

## EDITORIAL

# Shedding more light on the dark side of personality

Dark personalities fascinate us. We wonder how it is possible for someone to hurt others without feeling guilt or shame, to manipulate and deceive without concern for the feelings of the victimized person. This fascination became a global phenomenon in the popular culture: there is a vast number of films and TV shows which involve individuals with dark personalities as protagonists. Certainly, this partly generates an interest in dark personality traits: TV shows usually cover the most extreme consequences of dark personality characteristics, like serial or mass murders, or other type of serious crimes. However, most of us have actually had an opportunity to face deceitful and exploitative behaviour followed by egocentricity and diminished empathy in our everyday life: in the workplace context, partner relationships or socializing with people in various occasions. And, indeed, these are more common outcomes of dark personality traits than the ones usually depicted in the popular media content.

The dark side of human personality is often described by traits like psychopathy (Hare & Neumann, 2008), Machiavellianism (Jones & Paulhus, 2009) and narcissism (Cain, Pincus, & Ansell, 2008). These traits are known as the Dark Triad of personality (Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013). However, psychologists are still trying to depict these personality characteristics in more detail. This has led to the inclusion of the subclinical or everyday sadism (Buckels, Jones, & Paulhus, 2013) in the constellation of the dark personality traits and this broadened taxonomy is labelled as the Dark Tetrad (Međedović & Petrović, 2015; Paulhus, 2014). Of course, the attempts at an even more precise description of the personality's dark side will continue, perhaps to include the markers like Amoralism personality traits (Knežević, 2003) or status-driven risk taking (Visser, Pozzebon, & Reina-Tamayo, 2014).

Historically, the scientific exploration of the dark traits was closely related to the clinical and forensic context. These traits were thought to be inextricably associated with personality disorders and expressed in antisocial and criminal behaviour. However, this view began to change in

the last fifteen years. It has been reliably demonstrated that dark personality traits exist outside clinical and convict samples as well. In fact they have a continuous distribution in the general population (Tran, Bertl, Kossmeier, Pietschnig, Stieger, & Voracek, 2018). I believe this had at least two important consequences for our understanding of this set of traits. First, we learned that the dark side of personality is not present only in some specific types of people, but in all people to a certain extent (yes, even ourselves). An inevitable consequence of this fact is a question of other personality or environmental (especially social) factors which may enhance the levels of dark personality features in individuals or, on the contrary, may decrease them, leaving more space to prosocial behaviour characterized by care, empathy and the concern for social justice. Secondly, it showed the researchers that dark personality characteristics can have more diverse expressions in everyday life, apart from delinquency and criminal behaviour. This resulted in the examination of the relations between the dark personality traits and various outcomes like political leadership (Lilienfeld, Waldman, Landfield, Watts, Rubenzer, & Faschingbauer, 2012), the advancement in corporate environment (Babiak, Neumann, & Hare, 2010), the tendency to pursue certain career choices (Falkenbach, Glackin, & McKinley, 2018; Hassall, Boduszek, & Dhingra, 2015; Jonason, Wee, Li, & Jackson, 2014), the workplace behaviour (Forsyth, Banks, & McDaniel, 2012), etc. This diversity of behavioural outcomes made the picture of dark personality traits more complex, but it helped us to better understand them, which has led to more sophisticated theoretical models of the dark traits as well (e.g. Fowles & Dindo, 2006).

The diversity of dark traits' expressions is clearly visible in the contributions sent to this special issue of *Psihološka istraživanja*. Personality traits may be examined in two basic ways: by exploring their mean levels in a given sample (the variable-centered approach) or by detecting and investigating the taxa of individuals clustered by similar combinations of personality characteristics (the person-centered approach). The second approach is still quite rare in the dark traits research. Dinić, Velimirović and Sadiković applied this approach to examine the existence of personality types produced by the Dark Tetrad traits. They detected two profiles of individuals characterized by the individuals with low and high expression of the dark traits. Since there were no qualitative differences between the profiles, Dinić et al. conclude that the variable-centred approach may be more appropriate in the context of the dark traits, but interesting questions still remain, especially regarding the role of the trait sadism in the dark traits' taxa and the existence of different profiles in specific populations (like forensic or clinical populations).

Hanzec Marković, Vujinović Malivuk, and Wertag were focused on the narcissism trait in their current study. Their goal was to further distinguish grandiose and vulnerable narcissism as two qualitatively different forms of narcissistic traits, this time in the context of their associations with personal

distress and wellbeing in young adults. The research has a developmental aspect as well, since the authors examined the role of risky family environment (defined primarily as harsh parenting) in childhood in the above-mentioned associations. Hanzec Marković et al. found that both forms of narcissism were related to harsh family conditions but only vulnerable narcissism was associated with higher distress and lower wellbeing. Hence, vulnerable narcissism could emerge as a mostly maladaptive reaction to stressful environment in childhood, and it may contribute to diminished psychological health of individuals who grew in a harsh environment.

As I stated before, the topic of examining the dark traits in corporate and workplace environment has become especially prominent in the dark traits literature. Dostanić and Gojković examined the associations between the Dark Triad traits and various forms of employee commitment in the organizational context. They found detrimental relations between psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and employee commitment, especially the forms of commitment towards colleagues and the organization itself. However, the results showed that the narcissism trait may enhance commitment in the cases where personal and organizational objectives coincide. Hence, the data of Dostanić and Gojković further demonstrate the difference between narcissism and other dark traits which was noticed in previous research as well – narcissism may be the least dark of all the malevolent personality traits.

Pavlić and Međedović had a similar research topic: they explored the role of psychopathy in predicting various forms of workplace success indicators. However, they were oriented towards the adaptive characteristics of psychopathy and thus hypothesized that this set of traits may positively contribute to the workplace success. They indeed found positive relations between psychopathic characteristics, monthly salary, the received bonus for workplace performance, and the self-reported workplace competence; furthermore, psychopathy was more expressed in the group of managers compared to lower level workers. The findings of Pavlić and Međedović confirm the adaptive potentials of psychopathy, which may lead psychopathic individuals to corporate success and enhance their social and economic status. The authors warn of potential dangers these findings suggest because psychopathic individuals may produce more harm if they are situated in higher positions in society.

Sučić, Wertag, and Juničić tried to further explore the question of the way in which dark personalities perceive other individuals. Namely, previous findings have suggested that individuals with high levels of dark features tend to hold a specific bias in evaluating the characteristics of others – they tend to see more negative features in other people. This is important because such attribution may serve as a rationale in the process of manipulating or hurting others. Indeed, in the present research, Sučić et al. obtained positive associations between narcissism, Machiavellianism and seeing others as

criminals, thus confirming the negative attribution bias in the individuals with these traits.

Petrović tackled a sensitive question of great societal importance – the attitudes towards immigrants. This is an important ideological, political and security question which is imposed on many countries, including Serbia. Hence, any policy regarding this issue must take into account the attitudes of domicile citizens towards immigrants, together with their psychological correlates and determinants. The work of Petrović as shown that dark personalities (especially the individuals with highly expressed narcissism and sadism) hold negative views against immigrants and that these views are mediated by the so-called Binding Moral Foundations, namely, loyalty towards someone's group, respect for authority, and highly valuing the purity or sanctity of body and soul. Besides the potential practical implications, this research provided another criticism of the Moral Foundations Theory as the unifying framework of human morality.

Sokić and Ljubin Golub expanded the nomological network of psychopathy by focusing on the trait of Boldness which has some unusual features. Namely, it is a trait without almost any immoral features, but instead it has some adaptive characteristics: resilience, self-confidence, social assurance, to name a few. The content of this trait made some researchers suggest that Boldness may not be the core psychopathic trait at all. Sokić and Ljubin Golub explored the associations between boldness and both adaptive and maladaptive features. They found the expected positive associations between Boldness, low personal distress, and low non-planning impulsivity; however, the maladaptive characteristics of this psychopathy trait were revealed as well – higher motor impulsivity and elevated proactive aggression.

Finally, Cupać, Mijatović, Micić, Pavlović and Stekić proposed a new self-report inventory for measuring psychopathy. This question is still very important because psychopathy is a multidimensional trait, while at the same time there is a lack of consensus between researchers regarding the content of this trait. Cupać et al. started from a large number of potential psychopathy markers and via two studies reduced them to forty indicators which measure six psychopathy facets. They show the validity of the extracted traits by demonstrating the expected associations between new psychopathy scales, the existing psychopathy inventories, the measures of Machiavellianism, and general personality. Hence, they provided a short but comprehensive measure of psychopathy, which may be of help to both researchers and practitioners interested in the assessment of psychopathy.

In sum, the manuscripts published in this special issue cover a variety of conceptually and practically important topics. The research described in them is based on sound methodology, primarily regarding the statistical power and the metric characteristics of the applied measures. This is why I believe that

the papers published in this special volume will significantly contribute to the field and shed some more light on the shady space of human personality.

On behalf of the *Psihološka istraživanja* Editorial board, I would like to thank our contributors for sending their well-written proposals. I would also like to express gratitude to our colleagues who reviewed these manuscripts, because we would not be able to publish this special issue without their contribution.

Unfortunately, one of our contributors, Boban Petrović, will not be able to see this special issue published. He had passed away suddenly several months before we completed this volume. Boban was a passionate and dedicated researcher who spent a great deal of his scientific career to the investigation of the dark and immoral part of human nature. In fact, his research was not constrained to the darkness in human personality: he was especially interested in the interaction between individual characteristics and wider social factors, like nationalism, conservatism, and inter-group antagonism in producing detrimental societal outcomes. His profound care for the questions of social justice and egalitarian social practices was reflected in his psychological practice as well – for many years Boban worked in the Serbian Association for Promoting Inclusion, where he helped individuals with intellectual disabilities to achieve a higher quality of life. Besides all these things, he was my best friend. With great sorrow in my heart, I dedicate this special issue to him.

*In Belgrade,  
29/05/2019*

**Janko Međedović**

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# UVODNIK

## Osvetljavanje mračne strane ličnosti

Mračne ličnosti nas fasciniraju. Pitamo se kako je moguće da neko povređuje druge ljude bez osećanja krivice ili sramote, da manipuliše i vara bez brige za osećanja osobe koju ugrožava. Fascinacija mračnim crtama postala je globalni fenomen u popularnoj kulturi: postoji mnoštvo filmova i TV serija čiji protagonisti su osobe sa mračnom ličnošću. Ova činjenica svakako jednim delom i izaziva interesovanje za mračne crte ličnosti: TV serije obično prikazuju najekstremnije posledice mračnih crta ličnosti, kao što su serijska ili masovna ubistva, ili druge vrste ozbiljnih zločina. No, većina ljudi je zapravo i u svakodnevnom životu bila u prilici da iskusi nečije podlo ponašanje ili iskorišćavanje praćeno egocentričnošću i umanjenom empatijom: na svom radnom mestu, u odnosima sa partnerom ili pri kontaktu sa ljudima u različitim prilikama. Ovo zaista i jesu mnogo uobičajeniji ishodi mračnih crta ličnosti nego oni koji se inače prikazuju u kontekstu popularnih medija.

Mračna strana ljudske ličnosti obično se opisuje crtama poput psihopatije (Hare & Neumann, 2008), makijavelizma (Jones & Paulhus, 2009) i narcizma (Cain, Pincus, & Ansell, 2008). Ove crte poznate su kao Mračna trijada ličnosti (Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013). Međutim, psiholozi još uvek pokušavaju da detaljnije opišu ove karakteristike ličnosti. To je dovelo do uključivanja subkliničkog ili svakodnevnog sadizma (Buckels, Jones, & Paulhus, 2013) u konstelaciju mračnih crta ličnosti i ova proširena taksonomija naziva se Mračna Tetrada (Međedović & Petrović, 2015; Paulhus, 2014). Naravno, pokušaji da se čak i preciznije opiše mračna strana ličnosti će se nastaviti, možda u smeru uključivanja markera kao što je crta Amoralnosti (Knežević, 2003) ili preuzimanje rizika podstaknuto statusom (Visser, Pozzebon, & Reina-Tamayo, 2014).

Istorijski gledano, naučno istraživanje mračnih crta bilo je usko povezano sa kliničkim i forenzičkim kontekstom. Smatralo se da su ove crte neraskidivo povezane sa poremećajima ličnosti i izražene u antisocijalnom i kriminalnom ponašanju. Međutim, ovo gledište počelo je da se menja u poslednjih petnaest godina. Pouzdano je pokazano da mračne crte ličnosti takođe postoje i izvan kliničkih uzoraka i uzoraka osuđenika. Zapravo, njihova distribucija je kontinualna i u opštoj populaciji (Tran, Bertl, Kossmeier, Pietschnig, Stieger, & Vo-

racek, 2018). Po mom mišljenju, to je imalo barem dve važne posledice za razumevanje ovog skupa crta. Najpre, saznali smo da mračna strana ličnosti nije prisutna samo kod nekih specifičnih tipova ljudi, već kod svih ljudi u izvesnoj meri (da, čak i kod nas samih). Neizbežna posledica ove činjenice jeste pitanje drugih faktora ličnosti i okruženja (naročito socijalnih faktora) koji mogu da povećaju nivo mračnih crta ličnosti kod ljudi ili da ga, s druge strane, smanje, ostavljajući više prostora za prosocijalno ponašanje koje se odlikuje brižnošću, empatijom i brigom za socijalnu pravdu. Drugo, ovi nalazi ukazali su istraživačima na to da, pored delinkvencije i kriminalnog ponašanja, mračne crte ličnosti mogu da se izražavaju na razne načine u svakodnevnom životu. To je dovelo do preispitivanja odnosa između mračnih crta ličnosti i različitih ishoda kao što su liderstvo u politici (Lilienfeld, Waldman, Landfield, Watts, Rubenzer, & Faschingbauer, 2012), napredovanje u korporativnom okruženju (Babiak, Neumann, & Hare, 2010), stremljenje ka određenim izborima u karijeri (Falkenbach, Glackin, & McKinley, 2018; Hassall, Boduszek, & Dhingra, 2015; Jonason, Wee, Li, & Jackson, 2014), ponašanje na radnom mestu (Forsyth, Banks, & McDaniel, 2012), itd. Ovakva raznolikost ishoda ponašanja učinila je sliku mračnih crta ličnosti mnogo složenijom, ali nam je pomogla da ih bolje razumemo, što je zauzvrat dovelo do sofisticiranijih teorijskih modela mračnih crta (e.g. Fowles & Dindo, 2006).

Raznolikost izražavanja mračnih crta jasno se vidi u prilogima poslatim za ovaj specijalni broj *Psiholoških istraživanja*. Crte ličnosti mogu da se proučavaju na dva osnovna načina: istraživanjem njihovih prosečnih nivoa u datom uzorku (pristup usmeren na varijablu) ili otkrivanjem i istraživanjem taksona jedinki grupisanih prema sličnim kombinacijama crta ličnosti (pristup usmeren na osobu). Drugi pristup još uvek je veoma redak u istraživanju mračnih crta. Dinić, Velimirović i Sadiković primenile su ovaj pristup kako bi ispitale postojanje tipova ličnosti koje proizvode crte Mračne tetrade. Utvrdile su da postoje dva profila koji karakterišu osobe sa niskom i visokom izraženošću mračnih crta. S obzirom na to da nisu utvrđene kvalitativne razlike između profila, Dinić i saradnice zaključuju da je pristup usmeren na varijablu možda primereniji u kontekstu mračnih crta, ali neka interesantna pitanja ipak ostaju otvorena, naročito u pogledu uloge koju crta sadizma igra u taksonomiji mračnih crta i postojanju različitih profila u specifičnim populacijama (kao što su forenzička i klinička populacija).

Hanzec Marković, Vujinović Malivuk i Wertag u svom radu proučavale su crtu narcizma. Njihov cilj bio je da dodatno utvrde razliku između grandioznog i vulnerabilnog narcizma kao dva kvalitativno različita oblika narcisoidnih crta, ovoga puta u kontekstu njihove povezanosti sa ličnom uznemirenošću i dobrobiti kod mladih odraslih ljudi. Istraživanje je takođe uključilo razvojni aspekt, s obziromna to da su autorke proučavale ulogu rizične porodične sredine (definisane primarno kao okrutno roditeljstvo) u detinjstvu u gorepomenutim vezama. Hanzec Marković i saradnice utvrdile su da su obe



forme narcisoidnosti povezane sa teškim porodičnim uslovima, ali je samo vulnerabilni narcizam bio povezan sa većom uznemirenošću i manjom dobrobiti. Stoga se vulnerabilni narcizam može pojaviti kao neadekvatna reakcija na stresno okruženje u detinjstvu i mogao bi da doprinese umanjenom psihičkom zdravlju pojedinaca koji su odrasli u rizičnoj sredini.

Kao što je ranije rečeno, istraživanje mračnih crta u korporativnoj sredini i u kontekstu radnog mesta postalo je veoma aktuelno u literaturi o mračnim crtama. Dostanić i Gojković ispitivale su povezanosti između crta Mračne trijade i različitih oblika predanosti zaposlenih u organizacionom kontekstu. Utvrdile su da postoje štetni odnosi između psihopatije, makijavelizma i predanosti zaposlenih, naročito kada se radi o predanosti kolegama i samoj organizaciji. Ipak, rezultati su pokazali da crta narcizma može da doprinese povećanju predanosti u uslovima u kojima se podudaraju lični i organizacioni ciljevi. Podaci do kojih su došle Dostanić i Gojković stoga dodatno potvrđuju razliku između narcizma i drugih mračnih crta koja je već potvrđena u prethodnim istraživanjima – narcizam bi zaista mogao da bude najmanje mračan od svih zlonamernih crta ličnosti.

Pavlič i Međedović imali su sličnu temu istraživanja: bavili su se ulogom psihopatije u predviđanju različitih oblika indikatora uspeha na radnom mestu. Međutim, ovi autori usmerili su se na adaptivne karakteristike psihopatije i stoga pošli od pretpostavke da ovaj skup osobina može pozitivno da utiče na uspeh na radnom mestu. Zaista je i utvrđeno da postoje pozitivne veze između psihopatskih karakteristika, mesečne zarade, primljenog bonusa za dobro obavljen posao i samoprocenjene kompetencije na radnom mestu; dodatno, psihopatija je bila izraženija u grupi menadžera u poređenju sa zaposlenima na nižim nivoima. Nalazi Pavliča i Međedovića potvrđuju adaptivne potencijale psihopatije koji mogu da omoguće psihopatskim osobama da postignu korporativni uspeh i viši društveni i ekonomski status. Autori upozoravaju na potencijalne opasnosti na koje ovi nalazi ukazuju jer psihopatske osobe mogu da naprave veću štetu ako se nalaze na višim pozicijama u društvu.

Sučić, Wertag i Juničić pokušale su da dodatno istraže pitanje na koji način mračne ličnosti percipiraju druge osobe. Naime, prethodni nalazi ukazuju na to da su pojedinci sa visokim nivoom mračnih crta skloni ka specifičnoj pristrasnosti u procenjivanju karakteristika drugih – oni obično teže da vide više negativnih osobina kod drugih ljudi. Ovo je važno jer takvo pripisivanje može da posluži kao racionalno objašnjenje u procesu manipulacije ili povređivanja drugih. U ovom istraživanju, Sučić i saradnice zaista su i pronašle pozitivne veze između narcisoidnosti, makijavelizma i viđenja drugih kao kriminalaca, tako potvrđujući negativnu pristrasnost pri atribuciji kod pojedinaca sa ovim osobinama.

Petrović se bavio veoma osetljivim pitanjem koje ima veliki društveni značaj – stavovima prema imigrantima. Ovo je važno ideološko, političko i

bezbednosno pitanje koje se nameće mnogim zemljama, uključujući i Srbiju. Stoga je neophodno da politika koja se vodi u vezi sa ovim pitanjem uzme u obzir stavove domaćih stanovnika prema imigrantima, zajedno sa njihovim psihološkim korelatima i determinantama. Petrovićev rad pokazao je da mračne ličnosti (posebno osobe sa visoko izraženom narcisoidnošću i sadizmom) imaju negativne stavove prema imigrantima i da su ti stavovi posredovani tzv. Vezujućim moralnim osnovama, kao što su lojalnost prema nečijoj grupi, poštovanje autoriteta i visoko vrednovanje čistote ili svetosti tela i duše. Pored potencijalnih praktičnih implikacija, ovo istraživanje daje još jednu kritiku teorije moralnih temelja kao ujedinjujućeg okvira ljudskog morala.

Sokić i Ljubin Golub proširuju nomološku mrežu psihopatije usmeravajući se nacrtu smelosti, koja ima neke neobične osobine. Naime, to je crta koja gotovo da nema nikakve nemoralne osobine, ali umesto toga ima neke adaptivne karakteristike: rezilijentnost, samopouzdanje, socijalnu samouverenost, da spomenemo samo neke. Sadržaj ove osobine naveo je neke istraživače na zaključak da smelost možda uopšte i nije jedna od osnovnih psihopatskih osobina. Sokić i Ljubin Golub istraživale su povezanost između smelosti i adaptivnih i maladaptivnih osobina. Utvrdile su da postoje očekivane pozitivne veze između smelosti, niske lične uznemirenosti i niske impulsivnosti zasnovane na nedostatku planiranja; međutim, takođe su otkrivene i maladaptivne karakteristike ove osobine psihopatije kao što su veća motorička impulsivnost i viša proaktivna agresija.

Na kraju, Cupać, Mijatović, Micić, Pavlović i Stekić predložili su novi inventar za samoprocenu psihopatije. Ovo pitanje je i dalje veoma važno jer je psihopatija višedimenzionalna osobina, dok u isto vreme ne postoji konsenzus među istraživačima u pogledu sadržaja ove osobine. Cupać i saradnici pošli su od velikog broja potencijalnih markera psihopatije i u dve studije ih sveli na četrdeset indikatora koji mere šest aspekata psihopatije. Oni pokazuju validnost izdvojenih crta ukazujući na očekivane povezanosti između novih skala psihopatije, postojećih inventara za merenje psihopatije, mera makijavelizma i opštih crta ličnosti. Ovi autori stoga nude kratku, ali obuhvatnu meru psihopatije koja može biti od pomoći i istraživačima i praktičarima zainteresovanim za procenu psihopatije.

Generalno gledano, radovi objavljeni u ovom specijalnom broju pokrivaju veliki broj raznovrsnih tema od velike konceptualne i praktične važnosti. Istraživanja opisana u objavljenim radovima zasnovana su na čvrstoj metodologiji, pre svega u pogledu statističke moći i metričkih karakteristika primenjenih mera. Zato sam uveren da radovi objavljeni u specijalnom broju predstavljaju značajan doprinos ovoj oblasti i da će dodatno osvetliti senoviti prostor ljudske ličnosti.

U ime redakcije časopisa *Psihološka istraživanja*, želeo bih da se zahvalim autorima što su poslali kvalitetne priloge. Takođe bih želeo da se zahvalim

našim kolegama koji su recenzirali radove jer bez njihovog doprinosa ne bismo mogli da objavimo ovaj specijalni broj.

Nažalost, jedan od autora u ovom broju, Boban Petrović, neće moći da vidi ovo specijalno izdanje. Umro je iznenada, nekoliko meseci pre nego što smo završili ovo izdanje. Boban je bio strastveni i predani istraživač koji je veliki deo svoje naučne karijere posvetio istraživanju mračnog i nemoralnog dela ljudske prirode. Zapravo, njegovo istraživanje nije bilo ograničeno na tamu u ljudskoj ličnosti: bio je posebno zainteresovan za interakciju individualnih karakteristika i širih društvenih faktora kao što su nacionalizam, konzervativizam i međugrupni antagonizam u stvaranju štetnih društvenih ishoda. Njegova duboka briga za pitanja socijalne pravde i egalitarne društvene prakse odražavala se iu njegovom psihološkom radu –Boban je takođe radio u Asocijaciji za promovisanje inkluzije Srbije, gde je pomagao osobama sa intelektualnim teškoćama da postignu viši kvalitet života. Pored svih ovih stvari, bio je moj najbolji prijatelj. S velikom tugom u srcu, ovaj specijalni broj posvećujem njemu.

*U Beogradu,  
29. 05. 2019.*

**Janko Međedović**

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