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

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ABSTRACT

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

1. Introduction

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

The tradition of research into psychopathy has focused on the relationship between the immoral and antisocial behavior of psychopathic individuals and the deficits in their psychological profile, such as the lack of conscience and high egocentricity, to understand their conduct (Glenn, Efferson, Iyer & Graham, 2017). However, in line with Glenn and colleagues (2017), we postulate that additional exploration of the motivational aspects that may drive the psychopathic behavior, may facilitate a more in-depth understanding of the behavioral choices in life of those high in psychopathy. This exploration may assist us in clarifying what the reason(s) may be for psychopathic individuals to pursue leadership positions. Research indicates that in the general population those high in psychopathy may be overrepresented in leadership positions. Estimates are that there are four times more psychopathic individuals in high profile positions than in the community on average (estimates of 3.9% compared to between 0.6 and 1.2%) (Babiak et al., 2010; Coid et al., 2012; see also Landay et al., 2019: for lower prevalence rates).

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

In this article we will focus on the importance of this specific motivator in psychopathy: the *need for domination*. We hypothesize that the desire for power and control over other people may be the core motivator for those psychopathic individuals that seek out leadership positions. Although research has shown that those high in psychopathy are prone to display dominant behavior towards others (e.g. Harpur et al., 1989; Nyholm & Häkkänen-Nyholm, 2012; Verona et al., 2001), the propensity to control the people around them has scarcely been studied

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as a motivational factor of the psychopathic behavior. In this article the research on the link between psychopathy and dominance motivation will be explored. The insights from these studies will be combined with the different components of a continuum of psychopathy subtypes and we hypothesize that one specific psychopathy subtype may have a preference for leadership positions because of the need for domination in this type. Furthermore, we will explore the importance of the need for domination in comparison to other life motivations for those high in psychopathy by analyzing the differentiations in life motivations within the larger group of the Dark Triad.

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

2. Psychopathic leaders

2.1. Criminal psychopathy versus 'successful' psychopathy

Psychopathy is a personality disorder with an enigmatic constellation of contrasting features and behaviors. The apparent normalcy and outward adaptive appearance conceal internal deficits in emotional experience, conscience, and attachment forming (Hare, 1996). The different features of psychopathy that are outlined in the theoretical conceptualizations of the psychopathy construct have been subject to research and debate (Lilienfeld, Watts, Smith, & Latzman, 2018; Poythress & Hall, 2011). Most scholars subscribe to the two factor construction of psychopathy in which factor 1 comprises the affective and interpersonal traits, and factor 2 includes lifestyle and antisocial features (Hare, 1996; Poythress & Hall, 2011). The affective traits in the psychopathic profile include traits such as callousness, low empathy, and lack of conscience. The interpersonal facet reflects features such as charm, grandiosity, and interpersonal manipulativeness (Hare, 2003). The lifestyle and antisocial factor represented by traits including high impulsivity, lack of planfulness, and antisociality. Alternative conceptualizations with a three or four factor structure have also been proposed (Cooke & Michie, 2001; Hall et al., 2004; Hare, 2003). Although psychopathy is considered to be one conceptual construct consisting of a constellation of a group of features, most scholars agree that it is dimensional (Hall & Benning, 2006; LeBreton et al., 2006).

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

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

2.2. Psychopathic leadership as a manifestation of 'successful' psychopathy

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

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

2.2.1. Psychopathic leadership is a risk

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

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

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

2.3. Psychopathic leadership and psychopathic subtypes

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

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

Based on the findings of such cluster analyses and other methods, the majority of scholars concur that the most important subdivision in psychopathy subtypes is the division in primary and secondary psychopathy (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Skeem et al., 2003). Empirical studies researching the heterogeneity in psychopathy have confirmed the primary and secondary psychopathy distinction (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Hicks et al., 2004; Mokros et al., 2015; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). This specific differentiation has garnered special attention from researchers of 'successful' psychopathy for reasons of the adaptive outcomes associated with primary psychopathic subtypes. This contrasts with the secondary psychopathic subtypes which show strong correlations with maladaptiveness (Benning et al., 2018; Chiaburu, Munoz, & Gardner, 2013; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2018; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010).

2.3.1. A new continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy subtypes

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

In line with Karpman (1941), these scholars found that primary psychopathy may be largely based in constitution, whereas secondary psychopathy in this continuum is considered to be a symptomatic form of psychopathy that may have developed in reaction to severe trauma in childhood. Yildirim and Derksen (2015) defined and labeled a continuum of four basic psychopathy subtypes: controlled primary psychopathy, disinhibited primary psychopathy, detached secondary psychopathy, and unstable secondary psychopathy. In this article we will follow the proposed division in these psychopathy variants to focus on psychopathic leadership and the motivational trait of the need for domination. Although there are other models of psychopathic subtypes (Hicks & Drislane, 2018), this proposed continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy provides important insights on which psychopathic subtypes may be most connected to adaptive outcomes. Furthermore, this model proposes a clarification for the potential higher

levels of adaptiveness by defining specific traits that may underlie 'successful' outcomes in psychopathy by moderating maladaptive outcomes (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Steinert et al., 2017). Most importantly, the proposed model of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) is to our knowledge the only model of psychopathy variants that includes the need for domination as part of one of the subtypes in this continuum. Moreover, this particular psychopathic subtype in this proposed continuum is most strongly connected to adaptive outcomes (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

In the next section *(3. What draws psychopathic individuals to leadership?*), based on the aforementioned insights regarding the adaptiveness and maladaptiveness connected to psychopathic subtypes, we will exclusively focus on the two primary psychopathy types proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) to discuss the need for domination as a core life motivation in psychopathic leaders. According to Yildirim (2016), secondary psychopathic individuals lack many of the adaptive traits prominently displayed by the primary group such as boldness, charm, and charisma. Instead, those from the secondary psychopathic group are frequently overtly hostile and impulsive in their behavior and they lack the self-control and social potency to build careers and to obtain leadership positions. For these reasons the two secondary psychopathy types will not be discussed in this article. An extensive review on the research of secondary psychopathy and the proposed secondary psychopathy types as defined by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) can be found in Yildirim (2016).

2.3.2. Social dominance and dominance motivation in psychopathy subtypes

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

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

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

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

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

Another assessment instrument to measure psychopathy in diverse samples, the TriPM (Patrick, 2010) can be utilized to differentiate among psychopathy subtypes by measuring the core phenotypic constructs of disinhibition, meanness, and boldness. Meanness is a predisposition towards behavior that shows lack of empathy and concern for others and strategic exploitation of other people in order to gain empowerment. Boldness is marked by fearlessness and reduced stress reactivity in combination with interpersonal dominance that is reflected in a self-assured posture and social persuasiveness (Benning et al., 2003). In the TriPM, the combination of certain facets of boldness and meanness may represent the motivation psychopathic individuals have to socially dominate other people (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Indeed, Fanti et al. (2015) found that the facets of boldness and meanness were positively correlated to the need for domination.

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

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

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

This is in contrast with the dominance motivation in the controlled primary psychopathy type in the proposed continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015): these individuals are described as fearless and highly self-confident, and as lacking feelings of anxiety and stress. The heightened dominance motivation in the primary controlled psychopathic type may have value in and of itself (Glenn et al., 2017; Palmen et al., 2019; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). This is in opposition to the

heightened dominance and dominance motivation in secondary psychopathy which may serve as a defense mechanism against feelings of hostility and unconscious fear in interpersonal contact (Yildirim, 2016). Furthermore, as outlined in Section 2.3.1. in this article, those high in secondary psychopathy can be defined as more socially maladaptive because of their high neuroticism and hostility towards others which may prevent them from being able to display the necessary behaviors to become 'successful' in society (Benning et al., 2018; Hall & Benning, 2006; Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020; Yildirim, 2016).

In the theoretical continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy, Yildirim and Derksen (2015) have outlined one other primary psychopathy subtype in addition to controlled primary psychopathy: disinhibited primary psychopathy. However, this disinhibited type, in addition to scoring high on the factor 1 traits and on social dominance, scores high on the factor 2 traits. This type is therefore portrayed as highly impulsive, living parasitically off the means of others around them, and as lacking any long term life goals. Most importantly, Yildirim and Derksen (2015) postulate that this disinhibited primary psychopathic type lacks the desire to dominate other people, as opposed to the controlled primary psychopathic type.

Out of the four psychopathy types, controlled primary psychopathy is considered the most adaptive subtype and most resembles Cleckley's portrayals of semi-successful psychopathy (Cleckley, 1941; Crego & Widiger, 2016; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Specific differentiations between the two primary psychopathy types in the proposed continuum of Yildirim and Derksen (2015) are listed in Table 1.

2.4. The profile of the psychopathic leader and psychopathic subtypes

Palmen et al. (2019) reviewed the studies on psychopathic leadership and combined the most important data with the proposed continuum of psychopathy types by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) and with data from studies on self-control versus impulsivity in different psychopathy types. On the grounds of this analysis these scholars developed a theoretical model on the specific traits of the psychopathic leader (the PL model). In accordance with the most adaptive subtype in Yildirim and Derksen's continuum of primary and secondary psychopathy: the controlled primary psychopathy type (2015), the core group of traits in the PL model comprise the Factor 1 traits and fearlessness. Palmen et al. (2019) argue that in psychopathic leaders high levels of self-control may support 'success' by moderating the maladaptive outcomes of the core psychopathic traits of Factor 1 and fearlessness in the PL model (Steinert et al., 2017). Although psychopathic leaders show higher levels on one domain of impulsivity, sensation seeking, they may act on these impulses with forethought and planning (Palmen et al., 2019: Poythress & Hall, 2011). This theoretical profile contrasts with the 'traditional' profile of imprisoned psychopathic individuals in which levels of self-control are typically low and levels of impulsivity are high.

Table 1
Theoretical differentiations between the controlled type and the disinhibited type of primary psychopathy derived from Yildirim and Derksen (2015).

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

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

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

To better detect psychopathic leaders it is important to establish what are the distinguishing traits in the profile of the psychopathic leader in comparison to the profile of the incarcerated psychopathic individual. The PL model proposes a clarification for the 'success' of the psychopathic leader as a result of the trait of high self-control (Palmen et al., 2019). We hypothesize that the need for domination in this profile may motivate psychopathic individuals to seek out positions of power. Although sensation-seeking is also outlined as a motivational trait in the profile of the psychopathic leader, we will argue in the next section that the need for domination is the core motivating trait for those high in psychopathy who pursue positions of leadership. To reach this goal, we will first review the extant studies on the link between psychopathy and the need for domination in comparison to the importance of other life motivations. We will then combine these findings with the research of psychopathic leadership and will suggest new refinements of the motivational trait, need for domination, in the model of the psychopathic leader. The PL model which focuses on the interaction between self-control and sensation seeking is outlined below (Fig. 1).

3. What draws psychopathic individuals to leadership?

3.1. What motivates psychopathic individuals in life?

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

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

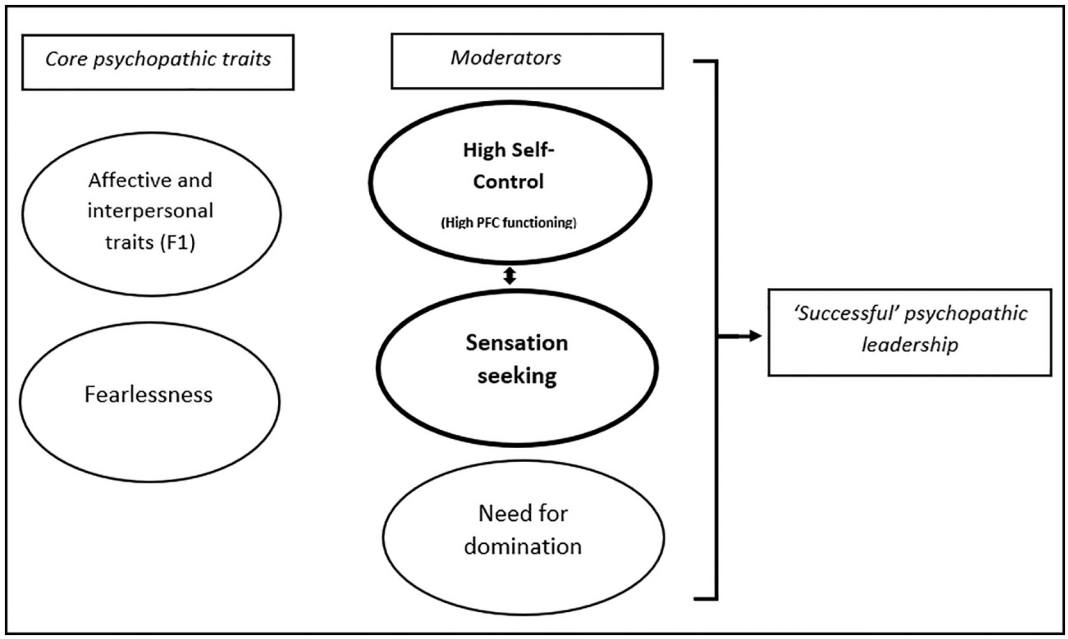

Fig. 1. The model of the psychopathic leader (the PL model): the conjunction of high self-control with sensation seeking (Palmen et al., 2019).

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

3.2. The need for domination in the Dominance Behavioral System

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

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

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

3.2.1. The Dominance Behavioral System and psychopathology

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

3.2.2. The dominance behavioral system and the need for domination in psychopathy

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

3.3. Research on the need for domination in psychopathy

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

We will first discuss the data that explicitly focused on psychopathic samples. In the next step, we will outline the findings from research on the need for domination in the broader group of the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Although every group in the Dark Triad may be connected to the need for domination (e.g. Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Hodson et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2013), an analysis of the differences in the combination of the various life motivations among the Dark Triad groups may give further insights into how the need for domination may be understood in psychopathy and in psychopathic leadership (Glenn et al., 2017).

3.3.1. Studies on the need for domination in psychopathy

The largest study on psychopathy and facets of the need for social domination and power is a study by Glenn and colleagues (2017). These scholars employed a research website (YourMorals.org) to study what individuals scoring higher in psychopathy value in life. Within a large sample (N = 3521) relations between psychopathic traits and motivations and goals in life were examined. The values of those higher in psychopathy were assessed through the use of the Swartz Values Scale which contains 30 items that represent the guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1992). The principles are organized using the orthogonal dimensions of: (1) Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence and (2) Openness to Change versus Conservation. The value of Power in this instrument is measured through the first dimension and is defined as controlling other people (social power, authority, wealth) and societal prestige (Schwartz, 1992). Goals for the future were measured through the use of an adjusted version of the Aspiration Index (Grouzet et al., 2005). Materialism was assessed through the use of the Material Value Scale (Richins, 2004). Positional concerns were measured using the Positional Versus Absolute Good Scale by Solnick and Hemenway (1998). Social Dominance Orientation was assessed using a 16-item scale to measure if someone prefers a society that is hierarchic or a society based on equality (Pratto et al., 1994). Finally, psychopathy was measured using the LSRP (Levenson et al., 1995). The Levenson's Self-Report Psychopathy Scale is constructed to measure the two factors of psychopathy through a 26-item rating scale.

The results of this study showed that the psychopathic traits were negatively associated with Benevolence and Universalism and positively associated with Hedonism and Power (Glenn et al., 2017). The strong relationships between psychopathy with the value of power in this study were primarily driven by factor 1 (scores on SDO: F1: 0.58***, F2: 0.15**; scores on the value of Power: F1: 0.37***, F2: 0.09***).

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

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

Fanti et al. (2015) examined the relationships between psychopathy dimensions (boldness, meanness, disinhibition) as assessed by the TriPM and facets of personality (including the desire for control and status) (N = 419). The results of this study showed that the psychopathy dimensions of boldness and meanness were positively correlated with the traits desire for control (a desire to dominate others in interpersonal situations) and desire for status (wanting to accumulate status for oneself), as measured by The Machiavellianism Personality Scale (MPS; Dahling et al., 2009). There was no association found between the psychopathy dimensions of disinhibition and the scales Desire for Control and Desire for Status. Furthermore, boldness was also associated with verbal aggression and amoral manipulation. All three psychopathy dimensions were associated with physical aggression. The combination of the desire for control and status, amoral manipulation, and physical and verbal forms of aggression in individuals high on boldness and meanness may predict premeditated manipulative and aggressive behavior that is used in order to dominate and control other people (Fanti et al., 2015).

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

defense distancing towards the interviewer (allowing the dominant interviewer to approach more closely and thereby reducing their dominance display).

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

3.3.2. *Research on the need for domination in the Dark Triad*

The connection between psychopathy and the need for domination is well-established in all of the aforementioned studies. To gain a deeper insight into the precise value of the need for domination for psychopathic individuals, we will outline studies that not only focused on the need for domination but also assessed other motivations in life. Furthermore, comparing which life motivations are of importance among the larger group of the Dark Triad (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism) may further deepen the insights on the specific value of the need for domination for psychopathic individuals.

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

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

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

Jonason and Ferrell (2016) studied associations between the Dark Triad and the three basic life motivations: the need for affiliation, the need for achievement, and the need for domination in a large online community sample (N = 2506) and found important differences among the Dark Triad personalities. The basic life motivations were assessed through the use of the 18-item Balanced Measure of Psychological Needs (Sheldon & Hilpert, 2012), the life goals questionnaire GOALS (Pöhlmann & Brunstein, 1997), and the Unified Motives Scale (Schönbrodt & Gerstenberg, 2012). The Dark Triad was measured through the Dirty Dozen and with separate measures to assess narcissism (The Narcissistic Personality Inventory; Raskin & Terry, 1988), Machiavellianism (The MACH-IV; Christie & Geis, 1970), and psychopathy (The Self-Report Psychopathy Scale III; Paulhus, Neumann, & Hare, 2009). Although every Dark Triad group related positively to the need for domination and power, only narcissism also showed positive associations with the need for affiliation and the need for achievement (although these relations were statistically inconsistent). The scores for individuals within the Machiavellian and psychopathic group demonstrated a negative correlation with the need for achievement and the need for affiliation.

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

A further study by Hodson et al. (2009) in a student sample of 197, also found that all of the Dark Triads were positively and significantly associated with SDO, with psychopathy showing the highest correlation (psychopathy (r = 0.38), Machiavellianism (r = 0.37), narcissism (r = 0.23)). In this study psychopathy was measured through the use of the SRP-III, Machiavellianism with the MACH-IV, and narcissism with a 20-item version derived from the 40 item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988). In this study the subscales Callous affect and Interpersonal manipulation (Factor 1of the SRP-III) were more highly correlated with SDO (0.39 and 0.31) than the Factor 2 subscale Erratic life-style and Anti-Social Behavior of the SRP-III (0.25 and 0.22).

Rauthmann and Kolar (2013) studied the Dark Triad in association with interpersonal traits by using the interpersonal circumplex (IPC) (Bakan, 1966; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985) in two student samples (N1 = 184, N2 = 186). This IPC model divides human social relationships into two basic themes: affiliation/communion, related to bonding with others; and dominance/agency, related to superiority and autonomy (Bakan, 1966; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985). The Dark Triad was measured through the Dirty Dozen. The results from this study showed that narcissism was found to be associated with friendly dominant behavior, Machiavellianism with hostile submissive behavior and psychopathy with hostile dominant behavior. Psychopathy was most strongly linked to agency and showed the least strong association with community. Rauthmann and Kolar (2013) postulate that this combination of interpersonal attitudes in psychopathy may manifest itself in unmitigated domination. This in turn may underlie the malignant,

egocentric, and anti-social behavior often displayed by psychopathic individuals (e.g. Glenn et al., 2017; Neumann & Hare, 2006; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013).

Kajonius et al. (2015) studied the need for power and domination in the Dark Triad within a community sample of 385 individuals by applying the framework of the interpersonal circumplex (IPC; Wiggins & Broughton, 1985). The Dark Triad was measured through the Short Dark Triad (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Through the use of the Swartz's universal value types (the Portrait Value Questionnaire; Schwartz et al., 2001) motivations in life were assessed. Every group of the Dark Triad showed negative correlations with Self-transcending values and positive correlations with Self-enhancing values. However, some differences were found among what each group of the Dark Triad values in life: narcissism and Machiavellianism were found to correlate with the values of Power and Achievement, while psychopathy was related to Power and Hedonism (cf. Glenn et al., 2017).

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

Semenyna and Honey (2015) studied dominance-striving and striving for prestige in both male and female student samples (sample 1: 222 women, 78 men; sample 2: 191 women, 95 men). The Dark Triad was assessed through the Dirty Dozen and additionally with separate measures for psychopathy (the SRP-III), Machiavellianism (the MACH-IV), and narcissism (the NPI). In this study dominance striving was defined as a style that is aggressive, disagreeable, and domineering. Prestige striving was associated with achievement, pro-sociality, and respect. Dominance striving was measured though the Rank Styles with Peers Questionnaire (Zuroff et al., 2010). This scale measures three dominance styles: ruthless self-advancement, coalition building, and dominant leadership. To measure both the striving for dominance and prestige the Dominance and Prestige Scale was used (Cheng et al., 2010). Results from this study showed that narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy were all associated with dominance-striving. Only narcissism was also consistently related to striving for prestige. Furthermore, every one of the Dark Triads was positively correlated with ruthless self-advancement and dominant leadership, and negatively associated with coalition building. Based upon the results of this study Semenyna and Honey (2015) conclude that although the women in this study showed a more pronounced tendency towards coalition-building in comparison to men, scores on the other parameters were very similar. Based on these data, these scholars postulate that the scores on the Dark Triad may predict dominance-striving and ruthless self-advancement more than information about an individual's sex.

3.3.2.2. Differences in the combinations of motivations among the Dark Triad. The outlined research on the Dark Triad personalities not only showed which life motivations are important to those high in psychopathy; in addition, significant differences have been found regarding what motivates each Dark Triad type in life. The combination of these two findings may help the field to better comprehend the specific value of the need for domination for psychopathic individuals. Most of these studies focused on the three fundamental life motivations: the need for affiliation, the need for achievement, and the need for domination (Fanti et al., 2015; Furtner et al., 2017; McClelland, 1985; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). The differences in the combinations of these core motivations among the Dark Triad may provide new insights on the significance of the need for domination for those high in psychopathy.

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

In all of these studies on the Dark Triad, as well as the studies in Section 3.3.1 on the psychopathy-need for domination link in samples that only measured psychopathy, psychopathy was consistently related to the need for domination. However, although most of the studies on the Dark Triad demonstrated that narcissism and Machiavellianism were related to the need for domination, two studies found that these two personality types were additionally associated with achievement or prestige (Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). In contrast, several of the previous studies found that only psychopathy was related to hedonism in combination with the need for domination, but not associated with the need for achievement or prestige (Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Kajonius et al., 2015; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). Furthermore, three studies found that in addition to the need for domination, narcissism showed positive relationships with the need for affiliation (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013). Psychopathy and Machiavellianism were found to be negatively associated with the need for affiliation (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013).

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

The most important distinctions within the Dark Triad regarding the three life motivations; the need for affiliation: the need for achievement, and the need for domination are shown in Table 2.

3.4. The need for domination as a value in and by itself in psychopathy

All of the studies outlined in Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.1 found a

Table 2
Hypotheses on the differences in the levels of motivations in psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism.

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

strong relationship between psychopathy and the need for domination (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2015; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al., 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). The association with the need for domination in narcissism and in Machiavellianism was also established in most of the aforementioned studies on the Dark Triad (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015).

However, only in the case of psychopathy, the need for domination was not combined with either of the two other core life motivations (the need for affiliation and the need for achievement) in any of these studies (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). These findings are in line with the study by Glenn et al. (2017) in which data showed that although within the total research group the values of power and achievement were strongly correlated, this was not the case for those high in psychopathy. The psychopathic individuals in this study valued power but this was coupled with an absence of valuing achievement. Moreover, these scholars also found that those high in psychopathy scored low on the values of Benevolence and Universalism. Furthermore, both the studies by Glenn et al. (2017) and Lee et al. (2013) found that although those high in psychopathy were motivated by financial success, this was not simply related to having a high income which allowed them to lead a more enjoyable life. The psychopathic individuals in these studies preferred to have *more* of an absolute level of a good (income, vacation time, education for their children, sex, money) even if this meant that they had less of the absolute level of that good. This finding, together with the high scores on the value of power of those high in psychopathy, may indicate that their need for domination may be of more intrinsic value to them than wealth or pleasure (Glenn et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2013). Moreover, Glenn and colleagues (2017) postulate that being financially successful may be a way for psychopathic individuals to fulfill their desire to have power over others.

Glenn and colleagues (2017) theorize that the focus of psychopathic individuals on obtaining social dominance, in combination with the lack of care for other people, may underlie their anti-social behavior when obtaining power (see also Fanti et al., 2015; Lobbestael et al., 2018). While others might gain power through working hard (personal achievement), those high in psychopathy may reach their goals through manipulation and fraud without considering the relations with others (Cheng et al., 2013; Glenn et al., 2017). They may presumably mask this behavior with their charm and well-developed self-presentation skills (Glenn et al., 2017).

Based on the outlined studies on the psychopathy and the need for domination link, we hypothesize that of the three core life motivations, certain psychopathic individuals may be exclusively focused on the need for domination. The studied psychopathic individuals were not motivated by the need for affiliation or the need for achievement (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). Although some scholars have proposed that those high in psychopathy score high on dominance motivation in order to achieve other goals such as financial gain or sex (e.g. Crawford & Salmon, 2002; Manson et al., 2014), this contrasts with the findings of Glenn and colleagues (2017) and Lee and colleagues (2013). Indeed, Glenn et al. (2017) found that psychopathic individuals prefer to have more of a certain good when compared to others rather than having a greater absolute amount of that good. According to these scholars this finding may indicate that for psychopathic individuals the need for domination has value in and of itself (cf. Lee et al., 2013).

4. The need for domination in psychopathic leadership

4.1. Preference for leadership positions

The findings from the aforementioned studies on the value of the need for domination for those high in psychopathy may help clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). In all of the studies outlined in the previous two paragraphs the need for domination was the only important life motivation which was consistently associated with psychopathy (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2015; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al., 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). This finding is in line with Altmeyer (2004) who postulates that those people that score high in social dominance are strongly drawn to power. The psychopathy-social dominance link has been established in many studies (e.g. Harpur et al., 1989; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Nyholm & Häkkänen-Nyholm, 2012; Verona et al., 2001). Furthermore, Son Hing et al. (2007) postulate that people who score high in social dominance have a greater chance to become leaders. Moreover, according to these scholars the dominant behavior towards others make such people appear to be competent in their leadership, even when this is not the case (Babiak, 1995, 1996; Babiak et al., 2010; Judge et al., 2009). These postulations are in coherence with Lykken (1995) who was one of the first to speculate on the manifestation of psychopathy in leadership.

Hirschfeld and Van Scotter (2018) concluded in their review study on vocational behavior of the Dark Triad that individuals with higher SDO scores (social dominance orientation) have the tendency to be drawn to high status careers with hierarchical positions. Several of the studies outlined in the previous two paragraphs found strong associations between psychopathy and SDO scores (Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2013; Jones & Figueredo, 2013). Indeed, Lobbestael et al. (2018) found in their study that those high in psychopathic traits had a preference for supervisory positions. Furthermore, these scholars found that those individuals high in psychopathic traits who opted for supervisory positions had higher scores on the factor 1 traits in comparison to those who opted for a job under supervision. Lilienfeld et al. (2014) also found that psychopathic traits were moderately correlated with being in a leadership position. These scholars hypothesize that the increased attention for the subject of psychopathy in leadership is generated by the idea that the psychopathic traits of social risk-taking and boldness may draw those high in psychopathy to leadership positions (Lilienfeld et al., 2014). Based on the studies outlined in this article we hypothesize that although risk-raking, boldness, sensation seeking, and financial gain may also draw certain psychopathic individuals to leadership, the need for domination may be the core motivational trait in their psychological profile (Glenn et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2013: Yildirim & Derksen, 2015).

4.2. Factor 1 and the need for domination in psychopathic leadership

In the studies outlined in the previous paragraphs on social dominance and the need for domination in psychopathy several studies showed that social dominance and the need for domination were most connected to the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits and not to the lifestyle/anti-social factor 2 traits of psychopathy (e.g. Fanti et al., 2015; Glenn et al., 2017; Hodson et al., 2009; Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014). In the studies conducted by Harpur et al. (1989) and Verona et al. (2001), the authors found that Factor 1 was associated with social dominance. Based on their cluster analysis, Hicks et al. (2004) described an emotionally stable psychopathic group. This emotionally stable psychopathic cluster is characterized by a group of adaptive traits such as high social dominance, strategic behavior, and resistance to stress. This group of features does not only resemble Cleckley's portrayals of subclinical psychopathy but these traits are also very desirable in a leadership position (Babiak, 1995, 1996).

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

In the scarce research on psychopathic leadership it was found that

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

These data are in line with the findings of a review study by Gao and Raine (2010) in which differences in the profiles of 'successful' (uncaught) psychopathic individuals and 'unsuccessful' (imprisoned) psychopathic individuals are suggested. Gao and Raine (2010) found the same difference in pattern in their review on the dissimilarities between 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' psychopathic individuals: the 'successful' group scored high on Factor 1, the 'unsuccessful' group scored low on Factor 1. These two profiles are based on an analysis of five different populations that may be regarded as 'successful' psychopathic individuals: individuals from temporary employment agencies scoring high in psychopathy, a media-recruited community sample high in psychopathy, industrial psychopathic individuals, college students high in psychopathy, and psychopathic serial killers. This last group is considered 'semi-successful' in this study because although the acts of serial killers are criminal and cruel, many of them were very competent in carefully planning and perpetrating their crimes. In addition, many of them were also successful at concealing their crimes, sometimes for prolonged periods. Furthermore, they were also able to charm their victims into initially trusting them by creating a loving and caring façade. At the same time, many of them were living normal family lives with jobs (Gao & Raine, 2010; Hickey, 2005). This group may combine their psychopathic traits with adaptive features such as high self-control and planning capabilities that enable them to be 'successful' at their crimes and at remaining undetected for a considerable period of time (Ishikawa et al., 2001).

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

Based on the aforementioned findings we hypothesize that it is conceivable that certain psychopathy types show more social dominance and need for domination in their profile than other psychopathy subtypes. Indeed, in the continuum of psychopathic subtypes as proposed by Yildirim and Derksen (2015) the controlled primary psychopathy type shows the combination of high levels of Factor 1 and the need for domination (see Table 2). Furthermore, according to Keltner et al. (2003), certain personality traits such as social dominance, positive affect, a focus on rewards, social skills, charisma, and extraversion may increase the opportunity to gain power. These traits are all part of the primary psychopathic profile (Hicks & Drislane, 2018; Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Thus, when psychopathic individuals pursue leadership and power for reasons related to their need for domination, their personality traits may support attaining these positions. Moreover, these primary psychopathic traits may assist them in increasing power and domination once they are in a leadership position (Keltner et al., 2003).

4.4. Conclusions: psychopathic leadership and the need for domination

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

All of the studies that measured the association between psychopathy and the need for domination showed a link between psychopathy and dominance motivation. Although only a few studies have been conducted on the psychopathy-need for domination link, these studies show some intriguing insights on the motivation for social dominance in psychopathy (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2015; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al., 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015).

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

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

Third, some scholars have speculated that psychopathic traits in leadership may not have negative consequences or may even be beneficial (Spencer & Byrne, 2016). However, most studies on psychopathic leadership have shown that the consequences of leaders high in psychopathy are negative for the organizations' finances and its employees (Babiak, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2016; Babiak & Hare, 2007; Babiak et al., 2010; Blickle et al., 2006; Boddy, 2011; Boddy et al., 2010; Boddy & Taplin, 2017; Bucy et al., 2008; Clarke, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Palmen et al., 2018; Mathieu & Babiak, 2015; Mathieu et al., 2015, Mathieu et al., 2014; Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010, Ray, 2007). These negative consequences of psychopathic leadership may be clarified by the need for domination as a value in and of it itself in psychopathic leadership. Indeed, all of the studies on the need for

domination in psychopathy show that in psychopathic individuals the need for domination is not combined with the need for achievement or the need for affiliation (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Fanti et al., 2015; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Lobbestael et al., 2018, Manson et al., 2014; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). In contrast with these findings, individuals high in narcissism or Machiavellianism may combine the need for domination with the need for achievement or prestige, or in the case of narcissism also with the need for affiliation (Dowgwillo & Pincus, 2016; Glenn et al., 2017; Jonason & Ferrell, 2016; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Semenyna & Honey, 2015). According to Glenn et al. (2017), the need for power without the need for achievement or the need for affiliation paves the way for anti-social behavior focused on self gain. If psychopathic leaders are primarily focused on the need for domination, this focus could lead to abuse of personnel and other unethical behavior.

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

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

4.5. The need for domination in the proposed model of the psychopathic leader

Based on the conclusions in the previous section, we hypothesize that the need for domination may be the core motivational trait for those psychopathic individuals who pursue positions of leadership in business and politics. Because for psychopathic leaders the need for domination may have value in of itself, we hypothesize that this motivational trait may best clarify the estimated high prevalence of psychopathic leaders (Babiak et al., 2010; Landay et al., 2019). Furthermore, studies have indicated that the need for domination may be most connected with the interpersonal and affective traits of Factor 1, specifically with the interpersonal facet (Fanti et al., 2015; Gao & Raine, 2010; Hicks et al., 2004; Hodson et al., 2009; Ishikawa et al., 2001; Lobbestael et al., 2018; Manson et al., 2014; Verona et al., 2001).

We hypothesize that in the model of the psychopathic leader (the PL model), the need for domination not only moderates the maladaptive outcomes of the core psychopathic traits of Factor 1 and fearlessness but also predisposes these psychopathic individuals to find leadership positions attractive (Palmen et al., 2019). The PL model and the hypotheses of the need for domination and the associations between the need for domination and the interpersonal facet of Factor 1 are outlined below (Fig. 2). The hypotheses of the different levels of the most important motivations in psychopathic leadership are summarized in Table 3.

5. Conclusions and future directions

In this article we have explored the possible reason(s) for the (estimated) overrepresentation of psychopathic individuals in leadership positions in the general community. In our model of the psychopathic leader (the PL model), we defined the trait need for domination to be the most important motivator for those high in psychopathy to seek out leadership positions. We postulate that in a position of power these individuals can most effectively fulfill their desire to control and dominate other people.

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

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

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

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

5.1. Future directions

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

First, research on the need for domination in psychopathic leadership should focus on the combination between the need for domination and hedonism. Glenn and colleagues (2017) and Lee et al. (2013) found that although those higher in psychopathic traits value obtaining certain goods for themselves, most important to this group is having *more* of these goods than others. Individuals high in psychopathy showed high scores on the value of power and Social Dominance Orientation. These findings lead Glenn et al. (2017) to postulate that for psychopathic

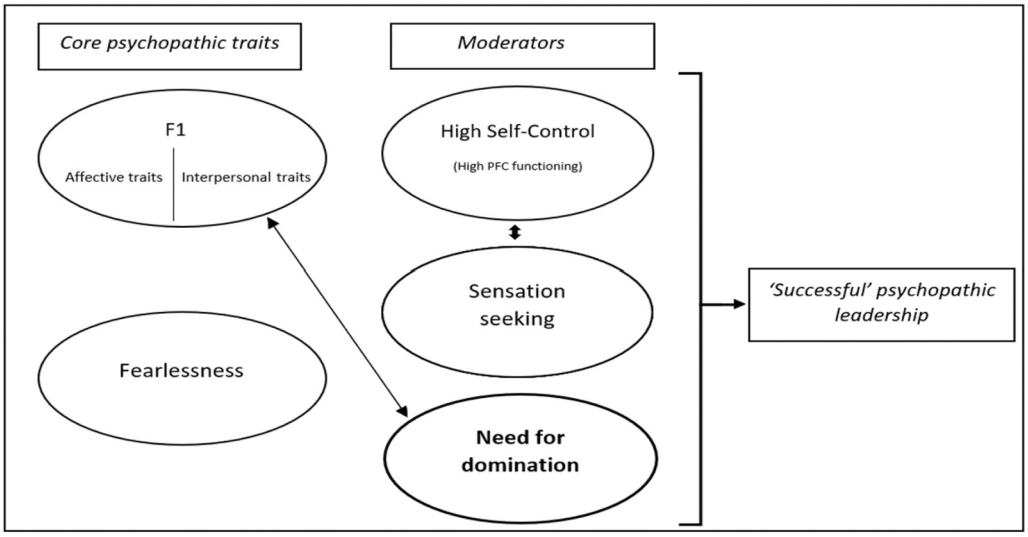

Fig. 2. The model of the psychopathic leader (the PL model): the need for domination and the hypothesized interaction between the need for domination and the interpersonal factor of Factor 1.

Table 3

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

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

individuals, the need for power is not only important in order to obtain desired goods but that it may be a value in and of itself. Therefore, another focus in the research on psychopathic leadership should be assessing whether having a certain amount of a good is less important than having more of that particular good than others have.

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

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

Fourth, future studies on the need for domination should also focus on the possible differences between psychopathic men and women in leadership. Although research indicates that those men and women high in psychopathy showed high levels of the need for domination and dominant leadership (Semenyna & Honey, 2015), it is possible that men choose different tactics to fulfill the need for domination than women (Semenyna & Honey, 2015). Men may choose overt aggression and intimidation whereas women may use more communal ways and seductive methods to gain power over others (Budworth & Mann, 2010; Buss, 1981; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Hare, 1993; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Semenyna & Honey, 2015).

Fifth, future studies should focus on which operationalization and which instruments may best suit the work environment when studying the need for domination in psychopathic leadership. The assessment of psychopathy or other personality disorders in organizational environments is challenging. Studying the values, goals, and motivations in assessments for leadership positions may help to provide valuable information as to whether or not an individual is competent for leadership. Assessing the need for domination and other core motivations and goals in life in the selection of individuals for leadership may assist in detecting those high in psychopathy. In organizational environments, the motivational traits may be best measured by a self-assessment such as the Swartz Values Scale. This instrument assesses the guiding principles in people's lives (Glenn et al., 2017) and can then be combined with rating dominance motivation during an assessment of personal space in the job interview (Lobbestael et al., 2018). The Swartz Value Scale assesses the prioritization of the need for domination in comparison with other motivations in life. Additionally assessing dominance motivation in a real-life situation can give insights as to whether the self-assessment Swartz Value Scale was completed honestly. This is important because psychopathic individuals are prone to manipulation and deception (Hare, 2003).

Sixth, the literature suggests that social dominance and the need for domination are most strongly connected to the factor 1 traits (especially the interpersonal facet of Factor 1). Therefore, future studies on psychopathic leadership should focus on the correlation between the two psychopathy factors (Factor 1 and Factor 2) and social dominance and

the need for domination. Furthermore, before embarking on such studies, scholars should take note of the debate about the specific operationalization of the factor 1/affective and interpersonal traits of psychopathy (e.g. Miller & Lynam, 2012; Lilienfeld et al., 2018). In these studies, different operationalizations of the interpersonal and affective factor 1 traits should be employed such as operationalized in the PCL-R, but also in the PPI-R and the TriPM.

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

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