environment of psychological threat that diminishes corporate productivity (Vega & Comer 2005). Chaos, change, poor management and bullying in an organisation might, therefore, be causally linked not to each other but rather to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths who cause all these simultaneously.

Bullying causes great emotional pain to its victims (Lutgen-Sandvik 2008; Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik & Alberts 2006) but also has financial costs for the organisations concerned. For example, according to one report, bullying costs the UK economy £13.75 billion per year (Anonymous 2008). Applying the finding from this research that 26.0 per cent of bullying is related to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths to this UK figure gives a rough estimate of the cost of bullving by Corporate Psychopaths: bullying associated with Corporate Psychopaths would lose the UK economy £3.575 billion per year.

If the same calculation is made using Richards and Freeman's estimate that bullying costs the Australian economy \$36 billion per year, then the figure lost because of Corporate Psychopaths is \$9.36 billion from bullying alone (Richards & Freeman 2002). Clearly bullying by psychopaths is a major barrier to organisational efficiency and productivity and a major cost to organisations and to economies as a whole.

Conclusions

The presence of Corporate Psychopaths in a workplace significantly affects bullying, conflict and unfair supervision. Corporate psychopathy, conflict and bullying correlate to a remarkable degree, in a strongly positive direction. This can be expected to have negative effects on a variety of workplace outcomes, including levels of performance and creativity. Perceptions of unfair and uninterested supervision also increase significantly in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Further, this research found that 26.0 per cent of all incidents of individuals able finding.

witnessing unfavourable treatment of others (bullying) at work were associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. This corresponds with the literature on Corporate Psychopaths, which states that they engage in bullying behaviour such as humiliation of others, verbal abuse and unwarranted criticism (Clarke 2007). Given that Corporate

Psychopaths represent only 1 per cent of all employees, this is a remark-

Implications for further research

In most work settings employees interact with their supervisors to perform their jobs, and job effectiveness is reported partially to depend on whether employees can establish high-quality exchanges with their supervisors (Janssen & Van Yperen 2004). Supervisors are said to be an organisation's most salient agents for an employee, and the quality of this relationship is said to affect job effectiveness and job satisfaction (Janssen & Van Yperen 2004). Supervisors who are bullying, unfair and abusive (as Corporate Psychopaths have been shown to be in this research) would be expected to affect these interactions negatively and to jeopardise employee effectiveness, and this makes them worthy of further study.

Employee withdrawal and turnover have been linked with abusive behaviour in the workplace (O'Donnell, MacIntosh & Wuest 2010; Wayne et al. 2008), and the behaviour of Corporate Psychopaths has been demonstrated in this research to be unfair and abusive. Previous research has also found that intention to quit among employees is greater when abusive supervision is present (Tepper 2000). It is likely, then, that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths will also affect this intention through their influence on bullying, conflict and abusive supervision, and this would also be worthy of further research.

4

Corporate Psychopaths, Corporate Social Responsibility and Organisational Commitment to Employees

This chapter investigates whether employee perceptions of the level of corporate social responsibility in organisations are influenced by the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. The chapter presents quantitative empirical research into the influence of Corporate Psychopaths on four perceptual measures of corporate social responsibility and three further measures of organisational commitment to employees.

The chapter delineates the measures of corporate social responsibility and of organisational commitment to employees used in the research. The results of the research show the highly significant and negative influence of Corporate Psychopaths on all these measures. When Corporate Psychopaths are present as managers within organisations, employees are less likely to agree that the organisation does business in a socially desirable manner, in an environmentally friendly manner and in a way that benefits the local community.

Also, when Corporate Psychopaths are present as managers in organisations, employees are significantly less likely to agree that the corporation does business in a way that shows commitment to employees or to feel that they receive due recognition for doing a good job, that their work is appreciated or that their efforts are properly rewarded. The chapter argues that academics and researchers in the area of corporate social responsibility cannot ignore the influence of individual managers, particularly when those managers have dysfunctional personalities or are actually psychopaths. The chapter further argues that the existence of Corporate Psychopaths should be of interest to those involved

in corporate management and corporate governance because their presence influences the way corporations are run and how corporations affect society and the environment.

Leaders who are Corporate Psychopaths often create the illusion of being successful people. They present themselves as smooth, charming, polished extroverts who are in control of themselves and their environment. However, they are attracted to positions of leadership mainly because of the access to personal rewards and power that senior management positions carry. The impact that psychopathic leaders can have on organisational outcomes, including social responsibility, has recently been speculated on in a number of books on the subject (Babiak & Hare 2006; Clarke 2007; Cleckley 1988; Stout 2005b). Nevertheless, as in the other areas investigated by this research, speculation on the possible effects of Corporate Psychopaths on organisational citizenship behaviour has not been based on a large body of empirical evidence.

Clarke describes individual anecdotal cases demonstrating the negative emotional effects of Corporate Psychopaths on other employees within organisations (Clarke 2005). Among the reported effects are that individuals become stressed, lose confidence and feel helpless and worthless as a result of being the target of a psychopath in an organisation. I have also previously theorised about the possible influence of Corporate Psychopaths on organisations, in work based on reviews of the literature from the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry (Boddy 2006a). These influences are thought to include organisations becoming indifferent to ethical matters such as corporate social responsibility and environmental issues.

As Corporate Psychopaths have little or no conscience or care or empathy for those who report to them, it follows logically that they are not driven by any notion of social responsibility or commitment to employees. Through their leadership, this, in turn, limits decisions that would be seen as socially responsible within their corporations. Corporate Psychopaths, therefore, are potential agents of corporate misbehaviour and misconduct, and recent research suggests that these individuals may pose a threat to business performance and to corporate social responsibility because of their focused self-interest (Clarke 2005). Psychopaths are not a homogeneous group (Adshead 2003), and their presence in large firms can affect a firm's ability to make decisions that are socially responsible or ethical. For example, Naish reports on heartless organisations which exploit sweatshop labour in foreign countries and pollute the environment in pursuit of profit (Naish 2004).

If the leaders within these organisations are Corporate Psychopaths, it can be argued that such heartless decisions are more likely to be made (Boddy 2005b). Further, Corporate Psychopaths are reported to have a greater need for stimulation than normal people, and this need may lead them to take financial, legal or moral risks that others would not (Babiak & Hare 2006). This can result in their making decisions that might have negative effects for the organisations they work for and for society as a whole (Stout 2005b).

Corporate social responsibility

Corporate social responsibility is a general concept concerning what is judged to be good or ethical about corporate behaviour (Carroll 1983; Carroll 1998). It was identified, in academia, as a new paradigm for business about thirty-five years ago (Wartick & Cochran 1985). It has many synergies and interrelationships with issues of corporate governance and corporate citizenship in general (Jamali, Safieddine & Rabbath 2008; Matten & Crane 2005). At its core is the idea that a corporation should play more than just an economic role in society; it should not only take responsibility for its economic actions but also accept a wider ethical responsibility for the impact it has on the society and environment in which it operates (Carroll 2000; Carroll 2004; Ketola 2006; van Marrewijk 2003). Corporations should be accountable for their actions in society (Edward & Willmott 2008).

Deakin and Hobbs found that there is some managerial resistance to these ideas, and that the aligning of corporate behaviour with the interests of society is, therefore, not without obstacles from inside the corporation (Deakin & Hobbs 2007). However, other research has found increasing numbers of companies engaging in activities that demonstrate corporate social responsibility (Aguilera et al. 2007). There are also reported to be differences in emphasis and direction in relation to corporate social responsibility among countries, according to the differences in national corporate governance arrangements (Aguilera et al. 2006; Waring & Edwards 2008). Companies have even been reported to be able to behave responsibly and irresponsibly at the same time with regard to corporate social responsibility (Strike, Gao & Bansal 2006). This may depend on the personality and ethics of the managers in charge of corporate social responsibility activities in different corporate divisions and locations.

Corporations may have written, formal codes of conduct relating to corporate social responsibility (Béthoux, Didry & Mias 2007). However,

the existence of such codes of business behaviour does not automatically mean that corporate social responsibility is put into practice by organisations (Bondy, Matten & Moon 2008). Leadership decisions on spending time or money on activities to do with corporate social responsibility are ultimately taken by individual managers within corporations (Robbins 2008; Thomas & Simerly 1994). The individual character of leaders and managers has been identified as an element in their behaviour within corporations (Klann 2003).

Logically, then, it is the individual ethical stance of the manager which determines whether discretionary corporate social responsibility takes place. Corporate social responsibility is thus said to be a discretionary responsibility of organisations rather than a legal one (Batra 2007; van Marrewijk 2003). Indeed, organisations are said to be able, to varying degrees, to adopt different approaches to corporate social responsibility depending on their specific circumstances, stage of development and geographical location (Matten & Moon 2008; McWilliams & Siegel 2001; Peng 2008; van Marrewijk & Werre 2003).

Public opinion has long been described as a driver of corporate social responsibility (Grunig 1979). The general public are reported to desire ethical accountability in corporations (Potts & Matuszewski 2004). Further, the expectations of the general public about how corporations should perform in terms of corporate social responsibility are reported to be far in advance of what corporations do in practice (Verschoor 2008). There are also differences between non-government organisations and private corporations in terms of expectations of what corporate social responsibility should entail (Jonker & Nijhof 2006). Various institutions, including religious organisations and universities, have been identified as pushing for increased levels of corporate social responsibility, and calls have been made for other types of organisation to become more involved (Proffitt & Spicer 2005). Not surprisingly, then, corporate citizenship is emerging as one of the defining business issues for this century (Carroll 2000; Dawson 2004; Elkington 2006; Porter & Kramer 2002; Verschoor 2008).

Perhaps as a consequence of this movement towards corporate social responsibility and its increasing salience in society in general, external pressures are reported to be pushing corporations towards good practice in this area, and this pressure has even been described as a business imperative by some commentators (Gentile & Samuelson 2005; Waddock, Bodwell & Graves 2002). Internal influences are also coming to bear as corporations build up their infrastructure for stewarding their involvement in corporate social responsibility initiatives (Waddock 2008). Numerous efforts have been made to link corporate social responsibility with good business strategy and performance (Gardberg & Fombrun 2006; Godfrey 2005; Lo & Sheu 2007; Perrini 2006; Porter & Kramer 2002; Porter & Kramer 2007; Viswanathani et al. 2007), but it can be argued that the ethical imperative alone should be sufficient to motivate an organisation to act responsibly (Perrini 2007; Swanson 2006; Valentine & Fleischman 2008).

Researchers claim that the career decisions of individuals may be influenced by the ethical and responsible stance taken by a particular company. with some executives actively avoiding unethical companies as employers and seeking out companies that are seen as being socially responsible (Cacioppe, Forster & Fox 2008; Lu & Gowan 2008). It would be interesting to research whether the opposite of this is true – whether unethical companies attract unethical people as employees. Ethical business practices and good treatment of employees are two important elements of good corporate citizenship (Berkhout 2005; Verschoor 2008; Warren 1997), and the research presented in this book investigated these topics. This research was undertaken to address the lack of empirical evidence measuring the impact of Corporate Psychopaths on organisational life.

The focus of this chapter is employee perceptions of corporate social responsibility within their organisation and of organisational commitment to employees. Corporate social responsibility was measured in the questionnaire by levels of respondent agreement with a series of statements such as that the organisation they worked for behaved in a manner that benefited the local community. Organisational commitment to employees was measured in the questionnaire by levels of respondent agreement with statements to do with their feelings of being fairly treated and rewarded.

Research findings

The presence of either Dysfunctional Managers or Corporate Psychopaths was found to affect perceptions of an organisation's corporate social responsibility significantly. Table 20 demonstrates that all elements of the corporate social responsibility construct were highly significantly different, in a negative direction, when Corporate Psychopaths were present. This was also the case for the measures of organisational commitment to employees. Using the Bonferroni T-test (the most severe and conservative of the three significance tests used in this research; Taplin 2008), all the results were significantly different at the 99 per cent (P < 0.01) level.

	NN	Į	DM	Į	CP	•	Pearson		T-test:	T-test:
	Mean	ps	Mean	ps	Mean	ps	sd Mean sd Mean sd square	ANOVA	NM/ DM	CP CP
The organisation does business	5.0	1.2	4.1	1.4	3.6	1.7	5.0 1.2 4.1 1.4 3.6 1.7 0.000*** 0.000*** 0.0000*** 0.0000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
The organisation does business in an environmentally friendly	4.6	1.2		1.3	3.5	1.6	4.0 1.3 3.5 1.6 0.000*** 0.000*** 0.000*** 0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
manner										
The organisation does business in a way that benefits the local	4.7	1.2		4.2 1.4	3.6	1.6	3.6 1.6 0.000***	0.000***	0.000*** 0.008*** 0.000.	0.000***
community										
The organisation does business in a way that shows	4.6	1.4	3.3	1.5	2.4	1.6	3.3 1.5 2.4 1.6 0.000*** 0.000*** 0.0000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
commitment to employees										

Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers. *** Statisi Abbreviat

Means in this table are mean levels of agreement on a six-point scale with no mid-point. This scale ran from 'disagree very much' (1) to 'disagree moderately' (2), to 'disagree slightly' (3), to 'agree slightly' (4), to 'agree moderately' (5), to 'agree very much' (6).

Correlations

Pearson's correlation analysis was undertaken using the corporate psychopathy score as a continuous variable from 0 to 16, and the total score for the construct of corporate social responsibility. The Pearson's correlation between the perceived corporate social responsibility of firms and the corporate psychopathy of the firms' leaders is R = -0.493 (P < 0.01, 2-tailed), as can be seen in Table 9 in Chapter 1. As could be expected from the literature, corporate psychopathy correlated significantly and negatively with the construct of corporate social responsibility (Boddy 2005a). It can be concluded that corporate social responsibility is related to, not independent of, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. As corporate psychopathy increases, perceptions of corporate social responsibility decrease. This correlation was statistically significant.

The mean scores for the four items relating to corporate social responsibility measured in this research are shown in Table 20. These means are also shown graphically in scatter plots to illustrate the linear nature of the relationship between the variables of corporate psychopathy and corporate social responsibility. The line running from top left to bottom right in Figures 4 to 7 shows the negative relationship.

As can be seen, the levels of corporate social responsibility measured are on or very close to the line. This indicates a predictable negative correlation between psychopathy and corporate social responsibility. For example, as corporate psychopathy increases, perceptions of the company acting in a socially desirable manner decrease, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 5 shows that as levels of corporate psychopathy increase, levels of the company reportedly behaving in an environmentally friendly manner decrease.

As corporate psychopathy increases, the perception that the company does business in a way that benefits the local community goes down. This is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 7 shows that as levels of corporate psychopathy increase, levels of the company reportedly displaying commitment to its employees decrease.

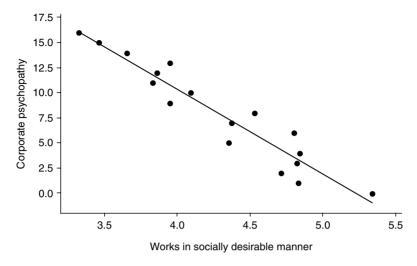


Figure 4 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against reports of the company behaving in a socially desirable manner

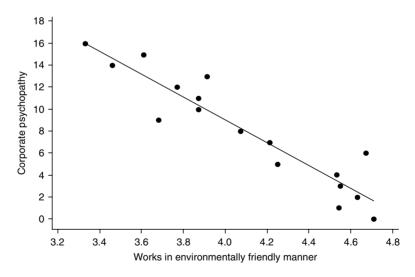


Figure 5 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against reports of the company behaving in an environmentally friendly manner

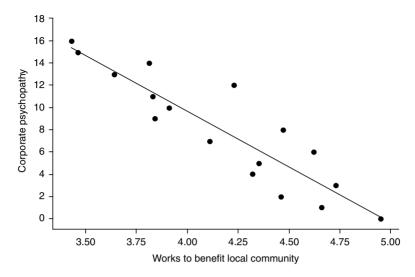


Figure 6 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against reports of the company behaving in a way that benefits the local community

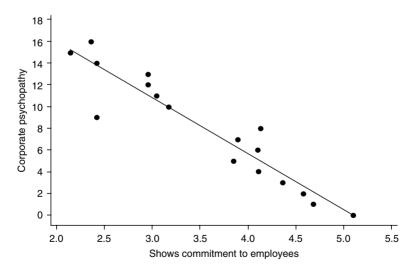


Figure 7 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against reports of the company behaving in a way that demonstrates commitment to its employees

 Table 21
 Reported agreement and disagreement on corporate social responsibility and organisational commitment variables (%)
 Corporate Psychopaths **Dysfunctional Managers** Normal Managers

	pre	present	pr	present	pr	present
	Agreement	Disagreement	Agreement	Agreement Disagreement Agreement Disagreement		Agreement Disagreement
Organisation does business in	89.3	10.7	***0.99	34.0	52.5***	47.5
a socially responsible manner Organisation does business in	84.3	15.7	***0'69	31.0	50.4***	49.6
an environmentally friendly))		· • •	
manner						
Organisation does business in	85.8	14.2	75.0***	25.0	55.1***	44.9
a way that benefits the local						
community						
Organisation does business in a	9.62	20.4	47.0***	53.0	23.7***	76.3
way that shows commitment						
to employees						
Respondent felt they received	82.0	20.0	40.8***	59.2	24.8***	75.2
due recognition for doing						
a good job						
Respondent did not feel that	26.3	73.7	61.6***	38.4	71.8***	28.2
their work was appreciated						
Respondent did not feel their	30.9	69.1	77.8***	22.2	82.2***	17.8
efforts were rewarded as						
they should have been						

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with a number of statements designed to measure the elements of corporate social responsibility and organisational commitment to employees that were of interest in this research. Table 21 shows the percentages of respondents who agreed and disagreed with each statement when working under Normal Managers, Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths.

The difference in proportions test for two proportions was applied to these percentages to test for significant differences (Taplin 2008). The agreement percentages for Dysfunctional Managers were compared with those for Normal Managers, as were those for Corporate Psychopaths.

Discussion of findings

Where Normal Managers were present, most respondents (89.3 per cent) agreed that the organisation was doing business in a socially responsible manner. Where Dysfunctional Managers were present, this figure dropped to 66.0 per cent, and where Corporate Psychopaths were present it dropped further – to 52.5 per cent. This is a significant drop in agreement over the three groups and one that fits with a reading of the literature on psychopathy. By way of comparison, in a survey of members of the Australian Institute of Management, reported on in 2007, 8 per cent said that they disagreed with the idea that their company was socially responsible, and 86 per cent agreed (Cullen 2007). This corresponds closely with the finding in this research that, when working under Normal Managers, only 10.7 per cent of respondents disagreed with the statement that their organisation did business in a socially responsible manner. Cullen's finding gives an element of external validity to the current research.

Regulators in some countries have expressed concerns about good governance and environmental responsibility, and this is an issue that is commonly linked to corporate social responsibility (Gibson & O'Donovan 2007). In this research, on average, agreement that the organisation does business in an environmentally friendly manner was lower when Corporate Psychopaths were present than when they were not present. Where Normal Managers were present, most respondents (84.3 per cent) agreed that the organisation was doing business in an environmentally friendly manner. Where Corporate Psychopaths were present this figure dropped to a significantly lower 50.4 per cent of respondents.

In terms of agreeing that their organisation does business in a manner that benefits the local community, where Normal Managers were present most respondents (85.8 per cent) confirmed that this was the case. Under Dysfunctional Managers this dropped to 75.0 percent, and where Corporate Psychopaths were present it dropped to a significantly lower 55.1 per cent.

In terms of commitment to employees, when Normal Managers were present, 79.6 per cent of employees reported that they agreed that their organisation does business in a way that shows commitment to its employees. Where Corporate Psychopaths were present, this figure was just 23.7 per cent. This finding is wholly in line with the literature and with anecdotal evidence on the expected manner in which Corporate Psychopaths do not care for or look after those who work with them or under them (Babiak & Hare 2006; Boddy 2005b; Clarke 2005).

With regard to the other measures of organisational commitment to employees - that employees felt that they received due recognition for doing a good job, that the work they did was appreciated and that their efforts were properly rewarded – these were all significantly negatively affected by the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation (Table 21). Under Normal Managers, for example, most respondents (82.0 per cent) reported that they felt that they received due recognition for doing a good job. Under Corporate Psychopaths, only 24.8 per cent of respondents reported this. The results were very similar for respondents feeling that their work was appreciated and that their efforts were properly rewarded. As stated earlier, ethical business practices and good treatment of employees are two important elements of corporate responsibility (Verschoor 2008). The results in the current research show that both are clearly and negatively affected by the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation. From a reading of the literature on psychopaths, it is logical to assume that they would privately find the whole idea of corporate social responsibility pointless and totally laughable. Outwardly, however, they might use a display of corporate social responsibility to draw attention away from other devious management practices, a phenomenon reported by researchers into corporate social responsibility and management ethics (Prior, Surroca & Tribó 2008). The findings in this research are therefore not at all unexpected.

The null versions of the hypotheses – that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths does not affect perceived levels of corporate social responsibility and does not affect perceptions of organisational commitment to employees – are therefore not supported. Corporate Psychopaths are associated with perceptions of low levels of corporate social responsibility

at work and with low levels of organisational commitment to employees. Future research into corporate social responsibility will have to take into account the existence of amoral, psychopathic managers who are not swayed by, and will never be swayed by, emotional, moral or ethical arguments.

Conclusions

This research demonstrates the strong influence that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths has on perceptions of corporate social responsibility and of organisational commitment to employees within organisations. Commentators have suggested that corporate governance is fundamentally about such questions as in whose interests corporations should be run (Elkington 2006). Corporate Psychopaths are interested only in self-gratification, not in the longer-term success of the organisations in which they work (Clarke 2007). They are interested in running corporations for the power, money and prestige that they crave, selfinterested to the exclusion of others and indifferent to the fate of the organisations they work for or of their fellow employees (Babiak & Hare 2006; Boddy 2005a; Clarke 2005; Cleckley 1988).

They would thus logically be expected to be a barrier to corporate social responsibility and to organisational commitment to employees, and the current research supports this conclusion with clear and unequivocal empirical evidence. It is not a surprising finding in this research, therefore, that altruistic behaviour such as doing business in a socially responsible manner is perceived to be much lower when Corporate Psychopaths are present in management roles. Commentators on corporate governance have claimed that it often comes down to individual moral responsibility to ensure sustainability and responsibility (Dawson 2004). The problem with this is that Corporate Psychopaths are totally amoral.

It is also not surprising, then, that when Corporate Psychopaths are present in leadership positions within organisations, employees are less likely to agree with views that the organisation does business in a socially desirable manner, in an environmentally friendly manner, in a way that shows commitment to employees or in a way that benefits the local community. Working under Corporate Psychopaths, employees feel unrecognised, unappreciated and not properly rewarded for their good work. As can be seen from the results presented elsewhere in this book, these are arguably among the least of the problems facing those who work with Corporate Psychopaths.

The power inherent in senior managerial roles in major organisations and corporations obviously makes the implications of these findings significant for corporate governance and for society. Organisations and societies that want business corporations to operate in ways that benefit society, the environment, the local community and employees will need to make sure that Corporate Psychopaths are not running those businesses. This means psychopathy screening should be carried out for all corporate directors.

Implications for further research

Past research has been conducted into corporate social responsibility and employment relations (Deakin & Whittaker 2007). Future research will have to take into account the presence of Corporate Psychopaths as managers with no conscience, and thus no empathy or care for other employees. Those who are interested in corporate governance and management should take the existence of Corporate Psychopaths into consideration in their future research and in the recommendations that stem from that research. A review of the literature on Corporate Psychopaths illustrates that they can be expected to have similarly negative influences on organisations in terms of many other measures of misbehaviour, including effects on productivity, creativity, morale, organisational effectiveness, fraud, organisational misrepresentation, organisational success and corporate longevity (Boddy 2006b). Further research into the influence of Corporate Psychopaths is therefore called for in all these areas. Clearly, research into psychopaths who work for organisations is important because of the significant influence they can bring to bear if they are in corporate leadership positions. With the demonstrable reliability and usability of the Psychopathy Measure-Management Research Version (PM-MRV), such research can now be undertaken by business and management researchers.

5

Corporate Psychopaths and Organisational Constraints

This chapter looks at employees as a key resource in an organisation and explains how the productivity of this human resource can be helped or hindered by organisational rules and procedures, supervisors, managers and other constraints. It defines organisational constraints and then outlines why Corporate Psychopaths can affect them. The chapter discusses the findings from an empirical investigation into whether the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation influences the level of organisational constraints within it. It concludes that Corporate Psychopaths do influence the level of organisational constraints, by a large factor. As corporate psychopathy increases within an organisation, so does the level of organisational constraints. The implications for human resource selection and management policies are discussed in terms of the potential for screening employees for psychopathy.

The global financial crisis has hastened an already changing climate in business research. Commentators are no longer willing to assume that all managers are working selflessly and entirely for the benefit of the organisation that employs them, and the study of dark, dysfunctional or bad leadership has emerged as a theme in management research (Allio 2007; Batra 2007; Boddy 2006b; Clements & Washbrush 1999). Corporate Psychopaths are one type of dark manager, and this chapter investigates their influence on organisational constraints as one example of their negative influence on the organisations that employ them.

Employees are among the key resources of organisations (Hoopes, Madsen & Walker 2003; Peteraf 1993; Wernerfelt 1984). Further, human resources have been identified as one of the rare resources that a firm can use to sustain a competitive advantage over rival firms (Barney 1991; Barney et al. 2001; Wright, Dunford & Snell 2001).

Organisations have a variety of ways in which they try to help employees successfully accomplish the tasks that they are assigned. These include the provision of on-the-job instructions and information about what to do and how to do it within the organisation, as well as more structured training and development courses. In addition, organisations provide equipment and supplies, supervisory support and guidance, and a workforce which acts as a team whose members help each other in working towards a common goal.

The provision of all these forms of support is guided by a set of formal and informal organisational rules and procedures which outline the demands of particular job positions, inform employees how to access internal resources such as the equipment and supplies they need to accomplish their work tasks, and determine how and when employees interact with each other. These organisational rules and procedures are a guide to what is expected of an employee by the organisation and are often flexibly governed by an employee's managers. However, if a manager has an agenda that differs from that of the organisation, it is possible for that manager to subvert these rules and procedures to their own ends. Managers can do this by interpreting and enforcing organisational rules and procedures in a way that benefits them rather than the organisation they work for and by concealing this from other stakeholders (Abrahamson & Park 1994; Eisenhardt 1989).

In terms of the moral duty that these managers have towards the organisation that employs them, commentators have argued that the principal–agent model of the organisation requires that managers develop their business policies with reference to certain moral duties (Quinn & Jones 1995). However, as has already been discussed, managers who are Corporate Psychopaths have no conscience or sense of morality at all (Babiak & Hare 2006; Boddy 2006b; Clarke 2005; Hare 1994; Morse 2004). They are thought to seek self-gratification and self-enrichment rather than to work towards the benefit of an organisation, and this self-seeking behaviour can be expected to jeopardise organisational productivity and effectiveness and to increase the constraints within an organisation.

Corporate Psychopaths prefer to implement their self-serving plans unnoticed, but when they fear being found out, their strategy is to create chaos so that in the confusion they can avoid scrutiny and detection as the people around them in the organisation concentrate on bringing order to the mess created (Clarke 2007). Such behaviour could be expected to increase organisational constraints or even to cause paralysis in an organisation, which is why the research for this book took this as an area of investigation.

In terms of interpersonal cooperation within an organisation, Clarke identifies the anger, fear, sadness, anxiety, shame, embarrassment, guilt, depression and confusion that the colleagues of a Corporate Psychopath can experience (Clarke 2007). He details how these have an impact on an employee's ability to work effectively and productively and to act rationally. This impact could be expected to increase the number of organisational constraints, and this possible link was therefore investigated in this research. First, however, a definition of organisational constraints is presented.

Organisational constraints

Organisational constraints are situations or things in the place of employment which interfere with the efficient performance of a task at work, such as difficulty in performing job functions because of malfunctioning equipment or interruptions from other people (Spector & Jex 1998). They are thus a barrier to organisational effectiveness and productivity.

As Corporate Psychopaths are reported to cause chaos and confusion in the workplace and to use resources for their own ends, it may be expected that employees will experience greater constraints in their presence than would otherwise be the case. It was therefore hypothesised that people employed in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths would report higher levels of organisational constraints than those who did not work in such organisational environments. This hypothesis was investigated empirically via the quantitative research which is described in the next section of this chapter.

Research findings

The presence of Corporate Psychopaths affected all ten individual ratings of organisational constraints in a highly significant manner, as shown in Table 22. The means shown in this table are mean frequencies of experiencing each of the behaviours in the past year.

Correlations

Correlation analysis was undertaken using the corporate psychopathy score as a continuous variable from 0 to 16, and the total scores for the

Table 22 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for organisational constraints

	NN	7	DM	1	CP		T-test:	T-test:
	Mean	ps	Mean	ps	Mean	ps	NM/ DM	NM/ CP
Work difficulties due to poor equipment	7.4	18.6	27.3	61.5	34.6	6.79	0.001***	0.000***
or supplies Work difficulties due to organisational	18.0	42.5	46.0	73.7	65.6	86.1	0.000***	0.0000***
Work difficulties due to other employees Work difficulties due to respondent's	13.2	32.0	27.2 43.5	52.7	60.6	81.1	0.0066*	0.0000***
supervisor Work difficulties due to lack of equipment	7.9	22.1	17.3	43.2	32.8	689	0.177	0.000***
or supplies Work difficulties due to inadequate training Work difficulties due to intermitions by	9.6	31.1	15.5	40.6	39.2	70.9	0.815	0.0000***
others Work difficulties due to lack of necessary	19.5	43.3	34.9	59.5	74.7	89.5	*060.0	0.000.0
information about what to do or how to do it	15.3	8 98	1 24 1	71.5	409	82.0	***************************************	***0000
from others. Work difficulties due to incorrect instructions	11.8	37.0	30.8	53.1	59.7	81.0	0.008***	0.000.

^{*} Statistically significant at the 90% level of confidence (P < 0.10).

Abbreviations: 8d, standard deviation; NM, Normal Managers; DM, Dysfunctional Managers; CP, Corporate Psychopaths; NM/DM, Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers.

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

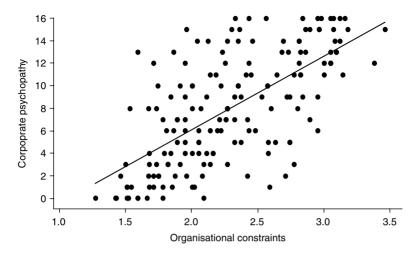


Figure 8 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against organisational constraints

Note: Pearson correlation of corporate psychopathy and organisational constraints, R = 0.666 (P = 0.000).

construct of organisational constraints. The results are shown in the Pearson's correlation matrix in Table 9 in Chapter 1.

Overall there was a significant correlation, in a positive direction, between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the construct of organisational constraints. The Pearson's correlation coefficient for this was 0.526 (P < 0.01), which is high. As corporate psychopathy increases, so does the level of organisational constraints.

The scatter plot in Figure 8 graphs this finding. This scatter plot shows the average rating for each of the ten organisational constraints measures for respondents at each level on the psychopathy scale used. The levels of organisational constraints measured are fairly close to the regression line, indicating a definite correlation between corporate psychopathy and organisational constraints.

Regression analysis

The result of a regression analysis using organisational constraints as the dependent variable is shown in Table 10 in Chapter 1. The R² for organisational constraints was 0.267 (P = 0.000).

Discussion of findings

Whether analysed as a discrete, trichotomous categorisation (into Normal Managers, Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths) or as a continuous variable, corporate psychopathy clearly has an impact on organisational constraints. T-tests show that all ten individual elements of the construct of organisational constraints were highly significant different when Corporate Psychopaths were present. For example, the annual frequency of experiencing work difficulties due to one's supervisor was eight times higher under Corporate Psychopaths than it was under Normal Managers. Such difficulties with supervisors have previously been associated with lower levels of job satisfaction and with lower levels of accomplishment, and the latter finding is certainly supported by this research, as higher levels of constraints must logically lead to lower levels of accomplishment (Stringer 2006; Tepper 2000).

It is recognised in the literature that an organisation's culture is shaped largely by the individuals in authority within it and that the presence of Dysfunctional Managers may result in poor job performance among employees (Baker & Newport 2003). The research presented in this book supports this earlier finding. Experiencing regular and frequent difficulties in the workplace due to one's supervisor, as was found in this research for those employees who worked under Corporate Psychopaths, must logically be destabilising, demotivating, debilitating and morale-destroying for the employees involved.

A commitment to staff training and development has been identified as contributing to good levels of staff morale (McHugh 2002). In the current research, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is significantly associated with work difficulties due to inadequate training. In the literature, Corporate Psychopaths are reported to engage in such behaviour as giving inadequate training to others because they do not care about the people with whom they work and have little or no interest in the welfare of those who work under them (Clarke 2007). The finding from this research therefore directly corresponds to what has been hypothesised in the literature.

This perhaps explains why this research found that the majority of those who worked in an environment where Corporate Psychopaths were present reported that they had work difficulties due to inadequate training. In terms of frequency of occurrence, under Normal Managers work difficulties due to inadequate training were reportedly experienced 9.6 times per year, compared with 70.9 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths. The current findings are very much in line with previous

theoretical expectations and observations in this regard, and this gives the research a high degree of face validity.

In addition to inadequate training, employees working under Corporate Psychopaths experience a lack of information about how to do their job properly in general. For example, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to a lack of information about what to do or how to do it were reportedly experienced 19.5 times per year, compared with 74.7 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths. Similarly, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to incorrect instructions were reportedly experienced 11.8 times per year, compared with 59.7 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths.

Corporate Psychopaths are reported to manipulate corporate systems, rules and procedures for their own ends (Clarke 2007). This perhaps explains why in this research higher levels of work difficulties due to organisational rules and procedures and to poor equipment or supplies were both at significantly higher levels when Corporate Psychopaths were present in organisations. As an example of this, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to poor equipment or supplies were reportedly experienced 7.4 times per year, compared with 34.6 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths.

Similarly, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to a lack of equipment or supplies were reportedly experienced 7.9 times per year, compared with 32.8 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths. Further, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to organisational rules and procedures were reportedly experienced 18 times per year, compared with 65.6 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths.

Corporate Psychopaths are also reported to be prone to parasitic behaviour, claiming the success of others' work for themselves and conning and manipulating other employees into doing their work for them (Clarke 2007; Cooke & Michie 2001). This perhaps explains why in this research the incidence and the average frequency of reported work difficulties due to other employees or one's supervisor were at significantly higher levels when Corporate Psychopaths were present in organisations. Under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to other employees were reportedly experienced 13.2 times per year, compared with 60.6 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths.

Similarly, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to the respondent's supervisor were reportedly experienced 9.4 times per year, compared with 75.4 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths. A smooth-running workplace and helpful, well-trained and efficient workforce are clearly not fostered by the presence of Corporate

Psychopaths. For example, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to interruptions by others were reportedly experienced 41.7 times per year, compared with 83.6 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths. Similarly, under Normal Managers, work difficulties due to inadequate help from others were reportedly experienced 15.3 times per year, compared with 60.4 times per year under Corporate Psychopaths.

Researchers working with neuroscientists to look at how the brain functions have uncovered findings that might partially explain how performance constraints become established in groups that contain Corporate Psychopaths as managers. They have found that neurons in one person's brain may mimic or mirror neurons in another person's brain, and that this triggers empathetic actions and feelings (Goleman & Boyatzis 2008). In this way, followers can come to mirror the emotions and actions of their leaders at a subconscious level. Leaders with social intelligence can thus spread positive feelings among their followers and promote a cohesive and effective human organisation that can withstand stressful situations. On the other hand, researchers have found that when the demands of a dysfunctional leader become too great for employees to bear, elevated levels of cortisol and adrenaline result, and these paralyse the critical and creative abilities of employees' brains. Stress thus spreads through a group of employees via the mimicking action of mirror neurons, and whole teams of people can become destabilised and compromised in their workplace performance (Goleman & Boyatzis 2008).

The findings from this research are that employees working under Corporate Psychopaths suffer from more problems with other employees, more problems with equipment and supplies, and more problems with their supervisors than do other employees. They also experience more difficulties with organisational rules and procedures and with a general lack of training, help and information. Working in such a constrained environment must logically entail either longer work hours or lower productivity, or a combination of the two. The former of these is investigated in the next chapter.

When the relationship between organisational constraints and corporate psychopathy is investigated via simple regression analysis, corporate psychopathy appears to have a fairly large and significant predictive effect on organisational constraints ($R^2 = 0.267$, P < 0.01). This finding, together with the other results, is enough to reject the null hypothesis in this research and to conclude that corporate psychopathy does have a strong influence on organisational constraints.

In terms of the responsibility of human resource departments for hiring Corporate Psychopaths, one influential writer on leadership says that the culprits for bad leadership are those who appoint bad leaders in the first place (Allio 2007). This is echoed by other leading commentators. For example, the director of research at the Center for Public Leadership at Harvard University says that the easiest way to deal with bad leadership is to prevent it in the first place, through hiring and human resource screening practices (Johnson 2005).

The implications of these research findings for human resource management are again, therefore, that screening could be undertaken to prevent Corporate Psychopaths from entering an organisation and jeopardising its operational effectiveness and productivity. At a practical level, the use of measures of psychopathy would enable human resource departments to measure managers' tendencies towards psychopathy. As the destructive influence of Corporate Psychopaths begins to become more widely understood, this may become demanded by shareholders and other stakeholders in order to protect their assets from potential mismanagement and misuse by Corporate Psychopaths.

Conclusions

Using established measures of corporate psychopathy and organisational constraints, this research has shown that Corporate Psychopaths do have a strong and significant influence on organisational constraints. This relationship is linear: as corporate psychopathy increases, so do organisational constraints. The presence of Corporate Psychopaths increases organisational constraints by a multiple factor. For example, when such people are present, interruptions by others double and difficulties due to one's supervisor go up eightfold. These are significant and disturbing findings with implications for future research into organisational effectiveness.

Implications for further research

As discussed earlier, good human resources have been identified as one of the rare resources that a firm can use to sustain a competitive advantage over other organisations (Barney 1991; Barney et al. 2001; Wright, Dunford & Snell 2001). The fact that the presence of Corporate

86 Corporate Psychopaths

Psychopaths significantly and greatly increases the level of organisational constraints on the human resource is, therefore, of some concern to management and to other stakeholders as it reduces the effectiveness of the human resource and so, logically, reduces the chances of success for a firm. This is an issue that is worthy of further investigation and research.

6

Corporate Psychopaths and Workload

Corporate Psychopaths are widely associated with parasitic behaviour in the workplace, claiming others' work as their own, playing employee groups off against each other and neglecting their own work duties (Babiak 1995). It is logical, therefore, that if greater amounts of such disruption are associated with the presence of psychopathic behaviour, this will cause greater workloads to be experienced than would otherwise be the case because the disruptions take time away from productive work (Raver & Gelfand 2005). This idea led to the hypothesis in the research that employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report greater workloads than those who do not.

Workload

Workload is here defined as the quantity of work involved in a job rather than the qualitative difficulty of undertaking it (Spector & Jex 1998). Workload is thus the degree to which employees are required to work fast and have a great deal of work to do in a short period of time (Van Preen & Janssen 2002). A five-item scale has been designed to measure the quantity of work involved in a job rather than the qualitative difficulty of undertaking it, and the designers reported an average internal consistency (alpha coefficient) of 0.82 across fifteen studies (Spector & Jex 1998). This scale was used in this research, together with a sixth question about hours worked per week, which was added as an additional objective measure of workload.

Research findings

Workload was yet another area of organisational life where the presence or absence of Corporate Psychopaths made a difference to outcomes. For example, working in an organisation where Corporate Psychopaths were present necessitated working very fast for more people (100 per cent) than did working under Normal Managers (95.7 per cent) or Dysfunctional Managers (94.9 per cent). This is shown in Table 23.

However, the differences in the incidences in Table 23 are not statistically significant, and it is apparent from the results that nearly everyone in the sample of Australian white-collar and professional workers was experiencing a heavy workload, regardless of the personality type of the manager they worked for. This notwithstanding, as shown in Table 24 the average number of hours worked per week was significantly different across the subgroups of managers, and the presence of Corporate Psychopaths was associated with higher numbers of hours worked by employees. In addition, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in a workplace significantly affected all the other mean measures of workload used in this research. This is shown in the last column of Table 24. The means in this table are mean frequencies of experiencing behaviour in the past year. Chisquares and Bonferroni T-test statistics were used to indicate where statistical differences lie.

Table 23 Reported incidence of workload items (%)

	Normal Managers present (N = 264)	Dysfunctional Managers present (N = 104)	Corporate Psychopaths present (N = 119)
Has job ever required very fast work?	95.7	94.9	100
Has job ever required very hard work?	97.7	97.9	99.2
Has job ever left little time to get things done?	94.2	94.9	96.6
Has job ever had a great deal to be done?	96.9	98.0	98.3
Has job ever had more work than could be done well?	87.0	98.0	91.5

Table 24 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for workload

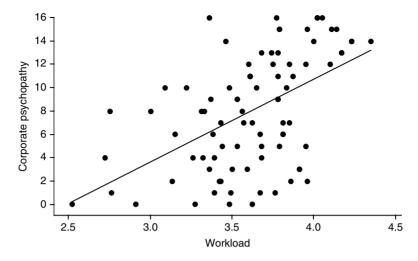
	Ni	М	Di	M	Cl	P	Pearson		T-test:
	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	chi- square	NM/ DM	NM/ CP
Required to work very fast	91.4	91.6	92.0	88.4	141.9	94.8	0.000***	1.000	0.000***
Required to work very hard	116.1	94.5	108.6	94.5	157.6	94.7	0.007***	1.000	0.000***
Had little time to get things done	76.5	84.2	90.1	87.8	126.4	86.8	0.000***	0.513	0.000***
Was a great deal to be done	109.4	94.8	105.0	90.4	150.9	96.1	0.003***	1.000	0.000***
Had more work than could do well	56.3	77.4	84.1	91.7	112.7	94.6	0.000***	0.015**	0.000***
Mean hours worked	40.9	12.7	42.7	11.7	44.9	12.3	NA	0.605	0.012**

^{**} Statistically significant at the 95% level of confidence (P < 0.05).

Abbreviations: sd, standard deviation; NM, Normal Managers; DM, Dysfunctional Managers; CP, Corporate Psychopaths; NM/DM, Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers.

The average frequency of having little time to get things done at work was much higher under Corporate Psychopaths, at 126.4 times per year, than it was under Normal Managers, at 76.5 times per year. The average frequency of having a great deal to be done at work was significantly higher under Corporate Psychopaths, at 150.9 times per year, than it was under Normal Managers, at 109.4 times. Table 24 also shows that under Corporate Psychopaths, respondents had more work than could be done well 112.7 times per year, compared with only 56.3 times per year under Normal Managers and 84.1 times per year under Dysfunctional Managers.

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).



Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against workload

Correlations

In terms of the overall correlation between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the construct of workload, there was a relatively weak but still significant correlation coefficient (0.275) in a positive direction, as shown in Table 9 in Chapter 1. As corporate psychopathy increases, so does the workload experienced by employees. Figure 9 is a scatter plot for corporate psychopathy against the construct of workload. As can be seen, the levels of workload measured are more widely scattered around the regression line than in some of the other scatter plots in this book, indicating a less definite, but still predictable, fit between corporate psychopathy and workload. In other words, there is a positive and significant correlation between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation and workload.

Discussion of findings

The findings of the categorical analysis are that employees working under Corporate Psychopaths were more likely, and more frequently required, to work very fast. They were more likely, and more frequently required, to work very hard and with little time to get things done. They were also more likely to have a great deal to get done, and they were more likely to have, and more frequently had, more work to do than could be done well. Finally, they were more likely, and more frequently, required to work longer hours than those working under Normal Managers.

The analysis using corporate psychopathy as a continuous variable shows the same result. Clear positive relationships between corporate psychopathy and workload are delineated across all six workload items. The null version of the research hypothesis is therefore not supported. and Corporate Psychopaths do appear, in this research, to be associated with higher workloads at work.

In Regression Model 1 (Table 10 in Chapter 1) the effect of corporate psychopathy on workload is measured as an R^2 of 0.067 (P < 0.01). This is a small but still significant effect, so clearly corporate psychopathy does influence workload. This finding also leads to a rejection of the null hypothesis and to an acceptance that corporate psychopathy does have a significant effect on workload.

Conclusions

Corporate Psychopaths do affect workload, and this is what was expected and would logically be expected from a reading of the literature on psychopathy. It is claimed in the literature that Corporate Psychopaths gain promotion through manipulation, aggression and charm rather than through their job-related abilities and competencies, and that therefore they get promoted above their abilities and so may make poor management decisions in their jobs (Pech & Slade 2007). Such poor management, logically, causes extra work for others to rectify the mistakes that these incompetent psychopathic managers make. Also, extra work may be required within affected companies to calm the emotionally disturbed victims of Corporate Psychopaths (Clarke 2005) and to do the work that Corporate Psychopaths fail to do because of their parasitic lifestyles (Babiak & Hare 2006).

It is recognised in the literature that workload is not necessarily related to job satisfaction: if workload is seen to be fair and equitable in relation to the rewards given by the organisation, then employees can remain satisfied (Van Preen & Janssen 2002). However, drawing on equity theory, it is also acknowledged that high workloads in association with a work situation seen as being unfair promote employee dissatisfaction (Janssen 2001). Corporate Psychopaths are likely to be seen as unfair because of their divisive and parasitic actions, so it can logically be assumed that their presence will affect job satisfaction indirectly, through increased workload, as well as directly, though their behaviour as abusive supervisors and poor managers. The relationship between Corporate Psychopaths and job satisfaction is explored in Chapter 7.

Implications for further research

It could be that workload is a control variable rather than an outcome of dealing with a Corporate Psychopath. The relationship between Corporate Psychopaths and workload could be explored further in future research in order to confirm the findings from this research and give more robustness to the conclusion that Corporate Psychopaths create heavier workloads.

/ Corporate Psychopaths and Job Satisfaction

With no conscience and no genuine emotional attachments to their colleagues, Corporate Psychopaths are happy to exploit everyone who works with and around them. Their parasitic, manipulative and abusive approach to their work colleagues has been discussed in earlier chapters. This approach must logically lead to low levels of job satisfaction among their fellow employees – a hypothesis investigated by this research.

There are other reasons the presence of Corporate Psychopaths would be associated with low job satisfaction. For example, a poor employeesupervisor relationship, as could be expected when the supervisor is a Corporate Psychopath, has been linked with low levels of job satisfaction (Stringer 2006). A poor-quality supervisor-employee relationship would also be associated with not respecting employees' feelings, not establishing open and effective communications, and not recognising employees for their efforts. These effects, in turn, would be expected to be associated with low job satisfaction (Morrow et al. 2005; Stringer 2006). Not surprisingly, the abusive supervision of employees, involving such behaviours as public criticism, rudeness and coercion, has also been identified as having a negative influence on job satisfaction and on levels of commitment to the organisation (Tepper 2000). Corporate Psychopaths would be expected to engage in such abusive behaviour because of their ruthless and careless personalities. This led to the hypothesis that employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will experience lower levels of job satisfaction than those who do not.

Whether job satisfaction is a result of personal differences in response to situations or whether situations themselves are the more important factor in determining job satisfaction is debateable (Spector 2005).

Probably the result is an interplay of both factors. However, working with a psychopathic colleague would be salient and memorable because of the indifferent and abusive way psychopaths can treat other people, and so it was assumed that working with a psychopathic colleague would affect job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction has been described as an emotional state of mind that reflects an affective reaction to the job being undertaken (Falkenburg & Schyns 2007). In the research reported in this chapter, elements of Spector's Job Satisfaction Scale were used to measure how satisfied respondents were in their workplace (Spector 1985). Items were chosen to meet minimum thresholds of reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.6 or more where these alphas were reported (see Chapter 1). Using an existing scale and items maintains consistency with past studies and allows some comparisons external to this study to be made. Not all of Spector's original 36 items were used, in the interests of keeping the questionnaire to a reasonable length.

It was considered in this research that a job which was satisfying to the employee would be characterised by the employee feeling that they received due recognition for their good work and liking the people they worked with. Further, it was considered that a satisfied employee would feel that communications within the organisation were good, their supervisor was fair and their work was appreciated. Similarly, they would feel that their colleagues were competent, their supervisor cared about their feelings and they had been properly rewarded for their work efforts. As discussed, some researchers argue that situations rather than the personalities of employees are the main driving force behind job satisfaction (Spector 2005). The current research tends to support this point of view, because the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation was significantly associated with decreased levels of job satisfaction across a whole range of measured items.

Research findings

The presence of either Dysfunctional Managers or Corporate Psychopaths affected all the individual ratings of job satisfaction in a highly significant manner, as shown in Table 25.

Table 25 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for job satisfaction

	NN	_	DM	_	CP		į		T-test:	T-test:
	Mean	ps	Mean	ps	Mean	ps	Chi- square	ANOVA	NM/ DM	NM/ CP
Respondent received due	4.6	1.4	3.1	1.4	2.4	1.4	0.000***		0.0000*** 0.0000***	0.000***
recognition for a job wen done Respondent liked the people they worked with	5.2	1.0	4.3	1.3	4.3	1.6	0.000***		0.0000*** 0.0000***	0.000***
Communication was good within the organisation	4.3	1.4	3.0	1.3	2.6	1.5	0.000***	0.000***	0.000*** 0.000*** 0.000***	0.000***
Respondent's supervisor was	2.0	1.4	3.8	1.6	4.4	1.6	0.000***	0.000***	0.0000*** 0.0000***	0.000***
Respondent did not feel	2.5	1.5	3.9	1.5	4.4	1.6	0.000***	0.000***	***000.0 ***000.0	0.000***
appreciated for their work Respondent had to work harder	2.8	1.6	3.8	1.5	4.0	1.7	0.000***	0.000***	0.000**	0.000***
incompetence	ć	-	-	. 1	Ç.	6	*****	***************************************	***************************************	****
Respondences supervisor snowed little interest in the feelings of subordinates	7:7	1	. .	1.3	3.0	C.I	0000	0,000	0,000	0000
Respondent's efforts were not rewarded appropriately	2.6	1.6	4.3	1.3	8.4	1.4	0.000***	0.000***	0.000*** 0.000***	0.000***

*** Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

Abbreviations: sd, standard deviation; NM, Normal Managers; DM, Dysfunctional Managers; CP, Corporate Psychopaths; NM/DM, Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers.

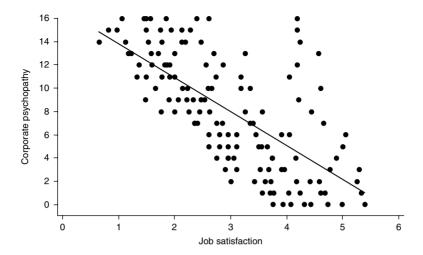


Figure 10 Scatter plot of corporate psychopathy against job satisfaction Note: Pearson correlation of corporate psychopathy and job satisfaction, R = -0.686(P = 0.00).

Correlations

In terms of corporate psychopathy and job satisfaction, the scatter plot in Figure 10 shows a significant and strongly negative correlation between the corporate psychopathy score and the measures in the construct of job satisfaction. In other words, as expected, as corporate psychopathy increases, job satisfaction decreases.

Discussion of findings

Aggression and conflict in the organisation have been found to share a significant negative relationship with overall levels of job satisfaction (Lapierre, Spector & Leck 2005). The finding in this research that the increased levels of conflict that are associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace go hand in hand with lower levels of job satisfaction is therefore not unexpected. Psychopathic and abusive behaviour has also been reported to cause low levels of confidence and morale among employees (Pech & Slade 2007). Another researcher found similar results, in that abusive supervision was associated with lower job satisfaction and lower job commitment (Tepper 2000). It is not surprising, therefore, that in this research the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is associated with low levels of job satisfaction. There was a very high, significant negative correlation (R = -0.702) between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the construct of job satisfaction, as shown in Table 9 in Chapter 1.

As corporate psychopathy increases, job satisfaction decreases. All eight elements in the construct of job satisfaction were negatively affected by the presence of Corporate Psychopaths within an organisation, in a highly significant manner. The result was the same when the data were analysed categorically. T-tests show that all elements of the construct of job satisfaction were significantly different (P < 0.01) when Corporate Psychopaths were present (Table 25).

This result included a negative effect on perceptions that employees got due recognition for a job well done, on employees liking the people they worked with, on employees reporting good communications within the organisation and that their supervisor was fair to them, and on levels of employees feeling appreciated for their work. It also included negative reports that employees had to work harder because of the incompetence of others, that their supervisor showed little interest in the feelings of others, and that they felt they were not properly rewarded for their efforts.

In Regression Model 1 (Table 10 in Chapter 1) the R² for corporate psychopathy and job satisfaction is 0.500 (P < 0.01). This means that, as a dependent variable, job satisfaction is explained by the presence of corporate psychopathy through a large and significant negative correlation between the two. This leads to the rejection of the null hypothesis and to the adoption of the alternative hypothesis that Corporate Psychopaths do appear to be associated with poor levels of job satisfaction.

In a 2007 survey of members of the Australian Institute of Management, it was reported that Australian employees generally felt good about their employer and about their managers and leaders. For example, 85 per cent of Australian employees reported that they worked for a great company, and only 13.5 per cent said that they were not rewarded or recognised for their efforts at work (Cullen 2007). This is comparable to the finding in this research that when Corporate Psychopaths were present, 82.2 per cent of respondents reported not being properly rewarded for their efforts at work. Clearly, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths increases the percentage of workers who feel unrewarded for their efforts.

Research by other people, using meta-analytical structural equation modelling found that increasing levels of job satisfaction and organisational citizenship behaviour tended to go hand in hand, mutually

reinforcing each other among conscientious employees (Lapierre & Hackett 2007). It is not surprising in light of this that the current research found that perceived levels of corporate social responsibility and job satisfaction were both negatively influenced by the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation.

Conclusions

Psychopaths who work in organisations are reported to engage in behaviour such as taking credit for others' work, blaming others for their own mistakes, humiliating people in public, creating disharmony and causing crises and confusion in the workplace (Clarke 2005; Clarke 2007). It is little wonder, then, that this research found that employees in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths are present are significantly more likely to report that their efforts are not appreciated, that they do not get due recognition for their good work and that their supervisor is unfair to them at work.

Implications for further research

Many companies monitor the satisfaction levels of their employees over time. Sudden drops in satisfaction in particular corporate areas or divisions may be an indication of the arrival of a Corporate Psychopath. This possible link could be investigated in further research. Similar drops in company morale and in employee happiness and contentment could also be expected in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

8

Corporate Psychopaths and Organisational Seniority

Part I. How Corporate Psychopaths reach senior management positions

This chapter introduces the concept of Corporate Psychopaths as ruthless employees who can successfully gain entry to organisations and can then rapidly get promoted to senior managerial and leadership positions. The little empirical research that exists supports the view that Corporate Psychopaths are more commonly found at senior levels of organisations than at junior levels. The research presented in this book on this subject in not substantial or definitive; nevertheless it also supports this view.

The second part of this chapter goes on to propose that Corporate Psychopaths are a universal phenomenon and can pose various business problems for corporations because of their ruthless, selfish and conscience-free approach to life. From a review of the literature on the extent of psychopathy, it is concluded that while psychopaths appear to occur everywhere, they may well be limited in their possible actions by the business and societal environments in which they operate, particularly in more collectivist societies. However, the global spread of western, individualistically oriented corporations containing psychopathic managers may pose a threat to any collectivist societies in which they operate.

Corporate Psychopaths and recruitment

Corporations want to recruit employees who are energetic, charming and fast moving because they expect that those employees will bring this charm and energy to the workplace for the benefit of the company. Psychopaths can appear to be energetic and fast moving like this and can present themselves in a good light because of their ability to tell interesting, plausible and flattering stories about themselves. Corporate Psychopaths are thus recruited into organisations because they make a distinctly positive impression on first meeting (Cleckley 1988). They appear to be alert, friendly and easy to get along with and talk to. They look like they are of good ability, emotionally well adjusted and reasonable, and these traits make them attractive to those in charge of hiring staff within organisations.

Other researchers confirm that psychopaths can present themselves as likeable and personally attractive (Mahaffey & Marcus 2006). Corporate Psychopaths make those who interact with them think that the feelings of friendship and loyalty they evoke in others are reciprocated. It does not occur to people that this may not be the case, and this makes it easy for Corporate Psychopaths to be accepted.

Hare says that Corporate Psychopaths look and dress like any other businesspeople. Further, he says that they can be persuasive and fun to be around and so are able to do well at recruitment interviews (Hare 1999a; Walker 2005). Cleckley says that psychopaths respond to questions with answers that seem to demonstrate healthy ambitions, warmth towards significant others such as family and children, and loyalty (Cleckley 1988). They appear to be free from neuroses and to be well adjusted, with an admirable set of personal values. They present themselves as calm and poised, and they appear totally reliable, which makes their promises for the future seem credible, trustworthy and candid. Corporate Psychopaths also present the traits of intelligence and success to which many people aspire, and they thus come across as accomplished and desirable employees (Ray & Ray 1982). They present as the types of people one would want to be friends with and to work alongside.

Corporate Psychopaths and promotion

Corporate Psychopaths are described as being paradoxically likeable (Taylor et al. 2003), perhaps because of their charm and ability to look friendly and even exciting. They are reportedly good at ingratiating themselves with people by telling them what they want to hear (Clarke 2007). Researchers have also found that the psychopathic traits of manipulativeness and cold-heartedness are the least discernible to others, and that this can help a psychopath to appear fun-loving and interpersonally attractive. The personal charm of Corporate Psychopaths

means that they come across well at job promotion interviews and can inspire senior managers to have confidence in them. All this poise and apparent attractiveness eases their rise through the ranks of management, giving them opportunities to exploit their work positions for their own ends (Mahaffey & Marcus 2006).

Being accomplished liars helps them obtain the jobs they want (Kirkman 2005). Once inside an organisation, Corporate Psychopaths can reportedly survive for a long time before being discovered, during which time they can establish groups of supporters and other defences to protect their positions (Loizos 2005).

Babiak, an organisational psychologist, says that psychopaths tend to rise quickly in organisations because of their manipulative charisma and their sheer single-minded dedication to attaining a senior management position (Selamat 2004). Babiak says that their intelligence and social skills permit Corporate Psychopaths to present a veneer of normalcy which enables them to get what they want (Babiak 1995).

Hare says that once Corporate Psychopaths are inside an organisation they strategically and methodically go about planning their rise to the top (Gettler 2003). Kinner, a forensic psychologist at the University of Queensland, reports that recent research suggests psychopaths can be extremely successful in large corporations because their charm, manipulative nature and remorselessness enable them to move up the corporate hierarchy (Mitchell 2005). Their polish and unemotional decisiveness can make them seem like ideal leaders (McCormick & Burch 2005). Once inside organisations, psychopaths identify a potential support network of patrons who can be flattered and befriended to help the Corporate Psychopath ascend to senior levels. They also identify pawns who can be used and manipulated as necessary and they identify potential opponents (auditors, security personnel, human resources personnel) who may try to block their rise if these people are not previously undermined, disenfranchised and emasculated (Babiak & Hare 2006). Corporate Psychopaths, then, manipulate their way up the corporate ladder, using pawns and shedding patrons as these people are superseded and no longer needed. According to Hare, two factions typically develop in the organisation: the network of supporters, pawns and patrons of the Corporate Psychopath, and the group of their detractors and those pawns who realise they have been used and abused or that the organisation is in danger (Babiak & Hare 2006).

The result is a confrontation between the rival fractions during which the detractors are typically outmanoeuvred and ultimately removed from the organisation. After this happens, the Corporate Psychopath

ascends to power unopposed (Babiak & Hare 2006). Thus it is evident that once they are inside organisations, Corporate Psychopaths have the personal and social abilities to rise to positions of leadership (Babiak & Hare 2006).

Corporate Psychopaths and bad leadership

Commentators on leadership have noted that leadership tends to be written about as if it is always something that is positive, ethical and good. These commentators point out that this ignores the dark side of leadership, where narcissistic self-aggrandisement and the pursuit of power for personal gain are evident (Clements & Washbrush 1999). This leadership is facilitated by conformist, pragmatic or passive followers who do what they are told as a means to find favour with their leader and thus gain advantages for themselves (Clements & Washbrush 1999; Johnson 2005). These commentators say that the word 'leadership' needs to be demythologised and that it should be recognised that ineffective leaders can promote terrible events and disastrous outcomes for the organisations they lead. The results of this type of dark leadership are wasted resources, ruined careers and organisational collapse (Clements & Washbrush 1999). The dark side of business includes environmental degradation, corruption, fraud, financial misrepresentation and harmful work practices and is driven by greed, impatience and lust for power (Batra 2007).

Further, research into the toxic leadership of organisations has found mimicking and mirroring of organisational leaders' behaviour (Goldman 2006). This means that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths within an organisation may well have an insidious effect on the ethical decisionmaking of the whole organisation and is another reason research into Corporate Psychopaths is important. As noted earlier, neuroscientists looking at the functioning of the brain have found that some neurons mimic or mirror neurons in other people's brains and that this triggers empathetic actions and feelings (Goleman & Boyatzis 2008). In this way followers can come to mirror the emotions and actions of their leaders at a subconscious level and can, for example, come to engage in the types of workplace behaviour that they would not normally initiate on their own.

Goldman points out that it takes only one bad leader to bring down an organisation, and he uses this as an argument for the necessity of research into dysfunctional leaders (Goldman 2006). Researchers have further found that social and peer or leadership pressures within organisations that are dishonest can work to force employees to fit in with others' dishonesty and become dishonest themselves, so they are gradually sucked into a dishonest and corrupt organisational environment (Zyglidopoulous 2008).

Cooper points out that in the USA most people leave their companies for reasons related to their bosses, so the existence of Corporate Psychopaths within an organisation may have important implications for the ability of an organisation to keep good staff (Cooper 2000). As employees who are junior to the Corporate Psychopath come to realise what is happening to them, they will tend to withdraw from the organisation to avoid further contact and abuse at the hands of the Corporate Psychopath.

Researchers have found that organisations are reflections of their top managers, including the functional backgrounds and experience of those top managers, which partially determine how they relate to organisational problems (Thomas & Simerly 1994). The study of the personalities of top managers, including their ethical and moral characteristics, is therefore of interest to management researchers and scholars.

Corporate Psychopaths and corporate leadership positions

Corporate Psychopaths seek leadership positions because of their desire to access the prestige, power, control of others and financial rewards that are associated with senior management. The modern corporation has been described as a superb mechanism for creating wealth for its owners and senior managers (Jones 2005). It makes sense, therefore, that Corporate Psychopaths would be attracted to join such organisations and try to attain such positions.

Researchers have identified various organisational mechanisms that allow psychopaths to rise relatively unchallenged and unopposed within organisations (Pech & Slade 2007). The adverse consequences of having corporations operate at a psychopathic level have also been noted (Assadourian 2005; Daneke 1985; The Economist 2004).

Corporate Psychopaths are more motivated to rise to high corporate positions than other managers are because they are more singleminded in their craving for the power, money and prestige that senior managerial positions bring. They are better equipped because they are ruthless, unemotional, without empathy (Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003; Maibom 2005) and fully prepared to lie. They also have fewer other time commitments and constraints because they have a lower number of emotional attachments to other people than normal people

(Maibom 2005). These attributes may facilitate their entrenchment within an organisation, after which their ability to gain more power through informal mechanisms and through increased popularity enables a consolidation of power and further rises up the hierarchy.

Hare says that psychopaths can be found in the type of corporate positions which have power and control over other people vested in them and in which opportunities for self-enrichment can be expected to present themselves (Babiak & Hare 2006). Clarke agrees with this and says that Corporate Psychopaths aim to get to the top of organisations to gain the financial rewards and power this brings (Clarke 2007). Empirical evidence is rare, but some evidence for this view comes from research at the University of Surrey in the UK conducted by psychologists (Board & Fritzon 2005).

In a small study of senior British executives via interviews and personality tests, the researchers found that these executives were as likely or even more likely to display Hare's psychopathic personality traits than criminals were. They dubbed these high-level executives 'successful psychopaths', as opposed to the 'unsuccessful psychopaths' who were to be found in prisons (Board & Fritzon 2005).

Thus, although Corporate Psychopaths represent only about 1 per cent of the workforce, various commentators have speculated that because of their skills at manipulation they may be much more prevalent at more senior levels of organisational leadership (Ferrari 2006; Hare 1994; Hare 1999a; Pech & Slade 2007). This was confirmed by Hare and Babiak, who found in a study of nearly 200 senior executives that 3.5 per cent were Corporate Psychopaths as measured by the Psychopathy Checklist-Screening Version (PCL-SV). They noted that this incidence is higher than their estimated 1 per cent incidence in the general population (Babiak & Hare 2006).

This suggests a distribution of Corporate Psychopaths something like that shown in Figure 11, with the bottom of the pyramid representing junior levels of an organisation and the top representing the most senior levels.

One aim of the current research was to build on the scant evidence available and investigate whether Corporate Psychopaths are more likely to be found at senior levels of organisations than at junior levels. This chapter is also interested in the implications for leadership of their presence. This is important because Corporate Psychopaths have been linked in this book with lower levels of productivity and higher levels of organisational constraints. This means that Corporate Psychopaths

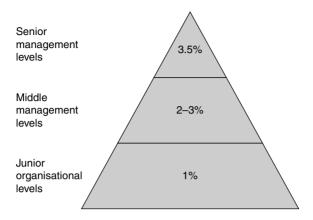


Figure 11 Estimated incidence of Corporate Psychopaths in organisations

who are senior managers can be expected to manage in an unnecessarily inefficient manner.

Research findings

Those respondents in higher organisational positions were more likely to have come across Corporate Psychopaths than more junior workers were. As shown in Table 26, 27.4 per cent of professional workers had ever come across a Corporate Psychopath; the corresponding figure was just 14.8 per cent in the responses made by more junior clerical workers. The difference in proportions test for two proportions was applied to these percentages to test for a significant difference. The percentages for managerial workers were compared with those for junior workers, as were those for professional workers. Workers at both managerial and professional levels were significantly more likely to have come across Corporate Psychopaths than junior workers were.

Similarly, those respondents with more work experience were more likely to have come across Corporate Psychopaths than those with less experience were. This is shown in Table 27, which reveals that 26.3 per cent of respondents with 12 or more years of work experience had encountered a Corporate Psychopath in their work environment, compared with 16.4 per cent of those with only 1-6 years' work experience.

	Clerical/other junior workers	Managerial workers	Professional workers
Have experienced Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace	14.8	24.2^	27.4*

Table 26 Experience of Corporate Psychopaths and seniority by position (%)

Note: Base = all responses.

Table 27 Experience of Corporate Psychopaths and seniority by years worked (%)

	1–6 years	7–11 years	12+ years
	worked	worked	worked
Have experienced Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace	16.4	20.4	26.3*

^{*} Statistically significant at the 90% level of confidence (P < 0.1).

Note: Base = all responses.

Discussion of findings

The original intention in this research was to compare levels of psychopathy across higher and lower management levels in the research sample. However, most of the sample population were senior managers and professionals, leaving only a small number of lower-level whitecollar employees against which to compare findings. Despite the lack of a large sample to use as a basis for comparison, there was a significant difference in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths by the level of management measured. The conclusion is that Corporate Psychopaths do appear, in this research, to be associated with higher levels of management at work.

This finding fits with the literature. For example, in a sample of senior business managers, researchers found elements of personality disorders closely associated with psychopathy, particularly the emotional components of the syndrome (Board & Fritzon 2005). The researchers say that this supports the view that psychopaths can be

^{*} Statistically significant at the 90% level of confidence (P < 0.1).

 $^{^{\}land}$ Statistically significant at the 80% level of confidence (P < 0.2).

fully functioning members of society and of organisations. It also supports the view that Corporate Psychopaths can be found at senior levels.

Researchers say that psychopaths rise relatively unchallenged in an organisation through the manipulation of others and the creation of groups of supporters (Clarke 2005; Hare 1999a; Pech & Slade 2007). Researchers have also previously reported that psychopaths are often promoted within organisations because their aggressive self-promotion brings them recognition and reward (Pech & Slade 2007). Because of these traits and abilities, psychopaths have long been assumed to be more common the further up one goes in the corporate hierarchy (Babiak & Hare 2006). On this basis, the current research findings fit well with the extant literature on psychopaths.

As discussed in Chapter 11, an earlier piece of research, separate from that which forms the backbone of this book, provides some additional material on the seniority of Corporate Psychopaths. Questionnaires asked whether respondents had ever worked with people they thought of as Corporate Psychopaths. Respondents were participants in three lectures and discussions on Corporate Psychopaths for mature students studying organisational behaviour as a part of their MBA or other master's degrees in Perth, Western Australia.

In this separate research sixty-one questionnaires were completed and returned, and these were analysed using the SPSS program. Sixtytwo per cent reported that they thought they had ever worked with a Corporate Psychopath. (Compared with the other research presented in this book, this high figure suggests an element of over-claiming on this question by a factor of about two. In other words, people tend to think of all dysfunctional managers as potential psychopaths, whereas about half of them are probably not full psychopaths.) This separate research did not contain a psychopathy measure to evaluate whether these people were psychopaths.

However, of relevance to the topic of the seniority of Corporate Psychopaths is that nearly all those reported as being Corporate Psychopaths were working at senior levels in the organisations concerned. The Corporate Psychopaths identified were variously chief executive officers; managing directors; directors; general managers; state, district or area managers; senior managers; office managers; HR managers; managers; supervisors and a systems analyst. Only one Corporate Psychopath out of forty-one nominated was identified as working in a low position within an organisation.

Conclusions

The two research studies presented in this book, together with evidence from two previous studies, are in agreement that the higher up one goes in an organisation, the more likely one is to find Corporate Psychopaths.

Implications for further research

Future research could usefully look at the issue of Corporate Psychopaths and corporate seniority in a more robust manner than the current research. For example, research using a larger random sample of workers and a larger sample of junior employees so that comparisons with senior employees could be made more confidently would enable more definitive conclusions to be drawn.

Part II. The universality of Corporate Psychopaths

There is little reason to believe that psychopathy is a geographically localised phenomenon, although there is evidence that its manifestations in behaviour are regulated by the type of culture in which the psychopath lives. One leading author on psychopaths argues that culture does influence the prevalence and behaviour of psychopaths (Stout 2005a). Societies, such as the USA, that promote and idealise individualism allow, says Stout, the development of anti-social behaviour patterns and a 'me-first' attitude. These societies also facilitate the disguising of such behaviour because it blends in more readily with accepted societal norms when personal advancement and self-fulfilment are seen as noble and desirable aims. Stout reports that North American society is moving in the direction of permitting, reinforcing and in some instances valuing such traits as impulsivity, irresponsibility and lack of remorse. Stout says that such western societies allow and encourage the pursuit of domination of others (Stout 2005a; Stout 2005b).

International research from the UK seems to confirm this analysis. Here, researchers found that while the structure of the syndrome of psychopathy was consistent across samples from the UK and the USA, the PCL-R measurement tool gave scores that were, on average, two points lower in the UK than in the USA. UK scores were lower on the interpersonal features of the checklist in particular (Cooke et al. 2005).

These researchers concluded that the same elements within the syndrome of psychopathy loaded on the same two main factors involved in

psychopathy in the same way across the two countries and that therefore the symptoms of psychopathy can be regarded as stable across the two cultures sampled (Cooke et al. 2005).

Other researchers agree with this view that western society is permissive towards the manifestation of psychopathic behaviours and claim that it is much more materialistic and competitive than it was twenty years ago. It is claimed that this development promotes psychopathic traits and Machiavellianism (Jakobwitz & Egan 2005). Hare agrees that modern society values some of the traits associated with psychopathy, such as egocentricity, lack of concern for others, a manipulative approach and superficiality, and that this makes it easy for psychopaths to blend in with the rest of society and facilitates their entry into business organisations, politics, government and other social structures (Hare 1996; Hare 1999a).

Stout argues that cultures which promote the advancement of the group as a whole, rather than the individuals within it, and which teach that all living things are interconnected may provide stronger environmental constraints to the psychopath than more individualistic western societies (Stout 2005b). On the basis of a study of fifty countries. Hofstede identified four major dimensions on which to classify national culture: individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity. power distance and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede 1991; Hofstede 1998; Hofstede 2001). He conceptualised countries such as the USA as individualistic in nature and as valuing personal performance more, whereas collectivist countries value group performance more. This individualism is reported to promote a lack of constraints on the development and expression of psychopathic traits compared with collectivism (Stout 2005b).

In a review of the literature on psychopathy one researcher points out that he previously calculated a Spearman rank coefficient of 0.5 between a nation's individualism and its per capita rate for arrest for robbery (Walters 2004). This appears to confirm the view that cultural influences are important for the manifestation of behaviour. Psychopaths need to appear to fit in with their society to be able to operate successfully and undetected, and this means adapting their overt behaviour to conform to group norms and expectations.

Stout uses the example of Taiwan, a Confucian and Buddhist culture, and says that levels of anti-social personality disorder are far lower there (at 0.14 per cent or less) than they are in western cultures. Researchers have called for further cross-cultural research into psychopathy to address the current lack of research in this area (Levenson, Kiehl & Fitzpatrick 1995).

In a 1982 paper, psychopaths were said to be produced by the evolutionary pressures of modern life. The authors describe how psychopaths seem to have many traits often seen as desirable by others, namely, an untroubled self-confidence, good social skills and attractiveness to the opposite sex (Ray & Ray 1982). Some researchers even say that in some ways psychopaths have advantages over other people because they are relatively immune to anxiety. They are not held back by feelings of regret, matters of conscience or emotional attachment.

They are also less vulnerable to the censure and judgement of others (Tamayo & Raymond 1977) and cannot imagine that other people do not think along the same ruthless lines as they do. The effects of culture, then, are less internalised, because psychopaths may be aware of societal expectations but are not disturbed by their failure to live up to these (Tamayo & Raymond 1977). Rather, culture defines the range, depth and breadth of external mechanisms which may limit the extent to which psychopaths can express their personality.

There has been little research into differences in psychopathy among ethnic groups from the same culture. However, in one meta-analysis of existing studies involving re-analysis of data from twenty-one studies involving 8,890 people that could be separated by ethnic group, it was found that African Americans and Caucasians in the USA do not differ meaningfully in their levels of psychopathy as measured by the PCL-R—which the researchers recognised as being the gold standard for such assessments (Harris et al. 2007; Morana, Arboleda-Florez & Camara 2005; Skeem et al. 2004).

In Japan, researchers have found evidence that supports the generalisability of the relationship between psychopathy and hypo-arousal in reaction to an emotionally evocative stimulus (Osumi et al. 2007), indicating that the possible neurological correlates of psychopathy are common across cultures. Similarly, in Singapore, recent research found a neuro-affective processing deficit among criminal psychopaths in a prison sample (Howard & McCullagh 2007). (As an aside, the researchers said that the PCL-R was reliable and valid as used in their Singaporean research.)

Research in Sweden among subclinical psychopaths replicated a US study and found that aberrant self-promotion, a subclinical form of psychopathy, was found in Sweden as well as in the USA but that Swedish subjects scored less on measures of narcissism than US subjects did (Pethman & Erlandsson 2002). The researchers speculate that this may be because the ideal Swede would be highly altruistic, whereas the ideal American would be more assertive and tougher, as US society values strong individuality, and that these cultural factors have an influence on the expression of psychopathy (Pethman & Erlandsson 2002).

Other researchers have reported that small observed differences in the assessment of psychopathy across cultures were not due to rater bias and so were more likely to be due to differences in how the disorder is expressed in the different cultures (Scottish and Canadian) concerned (Cooke, Michie & Hart 2004). These researchers call for further research into the impact of cultural processes on the expression of psychopathy. It is logical to hypothesise from their tentative conclusions that differences in corporate culture may influence how Corporate Psychopaths are able to express their psychopathy in their corporate behaviour. This is a possible area of fruitful research for management researchers.

Differences in the rate of psychopathy in different countries have been hypothesised to stem from cultural differences, with the individualism of North American, and especially US, culture being said to enable the freer expression of psychopathic behaviour. More collectivist cultures are said to suppress the overt expression of the anti-social aspects of the syndrome (Cooke et al. 2005; Wernke & Huss 2008). Individualistic cultures are said to create competitiveness and a tendency to shallowness and selfishness (Wernke & Huss 2008).

Wernke and Huss have recently pointed out that the US criminal justice system incarcerates psychopaths at much higher rates than other countries do (Wernke & Huss 2008). This is because it penalises property crimes in particular, such as car theft and burglary, and these are the types of impulsive crime most commonly committed by criminal psychopaths. This reportedly leads to prisons in the USA having a higher proportion of psychopaths than those in other countries, which has the effect of making it seem as if the USA has a higher incidence of psychopaths than other countries do. This is an interesting argument but one that remains to be proven conclusively.

Other researchers point out that there are no compelling reasons to expect psychopathy to differ across cultures (Hobson & Shine 1998). Indeed Hare's PCL-R has reportedly been successfully used to identify psychopaths in various countries, including Canada, the USA, the UK, New Zealand, Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, China, Hong Kong, Finland and Germany, and it was recently translated for use in Brazil (Morana, Arboleda-Florez & Camara 2005).

Conclusions

It appears that psychopaths are a universal phenomenon, but that behavioural manifestations of the syndrome may well be modified by cultural influences at the country or even the corporate level.

According to the empirical data collected in this survey, Corporate Psychopaths are more commonly encountered at more senior levels of an organisation than at more junior ones. This finding corresponds with the hypothetical view of leading researchers into psychopathy that Corporate Psychopaths are better equipped to rise up the hierarchy within organisations to attain senior positions. The finding implies that Corporate Psychopaths, people without conscience, are sometimes in charge of huge corporate resources and that they will not necessarily use those resources for the good of anyone but themselves.

According to Hare, who is probably the world's leading expert on criminal psychopaths, if society cannot identify psychopaths, it is forever doomed to be their victim (Hare 1994). Psychopaths are able to succeed in corporations largely because their colleagues are unaware that these people with no conscience actually exist (Deutschman 2005). Creating an awareness among organisational managers that psychopaths do exist is thus a good first step in attempting to stem the destruction that these people cause in organisations (Clarke 2005).

In terms of whether they are a global phenomenon, psychopaths do appear to exist everywhere, but they may well be limited in their possible actions in more collectivist societies. The global spread of western, individualistically oriented corporations, which may contain Corporate Psychopaths who operate without such collectivist limitations, may therefore pose a threat to the countries in which those companies operate. Clearly, Corporate Psychopaths need to be taken seriously by researchers and commentators on global business.

Implications for further research

How psychopathy manifests itself in behaviour appears to be determined by the culture of the society in which psychopaths are raised. In particular, how individualistic or collectivist a society is appears to be a key determinant. Whether this applies equally to Corporate Psychopaths is worthy of investigation and research. Further research could also investigate the emotional and career impacts of Corporate Psychopaths on employees in different countries and cultures and examine potential strategies for dealing with them in the workplace.

9

Corporate Psychopaths and Organisational Type

When I started reading about Corporate Psychopaths I thought that such people might favour working in financial companies over other types of company because the former can offer the potential for rich rewards. However, as I presented to various audiences on the subject of Corporate Psychopaths I began to revise this opinion, because after each presentation a few people would come up to talk to me and would assure me that they had met psychopaths in universities, charities, volunteer groups, the police force, hospitals and many other types of organisation. This chapter investigates whether the incidence of Corporate Psychopaths is higher in any particular type of organisation. It discusses some of the theoretical implications of having Corporate Psychopaths in organisations and then presents evidence that they are more prevalent in financial services institutions and the civil service than in primary industries and retail services.

Theoretical considerations

In terms of the types of organisation that Corporate Psychopaths are attracted to, there is little evidence in the literature as to what these are. Clarke (2005) discusses how different types of psychopath may be attracted to different roles and how, for example, violent psychopaths may be attracted to roles in which they can get away with treating people in a violent and abusive manner, whereas Corporate Psychopaths may be attracted to roles which deal with large financial resources. Hare says that it is power, prestige and money that attract Corporate Psychopaths (Hare 1999a), and so it would seem logical for them to be attracted to larger commercial or financial organisations where accelerated progress through the ranks can lead to these rewards. Indeed, as discussed in

the previous chapter, the corporation can be described as an excellent mechanism for creating wealth for its senior managers (Jones 2005). It makes sense, therefore, that Corporate Psychopaths would be attracted to join such organisations and try to attain senior and well-paid management positions within them.

However, other organisational research has found that public sector organisations are more political in terms of internal behaviour than commercial organisations are. Such political environments would seem ideal for the smooth, conning and manipulative talents of Corporate Psychopaths. It may be that it is also easier for Corporate Psychopaths to hide their lack of effort in public sector organisations, as performance appraisals in such organisations are less objective in that they are not directly linked to external and objective performance indicators such as profits, as they often are in commercial organisations (Boddy 1994). This means that organisational politics can potentially play a bigger part in performance appraisals and promotions, and this gives the advantage to those who are able to influence and manipulate others, as Corporate Psychopaths are able to do. On the other hand, ministerial control and public scrutiny in the public sector may serve as barriers to Corporate Psychopaths gaining the promotions and power that they crave and seek within public sector organisations.

Research into the related concept of Machiavellianism throws some light on this issue. Machiavellianism is the name for a ruthless and selfish approach to management which was supposedly advocated by Niccolò Machiavelli in his treatise *The Prince* (McGuire & Hutchings 2006).

Machiavellianism has commonalities with corporate psychopathy in that it has no reference to any moral standards, promotes the idea that the end justifies the means, advocates a political and manipulative approach to management, including the use of a fraudulent persona when necessary (entailing the use of apparent honesty, charm and tact to gain advantage), and advocates the use of force if it is deemed necessary to achieve desired ends (McGuire & Hutchings 2006). (A broader comparison of Machiavellians, Corporate Psychopaths and people with other types of personality disorder is made in Chapter 13 of this book.) Like psychopathy, Machiavellianism reportedly entails the manifestation of high levels of manipulative behaviour. A twenty-point measure of this is based on Richard Christie's selection of personality attributes from Machiavelli's books, which was subsequently refined (Paulhus & Williams 2002; Schepers 2003; Singhapakdi & Vitell 1992).

Christie characterised a Machiavellian as someone without concern for conventional morality who lacks interpersonal affect and gross psychopathology, has low ideological commitment, and is willing and able to manipulate others through any means, including lying and deceit (McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto 1998). This definition does not imply a lack of conscience as displayed by psychopaths, but it does have broad similarities to many definitions of psychopathy. Machiavellians reportedly pursue strategies that promote their self-interest, using deception, flattery and emotional detachment to manipulate and exploit social and interpersonal relationships to their own ends (Jakobwitz & Egan 2005). Machiavellianism has also been described as a strategy involving the social manipulation of other people for personal gain (MacNeil & Holden 2006).

One piece of research into Machiavellianism looked at the relative Machiavellianism scores of people in different occupations. Some differences were found, and according to these researchers accountancy is among the least Machiavellian professions, whereas purchasing management is one of the most Machiavellian (Wakefield 2008). Similarly, the Machiavellianism scores of students majoring in social work were significantly lower than those of students majoring in law and business (Wakefield 2008). It may be that the 'caring professions' attract lower numbers of those selfishly attracted to power and money than other professions do, including lower numbers of Machiavellians and Corporate Psychopaths. This is worthy of further research because it may indicate that some types of organisation should be more concerned than others about the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in their midst and among their leaders.

The correlations between corporate social responsibility and corporate psychopathy have already been discussed in Chapter 4. Of interest here is that, theoretically, if different organisations have different levels of corporate psychopathy in them, they should also have correspondingly different levels of corporate social responsibility.

Corporate social responsibility within organisations has been linked with ethical and moral behaviour (McWilliams, Siegel & Wright 2006). However, Corporate Psychopaths have no ethical imperative to motivate them towards socially responsible behaviour and would logically be assumed to have no genuine or deeply felt interest in any aspect of corporate social responsibility.

As Corporate Psychopaths have little or no conscience, it follows logically that they are not driven by any idea of social fairness or social responsibility, and this in turn should, in theory, limit the development of corporate social responsibility within the corporations they work for. The hypothesis generated from this was that if the incidence of Corporate Psychopaths differs in different types of organisation, those different types of organisation should be seen to have correspondingly different levels of corporate social responsibility. The current research investigated this possible link, as described below.

Research findings

The incidence of having experienced working with a Corporate Psychopath in the workplace was investigated by organisational type. The organisational groups were finance, insurance, banking and communications; government, defence, education, electricity, gas and water; health, culture, property and business services; agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacturing and construction; and retail, accommodation, wholesale and transport.

The difference in proportions test for two proportions was applied to these percentages to test for a significant difference (Table 28). With the retail group as the base against which other groups' results were tested, findings were significantly different only at the 80 per cent level of confidence for the government and the finance workers groups.

Corporate social responsibility was measured in this research by levels of respondent agreement with a series of four statements such as the statement that the organisation they worked for behaved in a manner that benefited the local community. The figures in Table 29 are mean levels of agreement with these statements using a six-point agreement scale with no mid-point, from 'disagree very much' (1) to 'disagree

	Retail, accommo- dation, wholesale, transport	Agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacturing, construction	Health, culture, property, business services	Government, defence, education, electricity, gas, water	Finance, insurance, banking, communication
Have experienced corporate psychopaths in the workplace	16.1	19	24.4	28.5^	28.6^

Table 28 Experience of Corporate Psychopaths by organisational type (%)

Note: Base = all responses.

 $^{^{\}land}$ = Statistically significant at the 80% level of confidence (P < 0.20).

Organisation does business in	Retail, accommo- dation, wholesale, transport	Agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacturing, construction	Health, culture, property, business services	Government, defence, education, electricity, gas, water	Finance, insurance, banking, communication
A socially desirable manner	4.84	4.75	4.39	4.21	4.21
An environ- mentally friendly manner	4.53	4.67	4.02	4.03	3.96
A way that benefits the local community	4.03	4.42	4.26	4.31	4.10
A way that shows commitment to employees	3.97	4.13	3.80	3.49	3.75

Table 29 Organisational type and reported corporate social responsibility

moderately' (2), to 'disagree slightly' (3), to 'agree slightly' (4), to 'agree moderately' (5), to 'agree very much' (6).

Discussion of findings

As discussed above, the modern corporation has been described as an excellent vehicle for making its senior managers wealthy (Jones 2005). Corporate Psychopaths are people who are motivated by a desire to win, a desire for power and a desire to gain wealth and prestige (Babiak & Hare 2006; Hercz 2001). Corporate Psychopaths are interested only in self-gratification and not in the success of other people or even of the organisations in which they work (Clarke 2007). They are interested in running corporations for power, money and prestige, self-interested to the exclusion of others and indifferent to the fate of the organisations they work for and of their fellow employees (Babiak & Hare 2006; Boddy 2005a; Clarke 2005; Cleckley 1988). It makes sense, therefore, that Corporate Psychopaths would be attracted to such organisations and would try to attain senior management positions to gain the rewards they covet.

This desire for power and money would logically lead them towards either organisations that give them power, such as the civil service, or organisations where money can be gained, such as financial services, and this is what this research has found, albeit at a weak level of significance. These elements can all be found in working for modern corporations, and this is why Corporate Psychopaths are drawn to them.

The current research results linking corporate social responsibility and Corporate Psychopaths have already been presented in Chapter 4 of this book. In terms of the corporate social responsibility measures reported on here, as expected the re-analysis of these results in this chapter shows that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is negatively and significantly associated with perceived levels of corporate social responsibility within organisations. Further, it is of interest to note that the mean scores on the individual items of the corporate social responsibility measure used are almost totally in line with their theoretically expected distribution across different organisational sectors.

This is shown in Table 29. For example, the government and financial sectors have the highest percentages of Corporate Psychopaths in them, as is shown in this research, albeit at a weak level of significance. This leads to the theoretical expectation that these sectors would score the lowest on measures of corporate social responsibility. This is, in large measure, the case: the government and financial sectors are the least likely to be seen by those working within them as doing business in a socially desirable manner. The government and financial sectors are also the least likely to be seen as doing business in a way that shows commitment to employees. Further, the financial sector was the least likely to be seen as doing business in an environmentally friendly manner and the second least likely to be seen as doing business in a way that benefits the local community. That these results are almost totally in line with the expectations raised by the distribution of corporate psychopathy across these sectors gives an additional element of face validity to the findings.

Research presented in Chapter 8 showed that Corporate Psychopaths are more likely to be found at senior levels of an organisation. The research finding in this chapter is that incidences of employees having worked with Corporate Psychopaths are higher in some sectors of the economy than in others. The current research also shows that Corporate Psychopaths are linked to perceived lower levels of corporate social responsibility.

The presence of Corporate Psychopaths in greater numbers in some organisations, such as public service and financial services organisations, should therefore be of considerable interest to those organisations and their stakeholders. This may have particular relevance to the current global financial crisis, which, it can be hypothesised, was caused by Corporate Psychopaths in senior positions in financial services companies. This idea is developed further in Chapter 14.

Conclusions

Corporate Psychopaths are reported to be attracted to money, power and prestige, although until now there has been little empirical evidence to support this view. Some research into the related construct of Machiavellianism has demonstrated a difference among professional groups, with some professions demonstrating less Machiavellianism than others. In particular, professions devoted to serving others, such as social work, would appear to be less attractive to people whose primary motivation is a selfish one, as it is for Machiavellians and presumably for psychopaths as well.

Implications for further research

This research among Australian managers from various sectors provides additional support for the view that some types of organisation attract Corporate Psychopaths more than others, probably because of the rewards of power and money that such organisational types can deliver into the hands of individual managers.

However, the findings are not definitive, and further, more substantial research into this important area is therefore called for. In particular, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent the managers of the financial and governmental organisations most associated with the global financial crisis of 2008-2011 and beyond are Corporate Psychopaths.

10

Corporate Psychopaths and Withdrawal from Work

Because of the possible consequences of working in a workplace where a Corporate Psychopath was operating, such as being disheartened and abused and feeling used and exploited, as discussed earlier in this book, it was further hypothesised that in such environments more workplace withdrawal would occur than in other workplaces. Having Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace in the medium to long term would logically be destabilising, emotionally upsetting and generally unpleasant, and it can be expected that affected employees would seek to minimise their exposure to such an environment by staying at home through withdrawal behaviour such as absenteeism.

Withdrawal from Work

Withdrawal behaviours are defined as behaviours involving actual physical withdrawal from the work environment such as absenteeism and leaving the job (Falkenburg & Schyns 2007). It is acknowledged that these are important to organisations because they result in high costs in terms of lost time, replacement hiring and retraining for replacement staff (Falkenburg & Schyns 2007).

Absenteeism is a potentially sensitive measure for respondents reporting on their own behaviour, and it may therefore be subject to social desirability bias (Fisher 1993). This is the tendency for respondents to reply in a way which portrays them in the most socially desirable manner.

However, in research studies, self-reported absenteeism behaviour has been found to be accurately reported: the difference between objective measures of absenteeism and self-reported absenteeism was reported to be small (Falkenburg & Schyns 2007). This means that the

self-reported measures of absenteeism used in this research can be used with some reliability – the more so as responses were all anonymous and confidential.

Evidence from this research shows that employees who work in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths are present are clearly taking steps to minimise their exposure to adverse working conditions. They more frequently take a day off sick when they are not really ill than do people working in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths are not present. They are also roughly twice as frequent in taking longer breaks than allowed, and are more than twice as frequent in leaving work early.

The 'came to work late without permission' item in the construct of withdrawal was reported by two respondents in the pilot study to be redundant in today's work environment, where employees are said to be much freer to arrive and leave when they want to than they were in the 1970s. The same logic can be applied to the item 'left work earlier than you were allowed to'. (A pilot study was conducted to make sure the questionnaire was understandable and easy to follow.)

However, because the construct of withdrawal was an established one it was decided to leave the questions as items in the overall measure of withdrawal so that international comparisons against established norms could be made at a later stage of this research. However, with the benefit of hindsight from the current findings, it may be advisable for future research into Corporate Psychopaths and withdrawal to include items other than these two to get a better, more relevant and up-to-date measure of the construct of withdrawal.

Research findings

The percentages in Table 30 delineate the pervasiveness of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths on withdrawal behaviour in the workplace. The frequencies shown in Table 31 are the mean numbers of times per year that such behaviour was observed by respondents. The percentages in Table 30 show by how many people each type of behaviour was experienced. Knowing both figures adds qualitatively to our understanding of the phenomenon. As shown in Table 30, in organisations where there were no Corporate Psychopaths present (i.e. under Normal Managers), only a minority (18.4 per cent) of employees had ever stayed off work with falsely claimed sickness. However, in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present, a significantly higher 45.3 per cent had ever stayed off work with falsely claimed sickness.

	Normal Managers present (N = 264)	Dysfunctional Managers present (N = 104)	Corporate Psychopaths present (N = 119)
Ever come to work late without permission	39.4	49.5*	46.5
Ever stayed at home claiming to be sick when not	18.4	38.6***	45.3***
Ever taken a longer break than allowed	44.2	44.0	52.6
Ever left work earlier than allowed	40.2	48.5	54.8***

Table 30 Reported incidence of withdrawal behaviours (%)

In organisations where there were no Corporate Psychopaths present (i.e. under Normal Managers), a minority (44.2 per cent) of employees had ever taken longer breaks than were allowed. However, in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present, a majority (52.6 per cent) had ever taken longer breaks than were allowed. Similarly, in organisations where there were no Corporate Psychopaths present (i.e. under Normal Managers), a minority (40.2 per cent) of employees had ever left work early. However, in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present, a majority (54.8 per cent) had ever left early.

The difference in proportions test for two proportions was applied to these percentages to test for significant differences. This test is a very common statistical test used in market research, and there is no particular academic reference for it (Taplin 2008). The percentages for Dysfunctional Managers were compared with those for Normal Managers, as were those for Corporate Psychopaths. The summary statistics are shown in Table 31.

The means in Table 31 are mean frequencies of experiencing behaviour in the past year. The scale used ranged from 'never', coded as 0 times per year, to '1-11 times per year', coded as 6 times per year; to '1-3 times per month', coded as 24 times per year; to '1-4 times per week', coded as 120 times per year; to 'every day', coded as 240

^{*} Statistically significant at the 90% level of confidence (P < 0.10).

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).

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	NM		DM		СР		Pearson chi-	T-test: NM/	T-test: NM/
	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	square	DM	CP
Come to work late without permission	7.2	21.1	9.8	28.8	14.4	36.5	0.161	1.000	0.052*
Stay home from work with falsely claimed sickness	2.5	13.0	5.5	17.1	3.2	4.5	0.000***	0.113	1.000
Take longer breaks than allowed	8.0	26.8	16.5	40.1	17.5	42.8	0.076	0.106	0.039**
Leave work earlier than allowed	5.0	18.6	12.5	29.9	13.3	31.3	0.003***	0.029**	0.008***

Table 31 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for withdrawal

Abbreviations: sd, standard deviation; NM, Normal Managers; DM, Dysfunctional Managers; CP, Corporate Psychopaths; NM/DM, Dysfunctional Managers compared statistically with Normal Managers; NM/CP, Corporate Psychopaths compared statistically with Normal Managers.

times per year. Frequencies were based on 240 working days per year in Australia.

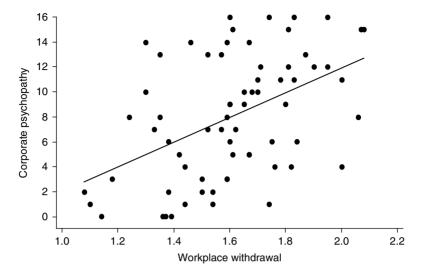
Correlations

There was a significant overall correlation coefficient (0.246, P < 0.05) in a positive direction between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and the construct of withdrawal from work, as shown in Table 9 in Chapter 1. As corporate psychopathy increases, so does withdrawal from work. In terms of mean annual frequencies, the T-test results in Table 31 show that one element of this construct (leaving work early) was significantly different at a 99 per cent level of confidence (P < 0.01). Another element (taking longer breaks than allowed) was significant at a 95 per cent level of confidence (P < 0.05), and one (coming to work late) was significant only at a 90 per cent level of confidence (P < 0.10), all in a negative direction, when Corporate Psychopaths were present. In terms of incidence, the other item (staying at home claiming to be sick when not really sick) was significantly higher under Corporate Psychopaths than under Normal Managers.

^{*} Statistically significant at the 90% level of confidence (P < 0.10).

^{**} Statistically significant at the 95% level of confidence (P < 0.05).

^{***} Statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence (P < 0.01).



Scatter plot of Corporate Psychopathy against withdrawal

Figure 12 is a scatter plot for the construct of withdrawal. As can be seen, the levels of withdrawal measured are more scattered around the regression line than are the points in some of the other scatter plots in this book. This results in a lower correlation coefficient than with some of the other constructs and indicates less of a correlation between corporate psychopathy and the construct of withdrawal. The correlation is still significantly positive, however.

As discussed above, two elements within this construct (coming to work late and leaving work early) appear to be problematic in that the wording may be out of date in today's flexible work environment and arguably, therefore, needs replacing in any future research. Nevertheless, Corporate Psychopaths do appear to be associated with higher levels of withdrawal from work.

Discussion of findings

The hypothesis in this research that employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with being Corporate Psychopaths will report higher levels of withdrawal from the workplace than those who do not is thus supported by these findings.

In Regression Model 1 (Table 10 in Chapter 1), corporate psychopathy does appear to have a small and significant effect on withdrawal $(R^2 = 0.060, P < 0.01)$. This also leads us to reject the null hypothesis and to conclude that corporate psychopathy does have an influence on withdrawal.

One of the effects of having psychopaths in the workplace is reported to be the withdrawal of the effort, energy and commitment to an organisation of other employees (Clarke 2005; Pech & Slade 2007). Employees seek to minimise their suffering at the hands of their greedy and manipulative colleagues (Pech & Slade 2007). Another researcher similarly found that workplace subordinates who perceived that their supervisors were abusive were more likely to leave their jobs (Tepper 2000). The finding in this research, therefore, that Corporate Psychopaths are associated with higher levels of withdrawal from work is in line with other research findings as reported in the existing academic literature on psychopathy and abusive management.

Other researchers describe immoral managers as being exceptional individuals, willing to be ruthless, demeaning of others, forceful, deceptive, self-serving, predatory, dissembling and manipulative. They become a powerful disruptive force within organisations, demoralising others and causing fear and paralysis to the extent that well-planned and well-managed organisational change is almost impossible, and many employees withdraw from their involvement with, and commitment to, the organisation (Delbecq 2001). It is not surprising, then, that in the current research the null hypothesis in this regard (that Corporate Psychopaths have no influence on withdrawal) finds no support in the empirical evidence.

In terms of absenteeism, the findings here can be somewhat contextualised by research in the UK which found that 22 per cent of absent workers could have gone to work if they had wanted to when they took a day off sick (Paton 2005). It also found that the average number of days lost each year in private sector companies through sick leave was 8.5, according to the Confederation of British Industry (McHugh 2002). This UK figure of 22 per cent compares closely to the 18.4 per cent of employees working under Normal Managers who reported falsely claimed sickness at least once in the year in this Australian research.

The costs of absenteeism through sick leave are more than just days lost to productive work as they include the direct costs of sick pay and the replacement costs of hiring alternative employees or paying overtime, and they also include the more indirect costs associated with decreased productivity, reduced customer satisfaction and poorer quality of products or services, leading to a loss of future revenue (McHugh 2002).

Interestingly, in one study more than a quarter of those who took sick leave reported that stress at work had contributed to at least one of their absences in the past year (Paton 2005). The combined effects of the toxic influence of Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace, as discussed in the rest of this book, must be a major source of workplace stress. This is important because workers who perceive that they are treated unjustly or experience poor levels of interpersonal treatment reportedly take more sick leave than other employees do, and there is a reported correlation between poor management style and sickness absence (Amble 2006).

High levels of absenteeism through sick leave are said to be symptomatic of an unhealthy organisation with deeply rooted problems and as such can be viewed as a key indicator of organisational problems that require analysis and remedial action (McHugh 2002). Low morale has been viewed as one of the underlying causes of absenteeism (McHugh 2002). In the current research it is evident that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is associated with elements of the workplace environment that would give rise to low morale, such as a feeling of not being appreciated or of not being properly rewarded for one's efforts in the job.

As discussed, high-quality human resources have been identified as one of the rare resources that a firm can use to sustain a competitive advantage over rival firms (Barney 1991; Barney et al. 2001; Wright, Dunford & Snell 2001). That the presence of Corporate Psychopaths negatively affects employee withdrawal behaviour is, therefore, of some concern to management as it reduces the expertise and the effectiveness of the human resource and so, logically, reduces the chances of firm success.

In terms of remedial action to reduce withdrawal behaviour such as absenteeism, organisations are reported to seek superficial solutions to absenteeism - solutions which focus on the observed behaviour or the symptoms rather than the underlying causes (Hom & Kinicki 2001). This may involve punishing the employee who comes in late rather than trying to mitigate the abusive behaviour of a supervisor who is a Corporate Psychopath, for example. To maximise their effectiveness, organisations need to look at the root causes of employee withdrawal and address these rather than the symptoms.

From the literature, it would appear that some of the underlying causes of absenteeism are low morale, poor communications, low job satisfaction levels and a feeling of not being appreciated (Baker & Newport 2003; Harrison, Newman & Roth 2006; McHugh 2002). From the current research, it is evident that these are significantly influenced by the presence of Corporate Psychopaths within an organisation. One of the underlying correlates of absenteeism can, therefore, be said to be the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. In the current research, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is also significantly associated with a lack of agreement that communication was good within the organisation concerned. The current findings are, therefore, again in line with previous theoretical expectations and observations with respect to communications and absenteeism within organisations.

In the literature on what one author calls 'workplace psychopaths', the destructive behaviour of these people is reported to engender feelings of depression, anger and confusion, relationship problems and lack of trust in fellow employees (Clarke 2007). These feelings may well account for the withdrawal behaviour found in this research when Corporate Psychopaths are present in organisations.

Clarke describes how working under a psychopath can result in more frequent staff departures from the organisation than would otherwise have been the case, and so the finding in this research that employees withdraw from the organisation when Corporate Psychopaths are present is not unexpected (Clarke 2005).

Conclusions

Corporate Psychopaths create a toxic workplace environment typified by conflict, bullying, disruption, increased workload, low levels of job satisfaction and higher than necessary organisational constraints. Their presence is also associated with the higher levels of withdrawal from the workplace that one would logically expect to find among employees working in such an environment. As discussed elsewhere in this book, good supervisors are said to generate positive relationships with employees and high levels of job satisfaction and organisational commitment, and this helps to embed employees within organisations and provides a disincentive to withdraw (Morrow et al. 2005).

It is not surprising, then, that Corporate Psychopaths, with their poor supervision, generate the opposite effect. Employees working under Corporate Psychopaths experience less instruction, less training and less help from others than they would otherwise. This is associated with more work difficulties than they would otherwise face. They receive less recognition for doing a good job, less appreciation and less reward. They also experience a less friendly working environment with

poorer communications and more unfairness from their supervisor when Corporate Psychopaths are present. In line with the emotional destruction outlined by commentators in this area, this must have a severe negative effect on employee mental health, commitment to the organisation and productivity (Clarke 2005).

The direct influence of Corporate Psychopaths on employees can be seen vividly in the analyses of withdrawal and corporate psychopathy. When corporate psychopathy is present, management supervision suffers, the workplace environment becomes toxic and employees seek to minimise their exposure to the psychopathic manager.

Implications for further research

Increasing levels of employee withdrawal behaviour may be a leading indicator of the presence of a Corporate Psychopath within a unit, department or division of an organisation. If this coincides with a recent change of manager within the unit, plus widely divergent reports of that manager's performance (with senior personnel rating the new manager very highly and junior personnel rating the new manager very badly), further investigation is certainly called for to assess whether the new manager is a Corporate Psychopath.

11

Critical Incidents in the Behaviour of Corporate Psychopaths

A separate piece of research to that which forms the backbone of this book provides information on some questions about Corporate Psychopaths that have been raised by other commentators and researchers into psychopathy. Questionnaires concerning whether respondents had worked with people whom they thought of as Corporate Psychopaths were given out to seventy-two postgraduate business students. This research was conducted over a series of three lectures and discussions on Corporate Psychopaths for mature students studying organisational behaviour as a part of their MBA or other master's degrees in Perth, Western Australia. Sixty-one questionnaires were completed and returned, and these were analysed using an academic data analysis software package.

Of the sixty-one postgraduate business students who returned the questionnaire, 62 per cent reported that they had ever worked with a Corporate Psychopath. (This high figure suggests a large element of overclaiming on this measure.) Of these reported Corporate Psychopaths, 76 per cent were male and 24 per cent female. Nearly all those reported as being Corporate Psychopaths were at a senior level in the organisation concerned, and they were variously described as chief executive officers; managing directors; directors; general managers; state, district or area managers; senior managers; office managers; HR managers; supervisors and a systems analyst.

If the respondent thought that they had ever come across a Corporate Psychopath at work, they were asked to describe a particular critical incident in which the Corporate Psychopath had displayed the behaviour of a psychopath. In the critical incident technique, respondents are asked to describe a specific memorable occasion that illuminates elements of the subject of the research in order to get a rich, deep

understanding of the event and a further understanding of the subject of the research (Burns, Williams & Maxham 2000).

Originally, critical incidents were defined as those of significance or of a critical nature in terms of the success or failure of an enterprise; however, the use of the technique in business research has softened this description to include any incidents of a significant nature that aid understanding. The critical incident method is thus used to focus on a specific event and to elicit detailed records of the event from respondents. The content of the respondent's account is then analysed and a thematic interpretation is made from this analysis (Burns, Williams & Maxham 2000). Critical incident research techniques have been praised for their ability to get at the emotion, detail and core elements of processes (Rynes 2006).

This gathering of critical incidents resulted in some illuminating comments from respondents, and these are described and discussed below. Some respondents sought me out as the person who had given the lecture on Corporate Psychopaths and communicated additional material to that gathered by the questionnaire. Of interest in these discussions was that people suspected of being Corporate Psychopaths were reported to be found in all walks of life.

Respondents variously said that they had known psychopaths in volunteer and charitable organisations, the police force, the civil service, universities and among the medical profession. Similarly, at the end of a public lecture in Australia in May 2006 in which Corporate Psychopaths were defined, eighteen academics were asked whether they thought they had ever worked with a Corporate Psychopath. Eleven of these academics indicated that they had, and in further private conversations others also claimed to have worked with a Corporate Psychopath in academia, usually someone at a very high level in a university.

Business partnerships with Corporate Psychopaths

Psychopaths like to deceive others as this gives them a sense of power and control, demonstrating to the psychopath that they are cleverer and more cunning than their victims and giving them a feeling of contemptuous delight (Meloy 2002). They also believe that they have a right to take from others regardless of the cost to them, which implies that whenever business partners start an enterprise it will be the Corporate Psychopath who ends up with all the profits and rewards. With their low levels of anxiety, lack of emotional response, manipulativeness, cunning and fearlessness, they can easily and guiltlessly plan to take over the business from their superiors, employers or business partners. Going into business with such a person is extremely inadvisable.

Some of the quotations from the critical incident reports collected in this study recount classic Corporate Psychopath behaviour involving humiliation and bullying, parasitically claiming the work of other people as one's own, the formation of a group of political supporters and followers, and a willingness to lie to gain advantage in the workplace:

A manager would berate subordinates, shout at them and call them useless. Seize on snapshots, put the worst possible context on them and present these to superiors to demonstrate the 'Fools' they had to work with. The same person encouraged a group of 'Yes' peers and subordinated [them] to support his own decisions. He would lie about work he has done and often purloined subordinate research. Had no interest in the damage he caused other people.

[They] asked me to do work for an organisational project. Once completed and I [a consultant] left, all work was claimed as their own and advice given was also claimed. Aggressive, yet very charming. People at their level or below did not like him. Senior management however viewed him and his advice and 'expertise' favourably. Now found out and fired

I have witnessed a senior manager displaying psychopathic tendencies, i.e. charming to those above him, ruthless to those below him and manipulating others to get his way.

Several verbal personnel attacks, witnessed on many occasions over a 12 year period.

The formation of a group of political supporters and followers is again illustrated by the following quotations concerning people within organisations who were thought to be Corporate Psychopaths:

An employee was lying to her direct reports in order to develop a power base. She requested that those employees then assist her in improving her appearance to others in the organisation - to the detriment of others. [She] focuses a large amount of energy on promoting [her]self and undermining those on the same and higher levels. This same individual is determined to be promoted and has by-passed direct line management when encountering obstacles.

[They] built a power network with boss one level up and undermined my position by spreading lies and manipulating the truth.

Sudden terminations of employment without compensation are also said to be among the characteristics of having Corporate Psychopaths as managers. This is demonstrated in the following quotation:

A subordinate who became out of favour with the Director after working at two separate organisations was forced to resign without any compensation.

Corporate Psychopaths parasitically claim the credit for work they have not done and blame others for things that go wrong because of their actions (Clarke 2005). Examples of parasitic behaviour, together with backstabbing, manipulation and lying are also evident in these critical incident reports:

False loyalty to another Director while behind her back he was plotting her demise. Manipulation of selection processes to get what he wants. Claiming credit for achievements not his own. Countless occasions of lying and manipulating.

Commenting during an executive meeting that a certain area of the organisation had not complied with their repeated requests to finalise the budget. When approached by the manager of the budget area the psychopath categorically denied saying this despite having all the executives as witnesses.

Ruthlessness in business, unethical behaviour and blaming others for any mistakes made are demonstrated by the following quotations:

[They] followed a system of bribery to gain contracts and achieve budget/revenue targets [management bonus]. - Reversed decision on regular basis. - Seemed very superficial when discussing issues with others about policies that affect their personal lives.

The individual in question was aware of a problem with some financial figures and went about creating an elaborate plan to blame one of us staff to the point where this individual was humiliated in front of the Board and soon resigned from their position.

With no emotional attachments to their colleagues, Corporate Psychopaths are happy to exploit everyone who works for them. The following quotation appears to provide an example of a Corporate Psychopath using a group of supporters to get the promotion that they want and then turning on those supporters as they are no longer needed and might cause trouble because they know how the Corporate Psychopath operates and what the Corporate Psychopath has done:

They were relatively new to the organisation and they created an in-group of ER team. The top executive was challenged by them and they quickly but charmingly caused distrust for the top executive. Then they managed to gain the confidence of other top executives to have agreement to rid the organisation of the specific top executive. They then became the person in the [vacated] position and now have tremendous power. The people who stood by them are now being targeted.

The following quotation seems to provide an example of how a Corporate Psychopath can manipulate themselves into a safer job when required:

This person could see they were not going to retain their position so they manipulated the person currently in another position until they left; that person then got the position.

The following quotations provide examples of how a Corporate Psychopath can ruthlessly use the resources of the company that they work for to their own advantage:

The person was using company resources to build their own personal business. Using and manipulatively structuring their department so they can use the resources to build a personal business. Finally, manipulating top management by charm and use of their fame as an executive to build [their] own business.

There are many [examples], but in one I was asked to falsely a financial statement so that year end bonuses would be paid.

Promiscuous sexual behaviour and short-term marital relationships

Having sexual relations with multiple partners in the workplace is characteristic of Corporate Psychopaths (Clarke 2005), and they may try and attain a position which gives them geographical mobility so that they can engage with as many sexual partners as possible (what anthropologists call 'search polygamy'). Psychopaths do not bond emotionally with others (although their partners may well bond emotionally with the psychopath), and once their promiscuous activities are detected by their spouse, separation or divorce often results (Meloy 2002). They also tend towards sexual sadism as they often wish to dominate their partners rather than have affectionate relationships with them. These factors imply that a senior, geographically roving job would be seen as ideal by a psychopath as it would enable them to engage in coercive sexual behaviour across multiple geographies and with reduced chances of being discovered because of the limited periods being spent in each location.

They have no familial ties to any one place, and the constant changes of location would play to their need for unceasing stimulation and sensation seeking. Corporate Psychopaths use their manipulative skills to dominate the people they work with (Clarke 2005), exploiting them, involving them in sexual affairs, spreading rumours about them and engaging in office politics to further their aims. Employees who realise what is going on, after being used and abused, and who lose control of their careers at the hands of a Corporate Psychopath are naturally disheartened. They are often, according to Clarke, too afraid to talk to others in the organisation about how they are suffering (Clarke 2005).

Corporate Psychopaths are thus reported to sexually exploit and harass their colleagues, and such behaviour has been linked to lower job satisfaction, lower organisational commitment and a greater intention to quit (Laband & Lentz 1998; Willness, Steel & Lee 2007). Clarke details one example where a Corporate Psychopath had sexual relations with most of the females in his department (Clarke 2005). According to Cleckley, the psychopath's approach to sexual relations is limited to thrill-seeking sexual behaviour marked by a lack of personal significance or any kind of emotional passion (Cleckley 1988). Thus Corporate Psychopaths have a casual, uncommitted approach to sexual activity, focused on localised and temporary pleasure, and they will use their positions of authority within organisations to cajole and seduce colleagues, who are then abandoned. Cleckley's view is substantiated by findings from other researchers that psychopathy scores are positively

related to the use of deceptive tactics in both sexual and non-sexual contexts (Seto et al. 1997).

This sexual promiscuity in both male and female psychopaths can cause a good deal of emotional pain within the ranks of their colleagues and among the spouses of the colleagues they seduce. It can also cause a good deal of financial pain to the organisation as multi-million-dollar lawsuits are brought against the organisation in settlement of multiple sexual harassment claims

Recent research among institutionalised psychopaths suggests that a coercive, precocious, exploitative and aggressive attitude to sexual relations is a fundamental aspect of psychopathy (Harris et al. 2007). It follows logically from this that Corporate Psychopaths would attempt to use their positions of authority and power to coerce and manipulate their co-workers into sexual relationships, and this is indeed what one commentator suggests happens (Clarke 2005). Such sexual coercion and harassment has been linked with workplace team conflict, withdrawal and low levels of citizenship behaviour, and these issues are investigated in this research. These effects must lessen feelings of satisfaction associated with the workplace, which reinforces the logic of researching the potential connection between Corporate Psychopaths and low levels of job satisfaction.

In terms of differences between male and female psychopaths not much research has been conducted. However, it is recognised that some gender bias may be present in the measurement and recording of psychopathy, and researchers have found that while male and female psychopaths are very similar on most of the PCL-R items, females tend to exhibit the syndrome more in terms of promiscuity than males and less in terms of callousness and delinquency (Grann 2000).

Conclusions

The limited number of critical incident reports collected in this research demonstrate that Corporate Psychopaths behave in ways that are predictable from the literature. They are ruthless, prepared to lie and parasitic, and they will use organisational resources for their own advantage rather than for the advantage of the organisation that employs them.

Implications for further research

In talking to people who thought that they had come across Corporate Psychopaths at work, I got the sense that the critical incidents I collected represented only the tip of the iceberg and that many devastating stories were there to be collected in much more detail in order to understand fully the impact that these destructive people can have. Further in-depth research into Corporate Psychopaths is called for to gain a fuller understanding of their influence on organisations and on other employees.

The promiscuity aspect of psychopathy in the workplace is detailed in the literature and is also worthy of further research. However, in the current research it was deemed too difficult to access reliable data because of the sensitive nature of the subject, and so the subject was not studied. However, such behaviour would logically be expected to lead to low levels of job satisfaction, and this supposition was investigated and supported in the research.

12

Encouragement of Corporate Psychopaths by Organisations

Leading commentators on psychopathy such as Hare, Babiak and Clarke have said that companies inadvertently attract employees who are psychopaths because of the wording of their job advertisements and their desire to engage people who are prepared to do whatever it takes to be successful in business. Other management researchers have noted that employees feel a disconnection between their personal morality and what they are required to do at work. To see whether opinions about what types of employees corporations want were in line with these views, the questionnaire responses from sixty-one postgraduate business students detailed in the previous chapter included a question on what characteristics the students thought were valued in their organisation.

The results in Table 32 show that employees think their organisation wants them to be opportunistic, determined to be promoted, cunning, charming, network-creating and determined to be rich. For the characteristics of being charming, determined to be promoted, determined to be rich and being opportunistic there appears to be little difference between which characteristics employees think they already possess and which they think the organisation wants.

However, for the more ethically questionable qualities of being cunning in business and power-network-creating there is a difference between the percentage of employees who think they have these characteristics and the percentage of employees who think that the organisation wants them to have these characteristics at work. This gap is most marked for the characteristic of having no guilty conscience, where 29.5 per cent of respondents believe that their organisation wants them to display this characteristic but only 4.8 per cent believe that they do so.

This finding supports the view of management researchers who believe that employees feel pressure to behave less ethically at work

Table 32 Perceived organisational values and personal characteristics of respondents (%)

	Perceived to be valued by the organisation	Perceived to be possessed by the respondent	Difference
The ability to be charming	54.8	72.6	-17.8
Impulsiveness	19.7	27.9	-8.2
A determination to be rich	40.3	48.4	-8.1
A determination to be promoted	68.9	74.2	-5.3
Putting yourself first	27.4	32.3	-4.9
Being opportunistic, grabbing opportunities when they arise	83.6	79.0	4.6
A capacity for ruthlessness	30.6	24.2	6.4
Displaying no empathy with other people's position	14.5	8.1	6.4
Displaying no shame over ruthless actions in business	17.7	11.3	6.4
Displaying no emotional commitment to others	21.0	9.7	11.3
A willingness to lie when necessary	30.6	17.7	12.9
Being impersonal with the opposite sex	18.0	4.8	13.2
Displaying no remorse over ruthless actions in business	22.6	8.1	14.5
Putting the organisation before your own love life	33.9	17.7	16.2
Creating a power network in the organisation	59.7	41.0	18.7
A cunning approach to business opportunities	62.3	38.7	23.6
Displaying no guilty conscience over ruthless actions in business	29.5	4.8	24.7

than they would want to. For example, 30.6 per cent of respondents reported that they thought their organisation wanted to them lie when necessary, whereas only 17.7 per cent said that they were prepared to do this. Similarly, 22.6 per cent of respondents reported that they thought that their organisation wanted them to be remorseless over their ruthless actions in business, whereas only 8.1 per cent said that they were prepared to be so.

It appears that employees, on average, want to be more ethical, more guided by their conscience, more truthful, less cunning and less impersonal with the opposite sex than they think their company wants them to be. This suggests that the view that corporations want to employ people who display the characteristics of Corporate Psychopaths has some foundation. Employees seem to want their employers to be more humane than they think they currently are.

The sample of postgraduate business students was also asked what characteristics they thought were displayed by anyone they had worked with who could have been a Corporate Psychopath. The findings are displayed in Table 33, which shows that Corporate Psychopaths are seen as being opportunistic, ruthless, selfish and charming and as possessing many of the other traits one would expect of them. Looking at the difference between which characteristics organisations are thought to want and which characteristics Corporate Psychopaths are thought to have reveals a large difference. However, it is noticeable that the biggest differences appear in traits that may be hard to detect at an interview stage of recruitment. Corporate Psychopaths are seen as having no empathy and as being selfish, ruthless, shameless, impulsive, emotionless and willing to lie. It would be difficult to detect these at an interview, whereas the traits of being willing to put the organisation first, being impersonal and opportunistic, and being determined to be promoted might be deliberately communicated by the Corporate Psychopath at the interview stage, thus facilitating their recruitment.

Corporate Psychopaths are perceived to be more in line with some perceived corporate values than other people are. For example, 18 per cent of respondents say that they think being impersonal with the opposite sex is valued by the organisation, and 23.7 per cent say that Corporate Psychopaths have this attribute, whereas only 4.8 per cent of respondents say that they themselves have this attribute. Similarly, Corporate Psychopaths are perceived to put the organisation before their love life, which is what the organisation is perceived to want. These factors may help Corporate Psychopaths make a good impression at the interview stage of recruitment and promotion.

Table 34 shows the differences between the characteristics that respondents think they possess and those they think Corporate Psychopaths possess. The characteristics with the biggest differences are connected with empathy, ruthlessness, shamelessness, selfishness, lack of emotional commitment or conscience, cunning, willingness to lie and remorselessness. These characteristics might be observable via ethnographic studies – that is, watching the Corporate Psychopath in their natural habitat over

Table 33 Perceived organisational values and personal characteristics of Corporate Psychopaths (%)

	Perceived to be valued by the organisation	Perceived to be possessed by the Corporate Psychopath	Difference
Displaying no empathy with other people's position	14.5	82.1	-67.6
Putting yourself first	27.4	92.5	-65.1
A capacity for ruthlessness	30.6	92.5	-61.9
Displaying no shame over ruthless actions in business	17.7	74.4	-56.7
Impulsiveness	19.7	66.7	-47.0
Displaying no emotional commitment to others	21.0	64.1	-43.1
A willingness to lie when necessary	30.6	71.1	-40.5
Displaying no remorse over ruthless actions in business	22.6	60.5	-37.9
A cunning approach to business opportunities	62.3	95.0	-32.7
A determination to be rich	40.3	71.1	-30.8
The ability to be charming	54.8	85.0	-30.2
Displaying no guilty conscience over ruthless actions in business	29.5	59.0	-29.5
Creating a power network in the organisation	59.7	87.2	-27.5
A determination to be promoted	68.9	87.5	-18.6
Being opportunistic, grabbing opportunities when they arise	83.6	95.0	-11.4
Being impersonal with the opposite sex	18.0	23.7	-5.7
Putting the organisation before your own love life	33.9	26.3	7.6

a lengthy period. However, it would be difficult to detect these characteristics in an interview. Corporations may therefore want to investigate alternative recruitment practices to substantiate impressions gained at the interview stage of recruitment. For example, noting how potential employees interact with a person in need or distress in the environment surrounding the organisation may be much more informative in terms of a person's empathy, conscience and ruthlessness than directly asking them what kind of person they are or how ethical they are would be.

Table 34 Personal characteristics of respondents and perceived characteristics of Corporate Psychopaths (%)

	Possessed by the respondent	Possessed by the Corporate Psychopath	Difference
Displaying no empathy with other people's position	8.1	82.1	-74.0
A capacity for ruthlessness	24.2	92.5	-68.3
Displaying no shame over ruthless actions in business	11.3	74.4	-63.1
Putting yourself first	32.3	92.5	-60.2
Displaying no emotional commitment to others	9.7	64.1	-54.4
Displaying no guilty conscience over ruthless actions in business	4.8	59.0	-54.2
A cunning approach to business opportunities	38.7	95.0	-53.6
A willingness to lie when necessary	17.7	71.1	-53.4
Displaying no remorse over ruthless actions in business	8.1	60.5	-52.4
Creating a power network in the organisation	41.0	87.2	-46.2
Impulsiveness	27.9	66.7	-38.8
A determination to be rich	48.4	71.1	-22.7
Being impersonal with the opposite sex	4.8	23.7	-18.9
Being opportunistic, grabbing opportunities when they arise	79.0	95.0	-16.0
A determination to be promoted	74.2	87.5	-13.3
The ability to be charming	72.6	85.0	-12.4
Putting the organisation before your own love life	17.7	26.3	-8.6

If these perceptions of what corporations value in an employee are correct, then Corporate Psychopaths look like desirable employees in terms of being more prepared to be opportunistic and ruthless, to put the organisation before love and to be impersonal and cunning, among other factors. These findings tend to confirm the views of Hare, Babiak and Clarke that organisations are inadvertently attracting psychopaths.

Babiak and Hare say that in corporate recruitment, the higher the position to be filled, the more nebulous the defining characteristics of the 'leader' required for the job are and the more the recruiters rely on the interview stage of the selection process in making a decision (Babiak & Hare 2006). Babiak and Hare say that this gives the advantage to the Corporate Psychopath because it is in the interview environment that they can really shine, and they will say whatever they can to impress the selection committee. Normal people stumble, get embarrassed, grope for an answer, forget details and appear unsure of themselves. Unflappable and emotionless Corporate Psychopaths shine in comparison.

This implies a double negative at work for some companies. Not only do they appear to be looking for psychopathic employees and word their advertisements to give this impression but they also facilitate the hiring of Corporate Psychopaths by relying on interviews in which the latter are at an advantage over other applicants because they do not get emotional or flustered and appear to be smooth, knowledgeable and charming.

Conclusions

In looking for aggressive, impartial, cunning, ruthless, go-getting, determined, dynamic and highly ambitious employees, corporations run a real risk of attracting people who will 'go get' for themselves rather than for the company. It may be that corporations should be more measured and careful about how they advertise positions and about whom they recruit to avoid hiring Corporate Psychopaths who go on to destroy the corporation from within.

Implications for further research

Corporate Psychopaths may be attracted by the wording of particular job advertisements, and in previous research carefully designed fake job advertisements have been used to attract psychopaths so that they could be studied. It may be, therefore, that a content analysis of job advertisements could be made to distinguish between those companies that tend to attract Corporate Psychopaths and those that do not. Companies that were deemed likely to attract psychopaths because of their job advertisements could then be compared with those that were not, in terms of measurable variables such as turnover of personnel, incidences of bullying, corporate social responsibility and corporate longevity. Potential differences could be assumed to result from the presence or absence of Corporate Psychopaths. This would be an alternative to survey research methods as a way of studying the influence of Corporate Psychopaths on organisational outcomes.

13

Corporate Psychopaths Compared with Other Dark Leadership Personalities

Leaders have the power and authority to change organisations in ways that may or may not be beneficial to the long-term success of the organisation concerned. However, some leaders may have one or more of a number of personality disorders that make their leadership toxic to the organisation that employs them and to those who work around them. This chapter defines these personality types and hypothesises which types are most likely to rise to leadership positions.

Leadership is an important area of management research because leaders are acknowledged to change organisations in the direction of their own personalities and preferences, and this includes changing the moral fabric of an organisation through their example and influence (Speedy 2005). It has also been recognised that the personality of leaders can affect their performance in management roles, and the study of leaders with personality disorders should therefore be of interest to management researchers (Boddy, Galvin & Ladyshewsky 2009).

With the recent global financial crisis, management researchers are increasingly interested in investigating aspects of dark leadership in an attempt to explain the current financial and organisational turmoil around the world. I have recently reviewed numerous papers on dark leadership, for example, and it is evident that while there are authors with quite deep knowledge concerning individual types of dark and dysfunctional leadership, there is a lack of breadth of knowledge of the different types of toxic leadership that might exist.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to present a typology of dark leadership, outlining to management researchers the various personality disorders that leaders might have.

Personality disorders are usually described as exaggerations or variations of normal personality attributes that impair the well-being or social functioning of the personality involved (Alwin et al. 2006). One problem for management researchers into this area, as well as for psychologists, is that the classification and naming of personality disorders by individual psychologists and by such bodies as the American Psychiatric Association and others has been inconsistent and has changed over the years (Arrigo & Shipley 2001; Cleckley 1988; Ogloff 2006).

The classification of 'psychopathic personality', for example, reportedly became that of 'sociopathic personality' in 1952, and this was changed to 'anti-social personality' in 1968 (Cleckley 1988). The terms 'psychopath', 'sociopath' and 'anti-social personality' are often used interchangeably in the popular press and are often confused even by psychologists (Vaughn & Howard 2005), who thus do not speak the same language as each other when talking about the same personality disorders (Shipley & Arrigo 2001).

An ordered classification of the different types of personality disorder was made in the USA in the 1980s; the previous situation with regard to classification has been described as even more disordered than it is now and even as anarchic (Tyrer 2004). The general diagnostic criterion used since the re-classification has been that a personality disorder is a pervasive pattern of maladaptive traits and behaviours leading to significant personal distress and/or social dysfunction and disruption to other people (Tyrer 2004).

Because this classification exercise was relatively recent, not all researchers and clinicians use the same classification language for the same condition, and this inevitably leads to some confusion (Arrigo & Shipley 2001). Researchers point out that the same fundamental clinical construct of psychopathy, for example, has variously been described as moral insanity, sociopathy and anti-social personality, among other terms (Hobson & Shine 1998). For both psychologists and management researchers this creates certain definitional problems.

For the sake of clarity, this chapter reviews the personality types that are referred to in the psychological literature and defines them according to the most common and logical usage of the terms by leading experts in the field. It presents a definition, mainly from psychology, of leaders who may have anti-social personality disorder, narcissistic personality type, dissocial personality, Machiavellianism, psychopathy (including corporate psychopathy) or sociopathy. The premise was that it would be useful for this book to clarify these definitions for management

researchers so that we do not run into the same definitional problems as psychologists and psychiatrists have.

Anti-social personality disorder

Anti-social personality disorder is defined by the American Psychiatric Association as a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others, and an inability or unwillingness to conform to what are considered the usual rules of society (American Psychiatric Association 1994). The disorder is reported to involve a history of chronic antisocial behaviour that begins before the age of 15 and continues well into adulthood (Frick 2000).

The disorder manifests as a regular pattern of anti-social and irresponsible behaviour, as indicated by such things as academic failure, engagement in illegal activities, recklessness, poor job performance and impulsive behaviour. Symptoms include an inability to tolerate boredom, feeling victimised and a diminished capacity for intimacy.

Anti-social personality disorder is confused with psychopathy by some psychologists; more specifically, it is associated with criminal psychopaths (Boddy 2007). For this reason a detailed comparison of antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy follows.

The assessment of anti-social personality disorder uses a behaviourally based approach rather than a personality-based approach (Kirkman 2002). Anti-social personality disorder is sometimes confusingly and misleadingly known in the literature as a psychopathic personality or a sociopathic personality, and it often brings a person into conflict with society as a consequence of a pattern of behaviour that is amoral, unethical and illegal (Hare 1996).

Complications that arise from this disorder are said to include frequent imprisonment for unlawful behaviour, as well as alcoholism and drug abuse. The DSM-IV, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, version IV, of the American Psychiatric Association, which is the reference book most commonly used by psychiatrists and psychologists to define mental disorders, says that anti-social personality disorder has also been referred to as psychopathy. However, many psychologists argue that the DSM-IV definition of anti-social personality disorder is far broader in scope than psychopathy (Edens et al. 2006; Hare 1991; Shipley & Arrigo 2001) and that the two should not be confused by clinicians or other researchers (Ogloff 2006).

Hare says that there is diagnostic confusion because of an incorrect assertion by the DSM-IV and its predecessor, the DSM-III, that anti-social personality disorder and psychopathy are the same diagnosis (Hare 1996). Hare says that anti-social personality disorder is a broader behavioural diagnosis which covers a multitude of types of criminal and is of dubious reliability, and that psychopaths are a more specific group in that they have a distinct personality syndrome involving interpersonal and affective components (Hare 1996), as discussed in this book. Other commentators in this area agree with Hare's view and call for a separation of the two diagnoses – anti-social personality disorder and psychopathy – and for a common nomenclature to be agreed (Shipley & Arrigo 2001).

Psychologists have noted that anti-social personality disorder is a reflection largely of criminal-type behaviours rather than of the more callous and unemotional personality traits exhibited by psychopaths (Ogloff 2006). They point out that a diagnosis of anti-social personality disorder does not have the dire implications for treatment, recidivism and violence that a diagnosis of criminal psychopathy does. Further, the range of people diagnosed with anti-social personality disorder is reported to be highly heterogeneous (Blair 2001).

Psychopaths may be anti-social, but only a minority of those diagnosed with anti-social personality disorder are also psychopaths (Edens et al. 2006; Hare 1996; Ogloff 2006). Blair and colleagues, in a review of the knowledge concerning psychopathy, state that only about 25 per cent of individuals classed as anti-social personalities will show psychopathic tendencies as well (Blair et al. 2006). There are said to be many routes to an anti-social personality, and psychopathy is reportedly only one of them (Blair et al. 2006). Psychopaths are thus a more specific group than are people with anti-social personality disorder (Brinkley et al. 2004). Hence, anti-social action alone is not sufficient to identify the construct of psychopathy (Levenson, Kiehl & Fitzpatrick 1995). According to Hare, the definition of anti-social personality disorder is relatively unproblematic for referring to criminal psychopaths because the definition itself was made after the study of criminal psychopaths, mainly in prison populations (Hare 1999a). However, he states that a focus on the anti-social elements of psychopathy to the exclusion of the interpersonal and affective symptoms leads to the over-diagnosis of psychopathy in criminal populations and the under-diagnosis of psychopathy in non-criminal populations (Hare 1999b).

It is of interest to note that the violence of those with anti-social personality disorder typically differs from the violence of those with psychopathy. The violence of those with anti-social personality disorder is typically reactive, a response to frustration, whereas that of psychopaths is typically instrumental, directed towards a goal such as the acquisition of power or money (Blair 2001; Blair et al. 2006; Hare 1999a). In other words, people with anti-social personality disorder get angry and violently lose their temper, while the violence of psychopaths is colder. more calculating, controlled and directed towards a specific goal such as the acquisition of another person's goods or money.

Leaders with anti-social personality disorder can apparently be both admired as rule breakers and feared as destructive personalities by their colleagues and those who work under them (Goldman 2006). Their behaviour can be constructive in times when rapid change is necessary for an organisation to survive but destructive, dishonest and unethical at others (Goldman 2006).

Researchers say that many adults with anti-social personality disorder do not fulfil the criteria for psychopathy because they do not have the callous, unemotional traits necessary to be counted as psychopaths (Viding et al. 2005). Other criticisms of the criteria for anti-social personality disorder are that they are too broad and all encompassing and that they lack validity (Hare, Hart & Harpur 1991). In conclusion, then, anti-social personality disorder overlaps with and is correlated with psychopathy (Morana, Arboleda-Florez & Camara 2005), but it is far from being an identical or synonymous construct (Frick 2000; Shipley & Arrigo 2001).

Psychopaths and psychopathy

In common usage a psychopath is a person with a personality disorder characterised by extreme callousness who is liable to behave antisocially or violently in getting their own way (Davidson et al. 1998). A more psychologically oriented definition of psychopathy comes from the Dictionary of Psychology, which defines it as a mental disorder roughly equivalent to anti-social personality disorder but with an emphasis on the affective and interpersonal traits such as superficial charm, pathological lying, egocentricity, lack of remorse and callousness (Colman 2001).

Psychopathy is defined as existing when a person scores highly on rating scales designed to measure psychopathy such as the psychopathy screening device for children (Frick 2000) and Hare's Psychopathy Checklist-Revised for adults (Blair 2001; Porter et al. 2003). There is ample evidence for the stability of Hare's construct of psychopathy in test/re-test situations, for its behavioural relevance and predictive validity. This evidence shows that the construct of psychopathy has both

predictive accuracy and practical and clinical usefulness; these are the elements identified by researchers as important for demonstrating a construct's validity (Cronbach & Meehl 1955).

Psychopaths are commonly said to be relatively immune to treatment and to socialisation, although the evidence for this has recently been challenged by researchers who say that many papers on this subject are flawed in their design (D'Silva, Duggan & McCarthy 2004). However, there is further recent evidence that psychological interventions may be counterproductive to the treatment of psychopaths (Babiak & Hare 2006; Tyrer 2004; Vaughn & Howard 2005).

In terms of management research, it can be argued that the confounding of criminality with psychopathy has blinded researchers to the presence of white-collar successful psychopaths in organisations. Indeed, one weakness of research into psychopathy is acknowledged to be an inability to generalise from it because of the dominant use of criminal populations in research (Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003; Kirkman 2002; Kirkman 2005; Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001). These whitecollar or Corporate Psychopaths are described later in this chapter.

Anti-social personality disorder and psychopaths

Some psychologists, including Hare, are reportedly trying to get psychopathy classified as a separate disorder from anti-social personality disorder in the review of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Psychiatric Disorders that is currently being undertaken in the USA (Hare, Hart & Harpur 1991). Other psychologists support this move and question how the conceptualisation of anti-social personality disorder can be considered a synonym for psychopathy when it ignores most of the personality traits that define the latter (Shipley & Arrigo 2001). As an impartial observer who is not a psychologist and is relatively new to this area but has read the literature on the subject, I agree with Hare's views. Anti-social personality disorder and psychopathy appear to be overlapping but are clearly different constructs. Treating them as different constructs adds to the definitional clarity in this area.

In line with this, Cleckley also said that throughout his work he continued to use the term 'psychopath' rather than 'anti-social personality disorder' (Cleckley 1988, pp. 11-13). He described the word 'psychopath' as being a more familiar and durable term, despite the changes in nomenclature that had taken place over the years. Other researchers agree that 'psychopathy' is the term with the longest clinical tradition for this condition (Ogloff 2006). Hopefully, the revisions currently being considered for the next DSM will clarify the classifications and lead to a common practice in naming these related disorders.

Corporate Psychopaths

In this research, Corporate Psychopaths are simply those psychopaths who work in corporations (Boddy 2005b). Hare and Babiak state that Corporate Psychopaths are clever and charming enough to avoid detection, conflict with society and therefore prison (Babiak & Hare 2006), and hence a revised definition, other than anti-social personality disorder, has to be used for these more sophisticated psychopaths. Other researchers also acknowledge that anti-social personality disorder characterises the behavioural aspects of criminal psychopaths rather than the innate personality factors (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996). They suggest that because the majority of studies of psychopathy have been with incarcerated populations, psychopathy has been confounded with measures of criminality (Lynam, Whiteside & Jones 1999). This confounding has meant that measures of psychopathy and the differences between criminal psychopaths and criminal non-psychopaths cannot be unambiguously interpreted (Lynam 1997). Some researchers say that a degree of conceptual drift has occurred and call for measures of psychopathy to be made that do not link it, as a construct, to criminality. They posit that it should be positioned back in the realm of personality deviation and that the population of choice for studying psychopathy should be the general population and not criminal populations (Skeem, Mulvey & Grisso 2003). To an interested observer like me this seems eminently sensible.

Researchers also argue that the construct of a psychopathic personality should not be contaminated with criminality and socially deviant behaviour because these elements are correlates of psychopathy rather than its core characteristics (Johansson et al. 2002; Skeem, Mulvey & Grisso 2003). This fits with the view of psychopathy held by leading researchers in the field such as Hare and Cleckley, who have highlighted that there are psychopaths who do not engage in criminal behaviour and can function well in society (Cleckley 1988; Hare 1999a, pp. 113-114).

Other researchers distinguish between unsuccessful psychopaths, those who have criminal convictions, and successful psychopaths, those who have no criminal convictions or no illegal anti-social behaviour (Lynam 1997; Yang et al. 2005). Corporate Psychopaths are thus opportunistic corporate careerists who lack any concern for the consequences of their actions and are totally ruthless in their pursuit of their own aims and ambitions (Boddy 2006b).

Dissocial personality

Dissocial personality is a classification of the World Health Organization related to anti-social personality disorder and psychopathy, but is again not totally synonymous with psychopathy (Ogloff 2006). It is not a term that commonly appears in the literature on psychopathy and so is not discussed at length in this book, except to note that it is a related classification that adds to the confusion over diagnosis and terminology.

Ogloff says that the three diagnoses of anti-social personality disorder, dissocial personality and psychopathy are significantly different from each other (Ogloff 2006). He says that the overlap between antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy is of the order of 37.5 per cent for the interpersonal aspects of psychopathy and 60 per cent for the behavioural manifestations, meaning that the criteria for anti-social personality disorder are much broader than those for psychopathy.

For dissocial personality and psychopathy, Ogloff says that there is also an overlap of 37.5 per cent between the two constructs, with the criteria for dissocial personality being much less comprehensive than those for psychopathy, as measured by the PCL-R (Ogloff 2006).

The PCL-R criteria are compared with the anti-social personality criteria and the dissocial personality criteria in Table 35, for reference. In a similar manner, Figure 13 shows a Venn diagram of the three overlapping conditions of sociopathy, psychopathy and anti-social behaviour, on the basis of the literature review conducted here. This is a simplified view based on the majority opinion in the literature and not necessarily a consensus view among psychologists. However, it helps to differentiate among the three similarly defined conditions in the psychological literature for the purposes of clarity for management research. This is my attempt at simplification and is not a figure taken directly from the literature on clinical psychology. As this is based on the research and writings of clinical psychologists writing on personality disorders, it has been labelled the 'clinical model of personality disorders'.

Figure 13 shows an overlap between the disorders, but it is not meant to illustrate the exact extent of this overlap. As described above, psychopaths may exhibit behaviour consistent with anti-social personality disorder (the area of cross-over between psychopathy and anti-social personality disorder in the Venn diagram), such as interpersonal violence

Table 35 Comparison of the criteria for psychopathy, anti-social personality disorder and dissocial personality

Psychopathy (PCL-R; Hare 1991)	Anti-social personality disorder (American Psychiatric Association 1994)	Dissocial personality (World Health Organization 1990)
Interpersonal aspects Glibness/superficial charm Grandiose sense		
of self-worth		
Pathological lying	Deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases	
Conning/manipulative	Conning others	
Affective aspects		
Lack of remorse or guilt	Lack of remorse as indicated by indifference to, or rationa- lising of, having hurt, mistre- ated or stolen from another	Incapacity for guilt and to profit from experience or punishment
Shallow affect/emotion Failure to accept responsibility for actions		Marked proneness to blame others or give rationalisations for conflict behaviour
Cold/callous/lack of empathy		Callous unconcern for others' feelings/lack of empathy
Lifestyle aspects		
Need for excitement Parasitic lifestyle		
Impulsivity Irresponsibility	Impulsivity/failure to plan ahead Consistent irresponsibility as indicated by persistent failure to work or honour financial obligations	Gross and persistent irresponsibility
Lack of realistic	oongarions	
long-term goals Promiscuous sexual behaviour		Incapacity to maintain enduring relationships
Many short-term marital relationships		r
Anti-social aspects		
Poor behavioural control	Irritability and aggressiveness as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults	Persistent irritability; low threshold for aggression and violence
Early behavioural		
problems Juvenile delinquency	Evidence of conduct disorder before the age of 15	
Revocation of	before the age of 10	
conditional release Criminal versatility	Failure to conform to social norms/lawful behaviour	Disregard for social norms

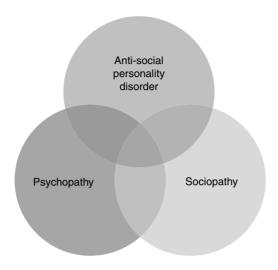


Figure 13 Clinical model of personality disorders

(Blair et al. 2006). These anti-social people would tend to be classed as criminal psychopaths, the most studied group of psychopaths.

Other psychopaths do not exhibit such anti-social behaviour, and these people could be called successful psychopaths or Corporate Psychopaths. They have not been the subject of much research as they are passed over by many psychopathy measures that rely on anti-social markers to identify psychopaths (Benning et al. 2003).

Psychotics

Psychotics are people suffering from a mental disorder which has made them lose touch with reality (Davidson et al. 1998). In everyday parlance, they are mad rather than bad. They are not the same as psychopaths, although rarely the two disorders may co-exist in one individual, in which case, being mad and bad, they really would be dangerous to know. In this latter case the person would probably exhibit symptoms such as irrational violence that would preclude their rise to any leadership position.

However, there is some confusion over these definitions between lawyers and psychologists; for example, in the UK legal system psychopathic disorder is defined by the 1983 Mental Health Act as a persistent disorder or disability of mind which results in abnormally aggressive

behaviour or seriously irresponsible conduct (Thomas-Peter 1991). This UK legal definition appears to be more in line with the North American condition of anti-social personality disorder than with the North American description of psychopathy.

Sociopaths and sociopathy

While some US psychologists appear to use the terms 'psychopath' and 'sociopath' interchangeably (Stout 2005b), others make an important distinction between the two. Sociopaths are defined by these latter psychologists as those people who display socially deviant behaviour because of the way they have been socialised in their environment, which could be a result of growing up in a criminal family, for example, or in the society of criminal peers. In this case the usual norms of society have not been taught or learned (Vaughn & Howard 2005). Instead, the attitudes and behaviours of their criminal subculture have been learned, and these are deemed normal within that subculture but not within wider society. Such a person is treatable because they can be taught what the usual norms are and shown the harmful effects of their actions on others, because they have a conscience and a normal capacity for guilt and empathy. It is their behaviour that needs to be modified via learning the values of society.

Sociopathy is thus an anti-social orientation which results from environmental, socio-cultural and familial factors which are modified by an individual's personality. Psychopathy, on the other hand, is more deeply rooted in an individual's core personality as affected by their environmental, socio-cultural and familial backgrounds (Vaughn & Howard 2005). Sociopaths, who are defined as people who have been socialised into behaviour which is considered immoral or anti-social, may also be psychopathic, but most have a conscience and so would not be classed as psychopathic in this book or by leading researchers into psychopathy such as Hare. People with anti-social personality disorder may be anti-social because they are psychopathic or sociopathic or for some other reason such as being psychotic or as a reaction to early-stage parental rejection (Meloy 2002).

Acquired sociopathy (acquired psychopathy)

The term 'acquired sociopathy' was introduced to characterise people who became aggressive, unemotional and callous after physical damage to the orbitofrontal cortex of the brain (Benning, Patrick & Iacono 2005; Blair 2001; Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996). They are less likely to display autonomic responses to visual emotional stimuli and have problems in curtailing their violent responses (Blair 2001). Researchers report that these people, having suffered physical brain damage in the area of the orbitofrontal cortex due to strokes, accidents or neurological disease, for example, display such behavioural characteristics as high levels of aggressiveness, lack of concern for social and moral rules, emotional blunting and irresponsibility (Ciaramelli et al. 2007).

They are also more likely to judge moral violations as acceptable behaviour than non-damaged people are. After frontal lobe injury these people display socially inappropriate behaviour and aggressive behaviour which is described as psychopathic-like (Weber et al. 2008).

This research into people with localised brain damage suggests that psychologists conducting research into the role of the ventromedial frontal cortex in psychopathy are looking at the appropriate areas of the brain in their research. Further, it implies that their hypothesis that a neurological factor is present in terms of the origins of psychopathy is at least partially correct. These findings highlight the neurological aspects of psychopathy, and while they are relevant to the debate about its possible origins, they are not what this chapter is about, other than to note that the present trend in psychopathy research is into neurological investigation (Vien & Beech 2006).

However, it can be argued that this definition of 'acquired sociopathy' should more correctly be termed, or is more in line with the term, 'acquired psychopathy' because the syndrome is physically acquired (through brain damage) rather than acquired through socialisation (Blair & Cipolotti 2000). The brain damage is thought to interfere with the executive emotional system of the brain that allows control over appropriate responses to threats (Blair 2001).

The condition of acquired sociopathy is extremely rare. However, an examination shows that psychologists and psychiatrists are again not consistent in their definitions of conditions.

Narcissists and narcissism

The concept of narcissism, originally developed by Freud, comes from the myth of Narcissus, a beautiful young man who spurned the affection of various nymphs and was fated by a goddess to fall into unrequited love (Freud 1914; Holme 1981). He fell in love with his own reflection in a pool of water. Unable to draw himself away from his own beautiful image, he died of starvation and turned into a white and purple flower (Holme 1981). Since Freud coined the term, a narcissist has been regarded as someone who loves themselves too much for their own good (Kansi 2003).

Like other work in psychology, research into narcissism is said to suffer from a lack of conceptual clarity (Kansi 2003). However, psychologists generally differentiate between people with narcissistic traits, which are deemed to be commonly present in a normal population, and those who suffer from narcissistic personality disorder. The latter are people who are narcissistic in a maladaptive and extreme manner. They are said to be arrogant and aggressive in terms of their personality styles (Alwin et al. 2006).

Narcissists are people who are concerned with displaying and acknowledging their own talent and brilliance and who have a desire to be admired and acknowledged to the exclusion of others around them (Goldman 2006). People with high levels of narcissism are arrogant, self-centred, duplicitous and self-enhancing, and they have a sense of superiority over others (Nathanson, Williams & Paulhus 2006). They are said to be exhibitionist and exploitative and to have dominant personalities (MacNeil & Holden 2006).

One group of researchers identified narcissists as people characterised by being grandiose; having fantasies of ideal love, perfect beauty or unlimited or unrealistic success; idealising or devaluing other people; having a sense of entitlement or displaying interpersonal exploitativeness; lacking empathy; being oversensitive to criticism and having a need for attention or admiration (Shulman, McCarthy & Ferguson 1988). Narcissists are said to lack human values, to be self-absorbed and to have a need to control others, as well as to make management decisions that are not in the best interests of organisations, their employees or other stakeholders (Holian 2006).

While psychopathy measures correlate positively with both narcissistic personality disorder and anti-social personality disorder, there are some differences among these (Sandoval et al. 2000). A psychopath differs from a person classed as a narcissistic personality type because, according to clinical psychologists (Stout 2005b), narcissists do have emotions and feelings, and thus a conscience, and are therefore bothered by their own behaviour. Psychopaths, on the other hand, with their lack of emotions (Nadis 1995; Stout 2005a) or conscience, are not troubled by their own behaviour (Tamayo & Raymond 1977).

Narcissism can be identified using the Narcissistic Personality Inventory, which contains forty forced-choice items and is considered the standard measure of subclinical narcissism (Nathanson, Williams &

Paulhus 2006). The Narcissistic Personality Inventory measures persistent attention-seeking, extreme vanity, excessive self-focus and exploitativeness in personal relationships (Jakobwitz & Egan 2005). Narcissistic leaders are reported to be charismatic and to be able to inspire their followers but are also poor listeners who are nevertheless sensitive to criticism, whereas psychopaths are not sensitive to criticism (Maccoby 2000). Both types lack empathy with others, and both thrive in chaotic times, but narcissistic leaders often want to change their personalities because they know that their behaviour is unacceptable or hurtful to others and they want to be liked (Stout 2005b). Psychopaths could not care less about hurting others and have been shown, for example, not to take the pain of others into account when making moral judgements (Blair et al. 1995) and even to get a thrill from hurting others (Clarke 2005).

Further, psychopaths see no reason to change their personalities. Narcissists have grandiose but unstable concepts of themselves, together with an inflated sense of entitlement and a tendency towards establishing their superiority (Cale & Lilienfeld 2006). They can have fantasies of ideal love, whereas psychopaths have an incapacity for love or deep emotions (Benning et al. 2003). Researchers found that psychopathy was more strongly related to aggressive responses than narcissism was (Cale & Lilienfeld 2006). Hare says that psychopaths have a narcissistic view of their own importance but combine this with other characteristics such as manipulativeness, ruthlessness and a lack of conscience or emotion to make up a personality which has many more different facets than narcissism (Hare 1994).

One research study hypothesised that narcissism may be more associated with females than with males (Frick, Bodin & Barry 2000), although this has not been noted by other researchers. However, it is usually agreed that psychopathy is more evident among males than among females (Clarke 2005) and that these overlapping but separate constructs may just possibly be gender related in ways that have not yet been fully explored.

Machiavellians and Machiavellianism

Machiavellianism has commonalities with corporate psychopathy in that it has no reference to moral standards and promotes the idea that the end justifies the means. It also advocates a cynical, political approach to management, including the use of a fraudulent persona when necessary (entailing the use of apparent honesty, charm and tact to gain advantage) and the use of force if necessary as a means to achieve desired ends (McGuire & Hutchings 2006). Machiavellianism is thus defined by the presence of high levels of manipulative behaviour in a personality and is based on Christie's selection of personality attributes from Niccolò Machiavelli's books and subsequently refined into a twenty-point measure of personality (Paulhus & Williams 2002; Schepers 2003; Singhapakdi & Vitell 1992).

Machiavelli was a sixteenth-century Italian political strategist who based his writings on observations of his patron, Cesare Borgia. Machiavelli advocated the use of power as a tool, recommending that leaders be ruthless like a lion and cunning like a fox (Allio 2007).

On the basis of Machiavelli's writings, Christie characterised a Machiavellian as someone who lacks concern with conventional morality, is without interpersonal affect and gross psychopathology, and has a low ideological commitment, who is willing and able to manipulate others through any means, including the use of deceit (McHoskey, Worzel & Szvarto 1998).

Machiavellianism is thus the name for the ruthless and selfish approach which was advocated by Machiavelli in his treatise The Prince (McGuire & Hutchings 2006). This definition of Machiavellianism does not imply a lack of conscience, as displayed by psychopaths, but it has broad similarities to many definitions of psychopathy. Machiavellians pursue strategies that promote self-interest, using deception, flattery and emotional detachment to manipulate and exploit social and interpersonal relationships for their own ends (Jakobwitz & Egan 2005). Machiavellianism has also been described as a strategy of socially manipulating other people for personal gain (MacNeil & Holden 2006).

The measure for Machiavellianism is referred to as the Machiavellian or 'Mach' Scale and is scored on a six-point Likert scale to give a range of possible scores from 40 to 160 (Schepers 2003). High 'Machs' tend to detach themselves from ethical considerations and to manipulate and use others to profit themselves (Schepers 2003).

Earlier researchers claimed that there is such an overlap between Machiavellianism and psychopathy that they are essentially the same construct (McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto 1998). However, according to McHoskey, academic interest in Machiavellianism peaked in 1982, whereas it is evident that research into psychopathy continues apace, and this theme of the two constructs being essentially the same has been sidelined by researchers as they concentrate on the reliability and validity of psychopathy measures. McHoskey and colleagues reported that the two areas of research (Machiavellianism and psychopathy) were being explored in two different areas of psychology and clinical practice and that while hundreds of papers had been produced on each subject, only five papers linked the two constructs (McHoskey, Worzel & Szvarto 1998).

Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy have been described as the 'dark triad' of malevolent personalities by Paulhus and Williams. Referring to earlier research they cite evidence for the overlap of Machiavellianism with psychopathy, the overlap of narcissism with psychopathy, and the overlap of Machiavellianism with narcissism (Paulhus & Williams 2002). They wanted to test whether the overlap was total (i.e. that the three constructs were equivalent). They therefore measured the three constructs among a sample of 245 undergraduate psychology students in one university in the USA. This methodology has obvious limitations in terms of the ability to generalise from such a convenience sample of respondents to the wider adult population. Paulhus and Williams then mapped the three measures against other measures of the 'big five' personality factors – extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism and openness – as well as against ratings of intelligence and of self over-claiming of talents and abilities.

They found that while the three constructs overlapped considerably, the maximum intercorrelation was 0.50, between narcissism and psychopathy, which means that they cannot be considered equivalent measures. The intercorrelation between Machiavellianism and psychopathy was 0.31, and that between narcissism and Machiavellianism was 0.25 (Paulhus & Williams 2002). Jakobwitz and Egan claim that there is more overlap than Paulhus and Williams found among the three constructs of Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy, but their research was based on a relatively small sample size (Jakobwitz & Egan 2005). On the basis of Paulhus and Williams' research and a reading of the limited amount of other literature on this subject, another Venn diagram can be drawn for the constructs of Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy (Figure 14). As this is based on the research of business academics writing on dysfunctional leadership it has been labelled the 'dysfunctional leadership model of personality disorders'. It is meant to show that the constructs overlap, but not the exact extent of the overlap, which is subject to continued debate.

It can be hypothesised that some personalities would be more likely to achieve leadership position than others. This is summarised in Table 36. Corporate Psychopaths have the ruthlessness, charm and cunning to get to the top of any organisation they are in. They ruthlessly get rid of any opposition. Machiavellians might also get there, but they

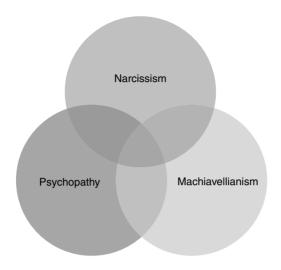


Figure 14 Dysfunctional leadership model of personality disorders

might not quite make it because they lack the total ruthlessness of a Corporate Psychopath. Narcissists may always be too obviously egotistical to get promoted unopposed. Criminal psychopaths and sociopaths, and those with anti-social personality disorder and dissocial personality, might be too noticeably and overtly aggressive to be promoted. Finally, psychotics are probably just too obviously delusional to rise far in organisations.

Conclusions

These personality disorders that leaders might possess are not mutually exclusive or discrete, and may overlap. They influence the effectiveness of a leader and therefore the type of change that leader might instigate. Hopefully, this chapter is at least a start to the disambiguation of the current descriptions of personality disorders in the psychological and management literature. Summary definitions of the different personality disorders that leaders may possess are given below.

Corporate Psychopaths

A Corporate Psychopath is a white-collar psychopath who can present themselves as a typical extroverted and charismatic leader, charm their way into organisations and strategically manipulate their way to the

Table 36 Theoretical likelihood of toxic personalities attaining leadership positions

Toxic personality classification	Rationale for theoretical position	
Theoretically most likely to attain leadership positions		
Corporate Psychopaths	Their lack of conscience makes them the most ruthless of these personalities. Charm and social and political skills ensure their smooth progression through the organisational hierarchy. Power, prestige and money are what they seek above all else.	
Machiavellians	Ruthless political skills ensure their smooth progression through the organisational hierarchy. Power is their aim.	
Narcissists	Belief in their own superior abilities and self-promotion draw attention to these people. Power and the desire to be admired for their high social standing are their aims, but they also want people to like them.	
Sociopaths Psychopaths Anti-social personalities Dissocial personalities	Their desire to control and hurt others aggressively may be too noticeable to enable them to rise very high in an organisation. A criminal history may also be a barrier to employment.	
Theoretically least lik	sely to attain leadership positions	
Psychotics	Delusional behaviour would be too noticeable to ignore, precluding their acceptance into or promotion within organisations.	

top leadership positions. Typically without conscience, they dispose of colleagues and patrons when these people are superseded and no longer needed.

Machiavellians

A Machiavellian is a corporate schemer who ascends an organisational hierarchy through adroit and calculated political manoeuvring, ruthless exploitation of others and dedicated self-promotion. Unlike psychopaths, Machiavellians may have a conscience.

Narcissists

A narcissist is a person who is so in love with their own abilities and so convinced of their own superiority that they are able to persuade others

of this as well and to rise accordingly in organisations. Unlike psychopaths, they want to be liked by those around them.

Psychopaths

A psychopath is a person with no conscience who takes pleasure in ruthlessly hurting, controlling and manipulating other people for their own amusement. Psychopaths from anti-social or less socially advantaged backgrounds typically end up in jail or institutionalised. Psychopaths from more socially advantaged backgrounds may escape detection and become successful psychopaths or Corporate Psychopaths.

Anti-social personalities

A person with an anti-social personality displays, from an early age, a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of other people, and an inability or unwillingness to conform to what are considered the usual rules of society.

Dissocial personalities

A person with a dissocial personality is callous and has a disregard for social norms, an incapacity for guilt and a low threshold for violence.

Sociopaths

A sociopath is a person who has been socialised, by exposure to and influence from deviant or criminal subcultural norms, into behaving in a psychopathic and typically ruthless and highly inconsiderate or violent manner towards other people.

Psychotics

A psychotic is a person who is delusional or insane.

Implications for further research

Research which further clarified and definitively explained the differences among the disorders in the clinical model of personality disorders (Figure 13) would be useful. Similarly, research which clarified and definitively explained the differences among the disorders in the dysfunctional leadership model of personality disorders (Figure 14) would also help our understanding of this area. Research into what proportions of managers are Corporate Psychopaths, narcissists and Machiavellians would be illuminating for understanding the extent to

which the current epidemic of poor leadership is attributable to managers with dysfunctional personalities.

Machiavellianism was a relatively well-researched area of management, and Machiavellians have similarities to Corporate Psychopaths, as discussed in this chapter. This implies that leaders with personality disorders are of interest to management researchers, and therefore that research into the influence of Corporate Psychopaths on organisational outcomes would also be of interest. Past studies into the areas of management and Machiavellianism could probably be usefully replicated for corporate psychopathy. For example, it would be interesting to investigate whether certain types of employee have higher corporate psychopathy scores than others. Similarly, it would be interesting to examine whether certain professional groups contain more Corporate Psychopaths than other organisational groups. Do social workers, for example, exhibit lower corporate psychopathy scores than corporate bankers, or accountants compared with purchasing managers? Such studies yielded interesting findings in relation to Machiavellianism and would probably also do so in relation to Corporate Psychopaths.

It would be interesting to research the extent, if any, to which dysfunctional leaders tend to cluster together. On the basis of the theoretical distribution of toxic personalities in corporations outlined in this chapter, it may be that Corporate Psychopaths reach corporate leadership positions. They may be surrounded by lieutenants who are Machiavellians and too ruthless and wedded to power to want to challenge the unconscionable decisions of the Corporate Psychopaths. Below these Machiavellians may be narcissistic managers who also do not challenge unethical decisions because they want their bosses to like them and they want power. Thus, the whole corporation might go bad from the top down.

14

The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis

Professor Robert Hare has said that if he didn't look for psychopaths to study in prisons he would look for them in stock exchanges. Recent newspaper headlines such as 'Wall Street Shows No Remorse' and concerning financial scams on a huge scale do nothing to suggest that his viewpoint is incorrect. Hare has repeatedly drawn attention to the possible damage that Corporate Psychopaths could cause in major organisations and financial institutions (Hare 1999a). Some of this damage has been illuminated by the research presented in this book; other damage is merely hypothesised about at the moment, as discussed below.

This chapter is short, but it is important because it discusses significant ways in which Corporate Psychopaths may have acted recently. As discussed above, psychologists have argued that psychopaths within organisations may be singled out for rapid promotion because of their polish, charm and cool decisiveness. Expert commentators on the rise of psychopaths within modern corporations have also hypothesised that they are more likely to be found at the top of current organisations than at the bottom and, further, that if this is the case, the phenomenon will have dire consequences for the organisations concerned and for the societies in which those organisations are based. Since this prediction of dire consequences was made, the global financial crisis has come about.

Research in the USA by Babiak and Hare, in the UK by Board and Fritzon, and in Australia (presented in this book) has shown that the incidence of psychopaths is greater at the senior levels of organisations than at the junior levels. There is also some evidence that they may tend to join certain types of organisations rather than others and that,

for example, large financial organisations may be attractive to them because of the potential rewards on offer.

These Corporate Psychopaths are charming individuals who, possibly because of brain connectivity and chemistry factors, have no conscience and have been able to enter modern corporations and other organisations and rise quickly and largely undetected within them because of their relatively chaotic nature. The nature of the modern corporation is characterised by rapid change, constant renewal and rapid turnover of key personnel. These changing conditions make psychopaths hard to spot because constant movement makes their behaviour invisible, and their extroverted personal charisma and charm make them appear normal and even to be ideal leaders.

The knowledge that psychopaths are to be found at the top of organisations and seem to favour working with other people's money in large financial organisations has, in turn, led to the development of the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis – that Corporate Psychopaths, rising to key senior positions within the modern corporation where they are able to influence the moral climate of the whole organisation and wield considerable power, have largely caused the crisis.

In these senior corporate positions, Corporate Psychopaths' single-minded pursuit of their own enrichment and self-aggrandisement to the exclusion of all other considerations has led to an abandon-ment of the old-fashioned concept of *noblesse oblige* and of any real notion of corporate social responsibility. The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is that changes in the way people are employed have facilitated the rise of Corporate Psychopaths to senior positions and that their personal greed in those positions has created the crisis.

Before the last third of the twentieth century, large corporations were relatively stable and the idea of a job for life was evident, with employees slowly rising through the corporate ranks until they reached a position beyond which they were not qualified by education, intellect or ability to go. In such a stable, hierarchical, slowly changing environment employees got to know each other very well, and Corporate Psychopaths would have been noticeable and identifiable as undesirable managers because of their personality and ethical defects, which would gradually be noticed over longitudinal periods of time by other employees. Changing companies mid-career was seen as questionable and inadvisable, and their rise would therefore have been blocked both within their original company and with external employers, who would question

their reasons for changing jobs. However, once corporate takeovers and the resultant corporate changes, involving such activities as asset stripping, corporate streamlining and the shedding of non-core business activities, started to accelerate, exacerbated by globalisation and a rapidly changing technological environment, corporate stability began to disintegrate. Jobs for life disappeared, stability lessened, job security decreased and, not surprisingly, employees' commitment to their employers also lowered accordingly. Job switching first became understandable and acceptable, and then even became common, and employees increasingly found themselves working for unfamiliar organisations and with other people they did not know very well.

Rapid movements in key personnel between corporations compared with the relatively slower movements in organisational productivity and success made it increasingly difficult to identify corporate success with any particular manager. Failures were not noticed until it was too late and the offending managers had already moved on to better positions elsewhere. With this relatively rapid job turnover, successes at work could equally be claimed by those who had nothing to do with them. Success could thus be claimed by those with the loudest voice, the biggest audience, the most influence and the best political skills. Corporate Psychopaths have these attributes.

In this way the whole corporate and employment environment changed from a stable one that would hold Corporate Psychopaths in check to one characterised by fluidity and change, where they could operate relatively unknown and undetected, and where they could flourish and advance relatively unopposed. As evidence of this, seniorlevel remuneration and rewards started to increase more and more rapidly and beyond all proportion to shop-floor incomes, and a culture of greed unfettered by conscience developed. Corporate Psychopaths are ideally situated in such an environment, and corporate fraud, greed and misbehaviour increased markedly, bringing down huge companies and culminating in the global financial crisis we are now in.

In 2005, I predicted that the rise of Corporate Psychopaths was a recipe for corporate and societal disaster. This disaster has now happened and is still happening. Across the western world, the symptoms of the financial crisis are now being treated. However, if the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is correct, treatment of the symptoms will have little effect, because the root cause is not being addressed.

The very same Corporate Psychopaths who probably caused the crisis by their self-seeking greed and avarice are now advising governments

on how to get out of the crisis. The fact that this involves paying themselves vast bonuses in the midst of financial hardship for many millions of others is symptomatic of the problem. Further, if the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is correct, we are far from the end of the crisis. Indeed, this is only the end of the beginning. Perhaps more than ever before, the world needs corporate leaders with a conscience. It does not need Corporate Psychopaths. Measures exist to identify Corporate Psychopaths. Perhaps it is time to use them.

Conclusions

The message that psychopaths are to be found in corporations and other organisations may be important for the longevity of western capitalism, for corporate and social justice and even for long-term global financial stability. Stemming from this belief that the message concerning psychopaths is important, one aim of this book has been to make the work that psychologists have been doing on psychopathy, and on 'successful psychopaths' in particular, more widely known to management researchers and managers themselves.

Implications for further research

The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis would benefit from further development and research. This research could be into the personalities and aptitude for moral reasoning of the leaders of the financial institutions that are most associated with the global financial crisis.

15

Ethical Issues Involving Corporate Psychopaths

This chapter proposes that the actions of Corporate Psychopaths can pose various ethical problems for corporations and for society at large because of the ruthless, selfish and conscience-free approach to life that Corporate Psychopaths have. There are also ethical issues relating to their moral accountability as individuals and to the possibility of screening employees for psychopathic traits.

In terms of the implications for organisational leadership, Batory and his colleagues found that ethical practices were a positive function of top management, so the presence of managers without ethics (such as Corporate Psychopaths) means there are no ethical practices present in organisations (Batory et al. 2005). Another researcher points out that in the USA most employees who leave their companies do so for reasons related to their bosses and how they behave, and so the existence of Corporate Psychopaths within an organisation may have important implications for the ability of an organisation to keep good staff (Cooper 2000). Researchers have found that organisations are reflections of their top managers, including the functional backgrounds and experience of those people, which partially determine how they relate to organisational problems (Thomas & Simerly 1994). The study of the personalities of top managers, including their ethical and moral characteristics, is therefore of interest to management researchers and scholars.

From the research presented in this book it is evident that the Corporate Psychopaths who end up in senior management and organisational leadership positions will have a destructive impact on other employees, corporate ethics, society, the environment and the organisation itself.

One ethical question is whether society chooses to allow such ruthless people with no conscience to wield the enormous organisational power that large modern corporations hold. If society does allow this, corporate ethics and any notion of corporate social responsibility will not flourish, environmental degradation will continue and the greedy pursuit of personal wealth at the expense of everyone else will not stop.

The ethics of screening for psychopathy in management and leadership

Recently, calls have been made to screen for immoral, dysfunctional, psychopathic and bullying managers in order to protect organisations, other employees and society from their effects (Boddy 2005b; Singh 2008; Spindel 2008). One problem with this is that psychopaths are described as extroverted, popular, likeable and confidence-inspiring (Ray & Ray 1982). This logically makes them difficult to detect on first encounter. However, a management research tool for the identification of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths within organisations now exists, the Psychopathy Measure–Management Research Version (PM-MRV). This tool is based on the essential elements of commonly used psychopathy measures as described by numerous psychologists, and it has been shown to have good levels of statistical reliability, internal and external validity, and face validity in use in management research (Boddy 2009).

In terms of the responsibility of human resources departments for hiring Corporate Psychopaths, one influential writer on leadership says that those accountable for bad leadership are those who appoint the bad leaders (Allio 2007). Destructive leadership is the proper concern of academics, say researchers, and this includes the study of leaders who strive for personal gains over organisational ones (Harvey et al. 2007).

There are ethical issues relating to not protecting employees from Corporate Psychopaths. Clarke, in his book *Working with Monsters*, describes the adverse emotional, psychological and financial effects that Corporate Psychopaths can have on the people working around them, and he reminds employers that they have a duty of care to protect their workforce from harm (Clarke 2005). This duty includes providing protection from the effects of working with psychopaths, Clarke says, and this has obvious legal implications. On the other hand other researchers have noted that if a dysfunctional leader presents a danger to themselves or to those with whom they work, this can override any right to confidentiality they may have as a subject of research (Goldman 2006).

Obviously, then, there are ethical issues involved with both identifying and not identifying psychopaths in the workplace. As a precautionary note, Hare warns that even experts can be taken in by psychopaths and that great care needs to be taken in identifying them and dealing with them (Hare 1999a). In particular, their total ruthlessness should be borne in mind at all times.

The ethical implications of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in management and leadership positions

If ethical practices are a positive function of top management, then top management influences whether ethical practices are followed, and obviously if top management has Corporate Psychopaths in its ranks then the likelihood of it exhibiting ethical behaviour as an example to lower employees is much reduced. On the contrary, their unethical and bullying behaviour may well act as blueprints for lower employees to copy, creating a unethical corporate environment.

Much research evidence exists which suggests that organisational members are influenced in their assessment of what is right and what is wrong by their leaders and superiors (Hegerty & Sims 1978). If those superiors are incapable of moral reasoning and routinely make immoral decisions, this influence will logically be a malign one. Unethical leaders create unethical followers by example. Unethical followers create unethical companies, and various stakeholders, including society, can suffer as a result.

Corporate Psychopaths are particularly prone to making unethical choices, and it is in this area that corporate managers have to be vigilant. Corporate Psychopaths are willing to lie and manipulate others to get what they want, and corporate managers need to be aware of this and aware that not everyone in any given organisation is a moral being or capable of making moral choices.

Cui and Choudhury have recommended that companies should conduct a formal ethical review of business plans before they are put into place (Cui & Choudhury 2003). They recommend that the review body should consist of company executives and should include consumer representation. In the light of current knowledge about Corporate Psychopaths this suggestion may be considered a practical and appropriate one. Such an ethical review body would help ensure that ethical issues were given the consideration that most managers would want them to have.

The ethics of holding Corporate Psychopaths responsible for their unethical decisions and actions

In terms of holding psychopaths responsible for their immoral actions, philosophers are still debating the issue, with some saving that psychopaths do not lack knowledge of what they are doing at the intellectual level and so can be held responsible, and others claiming that their lack of choice about being psychopaths means they cannot be held responsible at a moral level (Matravers 2008). The issue of whether psychopaths can be held fully morally and legally responsible for their own actions is thus yet to be fully resolved.

Currently, the majority opinion is that psychopaths know enough about what they are doing, especially at a rational level if not at an emotional one, to be held responsible. They cannot therefore claim a defence of insanity for any of their actions because they are not so severely impaired in their moral reasoning that they do not know what they are doing (Glannon 1997). Indeed, in one of three existing cases in the US legal system before 2004 in which the PCL-R was used to help determine a plea of insanity, a high score was used to try to show that the defendant was faking insanity rather than actually insane (DeMatteo & Edens 2006).

Differences between legal and psychological assessments of what constitutes severe impairment in moral reasoning are recognised to exist. Lawyers determine guilt on the basis of the view that people are autonomous moral agents who can be held morally and so criminally responsible for their own actions, while psychologists argue that people are not as free to make moral choices as lawyers believe (Alwin et al. 2006).

However, it can be argued that psychopaths know what the norms of society are, even if their pathological egocentricity means that they have no respect for them. Further, they are capable of weighing up evidence and deciding on rational courses of action (Glannon 1997). They may have an impairment in their capacity to feel emotions and so in their capacity to empathise with others. Further, they may have a deficit in their capacity to take the feelings of others into account. However, they do have free will, are not forced to act in any particular way and are not ignorant of the circumstances in which they act. Moral philosophers therefore conclude that they are morally responsible for their own behaviour (Glannon 1997).

In terms of moral reasoning skills, in a review of the literature Blair states that there is no clear evidence one way or the other in terms of whether psychopaths have lower moral reasoning skills than non-psychopaths (Blair et al. 1995). Other commentators, mainly reporting on criminal psychopaths, suggest that because psychopaths have difficulty in seeing how their actions affect relationships they should be classed under some degree of legally diminished responsibility, but say that this does not mean that members of the public should not be protected from the actions of psychopaths by, for example, keeping them institutionalised (Ciocchetti 2003a; Ciocchetti 2003b).

Responding to these articles by Ciocchetti, one lawyer points out that psychopaths are not going to be classed under some degree of legally diminished responsibility under existing Anglo-American laws and that society would not tolerate not punishing psychopathic offenders for their offences (Shulman 2003).

Another commentator, again replying to the Ciocchetti articles, states that a key test of responsibility is the presence or absence of free will to act, which psychopaths appear to have, but that the interpersonal deficiencies of psychopaths at least raise some ethical questions about their punishment (Benn 2003). Yet another commentator on the Ciocchetti articles points out that although psychopaths may have diminished affective capacities, this does not mean that they have no thoughts about their actions or that they experience them as meaningless (Adshead 2003).

In a review of legal cases involving the PCL-R, researchers state that a high PCL-R score generally does not, of itself, meet the standard for insanity, but they note that there is nothing about psychopathy that rules out the presence of other factors, such as psychosis, that impact whether someone understands the wrongfulness or meaning of their actions (DeMatteo & Edens 2006). In other words, some people may be both bad and mad at the same time, a highly unfortunate coincidence for the rest of us. Blair and colleagues discuss whether psychopaths are morally insane and argue that if psychopaths act the way they do because they lack specific cognitive mechanisms such as what Blair and colleagues calls the Violence Inhibition Mechanism, then their responsibility for their actions may be diminished (Blair et al. 1995). They define the Violence Inhibition Mechanism as a mechanism whereby subjects cease aggressive actions in reaction to the observed distress cues of their victims, much as an attacking dog will cease attacking another dog that submits by exposing its throat to the attacker (Blair et al. 1995). However, the existence of the Violence Inhibition Mechanism in humans is far from proven, and, further, whether psychopaths have the mechanism is also far from proven, so this line of research is inconclusive at best as it currently stands.

As previously mentioned, according to Robert Hare society is forever doomed to be the victim of psychopaths unless it can identify them (Hare 1994). Similarly, if society cannot identify the corporations that are run by Corporate Psychopaths, it is also doomed to be their victim – but on a much larger scale because of the huge resources and power that these Corporate Psychopaths can manipulate through the corporations that they control.

Psychopaths are said to be largely able to succeed in corporations because their colleagues are unaware that such people with no conscience are working among them (Deutschman 2005). Creating an awareness among organisational managers that psychopaths exist is thus a good first step in attempting to stem the destruction that these people cause in organisations (Clarke 2005). A management research tool in the form of an identification instrument for the presence of Corporate Psychopaths now exists in the Psychopathy Measure–Management Research Version (PM-MRV). This is based on dictionary definitions of psychopathy and on some of the world's most commonly used psychological instruments for identifying psychopaths and relies on the reports of fellow employees. This research tool can be used to identify when psychopathy is present in corporate management. If necessary, psychologists can then use more precise tools, such as Hare's PCL-R, for identifying individual psychopaths.

Various ethical issues are raised by this, and further research could investigate ways in which organisations can ethically and effectively screen for such psychopathic behaviours. Qualitative research could also investigate the impact of Corporate Psychopaths on other employees and strategies for dealing with them in the workplace.

Limitations of the research

Although every effort was made to ensure that respondents came from a wide variety of management and professional organisations and associations, the main survey presented here was not a truly random sample of white-collar workers in Australia, which would have made the findings representative of the whole population. The research was conducted among workers who had chosen to pursue postgraduate business qualifications or attend the meetings of various professional and business organisations in Australia. One limitation of the research thus concerned its external validity, sometimes referred to as its population validity – the extent to which generalisations to the population of interest as a whole can be made on the basis of the sample collected.

My respondents may not be representative of the general population of Australian workers. This limits the ability to generalise from the findings. Funding for truly representative research is therefore called for.

Further ethical issues in the research

As discussed, there are complex ethical issues involved in identifying psychopaths and also in not identifying Corporate Psychopaths in organisations. Clarke discusses how the behaviour of Corporate Psychopaths can adversely affect the career progression, emotional and mental health, and economic well-being of other people in an organisation (Clarke 2005).

Clarke comments that because corporations have a duty of care to their employees, they are probably legally obliged to protect their employees from the malevolent and disruptive behaviour of Corporate Psychopaths (Clarke 2005).

Corporate Psychopaths influence organisations, and through them influence society as well. In terms of the ethics of identifying Corporate Psychopaths, some countries have laws to prevent discrimination against people with mental health problems (Clarke 2005). If Corporate Psychopaths are categorised as a subset of psychopaths, then the identification of them as Corporate Psychopaths and the exclusion of them from employment or promotion opportunities may become ethically problematic or even illegal.

Ethical issues will have to be addressed in any future research into identifying people who might be being prone to unethical behaviour (Boddy, Galvin & Ladyshewsky 2009). At the very least, ensuring respondent and subject anonymity should go some way towards resolving these ethical issues. Ethical issues for human resources departments in potentially screening for Corporate Psychopaths in their hiring practices might be even more problematic than those for academic business researchers. Issues of misdiagnosis, informed consent and the reliability, validity and legal standing of the psychopathy measures used would have to be addressed.

Corporate Psychopaths who have not overtly or identifiably acted on their ruthless impulses may come to be penalised if they are identified as such before they have acted unethically, immorally, ruthlessly or illegally. This raises ethical issues as to how Corporate Psychopaths should be treated, because acting in any way that biases their chances would seem to be contrary to the concept of natural justice and to the laws of some countries. However, it can be argued that merely passively monitoring their behaviour for its ethical, legal or moral content would not impinge on their rights as managers or employees.

Academic researchers in this area would have to ensure that the usual levels of respondent and subject anonymity and confidentiality were enforced in any research on the influence of Corporate Psychopaths so as not to cause harm to individual respondents or to those on whom those respondents report. As a part of the ethical dimension to such research, Hare discusses the potentially destructive potential of a misdiagnosis of psychopathy for an individual and cautions against non-psychologists becoming involved in such diagnoses (Hare 1999a). However, he also catalogues the destructive and manipulative behaviours in which psychopaths involve themselves to try to further their own interests. There are obviously strong ethical issues surrounding this topic, and management researchers will have to tread carefully in studying this further.

The research presented in this book was collected both anonymously and confidentially and was approved by the ethics committee of the researcher's university.

Overall conclusions

The research presented in this book suggests that Corporate Psychopaths are a major cause of organisational destruction in many ways. Modern organisations inadvertently look for them when hiring new employees and favour them in the selection procedures used. They gain promotion on the basis of a false persona, work they have not really done and success they have not really achieved. Their presence reduces job satisfaction among others and causes good employees to withdraw from organisations, thereby diluting the effectiveness of the human resource available to the organisation. They create conflict and bullying out of all proportion to their small numbers. They use organisational rules to their own advantage and to control other employees, and they amplify any existing organisational constraints and thereby lower productivity. They reduce perceptions of corporate social responsibility and thus the attractiveness of organisations to ethical employees. They increase the workload of others by their parasitic and disruptive behaviour in the workplace.

Despite this extensive catalogue of destruction, it is likely that this research reveals only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the total destructiveness of Corporate Psychopaths. Much research remains to be done, and funding to undertake this research is needed. Logically, Corporate Psychopaths can be expected to have equally destructive

effects on corporate longevity, levels of fraud and consequent sudden collapses of corporations, employee mental health, employee welfare and well-being, organisational greed and the global financial crisis.

It can also be expected that because of abusive supervision by Corporate Psychopaths, large amounts of anti-corporate feeling will be generated among the employees of the organisations that Corporate Psychopaths work in. This should result in high levels of counterproductive behaviour as employees give vent to their anger with the corporation, which they perceive to be acting through its Corporate Psychopath managers in a way that is eminently unfair to them. Further research into all these areas is called for.

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Index

Acquired Sociopathy (Acquired Psychopathy), 153–154 Alphas, 19–20 Anti-social personality disorder, 145–149, 161 Arguments, 51–55

Bad Leadership, 102–105 Brain Chemistry, 29–36 Bullying, 15, 44–62

Callousness, 31 Childhood factors, 36-38 Commitment to employees, 71–76. See also Organisational commitment Conflict, 15, 44-62 Corporate leadership, 103–105 Corporate outcomes, 23-25 Corporate Psychopaths, 2-5, 7-14, 41-42, 149-150 Corporate scandals, 2 Corporate social responsibility, 16, 63 - 76Corporate values, 137-140 Correlations, 21 Criminal psychopaths, 39-40 Critical incidents, 129-136

Dark leadership, 143–162 Dissocial personality, 150–152

Encouragement, 137–142 Environmentally friendly behaviour, 70 Ethical issues, 167–175

Global Financial Crisis, 143, 163–166

Hare, Professor Robert, 7-8, 163

Job satisfaction, 18, 93-98

Leaders, 143

Machiavellians, 114-115, 156-160

Narcissists, 154–156, 160 Normal managers, 49–55

Organisational commitment, 63–76. *See also* Commitment to employees Organisational constraints, 17, 77–86 Organisational Type, 113–119 Origins (of psychopaths), 26–43

Personality disorders, 4, 144–162 Promiscuous sexual behaviour, 134–136 Promotions, 100–102 Psychopaths, 1–8, 38, 147–150, 161 Psychopathy, 27–38, 147–148 Psychotics, 152–153, 161

Recruitment, 99-100

Seniority, 99–112
Socially desirable behaviour, 70
Society, 1
Sociopaths, 153–154, 161
Spector, Professor Paul, 15–19
Strategies of Corporate Psychopaths, 47–48
Successful psychopaths, 6, 40–41. See also Corporate Psychopaths, White collar psychopaths

Type of organisation, 113-119

Unfair supervision, 44–62 Universality, 108–112

White collar psychopaths, 5. *See also* Corporate Psychopaths, Successful psychopaths Withdrawal, 19, 120–128 Workload, 17, 87–92

Yelling, 51-55