

Psychopathy and machiavellianism predict differences in racially motivated attitudes and their affiliations

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doi: 10.1111/jasp.12035

Abstract

Different forms of racism and racist groups should be differentially attractive to politically motivated members of the Dark Triad. Study 1 showed that high levels of both Machiavellianism and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) predicted modern racism, whereas high levels of psychopathy and RWA predicted old-fashioned racism. In Study 2, those high in Machiavellianism and RWA wanted to join a traditional Ku Klux Klan (KKK) group, emphasizing nonviolence and political strategies. However, those high in psychopathy and RWA wanted to join a violent, Neo-Nazi militia group. The studies highlight differences between Machiavellianism and psychopathy in expression of antisocial tendencies and dispositions. In addition, when combined with RWA endorsement, these traits can lead to the support of destructive organizations.

Racism comes in different forms (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981), as do racist ideologies and approaches to discrimination (e.g., Blee, 1998; McConahay, 1983; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). For example, old-fashioned racism is embedded in opposition of any form of racial equality (Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). Modern racism, however, focuses on specific types of inequality, rather than negative responses to minorities in general. Such across-the-board racism is the hallmark of old-fashioned racism (Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). Old-fashioned racism is endorsed by those who believe that Whites and non-Whites should be separated and that minorities are less intelligent (McConahay et al., 1981) and even less human (e.g., Vala, Pereira, & Costa-Lopes, 2009). Thus, old-fashioned racism is more closely associated with open discrimination and overt racism (McConahay et al., 1981).

Modern racism, by contrast, is a more political form of racism (e.g., Henry & Sears, 2002, McConahay, 1986; Sears & Henry, 2003). Modern racism, theorists argue, is the result of changing social norms, which make it inappropriate to openly discriminate against other ethnicities and overtly express racism (McConahay et al., 1981). Modern racism, rather than focusing on direct segregation and superiority of one race over another, focuses on political issues, such as equal rights, affirmative action, and preservation of “White heritage” (Blee, 1998; McConahay et al., 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003).

Distinctions between old-fashioned and modern racism have been debated (e.g., Pettigrew, 2009), with some arguing that the two are different types of racism, and others arguing that modern racism is merely old-fashioned racism dressed in political wrapping (for a review, see Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986). Regardless of the distinction between the two, one issue seems clear: Modern racists do a better job of obfuscating true racial feelings (McConahay et al., 1981). Individuals who feel negatively toward minorities are still likely to have such negative feelings color their visceral responses (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). In fact, among those with racist feelings, some may still have concerns over their social reputation. Such individuals may behave in egalitarian ways only because of social pressure (e.g., Plant & Devine, 1998), driving endorsement of modern racism over old-fashioned racism.

Different hate groups

It appears as though the political flavor of modern racism differs from the aggressive flavor of old-fashioned racism. This difference may drive separate, but similarly destructive, social movements. Recent theory and research have found that modern hate groups are growing increasingly divided (e.g., Blee, 1996, 1998; Ezekiel, 2002). “Traditional” factions of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) are trying to fashion segregation and social movement through political

pressure. Such political pressure requires that traditional groups of KKK members try to distance themselves from more overt hatred groups. Traditional groups of KKK members claim that their motives are not about malevolence toward minorities, but consist of preserving “White heritage” (for a review, see Blee, 1998). Such traditional factions even perform public service to put on a front of being a kind and altruistic organization (Montgomery, 1999).

By contrast, Neo-Nazi militia-style groups, although similar in their desire for segregation and White supremacy, use violence and intimidation to push forward their racist agenda (Blee, 1998; Ezekiel, 2002). For example, unlike the KKK, which keeps membership relatively unknown to the public, more militant groups of racists hold public rallies on the street. Such rallies often end in violence between demonstrators and counterdemonstrators (Ezekiel, 2002). In sum, both groups are interested in “White superiority.” However, militant racists use direct and violent approaches, whereas the traditional racist groups approach the issue politically, rather than violently.

The Dark Triad and the personality of the hater

The *Dark Triad* consists of Machiavellianism and subclinical forms of psychopathy and narcissism.¹ Psychopathy is associated with violence and impulsivity, narcissism with self-absorption and aggrandizement, and Machiavellianism with strategic and manipulative tendencies (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). All three members of the Dark Triad share some common elements. For example, the Dark Triad of personality each possesses callous and manipulative tendencies (Jones & Paulhus, 2011). However, the Dark Triad members are distinct and predict unique outcomes (Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

One main vein that runs through the Dark Triad is a lack of honesty/humility (Lee & Ashton, 2005). Interestingly, honesty/humility has a mixed relationship with prejudice-related variables, such that it correlates positively with right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), but negatively with social dominance orientation (SDO; Sibley, Harding, Perry, Asbrock, & Duckitt, 2010). Likewise, high openness to experience is negatively linked with prejudice, but positively linked with narcissism (e.g., Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006; Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Vernon, Villani, Vickers, & Harris, 2008). Considering these complexities, the link between the Dark Triad and prejudice is likely to be more complex than first thought.

In the first paper to look at the Dark Triad and prejudice, Hodson, Hogg, and MacInnis (2009) suggested that the

members of the Dark Triad are more likely to express prejudice toward out-group members. Although an important contribution, there are several limitations to this research. For example, Hodson et al. examined the relationship of a higher-order Dark Triad latent variable, ignoring important residual components (for a review, see Jones & Paulhus, 2011). In fact, Ashton and colleagues (Ashton, Lee, Goldberg, & deVries, 2009) have shown that combinations of variables in the same direction can be deceptive in their higher-order relationships, implying that a higher-order variable is related to an outcome when both the higher-order variable and its relationships can be statistical artifacts. Given the lack of theory supporting the idea that members of the Dark Triad are racist, coupled with inconsistent correlations with outcomes, it is likely that the direct relationship of the Dark Triad to prejudice is not so direct.

In addition, there is no theoretical reason why any of the Dark Triad members, in and of themselves, should be linked to prejudice. In fact, if Dark Triad members are asked to evaluate members of their own ethnic group, similar evaluations may emerge. Such negative evaluations of others stem from a common, callous core (Jones & Paulhus, 2011), and interpersonal antagonism found in the Dark Triad and even social dominance (Jones & Figueredo, in press), leading to individualized selfish behavior, which is unrelated to prejudice (Sears, 1988; Sears & Funk, 1991). It is only when the individual harbors selfishness at a group level, such as in the case of social dominance, that selfishness predicts prejudice. However, the Dark Triad traits should only relate to ethnic identity if such identity aids in obtaining selfish goals.

To this end, research and theory assert that the Dark Triad elements are uncorrelated with the interests of others, regardless of ethnicity. In fact, each variable constitutes an ideological neutral disposition. Narcissism, for example, is associated with egotistic needs and openness to experience (see Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). In-group members are just as likely to threaten or enhance one's ego as are out-group members. Further, Machiavellianism is defined by social/political neutrality (Christie & Geis, 1970). This neutrality stems from the fact that a Machiavellian individual goes where the benefits are. Finally, psychopathy is associated with abandoning family and friends and with a remarkable absence of loyalty (Hare, 1999). In particular, Machiavellianism and psychopathy have no social/political ties and are solely concerned with their own selfish goals.

Hodson et al. (2009) also found no correlation between any elements of the Dark Triad and RWA. Thus, overall, Dark Triad members should not discriminate in favor of their own ethnic group; people of all ethnicities are seen as potential rivals to someone with an antagonistic worldview (Jones & Figueredo, in press). In sum, selfishness and social/political neutrality should be unrelated to racism, and the correlation

¹Throughout this article, I use the terms *psychopathy* and *narcissism*, but I refer to their subclinical forms.

of the Dark Triad to racism is most likely spurious because of correlations with social dominance.

However, what would happen if someone high in Machiavellianism or psychopathy did have a political orientation? For example, the small relationship between Machiavellianism and social/political attitudes (e.g., RWA) could mean that those high in Machiavellianism are politically neutral, or it could mean that Machiavellianism exists at all levels of RWA. The same argument could be applied to psychopathy. Thus, such combinations of traits and attitudes may leave individuals motivated to join organizations of racial hatred for selfish benefit.

Further divisions in the Dark Triad

Dark Triad members differ in aggression (Jones & Paulhus, 2010). Machiavellians do not respond aggressively to provocation of a physical or ego-threatening nature. By contrast, individuals high in psychopathy are more aggressive in response to the former, while individuals high in narcissism are more aggressive in response to the latter. In sum, the Dark Triad members—particularly psychopathy and Machiavellianism—have similar interpersonal dispositions (manipulative and callous), but differing intrapersonal tactics (e.g., strategic vs. aggressive; Jones & Paulhus, 2011).

Machiavellianism is linked to long-term strategy, thinking big, planning, and reputation (Jones & Paulhus, 2009). Reputational concerns and dispositions toward planning leave Machiavellian traits advantageous for debating (Wilson, Near, & Miller, 1998) and politics (e.g., Deluga, 2001; Simonton, 1986). In other words, individuals high in Machiavellianism will use any means necessary to forward a political cause, making these individuals effective in such pursuits. In sum, the combination of a firmly held negative social or political view, coupled with a Machiavellian disposition, should lead to the endorsement of socially destructive groups, as opposed to just isolated selfish behavior.

Psychopathy, on the other hand, epitomizes the personality of short-term thinking, callousness, and violence (Hare, Hart, & Harpur, 1991). They seek immediate gratification, and engage in overly aggressive (Reidy, Zeichner, & Martinez, 2008) and impulsive behavior (Newman, 1987). Such individuals also have little concern for (a) those they hurt (Hare, 1999); (b) the consequences of their actions (Patterson & Newman, 1993); or (c) their future reputation (e.g., Lalumière, Harris, & Rice, 2001).

Differences in racist beliefs and social movements

Because of the association psychopathy has with impulsivity and aggression, those high in psychopathy with racist/prejudiced attitudes are not likely to engage in long-term or

political tactics to accomplish their racist goals. Instead, such political ideology mixed with psychopathy would be grounded in antisocial behavior and violence. This disregard for societal norms and reputation leads such individuals to openly endorse old-fashioned racism. In addition, political movements that attempt to forward a selfish in-group agenda are not likely to offend those high in psychopathy on ideological grounds, just methodological ones. As a result, those high in psychopathy are likely to endorse direct, aggressive, and violent agendas. In this way, organizations maintaining a selfish in-group agenda through violence and aggression would be maximally appealing to someone high in both psychopathy and RWA.

Among those who do harbor attitudes encouraging racism (e.g., RWA), high levels of Machiavellianism should be linked to a different kind of racism when compared to those high in RWA and psychopathy. Those high in Machiavellianism are, by definition, political strategists with selfish agendas. If that selfish agenda, however, consists of out-group discrimination (i.e., high RWA), then those high in Machiavellianism will endorse modern racist ideologies. In addition, individuals high in both Machiavellianism and RWA are likely to be drawn to organizations that use political strategy to forward a selfish in-group agenda, minimizing damage to one's reputation. The appeal of such an organization comes from the fact that such individuals are more likely than others to be able to put a prosocial spin on their beliefs to disguise their true intentions.

Summary of predictions

I predict that those high in Machiavellianism, who are also high in RWA, will endorse the highest level of modern racism and will be attracted to a real racist organization that uses political strategy over violence. By contrast, I predict that those high in both psychopathy and RWA will endorse the highest level of old-fashioned racism and will be attracted to a real racist organization that uses violence over political strategy.

The current studies

Overview

I investigated how psychopathy and Machiavellianism, when combined with high levels of RWA, relate to different types of racism and attraction to different racist organizations. All studies reported were conducted online to ensure anonymity in all responses. For both studies, the participants were recruited through a website called "Mechanical Turk" (or MTurk). Data from MTurk are not only as reliable as student samples, but are superior for obtaining diverse samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Given the need for

diversity in opinions for the present study, an MTurk sample was ideal. There were no inclusion or exclusion criteria, and participants were paid for their participation.

Data analysis

First, bivariate correlations were computed among the predictors and between the predictors and outcome variables. Next, regressions were used to control for the overlap among predictors. All variables were first standardized before computing interaction terms or being entered into regression models.

For Study 1, two regressions were conducted: one predicting modern racism, and one predicting old-fashioned racism.² Step 1 contained the main effects of Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and RWA,³ and Step 2 contained the Machiavellianism \times RWA and Psychopathy \times RWA interactions. In the interest of effect size parameters, the data were reanalyzed in the package *R*. In *R*, the data were resampled (i.e., bootstrapped), and confidence intervals were calculated for each beta weight. In each case, I also examined the R^2 change in the regression by adding the interaction terms.

Similar to those in Study 1, the Study 2 analyses also consisted of two hierarchical regressions with the same predictors. This time, the two outcomes predicted were a desire to join a real political racist movement and a desire to join a violent racist movement.

Secondary analyses

One issue with the regression approach centers on the high levels of multicollinearity among the outcomes and predictors. In order to demonstrate that the interaction terms contribute significantly to the model, even when all variables are controlled for, I used structural equation modeling (SEM) techniques in Study 1. This model consists of five predictors (Machiavellianism, psychopathy, narcissism, social dominance, and RWA) and two outcomes (modern racism and old-fashioned racism). This model was then run with and without the two predicted interaction terms (Psychopathy \times RWA and Machiavellianism \times RWA), in order to demonstrate the contribution of these interactions. Unfortunately, Study 2 lacked sufficient power for the SEM approach (attempts led to nonconvergence). However, similar

²Given the high level of overlap between the outcomes in both Studies 1 and 2, regressions were also analyzed, controlling for their overlap. Ultimately, there are perils to such partialling procedures (Lynam, Hoyle, & Newman, 2006), which lead to misleading results. Fortunately, the data were mostly unchanged using these partialling procedures.

³It is important to note that including or excluding social dominance or narcissism has no effect on the overall results for either study. In the interest of strong inference and because of small sample sizes, these variables were not included in the final reported regressions.

regression results, and an improvement in R^2 , would suggest similar results.

Study 1

Study 1 proposed two hypotheses. Those high in both Machiavellianism and RWA will endorse the highest levels of modern racism, and those high in psychopathy and RWA will endorse the highest levels of old-fashioned racism.

Method

Participants

A sample of 164 adults was collected online from across the United States using MTurk. Given the interest prejudice/racism targeting African Americans (AA) or Black Americans, I removed African Americans from the sample, leaving 157 participants (61 men, 96 women; M age = 33.5 years, range = 19–69 years). The breakdown of participants was as follows: 82% European heritage, 12% East Asian, and 6% other/mixed ethnicities). Yearly income ranged from \$12,000 to over \$100,000, and professions were wide-ranging, including students, homemakers, teachers, and business professionals. The means and distributions of all predictors were typical of previously reported research. Additionally, skew and kurtosis of all variables were reasonable (all variables: skewness $< .93$; kurtosis $> -.76$ or $< .54$).

Measures

Psychopathy

In order to measure psychopathy, we used the short form of the Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (SRP-SF; Paulhus, Neumann, & Hare, in press). The SRP-SF uses 29 of the scale's original 64 items. The SRP-SF still measures the four facets of psychopathy, which are erratic lifestyle, interpersonal manipulation, callous affect, and antisocial behavior. However, the SRP-SF accomplishes this task with fewer items. The overall scale demonstrated excellent reliability ($\alpha = .91$; see Table 1 for all predictor intercorrelations for both studies).

Machiavellianism

In order to measure the construct of Machiavellianism, we used the MACH-IV by Christie and Geis (1970). The MACH-IV is a 20-item Likert-type questionnaire that has demonstrated good internal reliability ($\alpha = .87$).

Narcissism

We assessed narcissism using a short version of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1979), the NPI-16

Table 1 Correlations Among the Dark Triad, RWA, and SDO: Studies 1 and 2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Psychopathy	—	.58**	.66**	.39**	.00
2. Narcissism	.46**	—	.58**	.24*	.05
3. Machiavellianism	.68**	.37**	—	.30**	-.04
4. SDO	.26**	.15	.27**	—	.38**
5. RWA	-.05	-.19*	.08	.43**	—

Note. Dark Triad = Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; SDO = social dominance orientation. Study 1 results appear below the diagonal, while Study 2 results appear above the diagonal.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (all tests two-tailed).

(Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006). The NPI-16 is a 16-item forced-choice questionnaire that measures narcissism in a self-report fashion. The NPI-16 had good reliability in the current sample ($\alpha = .82$).

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA)

We assessed political views using the short version of the RWA scale (Zakrisson, 2005). The RWA scale is a 15-item measure that assesses individual differences in desire for a certain social order. It has been shown to predict racism in the past (e.g., Duckitt & Fisher, 2003; Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004), and it demonstrated good reliability in the current study ($\alpha = .90$).

Social dominance orientation (SDO)

We also assessed SDO (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). The SDO scale is a 16-item measure that assesses the belief that some groups are superior to others. Social dominance has been linked to racism/prejudice (e.g., Pratto et al., 1994), and this scale had good reliability ($\alpha = .93$).

Modern and old-fashioned racism

Racism was measured using McConahay et al.'s (1981) Old-Fashioned Racism and Modern Racism Scales. Sample items for old-fashioned racism include "Black people are generally not as smart as Whites," and "It is a bad idea for Blacks and Whites to marry one another." Sample items for modern racism include "The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around," and "Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights."

Alpha reliability was good for both modern racism ($\alpha = .86$) and old-fashioned racism ($\alpha = .80$). In line with previous research, the two scales were also significantly correlated, $r(156) = .69, p < .001$.

Results and discussion

Raw correlations among the predictors, as well as between the predictors and the outcome variables, can be seen in Table 2. The results indicate strong and positive intercorrelations among the predictors, with the exception that RWA had no substantial correlation with any Dark Triad member, thus replicating previous research.

Regression results for old-fashioned racism reveal a main effect for RWA, replicating previous research (i.e., Duckitt, 2006). However, as predicted, there was also a marginally significant Psychopathy \times RWA interaction (see Table 3 for all regression models). Figure 1 shows that high levels of both psychopathy and RWA led to the highest levels of old-fashioned racism. Simple-slopes analysis reveals that psychopathy was a significant predictor of old-fashioned racism when RWA scores were at the mean ($\beta = .20, p < .05$), and one standard deviation above the mean ($\beta = .38, p < .05$), but not at one standard deviation below the mean ($\beta = .03, p > .10$). Thus, individuals high in both psychopathy and RWA are most likely to report blatant discriminatory attitudes against African Americans. The change in R^2 was also significant between Step 1 (main effects) and Step 2 (the interaction terms) for the regression predicting old-fashioned racism, $F(2, 151) = 4.64, p = .011$, suggesting that the interactions contributed to the model.

It is important to note that this interaction emerges even if the Anti-Social Behavior Facet (ASB) of the SRP-SF is removed. This concern stems from the fact that antisocial behavior and prejudice often go together in people (e.g., Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003). However, I argue that it is having a high score on psychopathy, which is made up of four intercorrelated facets, that leads to prejudice when combined with high levels of RWA. Thus, the present findings cannot be explained via mere antisocial tendencies. Moreover, antisocial behavior is a critical part of predicting psychopathy and should not be removed from the four-facet model (see Hare & Neumann, 2009).

With respect to modern racism, there was a significant Machiavellianism \times RWA interaction. As can be seen in Figure 2, high levels of both Machiavellianism and RWA led to the highest level of modern racism. Simple-slopes analysis reveals that Machiavellianism was a significant predictor of modern racism when RWA scores were at the mean ($\beta = .26, p < .01$) and one standard deviation above the RWA mean ($\beta = .45, p < .01$), but not at one standard deviation below the mean ($\beta = .07, p > .10$). Thus, individuals high in both Machiavellianism and RWA are likely to endorse racism of a covert and political flavor. It is important to note that there was, again, a significant change in R^2 from Step 1 (main effects) to Step 2 (interaction terms), $F(2, 151) = 4.81, p = .009$. These significant changes suggest that the interactions contributed to the model.

Table 2 Dark Triad, RWA, and SDO and Correlations With Study Outcomes: Studies 1 and 2

	Study 1 outcomes		Study 2 outcomes	
	Old-fashioned racism	Modern racism	Neo-Nazi support	KKK support
Psychopathy	.19*	.20*	.36**	.13
Narcissism	.08	.07	.17	.01
Machiavellianism	.15	.14	.34**	.21*
SDO	.65**	.56**	.52**	.31**
RWA	.47**	.52**	.41**	.51**

Note. Dark Triad = Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; SDO = social dominance orientation. Study 1 results appear below the diagonal, while Study 2 results appear above the diagonal.

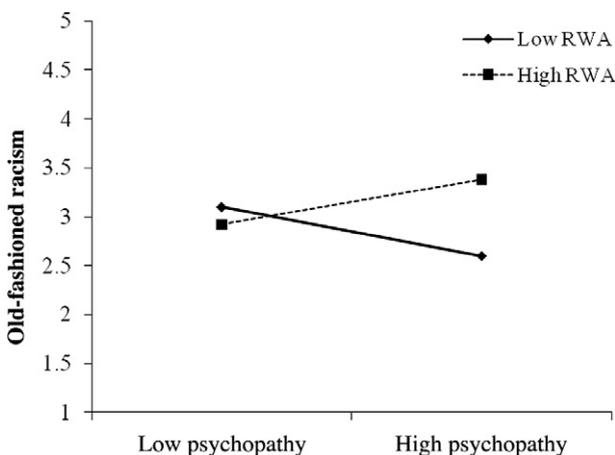
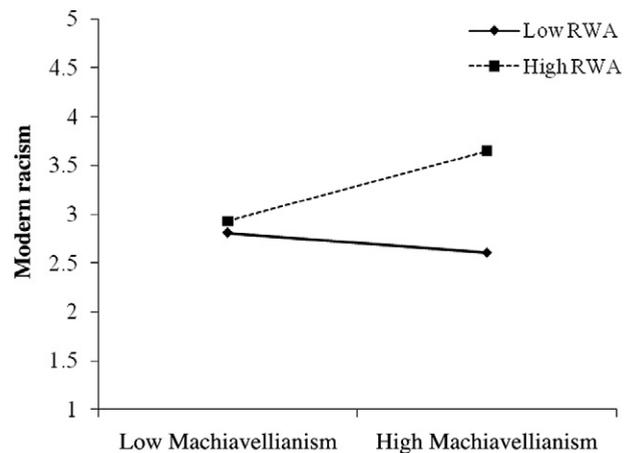
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (all tests two-tailed).

Table 3 Regression Models: Studies 1 and 2

	Study 1 outcomes				Study 2 outcomes			
	Old-fashioned racism		Modern racism		Desire to join IKA		Desire to join KKK	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Psychopathy (P)	.06	-.09, .24	.11	-.04, .28	.40*	-.06, .52	.00	-.27, .25
Machiavellianism (M)	.15*	.04, .37	.14†	-.03, .35	.20	-.10, .33	.25	-.08, .40
RWA	.44*	.43, .73	.47**	.41, .69	.47**	.23, .57	.64	.30, .63
P \times RWA	.16†	-.02, .44	-.13	-.34, -.03	.16†	-.01, .42	-.08	-.27, .12
M \times RWA	.03	-.15, .23	.24**	.10, .46	.11	-.06, .31	.29*	.10, .49

Note. RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; CI = confidence interval.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (all tests two-tailed).

**Figure 1** Psychopathy \times Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) predicting old-fashioned racism.**Figure 2** Machiavellianism \times Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) predicting modern racism.

Given that both RWA and SDO are very important predictors of prejudice/racism (e.g., Duckitt, 2006), I conducted similar interactions using SDO (i.e., Machiavellianism \times SDO; Psychopathy \times SDO). However, none of these interactions were significant. One potential reason for these interactions being dissimilar to those with RWA stems from the fact that (a) social dominance shares a common malevolent core with the Dark Triad (Jones & Figueredo, in press), unlike

RWA; and (b) RWA is a variable focused on social order, rather than group superiority (Duckitt, 2006), the former unrelated to Machiavellianism and psychopathy.

Secondary analysis

A structural equation model (SEM) was set up in Mplus (extraction = robust maximum likelihood or MLR) with two

balanced and even parcels used to create latent variables of all the variables (i.e., psychopathy, Machiavellianism, narcissism, social dominance, RWA, modern racism, and old-fashioned racism) in the model (for proper parceling procedure, see Bandalos, 2002). A higher-order latent variable was made from psychopathy, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and social dominance, which all intercorrelated positively (Jones & Figueredo, in press). A second higher-order factor was made from combining RWA and social dominance. A third higher-order factor was made from combining modern racism and old-fashioned racism. The third higher-order factor (racism) was regressed onto the first two higher-order factors. Then, old-fashioned racism alone was regressed onto psychopathy, RWA, and the interaction between the two. Simultaneously, modern racism alone was regressed onto Machiavellianism, RWA, and their interaction. All other default correlations were permitted.

The interaction terms were created following closely the procedures outlined in the Mplus user's guide (Muthén & Muthén, 1998), which uses quasi-maximum likelihood (QML) as the default approach for computing interactions (also see Klein & Muthén, 2002; Marsh, Wen, & Hau, 2004). Unfortunately, Mplus does not provide comparable output (e.g., path loadings) to most latent models for interaction and moderated models (Henderson, Dakof, Schwartz, & Liddle, 2006). However, one method of assessing improvement to the model is to compare the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) for the model containing interactions to the one without interactions (Henderson et al., 2006). A lower BIC score indicates better fit. The non-interaction model had a BIC of approximately 2622.434 and a sample-size adjusted BIC of 2457.834. The interaction model did better, with a BIC of 2613.195 and a sample-size adjusted BIC of 2426.437. Therefore, the interactions did contribute to the model.

Study 2

Study 1 confirmed that those high in both RWA and Machiavellianism endorse modern racism, while those high in psychopathy and RWA endorse old-fashioned racism. Study 2 goes beyond Study 1 to determine if the same personality patterns (i.e., high RWA and Machiavellianism, high RWA and psychopathy) will predict differential endorsement of violent versus political racist organizations.

Method

Participants

A second online sample of 156 adults was collected. Given the emphasis on White supremacy groups, only those of European heritage (i.e., White/Caucasian) were included in the analysis, leaving 89 participants (32 men, 57 women; M

age = 35.2 years, $SD = 11.1$; range = 18–66 years). Again, the sample had a wide range of incomes and professions.

Measures

I used the same scales as in Study 1 to measure the Dark Triad, RWA, and social dominance, with the exception that I included the full 64-item SRP in Study 2. Similar to Study 1, all predictor variables had typical means and distributions, along with good alpha reliabilities (MACH-IV $\alpha = .86$; NPI $\alpha = .84$; SRP $\alpha = .93$; RWA $\alpha = .89$; SDO $\alpha = .91$; see Table 1 for intercorrelations).

Racist recruitment statements

In order to assess which organization individuals would be most likely to support, identify with, and join, four actual recruitment statements were taken from four different websites. The statement on the front page of each website was presented exactly as it appeared on the actual website.⁴ The first group advertisement was the racist, but political and nonviolent webpage of the "traditional" Ku Klux Klan (KKK; <http://www.kkk.com/>):

There is a race war against whites. But our people—my white brothers and sisters—will stay committed to a non-violent resolution. That resolution must consist of solidarity in white communities around the world. The hatred for our children and their future is growing and is being fueled every single day. Stay firm in your convictions. Keep loving your heritage and keep witnessing to others that there is a better way than a war torn, violent, wicked, socialist, new world order. That way is the Christian way—law and order—love of family—love of nation. These are the principles of western Christian civilization. There is a war to destroy these things. Pray that our people see the error of their ways and regain a sense of loyalty. Repent America! Be faithful my fellow believers.

The second group advertisement was the racist, violent, and militaristic webpage of the Imperial Klans of America (IKA; <http://kkkk.net/page1.htm>):

WHITE UNITY is our goal and childish bickering will not accomplish this. Some Klans preach WHITE UNITY but if you don't follow they're [sic] words you're not welcome with them. The IKA practices what it preaches. Unify and stop the divisive rhetoric that has strained our cause. There is only one way to defeat the tyranny of our enemies and that is unity. Now, we are currently in a battle with a tick of an enemy known as

⁴The only exception to this rule was the removal of specific identifying links and personal attacks (i.e., personal names were changed to statements such as "our enemies" so as to keep from fueling attacks on specific people).

Morris Dees and the SPLC. Unlike past Klans we are fighting this agent of Satan. This can happen to any organization that believes as we do. Our enemies have claimed our organization has threatened them but provides no proof. This is done to favor them. Just another one of their lies. Our enemies, hear me when I say "One day you will pass on, as all of us will, and when your [sic] in hell with Satan in all your Homosexual, Deviant, lying ways I say enjoy hell you deserve it." The IKA will never lay down to trash like you. You started a fight you will not win. Remember this Brothers and Sisters; One Nation, One Race, Our Lives, Our Cause, Never Surrender, Never Faultier [sic], Fight, Fight FIGHT!!! WE WILL SUCCEED TOGETHER.

Two more organizations followed, both of which were antiracist. One group was a violent antiracist group (<http://antiracistaction.org/>). The final organization was a political antiracist group (http://www.dwellinmylove.org/rs_antiracism_groups.htm). These groups were included to obfuscate the actual purpose of the study.

After reading each website's passage, participants answered four questions with respect to the organization: "How much do you agree with this passage?" (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*); How likely would you be to join this group? (1 = *not at all likely* to 5 = *extremely likely*); How much do you like this passage? (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*); and "How much would you support this group?" (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*). All items were highly correlated and were averaged to create a single index of group endorsement. Alphas for the different groups ranged from .92 to .97.

Results and discussion

I predicted that those high in both Machiavellianism and RWA would endorse the traditional KKK organization, whereas those high in both psychopathy and RWA would endorse the Neo-Nazi militia group known as the IKA. Endorsement for the two groups overlapped significantly ($r = .61$). All regressions analyzed main effects of the predictors in Step 1 (psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and RWA) and the interaction terms in Step 2 (RWA \times Psychopathy and RWA \times Machiavellianism).

I first predicted endorsement of the IKA. Two main effects emerged: Both psychopathy and RWA significantly predicted endorsement of the IKA. However, as predicted, a Psychopathy \times RWA interaction also emerged. However, as in Study 1, the Psychopathy \times RWA interaction was again marginal using a two-tailed test. Figure 3 demonstrates that the synergistic effect of being both high in psychopathy and high in RWA led to the greatest desire to endorse the IKA. Simple-slopes analysis once again reveals that psychopathy was a significant predictor when RWA scores were at the mean

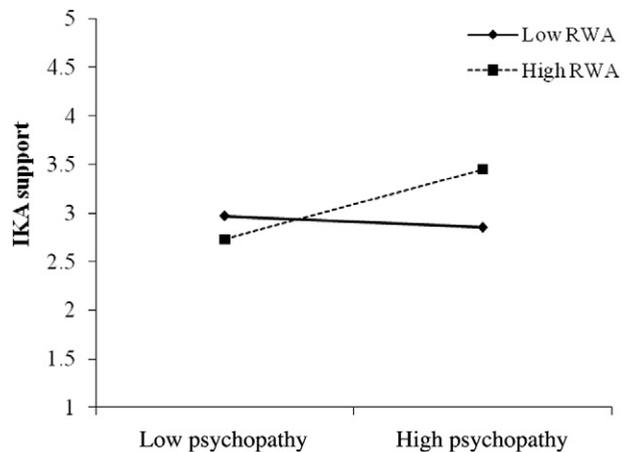


Figure 3 Psychopathy \times Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) predicting desire to join a violent racist group (IKA).

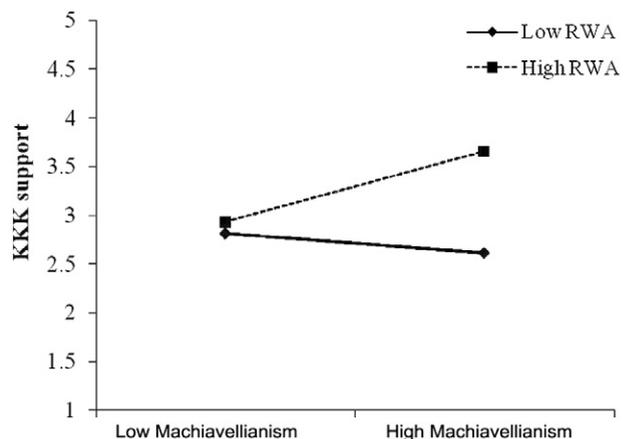


Figure 4 Machiavellianism \times Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) predicting desire to join a nonviolent and political racist group (KKK).

($\beta = .31, p < .05$) and one standard deviation above the mean ($\beta = .60, p < .05$), but not at one standard deviation below the mean ($\beta = .03, p > .10$). Finally, the change in R^2 between Step 1 (main effects) and Step 2 (interaction terms) was significant, $F(2, 83) = 9.48, p < .001$, suggesting that the interactions contributed to the model.

I then predicted endorsement of the KKK. In Step 1, only RWA had a main effect predicting endorsement of the KKK. However, in Step 2, a significant Machiavellianism \times RWA interaction emerged, as predicted. Figure 4 reveals that high levels of both Machiavellianism and RWA led to the greatest endorsement of the KKK. Simple-slopes analysis reveals that Machiavellianism was a significant predictor of support for the KKK when RWA scores were at the mean ($\beta = .19, p < .05$) and one standard deviation above the mean ($\beta = .26, p < .05$), but not one standard deviation below the mean ($\beta = .14,$

Table 4 Desire to Join a Violent or Political Antiracist Group

	Nonracist and violent			Nonracist and nonviolent		
	<i>r</i>	β	95% CI	<i>r</i>	β	95% CI
Nonracist/violent	—	—	—	—	.42**	.20, .66
Nonracist/nonviolent	—	.43**	.25, .62	—	—	—
Psychopathy (P)	.13	.13	-.23, .39	-.01	.16	-.11, .45
Machiavellianism (M)	.11	.19	-.14, .44	-.09	-.14	-.33, .11
Narcissism	-.05	-.14	-.39, .11	-.16	-.08	-.33, .12
Social dominance	-.24*	-.07	-.31, .18	-.33**	-.29*	-.51, -.05
RWA	-.34*	-.19	-.42, .04	-.22*	.03	-.17, .26
P \times RWA	—	-.01	-.26, .23	—	.17	-.11, .48
M \times RWA	—	-.06	-.30, .17	—	-.01	-.38, .26

Note. RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; CI = confidence interval.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (all tests two-tailed).

$p > .10$). Finally, the change in R^2 between Step 1 (main effects) and Step 2 (interaction terms) was significant, $F(2, 83) = 4.93$, $p = .009$. These significant changes suggest that the interactions significantly contributed to the model.

It is important to note that the sample size of Study 2 ($N = 89$) lacks sufficient power to conduct a similar SEM model to that of Study 1. Several attempts led to nonconvergence and a nondefinite matrix. Nevertheless, the similar pattern of interactions suggests similar contributions above and beyond the main effects.

Similar to Study 1, psychopathy and Machiavellianism were examined in interactions with SDO. In this study, a Psychopathy \times SDO interaction did emerge, with an identical pattern to the Psychopathy \times RWA interaction. However, when both interaction terms were entered in the same equation, Psychopathy \times RWA was the only significant interaction. Therefore, it appears that if SDO does interact with psychopathy, this effect is mostly spurious with the overlap of Psychopathy \times RWA.

Finally, similar analyses were conducted on the two nonracist groups. As can be seen in Table 4, RWA and social dominance were negatively correlated with wanting to join either nonracist group. No other results were significant.

General discussion

As predicted, those high in both Machiavellianism and RWA endorsed the highest level of modern racist beliefs, whereas those high in both psychopathy and RWA endorsed the highest level of old-fashioned racist beliefs. Modern racism seems an obvious choice for the individual high in both RWA and Machiavellianism, given the selfishness and callousness racism requires, coupled with the political flavor to the style of racism. Modern racism also makes sense to an individual high in both RWA and Machiavellianism because it is calculating and politically manipulative. It is a type of racism that can avoid damage to one's reputation because of the empha-

sis placed on political issues and social movements. By contrast, however, social repercussions (e.g., reputational damage) would most likely befall individuals openly endorsing blatant racist notions.

This research constitutes a first curious look into Machiavellians with political purpose. Perhaps these individuals actually feel a genuine conviction to a cause, but use Machiavellian tactics to achieve their selfish ends. Perhaps other destructive leaders (i.e., cults) may have conviction (i.e., faith), coupled with Machiavellian dispositions. Nevertheless, an individual with a predisposition toward racism (i.e., high RWA) seems even more prejudiced when that person is callous, strategic, and manipulative as well (i.e., high in Machiavellianism), but only expresses that prejudice in a covert and political way.

It makes just as much sense that those high in both RWA and psychopathy would endorse old-fashioned racist notions. Such individuals have both the social drive to be prejudiced and lack the inhibitory mechanisms that are seemingly necessary to override racist responses (Devine, 1989). They are also extraordinarily selfish and callous, and have little concern for those they hurt, but also see minority groups as the enemy. However, those high in psychopathy are also impulsive, speak without thinking, and have little concern for their reputation. As a result, when coupled with high levels of RWA, one would expect psychopathic individuals to be ruthless, careless, and insensitive toward those who ostensibly get in their way.

Study 2 went further to investigate the type of actual racist group (if any) individuals would want to join. As predicted, after reading actual recruitment passages from different websites, those high in both Machiavellianism and RWA were most likely to want to join the traditional KKK. By contrast, those high in psychopathy and RWA were most likely to want to join the militant IKA (a violent and racist group).

Narcissism, however, had no association with racism or desire to join racist groups, regardless of RWA levels. These

findings make sense, given that those high in narcissism thrive on social reinforcement from others (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Socially undesirable acts do not get individuals high in narcissism the ego reinforcement they need. This search for ego reinforcement from as many people as possible makes racism a poor option for social reinforcement, perhaps with the exception of very specific situations. It is important to note, however, that narcissism was neutral to racism and desire to join racist groups. Therefore, individuals high in narcissism may or may not be racist. Moreover, the selfishness that drives racism is more of a perception of a zero-sum competitive threat to one's group, rather than personal selfishness or threats (e.g., Sears & Funk, 1991).

It is important to note once again that the distinction between those high in Machiavellianism versus psychopathy (e.g., strategic vs. impulsive/violent) is one that should permeate any political or social orientation. Therefore, other variables may interact with Machiavellianism or psychopathy to produce equally interesting results when it comes to social/political movements. Given the interest in prejudice, RWA was the focus of the present research.

This research also sheds light on the importance of looking at moderating variables across dark personality traits, such as those that make up the Dark Triad. Given their common malevolent core, these variables may be related to many negative outcomes, but social/political variance may guide the targets and outcomes of their selfish agendas. In sum, the direct effect of such negative dispositions may be moderated by various dispositions.

The type of callous/selfish disposition (i.e., Machiavellian vs. psychopathic) seems to dictate the type of racist group the individual wants to join. Given the self-reported nature of these data, however, an excellent follow-up study would be to

survey existing members of groups like the KKK or IKA with the three questionnaires of the Dark Triad.

The present findings suggest that extreme levels of these traits—and actual membership in similar organizations—would reveal a similar pattern. In fact, I predict that research on actual members of these groups would result in similar findings. However, it should be noted that some individuals find themselves joining destructive groups for a variety of reasons, including disillusionment (Ezekiel, 2002) or social inclusion (Magouirk, Atran, & Sageman, 2008), rather than malevolence. Although I would argue that many individuals in these organizations would have traits described in the present article, I would also argue that those who seek out these organizations might be drawn by disillusioned feelings or social needs, rather than having a malevolent disposition. Importantly, however, I would further predict that recruiters or leaders of these organizations—especially those who target the disillusioned or socially needy to join—would have high levels of Machiavellianism or psychopathy, along with high levels of RWA.

Individuals who are high in either Machiavellianism or psychopathy have no problem being selfish and exploiting others. However, both personalities, when combined with high levels of RWA, endorse racist ideologies and want to join racist organizations. In spite of these similarities, those high in RWA differ in the type of racism they endorse and the racist organization they want to join, depending on whether they are more Machiavellian or psychopathic. Socially motivated individuals who are high in psychopathy are more likely to want to join a racist group that fashions social change using intimidation, fear, aggressive tactics, and violence. Socially motivated individuals high in Machiavellianism would prefer to join a racist group that fashions social change via political strategy.

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