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Wolves in Sheep's Clothing

- A Study of Recruitment Processes and the Dark Triad's Allure -



Abstract - Paulhus and Williams (2002) called attention to the three, while conceptually distinct, empirically overlapping personality constructs as a unified field of study, named the Dark Triad: Machiavellianism, subclinical narcissism, and subclinical psychopathy. The consensus of the present literature is that Dark Triad individuals are successful when it comes to seizing leadership positions, without necessarily having the ability to be successful once in those positions.

Through a cross sectional interview series, this thesis explores the Swedish recruitment context as it relates to Dark Triad leaders: How aware are recruitment consultants and their clients of the traits? What is done to identify Dark triad individuals?

A general awareness is present among recruitment consultants, but academic understanding of this young field is limited. Overall the ability and motivation is insufficient to fully identify Dark Triad characteristics during the recruitment process. This can be improved by adding Dark Triad detection tests to their assessment processes. Direct measures taken include result checking, contrasting self-conception and actual outcomes, derailment and counterproductive work behavior tests, extensive and formalized processes, and reliance on professional experience in interviews.

Keywords - Dark triad, Recruitment, Assessment, Leadership,

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List of Definitions

Central Concepts

Dark Triad	The dark triad personality traits as defined by Paulhus and Williams (2002)			
	are: Machiavellianism, subclinical narcissism and subclinical psychopathy.			
	These traits correlate with asocial behaviours such as aggressiveness, self-			
	promotion and emotional coldness (Hart & Hare, 1998). Typically			
	measured as a spectrum in normal populations through specific			
	questionnaires such as SD3 (Jones & Paulhus, 2014).			
Machiavellianism	A character trait connected to manipulative and callous affect as well as a			
	strategic-calculating orientation (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Is connected to a			
	tendency to lie and disregard other people in order to work towards their			
	own agenda. (Christie & Geis, 1970; Wu & LeBreton, 2011; Spain et al.			
	2013).			
Psychopathy	Psychopaths are: impulsive, thrill seeking and tend to lack guilt, empathy			
	and anxiety. (Hare, 1999; Hare, 1985; Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus,			
	2013).			
Narcissism	Narcissists have a grandiose self-image and tend toward self-deceptive			
	enhancement (Christie & Geis, 1970; John & Robins, 1994; Paulhus, 1998;			
	Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013).			
Corporate psychopaths	Corporate psychopaths refer to subclinical psychopaths in a business			
	environment (Boddy, 2010).			
Recruitment firms	Firms that works with assisting companies in recruiting new employees.			
	This includes candidate assessment, search and headhunting.			

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Popular culture and history alike are filled with dark characters that have risen to the top of the heap. From leaders such as Napoleon Bonaparte (Maccoby, 2000); to dictators and queens like Saddam Hussein (Glad, 2002) and Cleopatra (Rowley, 1998), charismatic CEO:s like Steve Jobs (Maccoby, 2000), as well as fictional characters such as Frank Underwood (Apter, 2014).

What do these figures have in common? They have all been proposed to fall under the umbrella of 'Dark Triad' personalities. The Dark Triad is made up of subclinical *narcissism*; a far reaching belief in one's own grandiosity, dominance and superiority (Raskin & Hall, 1979; Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013), *Machiavellianism* which at its core is a strategic and manipulative characteristic (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013), and subclinical *psychopathy* which entails high impulsivity and thrill-seeking, with low empathy and anxiety (Hare, 1985; Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013).

The ranks of Dark Triad leaders contain prolific visionaries as well as despotic dictators. Often revered as almost messianic saviours that alone can lead their followers into a prosperous future, they sway the masses with their rhetoric and gain devoted, almost indoctrinated, followers for their grand visions (Maccoby, 2000).

The other side of this coin is that "... senior executive behavior can often walk a fine line between what can be considered charismatic leadership and others as autocratic bullying" (Pepper, 2005:48), and for Dark Triad leaders this is more prevalent (Boddy, 2011).

This thesis will explore how, and to what extent, people with high dark triad traits (DT:s) manages to circumvent the filtration in the recruitment process, and to what degree recruitment firms in Sweden prioritize and succeed in identifying applicants with these traits.

1.2 Literature

Dark Triad traits have traditionally been regarded as undesirable personality traits and are costly for the individual to have (Jonason, Li, & Teicher, 2010). However, there is research suggesting that these highly selfish social strategies (Jonason, Li, & Teicher, 2010) may in fact be effective, at least in the short term, to the individual themselves if not necessarily to the organizations they work with. Machiavellianism has been linked with leadership positions (Spurk, Keller, & Hirschi, 2015). Both narcissistic, and other antisocial characteristics have been shown to be gravitating toward higher levels of the organizational hierarchy and higher salaries (Wille, De Fruyt, & De Clerq, 2013). Furthermore, despite that people with dark triad characteristics are possible to detect by ordinary people, they are seldom timely detected, or managed accordingly (Boddy, Ladyshewsky, & Galvin, 2010A).

Hogan and Hogan (2001) propose that the reason for leadership failure, or "derailment", lies in the personality disorder of the leader. This model has been extended by Hogan and Kaiser (2005) to

suggest that personality has a direct determinative effect on leadership style. Management psychologists have highlighted the deleterious effects leaders with personality disorders can have both through their own behavior but also through their influence on the behavior of others in the organization (Goldman, 2006; Siegel, 1973). Thus there is plenty of reason to believe that Dark Triad personalities have negative effects on leadership styles and in turn on the company's outcome and culture that need to be kept in consideration when employing and promoting.

In summary, dark Triad individuals are likely to (1) be drawn to high positions, (2) be willing and proficient at using tactics to get there, (3) be less than great once in a leading position, potentially not merely incompetent but actively malicious, or at least highly volatile and having an affinity for high risk behavior.

1.2.1 Knowledge Gap

While Dark Triad individuals have been extensively mapped in the existing literature; including their personalities, their behavior in interviews and other short-term situations, their propensity to both being willing and able to rise to power, as well as their proclivity to abuse this power once in position - little has been written about how aware recruitment firms and their clients are of these measures, behaviors and personalities. The understanding of how Swedish recruitment firms actively work in identifying and screening for dark personalities is all but non-existent. Interestingly little has been written about how companies and recruitment firms should, could or actually do identify and manage the influence of these dark individuals.

1.3 Purpose

The fact that various levels of Dark Triad traits are present in normal populations coupled with the overrepresentation of DT:s in senior positions (Boddy, 2010; Boddy et al., 2010B; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Wille, De Fruyt, & De Clerq, 2013), and the findings that they are quite often counterproductive or even destructive on the job especially when it comes to their effects on motivation and culture, makes it an interesting field of study. Despite their nature, DT:s are not promptly discovered and fired (Boddy, Ladyshewsky, & Galvin, 2010A). This presence and lack of discovery lends credence to the idea that recruitment either fails in identifying these traits or that they are despite, or unknowingly, of their destructive risks sought after. This thesis will explore the fact that despite their often bad actual performance on the job and deleterious effect on the work environment, individuals with high levels of Dark Triad traits are recruited. The study aims to explore how recruitment firms actually go about identifying Dark Triad individuals, and if they in fact do so. Since DT:s have been shown to be destructive in the organizations they work with this study might contribute knowledge that would help organizations to better identify and handle these individuals. Furthermore, since DT:s are deceitful in their self-representation and often are not identified in the recruitment process a better understanding might help recruitments firm to successfully assess future leaders.

1.3.1 Research Question

- 1. How aware are recruitment companies of the prevalence of Dark Triad leaders in corporate environments?
 - 2. What is done, and what can be done, to identify Dark Triad individuals in a recruitment context?

1.4 Scope

The study conducted compares what is done, and what could be done, to identify Dark Triad individuals among recruitment, executive search and headhunting companies in Sweden. The scope has been limited to external recruitment - recruitment consultants - and will not examine how recruitment is conducted in-house, because of the believed differences in competence and breadth of experience. This limitation has been made in order to get a manageable field within the limitations of a study with this length.

The concept of Dark Triad, and not the individual component characteristics, is the focus of this study. Since the field of this study is young, distinction has had been to be made when literature was not available for the whole triad or when notable differences related to identification has been discovered. The recruitment studied in this thesis is for management, executive and other leadership positions.

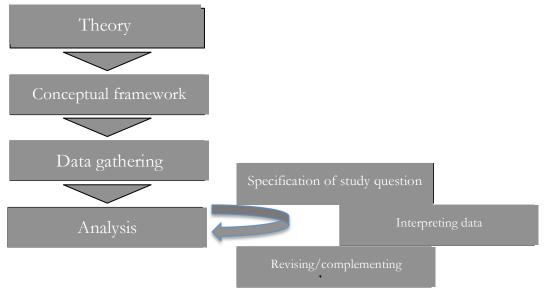
This study is done with firms located in Sweden. The choice to not limit to only firms in Stockholm is to be able to use firms that best fitted the study. Limiting the study to Stockholm would have restricted the ability to do so.

2. Research Method

2.1 Method Selection

2.1.1 Deductive and Iterative Method

The main focus of the study has been *deductive* in the sense that we have started from an extensive literature study and evaluated and analyzed the answers in the degree they connect to the present literature on Dark Triad behavior and personality in a recruitment setting (Bryman & Bell, 2013:31). In the later stages the method could be described as *iterative* (Bryman & Bell, 2013:34) as the gathered responses has had us going back to the literature and making connections, as well as shaping the further questioning in part. We have started from a *positivistic* view point, to as far as possible achieve *objectivity* we have highlighted both positive and negative sides of the topic matter (Bryman & Bell, 2013:36). Critique of the beliefs of the respondents has to the greatest degree possible been grounded in existing literature.



Model 1: Method Outline

2.2 Study Design

2.2.1 Literature Study

In line with the deductive method an extensive literature study has predated the data collection. This literature search has been done in the fields of Dark Triad; as well as the component constructs of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy; recruitment and decision-making theory. From this a conceptual framework and model of analysis that combines these distinct research fields has been constructed. Since the concept of Dark Triad leadership is young, brought to attention in 2002, most

of the literature studied has used the same sources for their factual claims. In this study the original source of each claim have been used, which have caused us to use some older sources. The sources which are older than 1999 have all been used in the last 16 years by other papers about Dark Triad leadership.

An informal interview with Pernilla Bolander, assistant professor in management and organization at Stockholm School of Economics, was conducted to form an overview of what literature that would be of essence for our literature study, specifically regarding recruitment. Since she had special expertise in the recruitment processes her help was relevant to find central literature and to help us form the company selection.

2.2.2 Cross-Sectional Qualitative Study

The thesis was made using a *cross-sectional* qualitative study, based on the framework defined in Bryman & Bell (2013:89). This was done since the purpose of this study was to gather a general view of how recruitment firms identify DT:s in Sweden, rather than to study the unique aspects of each recruitment firm. This due to the literature describing recruitment as a spectrum (Bolander, 1999) and we believed that there were significant differences in the methods and beliefs of different recruitment firms the study of a single firm would hold little general importance.

Interviews were performed in the recruiters place of business or in phone interviews where location or time constraints made in-person interviews unfeasible. Phone interviews are a possible limitation since many of the contextual cues such as body language are missing, contrary to this no notable differences in quality or depth of responses were experienced.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured, to allow follow-up questions and flexibility, manner with specific topics (see interview guide, appendix 1) that we needed answered in order to, (1) get a picture on how their overall approach to evaluating candidates in the recruitment process, (2) how and/or if they actively knew about, and adapted their processes to identify people with dark triad traits, (3) and how they evaluate different ways of choosing candidates, most prominently how they worked with psychometric tests and interviews.

2.2.3 Selection

Recruitment was chosen as a field of study since it holds a critical gatekeeper role, whether conducted internally or externally the applicant must first pass through recruitment before they can enter the corporate arena. Without bypassing this initial stage, companies could not internally be exposed to Dark Triad individuals and thus any following problems or opportunities hinges on this first stage.

The interviews included with ten different Swedish firms in the businesses of recruitment, assessment, executive search and headhunting (hereby referenced as recruitment). We also had a desire to find companies which both worked predominantly with psychometric tests and those with interviews, based on the framework of categorizing recruitment methods proposed by Bolander (1999), since they might have different views on how to best detect character traits. One interview with a development company, for test instruments used in the recruitment industry, has been

conducted to understand the possibility and direction of test development in the realm of Dark Triad. As well as to complement our understanding of the limitations of psychometrics, given their role as published researchers in this field. After this *saturation* was believed to be achieved (Bryman & Bell, 2013:200; Farquhar, 2012:46) as revealed by the ongoing process as outlined (Model 1: Method Outline).

Recruitment consultants were selected over those with in-house recruitment responsibility, for a few reasons. Those who works primarily with recruitment were believed to have a more varied and extensive experience and perhaps knowledge of the subject at hand and a broader spectrum of personality types and recruitment success rates. They were supposed to have their interests less conflicted in terms of employee or company loyalty in the respect that they would be more open regarding the risks, believed benefits and prevalence of Dark Triad traits. A view was taken that companies working solely with recruitment would have more extensive and comprehensive recruitment methods developed rather than as an afterthought. Some measure of objectivity could be achieved since personal chemistry between recruiter and candidate would be potentially weighed with less significance, however its effect should not be discounted entirely.

Since DT:s are prominent in leader-positions we selected our interviewees among key personnel at recruitment companies that worked directly with recruiting to leadership positions, namely CEO, board and other management positions. Interview subjects have been selected according to their potential to contribute with relevant information for our study (Farquhar, 2012:74), and their availability. Of the firms asked to partake in this study, 11 of 52 accepted. Although our rate of acceptance was relatively low we found the desired mix of different niches among recruitment firms. Interview subjects varied in education (psychologists, HR, industry specific, management) and prior work experience. Many had multiple years of industry relevant experience, working directly in companies where they frequently had management and recruitment experience as well as a decade or more of experience in the recruitment consulting business.

Name	Number Interview subjects	Company niche	Size
A	1	Recruitment and staffing	Large
В	1	Executive search	Large
С	2	Executive search	Large
D	1	Assessment and test development and distribution	Small
Е	1	Recruitment, coaching and staffing	Small
F	1	Recruitment and staffing	Small
G	1	Search, testing and checking.	Medium
Н	1	Recruitment of sales and management positions in IT	Medium
I	1	Executive search for NGO's and the public sector	Large

J	2	Recruitment and executive search	Small
Т	4	Test developer and distributer	Small

Table 1. Description of the interview subjects (The size of the firms is measured in revenue [small = 0 - 2 Million SEK, Medium = 2 - 10 Million SEK, Large = 10 or higher Million SEK])

2.3 Method of Analysis

The synthesis and analysis of the data gathered was done *iteratively* throughout the interview sessions so as to be able to calibrate individual interviews, allowed by the semi-structured interview format, as well as the cross-sectional nature of the interviews as a whole. This allowed us to add questions to clarify or question individual answers. And to approach the subject matter as *objectively* as possible.

During the interview sessions and in the synthesis process transcribed material was placed in sections with related data, such as the various formulations of search profiles were placed under a common grouping to be compared and analyzed. These synthesised clusters of data, themes or categories, were grouped according to the model derived from the literature study, compared with the relevant literature and, where relevant, further searching of the literature was completed to adequately understand and make use of the data as described in the model. To guard against *subjectivity* (Bryman & Bell, 2013:405) this was initially done individually and only then discussed by the authors.

Summarizing tables were used to get an overview of the groupings of answers of the various themes, and how they related to the questions posed - making analysis simple as they were grouped in categories according to the previous literature. Similarly quotes have been selected to serve as general views of a topic or to highlight especially interesting nuances. Where necessary, follow up questions were completed with interview subjects. This analysis of the interviews were followed up with study, synthesis and analysis of the various test methods employed to various degrees and in different manners by the recruiters and compared to the relevant literature on personality testing and behaviors of DT:s.

2.4 Method Discussion

We have evaluated our method selection according to the alternative criteria *Dependability* and *Genuineness* presented by Bryman and Bell (2013:402).

2.4.1 Dependability

Respondent validation (Bryman & Bell, 2013:402) has been employed to ensure that a correct interpretation has been done to increase the *dependability* (Bryman & Bell, 2013:405) of the gathered material as well as the translations presented, where we have intended to give direct translations without making stylistic changes. All respondents have been granted access to the thesis during the final part of the production. Aliases have been used to guarantee that interview subjects are not identifiable, as they have all been granted anonymity.

The recordings and transcriptions have only been available to the authors and mentors where necessary, and are not to be used in other purposes. Despite the in parts sensitive nature of the subject matter, respondents have been surprisingly forthright and comfortable discussing the topic.

The study focuses on identifying patterns and common denominators rather than individual answers, in line with the cross-sectional nature, aiming for *transferability* (Bryman & Bell, 2013:405), of the research method, and as such the individual respondents opinions, contexts, and respective backgrounds are less relevant. This reduces uncertainty regarding if the study is influenced by circumstance and quotes are selected based on ability of displaying these common themes rather on individual response meaningfulness or distinctness thus improving *reliability* (Bryman & Bell, 2013:405).

Since the study is based on self-responses of how work is done rather than actual outcomes, a generally skeptical view will have to be taken to believed efficacy of various methods employed. Certainly in the light of a certain professional pride when it comes to the recruitment consultants role as 'expert'. Especially to how successfully and consistently, professional experience based intuition allows the recruiter to bypass effects of liking, charm and positive first-impressions, to through pure logical reasoning arrive to recommendations. It would be interesting, albeit outside the scope of this study, to do a field study to follow how candidates with DT traits are actually handled during the recruitment process and to what degree recruitment consultants are actually capable of identifying DT traits.

Through such measures as separate synthesis and analysis of the empirical data before discussion we have aimed to reduce *subjectivity* to the greatest extent. In the light of absolute objectivity being impossible in such a field, we can confirm in that we have performed in *good faith* in relation to what in qualitative research is named *confirmation* (Bryman & Bell, 2013:405).

2.4.2 Genuineness

Since we, in most of the interviews, have only interviewed a selected few, albeit leading, persons at the recruitment firms the interviews can not be used to show how the respective organizations at large would view these questions (Bryman & Bell 2013:405). The aspects of our study that implicates that the study shows a combined view of the firms studied as a whole is: (1) that we tried to accomplish a *fair image* by interviewing people at different positions in the companies (CEO:s, Recruitment consultants, assessment managers and test developers), (2) tried to accomplish *ontological* and *catalytic authenticity* by in examining the social aspects of their positions, and giving examples on how to identify and manage DT:s(Bryman & Bell 2013:405).

2.4.1 Ethical considerations

To conduct this study accordingly to sufficient ethical standards we have used the guidelines postulated by Bryman & Bell (2013:137) by following: (1) the *informational requirement*, through disclosing the purpose and stages of participation in the study. (2) The *requirement of consent*, by giving all interview subjects the option to opt out during the process, this included being recording the interview, (3) The *confidentiality and anonymity requirement*, through the secure and confidential

treatment, where no unauthorized access could be possible, of all personal information. (4) The *usage requirement* by not using the information for any other purpose outside of this study. (5) Not giving any false or misleading information about the purpose of the study, following the *requirement of true appeals*.

3. Literature Study

The field of literature was called to attention by Paulhus and Williams (2002) in the study of three prominent conceptually distinct albeit empirically overlapping personalities that are "offensive yet non-pathological" dubbed the Dark Triad: Machiavellianism, subclinical narcissism, and subclinical psychopathy. Conceived as a spectrum of personality ranging from low to high present in normal, non-clinical populations. For a comprehensive review of the current research relating to the triad and its measures see Furnham, Richards, and Paulhus (2013).

3.1 The Dark Triad Leader

3.1.1 Prevalence

Narcissism is positively linked to attaining a leadership position, but not necessarily to performing well in that position (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006) much like the lack of a relationship to sales success despite their associations (Soyer, Rovenpor, & Kopelman, 1999). In a variety of situations, narcissists score higher leadership ratings than non-narcissists (Chemers, et al., 2000; Sümer, et al., 2001), not least in job interviews (Paulhus, Westlake, Calvez, & Harms, 2013). High-levels of Dark Triad traits, when combined with other traits such as intelligence and physical attractiveness, often help individuals come into leadership positions (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2010; Spurk, Keller, & Hirschi, 2015). Studies have been done regarding successful psychopaths and successful narcissists such as: Babiak & Hare (2006), Chatterjee & Hambrick (2007), Paulhus, Westlake, Calvez & Harms (2013) yet despite their initial success most DT:s tend to fall from grace (Furnham, 2010; Hogan, 2007). Babiak, Neuman and Hare (2010) presented the finding that psychopaths are almost four times as common in high-level management than they are in the general population, which is about one percent (Coid, Yang, Ullrich, Roberts, & Hare, 2009; Babiak, Neumann & Hare, 2010). Further, despite their poor performance, these corporate psychopaths were able to get promoted, work in high management positions and influence business decision-making (Babiak, Neuman, & Hare, 2010).

3.1.2 Non Desirable Characteristics of DT:s

In stark contrast to their ability to acquire leadership positions, most studies tend to show that these dark traits are strongly connected with traits that may have major negative impact on their environments. Managerial derailment reviews have repeatedly linked DT traits to leadership failures (Hogan & Hogan, 2001; Leslie & Van Velsor, 1996; Lombardo, Ruderman & McCauley, 1988), and the triad traits have frequently been connected to counter-productive work behavior (CWB) (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Scherer, Baysinger, Zolynsky, & LeBreton, 2013). The review article by Furnham, Richards, and Paulhus (2013) presents in more detail the current studies regarding actual workplace outcomes for dark personalities, but not to be underestimated are the softer, social issues often present with DT:s. The most intuitive ones is that they are as a definition correlated with amoral and antisocial behavior (Paulhus and Williams, 2002), such as, a higher risk of sexual harassment (Zeigler-Hill, Avi Besser, Morag, Campbell, 2016), a lack of team commitment (Zettler, Friedrich, & Hilbig, 2011), and a tendency to abuse subordinates (Kiazad, Restubog, Zagenczyk, Kiewitz, & Tang, 2010).

A notable statistic is presented by Boddy (2011), around 26% of workplace bullying is done by the one percent of the employees who are Corporate Psychopaths. Abusive leadership as is common with the Dark Triad (Hogan, Curphy, & Hogan, 1994) has been associated with a deteriorating employee work performance (Harris, Kacmar, & Zivnuska, 2007), increased workplace deviance from employees (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007), psychological distress (Sosik & Godshalk, 2000; Tepper, 2000) and deteriorative effects on job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002; Tepper, 2000).

Furthermore the traits seem to be connected with a diminished level of responsibility, that might in turn diminish efficiency (Boddy, 2010), and that dark triad leaders tend to seek power as a goal in itself (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006) which might cause agency problems and lead to decisions that don't serve the goals of the organization that they operate in. The presence of Corporate Psychopaths have been linked to employees being significantly less likely to feel that they receive due recognition for their efforts, appreciation and feeling properly rewarded. It is also significantly negatively connected to the employees believing the organization does business that is friendly to the environment, the local community, and in a socially desirable way (Boddy, Ladyshewsky,Richard & Galvin, 2010). Red flags, leadership failures that might be predictors of corporate psychopathy have been described by Babiak and Hare (2006) to include difficulty in forming teams, and sharing ideas and credit, deceptiveness, unpredictability and impulsiveness, aggressiveness, and disparate treatment of staff.

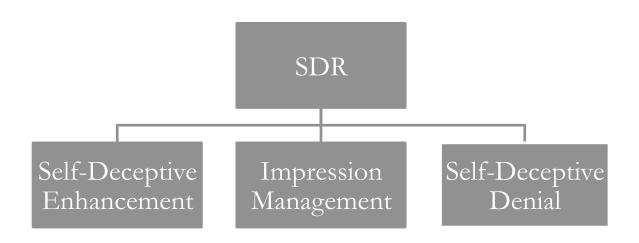
3.1.3 Desirable characteristics of DT:s

Narcissists tend to have many of the same traits as successful leaders, Maccoby (2000) focuses on vision and ability to inspire. Holding up the narcissistic leader as a creative strategist, visionary, skilled rhetorician capable of getting everyone along the path to supposed greatness as envisioned by the leader. The supreme confidence and dominance that narcissists exude are in some instances infact what inspires followers, such as the board of directors, to select the narcissist to lead them (Gladwell, 2002; Hogan et al., 1994; Post, 1986). Jonason, Li, & Teicher (2010) propose the reason why individuals high on Dark Triad traits are able to extract resources through their agentic social style is by being extraverted, open, high on self-esteem, and low on conscientiousness and anxiety while being individualistic and competitive. Machiavellianism has been connected to skill in forming political alliances (Deluga, 2001).

Maccoby (2000) portrays the narcissistic leader as an archetype that is necessary in periods of rapid change, but likely to fall off in popularity when times stabilize. Narcissistic CEO:s seem to favour bold actions that garner attention, such as large acquisitions, generating large fluctuations in firm performance, although firm performance is not necessarily better or worse than comparable firms with non narcissistic CEOs (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007). Post (1986, 1993) argues that certain narcissistic leader types that in a particular context, matched with the appropriate "ideal-hungry" followers, become not only constructive but necessary. This is seldom more true than for narcissistic leaders; supporters perceive them as larger than life, follow them unconditionally and blindly (Post, 1986). This is further strengthened by the fact that through their charisma narcissistic leaders are likely to convince followers to shoulder the blame for failure and buy into the abuse of power they

frequently engage in (Sankowsky, 1995) as well as intimidating those who are not swayed by the leader's charisma into subordination (Kramer, 2003).

3.2 Socially Desirable Responding



Model 2: SDR - Socially Desirable Responding (Paulhus, 1988)

The tendency to give *overly* positive self-descriptions is by Paulhus termed socially desirable responding (SDR). Of note here is the departure-from-reality in high SDR scorers (Paulhus, 2002). High-responders are reported as having narcissistic qualities and the model proposed by Paulhus serves as a method of grouping research regarding the deceptive and impression-management tendencies of the DT personalities.

Self-enhancement is the self-deceptive tendency to overestimate one's own positivity relative to a credible criterion (Colvin et al, 1995; John & Robins, 1994) which has been shown in multiple studies to be exhibited by narcissists (Raskin, Novacek, & Hogan, 1991; John & Robins, 1994; Paulhus, 1998) and at least once for subclinical psychopaths (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Machiavellians showed no signs of this behavior, which is consistent with the Machiavellians more reality based sense of self (Christie & Geis, 1970).

Impression management is conscious manipulation designed to impress an audience (Banmeister, 1982; Leary, 1995; Schlenker, Britt, & Pennington, 1996) and is distinct both conceptually and empirically from self-deception. Consistent with their tendency to manipulate others (Christie & Geis, 1970; Jones & Paulhus, 2009) and be charming (Wilson, Near, & Miller, 1996) as a carrier for self-presentation (Jones & Paulhus, 2009), individuals high on Machiavellianism have been shown to view impression management as a more viable strategy for job interviews than those low on

Machiavellianism (Lopes & Fletcher, 2004). Reported forms of self-presentation are perfectionistic self-promotion and both nondisclosure and non-display of imperfections (Sherry et al., 2006).

Narcissists frequently self-nominate (Hogan, Raskin, & Fazzini, 1990) and display the behavior of chronic self-promoters; engaging in both self-enhancement (exaggeration of positive qualities) and self-praise (bragging). Psychopaths engage in self-promotion just like the other DT:s (LeBreton, Binning, & Adorno, 2006; Lynam & Widiger, 2007), however they tend to make negative impressions in brief meetings (Rauthmann, 2012). Individuals with dark personality traits, such as Machiavellianism, may be both more skilled and willing to fake in job interviews (Levashina & Campion, 2006) and higher Machiavellianism has been shown to be positively correlated with willingness to be dishonest during interviews (Fletcher, 1990). Psychopaths will lie for immediate rewards, even if it compromises long-term interests (Paulhus & Jones, 2012). It is unlikely that individuals high on one or more of the traits to respond truthfully to self-report assessments used in selection situations (Spain, Harms, & LeBreton, 2013).

3.3 Exposure

Initial reactions to self-promoters are usually positive (Back, Schmukle, & Egloff, 2010; Friedman, Oltmanns, Gleason, & Turkheimer, 2006; Paulhus, 1998). Self-enhancers made positive impressions on first meeting, being seen as agreeable, well adjusted and competent, however during longer periods the interpersonal perception deteriorated (Paulhus, 1998). This shows that DT:s might appear pleasant or charming at first, but it is not necessarily true over the long term - as shown by the difficulty for narcissists to maintain sustained relationships and trust (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Robins & Paulhus, 2001). Narcissists are especially effective at creating positive first impressions in groups (Back, Schmulke, & Egloff, 2010) and were given the most positive evaluations in job interviews (Paulhus, Westlake, Calvez, & Harms, 2013). They are prone to two behaviors that improve their perceived employability: self-promotion and talkativeness (Paulhus, Westlake, Calvez, & Harms, 2013) and the advantage here can be attributed both to motivation and skill in performing these behaviors (Spain, Harms, & LeBreton, 2013). The same abilities may also allow them to selfpromote their way toward leadership positions (Brunell et al., 2008). Those high on narcissism are more likely, not less like low-DT:s, to increase this behavior toward believed high-professional interviewers (Paulhus, Westlake, Calvez, & Harms, 2013). Corporate Psychopaths often create the illusion of being successful leaders, especially to those who have not yet first hand experienced their ruthless lack of conscience (Boddy, Ladyshewsky, & Galvin, 2010A).

3.4 Testing

The present literature has focused extensively on how to measure the DT traits and how to distinguish them, from each other and from bright personalities. The dominant structural models of personalities are the Interpersonal Circumplex (Wiggins, 1997), the Big Five, also known as the Five Factor Model (Costa & McCrae, 1991), and the Big Six, or HEXACO model (Lee & Ashton, 2005). The Dark Triad personality traits can be mapped onto these traditional models of personality, (for a comprehensive overview see the 2013 literature review by Furnham, Richards and Paulhus). While not *specifically* designed to find the prevalence of Dark Triad traits, unlike SD3, DD, there has been enough research done to credibly use them to identify DT traits. Moreover, the connections between

normal personality traits, as represented by the Five Factor Model, and job performance has been extensively studied (Barrick & Mount, 1991).

The shortest comprehensive measure of the Dark Triad is the "Dirty Dozen" (DD) scale (Jonason & Webster, 2010). However, at four items per construct, the instrument has received critique that it does not fully capture the full nuance of the components (Lee et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2012; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013). The Short Dark Triad (SD3), which includes 27 items divided into nine questions per construct, provides efficient and reliable measures of the DT traits (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). As made evident in the section on SDR, narcissists in particular tend to overestimate themselves, which includes their own work contributions, performance, personality traits, empathic ability and intelligence (Robins & Paulhus, 2001) and this inflated assessment is not accompanied by greater ability when compared to the subjective view of others or objective testing (Campbell, Goodie, & Foster, 2004; Robins & Paulhus, 2001). Narcissists and to a lesser extent psychopaths tend to overestimate their IQ (Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

3.5 Recruitment

A well functioning recruitment process should lead to the organization finding the right employees with the right competences (Bolander, 1999). Research in this area has long been dominated by two models for recruitment, the social and the psychometric.

The psychometric model aims to find predictors - which is the characteristics of the individual that correlates with the ability to accomplish the given work. With the primary principle that work is a series of separate tasks that can be specified in a work description, and that these tasks places certain requirements on the individual that can be specified in a requirement specification (Bolander, 1999). By measuring the predictors the psychometric method aims to give prognosis of work performance and employability. The social model emphasizes that the organization is made up of a living culture and not merely a set of tasks. The recruitment is built on social exchange: human relations and interactions, attitudes, identity, mutual influence (Bolander, 1999). Instruments used measure applicant behavior rather than traits (Prien, 1992). What is often important in recruitment is not only matching the candidate's skills and knowledge to the company's demands, but also matching the candidate's interests and personality to the company culture, so called Cultural Matching (Bergström, 1998). Bolander (1999) ordered recruitment along a continuous spectrum, from objective to subjective.

Personal interviews are far from reliable, although it is improved when the recruiter is trained in interviewing and when the interview is structured (Prien, 1992). The subjective pole view is that the interview adds value that is impossible to measure in terms of validity and reliability, such as creating personal connection (Bolander, 1999). There is room for the recruiter to improvise, based on "gut feeling" or need for clarification. Despite this disagreement regarding efficacy the personal interview is used in almost all recruitments (Hintze, 1990) and regardless of perspective (Bolander, 1999). Trust is placed on the professional experience of the recruiter. Bureaucratic conventions where each person involved in recruitment must motivate their choices moves recruitment more toward those reasons one can formulate and by multiple views the decision approaches objectivity (Bolander, 1999).

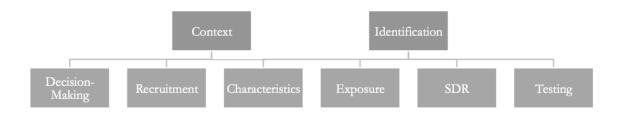
3.6 Decision-Making

Many of the studies on recruitment and selection handle the actual decision-making only indirectly (Bolander, 2002). March (1997:9) highlight this need to study how decisions actually happen in organizations. Shapira (1997) categorizes decision-making in two rough categories: individual decision-making (behavioral decision theory) and organizational decision-making. Where the difference is mainly if the organizational context is considered in which the individual makes decisions. Kahneman and Tversky (1981) question the rational choice, and their work on the human unconscious holds many skeptical implications for the belief in own perceived rationality during the recruitment and decision making stage.

Evolutionary psychologists have suggested that extensive risk-taking behavior can be reinforced and sought after in leaders despite the inherent danger because with weak opposition and benevolent circumstances it can be associated with success (Johnson, Wrangham, & Rosen, 2002). Such risk-taking behavior tends to have large consequences, negative or positive - and naturally companies want to be one of the famed success stories. Cook and Emler (1999) point to another uncomfortable facet of managerial potential evaluations, for promotion and selection supervisors tend to give less weight to moral flaws, when compared to subordinates.

Implicit leadership theory suggests that leaders are selected based on grounds of those people who seem most leader like, i.e. fit preconceived notions or generalized ideas of what a leader should be like (Hogan, et al., 1994). Which would in this context mean that if there are more or less conscious conceptions of behavior, image or personality of the Dark Triad leader that is seen as "leader like" - this might lead to selection and promotion in their favor.

3.7 Analysis Model



Model 3: Literature Study Model

The literature shows that DT:s are present in the business environment, not least among leaders. Overall the conception of DT is negative, especially for those around them when factoring in softer measures such as interpersonal behavior, ethics and cultural effect. However, there are some circumstances under which DT traits might be desirable or even believed necessary. This is often through their supposed visionary and follower-gathering abilities, especially in situations where change is necessary or desired.

Recruitment aims to find the right people for the right positions. The process of recruiting is viewed as somewhere on a continuous spectrum between objective and subjective methods. Despite this the traditional job interview, a more subjective method, is present in almost all recruitment situations.

Both personality and specific actions undertaken have been proposed to explain how DT:s are able to be so successful during short term interviews. DT:s are often able to influence the perception of their employability in interviews, and are willing to do so. Through Socially Desirable Responding: both self-deceptive enhancement and impression management, the initial impression of especially narcissists is positive, yet seems to deteriorate quickly. It is important to keep in mind the self and other-deceptive relationship with the truth for these personalities - the DT is unlikely to respond truthfully or accurately in interview and self-assessment measures.

Dark Triad measures can be done specifically and directly through primarily the SD3 and DD scales, or the individual construct measures. The constructs have been extensively mapped along the scales of dominant models of personality, such as the Big Five and HEXACO model. The available measures of competence and skills does not support the self-deceptive tendencies of the DT traits the willingness to engage in behavior is not necessarily predictive of the ability to do so.

Jonason, Slomski & Partyka (2012) points at the uncomfortable truth of the matter. "Even with these undesirable characteristics, the fact that these people get hired should be of no surprise." No matter what lurks underneath, DT:s often display desirable traits like charm, leadership, assertiveness, and impression management skills (Ames, 2009; Paunonen, Lönnqvist, Verkasalo, Leikas, & Nissinen, 2006) and the short-term nature of interviews might not permit sufficient time for the darker sides to reveal themselves (Harms, Spain, & Hannah, 2011). DT:s are not detected and then quickly dismissed (Boddy, Ladyshewsky, & Galvin, 2010A), instead they are overrepresented in high management positions (Babiak, Neuman & Hare, 2010; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006).

4. Data

4.1 Bounded Recruitment

The answers in our interviews indicated that an important limitation to keep in mind throughout the discussion on possible disqualifications is that the recruitment consultants are ultimately responsible for delivering candidates to their clients for consideration. Clients put forth high standards for education, experience and there was a desire for cultural and personal fit. The intersection of candidates who can meet all these stringent demands are few and far between. When time is of essence or the candidate pool is limited, recruitment consultants will have to make do with recommending the best of those available. That often means a candidate that is best overall, but not necessarily the perfect fit in all individual respects. As reported through the interview, this also means that DT behavior is weighed in this holistic manner, among other personality and qualification criteria – judging both the pros and cons.

4.2 Awareness

Awareness:	Aware of the academic concept		Practical Experience of DT personalities
Respondent	C, D (2/11)	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, T (11/11)	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, T (11/11)

Table 2: Awareness

Early on it was established that the awareness of these individuals, their prevalence and the behaviors exhibited by them was widespread and something that could be discussed frankly and openly. "We've all had bosses like that (Regarding DT:s)"(IC). Not all used terminology similar to that in the existing academic literature, yet had different terms that in the least overlapped greatly with that of the Dark Triad or its components. In contrast to this few respondents were aware of the academic literature regarding them to some extent. All were aware of the personalities when named; through popular literature, experience etc. "You run into them sometimes, especially among high-performing salespeople and managers" (IH). They were aware of the prevalence of DT:s in leader positions and effects of their personalities on leadership styles "A lethal combination of leadership styles" (ID). Sometimes a somewhat simplistic black or white view of the traits were put forward, "They (DT) are the worst people" (IF), approaching the more clinical dimensions of the personalities. However, it is clear from the onset that DT:s are viewed in a paradoxical light. Very badly, or very beneficially. "They are very good when it's good, horrible when it goes bad" (IE).

When DT:s are more desirable	Positions	Situations	Characteristics	Cultural factors	Structural factors
Answers	Sales, sales managers, higher management, top management, media focused CEO:s	Rapid expansion, internal change, industry change, turn-around, cut-backs, high- stress	Result not personnel focused, limited empathy, love the spotlight, extroversion, charm, vision	Elite or tough culture, self promoting and 'free for all' culture,	Result focus, money focus, DT management

Table 3: When DT:s are more desirable

Both directly and indirectly it was stated or hinted at that in certain situations or in certain industries or positions that the prevalence of Dark Triad traits was not merely desired but believed to be a necessity. Especially in situations where rapid or revolutionary change is desired. The belief in many industries is that a person who has many of the same traits as a Dark Triad individual, or even is one, could be the right person for that moment in time - although they are often then believed dangerous once the need or desire for change is past. There is also the conception of the necessity of a leader with lower empathy and a willingness to shoulder the burden of undesirable tasks such as firing large amounts of people, forcing unwilling change and taking criticism. These are tasks where Dark Triad personalities could be willing to fill and with less strain than many bright personalities, and opens up the desire for them. "There is a conception of the ideal leader, the alpha wolf (...) in certain periods (high stress, change) this primal part could come to the fore." (II) There is an underlying idea that DT:s can portray themselves as leaderlike and gather followers around them, "They are often viewed as leaders" (IE). Giving off an image of competence "Something I really recognize... Many of them are very good" (IB) and charming extroversion combined with strong vision and rhetorical skill. All these contextual reasons could then be reflected in the eventual formulation of the search profile.

4.3 Identification

There was an awareness of the issue of finding and understanding the existence of dark traits, especially with regard to their superficial charm and willingness to be deceptive. "The problem is that they say what they think you want to hear" (ID). It was believed that their clients would be deceived by the glib charm and deceitful manipulativeness of the DT, but that the recruitment consultants through their extensive experience and knowledge would be better suited to see through and correctly handle these individuals. The believed efficacy and reliability of different methods varied in regards to finding and avoiding these characters, while the overall belief was that it was near impossible to identify all DT:s in the recruitment endeavor "When you met DT's in person it's already too late (About identifying DT's)" (IA). As well as the belief in which methods proved most reliable and feasible to do this. Personality tests were typically not believed to adequately identify DT traits, either through DT:s' inherent deceptiveness, or the lack of depth or scope of the tests. An inherent possibility reported of tests was the ability to counteract deceptive answering through measuring consistency.

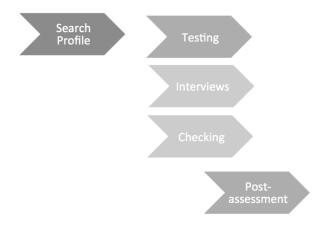
Believed ability of identifying DT:s	No to slim chance of identifying	That they identify some, but less than half	That they can identify most DT:s
Belief that their process can filter out DT:s	A, I, J (3/11)	G, T, C, B (4/11)	D, E, F, H (4/11)

Table 4: Believed ability to identify DT:s

"All people have facades, especially when it comes to interviews. But few can keep it up throughout the process. (...)" (IF) A major cause of concern for the recruitment firms was socially desirable answering. This is a general concern as it is always important for the recruitment consultants to get an accurate view of whom the candidate really is and how they will perform. However, the DT traits were by the recruiters interviewed connected to socially desirable answering to a much higher degree than normal personalities. This was held to be true both in interview settings and in answering tests. Combining to form a personality that was ever the more dangerous, since it is difficult to correctly identify.

Other specific warning signals the recruitment looked for while trying to identify DT-like personalities and traits among their candidates, such behaviors or characteristics in a candidate, the respondents used as cause for further inquiry and the potential for a dark or otherwise undesirable personality. Both signs of something being 'bad' and of something being 'too good' where used as warning signals. The warning signals that the recruitment firms mentioned was: (1) unwillingness to fully cooperate in all the recruitment processes, (2) discrepancies between different people or stages in process, (3) lying or avoiding questions, talking around questions, (4) differences in test results and interview answers, or between different references, (5) Not listing their previously direct managers as a references, (6) an over-belief in one owns capabilities that doesn't correspond to the assessment, (7) selfishness and self centrism, (8) being too competitive or aggressive, (9) a defensive personality, and (10) giving a too polished impression or/and non spontaneous answers.

4.4 The Process of Recruitment



Model 4: The General Recruitment Process

The process of recruitment was in most cases reported to follow a sequence of formalized steps. Depending on the method employed, and the niche of the recruitment firm, these might occur simultaneously or iteratively, and in varying degrees - in the extremes not at all. The search profile which shapes the rest of the recruitment process is developed in collaboration between the recruitment firm and the client - containing desired competences, prior competences, education and personality traits - and is inherently shaped by the internal circumstantial and contextual circumstances; cultural, structural and implicit leadership assumptions - for the role being recruited. "We create success profiles, but maybe we should also create failure profiles." (IT). Normally positive qualities are prioritized, rather than what the client does not want or what could potentially be damaging in the role.

The extensiveness and formalized nature of the process was lifted as a key benefit and potential for identifying DT:s by some of the recruiters. They perceived that the likelihood of finding DT behavior was perhaps limited in each stage, but by having multiple interviews, tests, and reference taking and reporting the outcomes of each stage internally or externally – some additional objectivity could be found. There was also the belief that the extensive and detail oriented process could actively discourage and unearth DT:s. By diminishing their self-importance and by pure exposure, as well as the possibility to identify contradictory behavior and answering. Such as believed DT propensity to answer less than truthfully and in a socially desirable manner, which could contradict itself the further it strays from reality and when asked similar, but distinct questions over time. It was believed that few could remember their answers and keep up their lies over time.

4.4.1 Testing

Among the companies interviewed, all used tests to some degree. The most commonly used type of test was personality tests, which all of the interviewed companies used. Cognitive tests were also used by most of the interviewed recruitment firms. No company interviewed used any direct and specific tests to identify DT:s, albeit the test supplier offered direct and specific tests to estimate psychopathy, one of the other firms used a derailment test, and one a test for CWB. While not specifically identifying DT:s they deal instead with some of the feared outcomes of these personalities and can be considered direct.

Tests Employed	Cognitive	Personality	Direct (& Specific)
Example of basis for test	Verbal, numerical, G, EQ, IQ	Big Five, 16PF, OPQ, MPA, HPI,	CWB, derailment, psychopathy test
Companies that employ some variation of test	A, B, D, E, G, H, I, J, T (9 of 11)	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, T (11 of 11)	A, I, T (3 of 11)

Table 5: Tests Employed

The four main stated internal purposes of employing tests were; (1) find fit - both or one of group and job - (2) guide or ground for interview, (3) bypass perceived interview bias, and (4) find or test weaknesses and potential risks. There were also external purposes: helping/guiding the clients

recruitment process, as objective grounds for recommendation. Some of the interviewees perceived a trend towards tests playing a more central role in the recruitment process.

Tests were then when employed before the interview, used as discussion material either directly or indirectly - even in the cases where the respondent saw another primary purpose for the test. This means that the test results were either used as direct discussion material; talking about what the candidate felt about the results, what the results were, why they were as they were - or they served as covert lines of inquiry; guiding the recruiter to ask questions and investigate possible problem areas or weaknesses. In the alternate case when tests were used to complement the interview, the tests were stated to be used to make sense of responses, deepen the analysis and investigate the truth of statements, and the prevalence of potential risks. "Tests are used to confirm, or find, things that need to be investigated" (IB). Few respondents reported doing tests both before and after interviews, however, a similar mechanism was purported through reference taking and background checks.

"Candidates tend to have both positive and negative qualities" (IF), rarely is a candidate the best in all respects, and as such a candidate might be recommended on overall judgment even if the candidate still holds certain traits or history that might be a potential downfall or risk. Especially in the context of charming candidates, this objective signaling aspect of tests was purported to be a valuable aspect of the external consultancy. By pointing toward the more objective measures of standardized tests they could give a reasoning for what to keep in mind when recruiting a specific candidate. "Sometimes we point toward the tests. When for instance the client really likes one candidate, or we believe that they will, to make sure that they are aware of any risks associated" (IH). By making clients aware of potential derailment, they gave the opportunity to prepare for it and judge whether the benefits outweighed the risk. More the recruitment consultants generally believed that they had a more objective approach when assessing candidates. With a breadth of experience and less need for clicking with the specific candidate, they believed that they could take a more detached and unbiased view.

Cognitive tests, although less frequently employed, were considered even by those that did not use them to be more reliable to at least separate those that had an overblown self-conception. Through the interview discussion following, or by following interview with test to prove claims, the recruiter could get a feeling for discrepancies between self-image and actual results. The results considered most objective, but perhaps not effective in finding the specific traits as they do not separate those who are both malevolent and skilled from those who are similarly skilled with more desired personality traits.

4.4.2 Interviews

Ten of the eleven recruitment firms used interviews. Leadership positions always had multiple interviews during the recruitment process. The purpose of the interviews was to get an overall assessment of the candidate. Their social skills, competences, and characteristics were described as important factors to assess during the interviews. After the recruitment firm had presented its candidates to the client, the client did their own interviews. In regards to the structure and content of the interviews most firms mentioned the importance of connecting with the previous steps of the recruitment process in order to check for irregularities or to clear up any uncertainties of the candidate, and to try to assert what cultural environments that the candidate would thrive in. Seven

of the researched recruitment firms had an average number of three or more interviews. This varied according to the significance of the recruitment, and the niche of the recruitment firm. To validate the answers and impressions gathered through the interview, the recruitment firms cross referenced inputs with the data gathered in the other stages of the recruitment process. Checking and tests were used to validate claims about the skills and personality of the candidate.

The interviewed explained that intuition and gut feeling was an important piece of the overall assessment, "(About intuition) It's important to not rush when your intuition tells you to. (...) That is why the overall assessment is important. Intuition should be used as a warning signal, even if it tells you that the candidate is the right one" (IB), since their experience-based intuition could guide them to do a more successful assessments than definable measurements alone. It was also used as a way of assessing the chance of the candidates being able to connect with the clients. Most of the recruitment firms were aware of the risks that intuition and gut feeling had on their overall assessment. Intuition was seen as something that helped the recruiters to know that there was impactful factors that was hard to define, "Intuition works like this 'spider sense', it tells you when something is kind of bad" (II). They tried to mitigate these risks by actively trying to define and motivate why their intuition was positive or negative towards their candidates.

When asked about intuition, how it was used and its influence, their answers inevitably boiled down to good or bad gut feeling. Getting bad gut feeling was typically described as a combination of body language, eye-contact, excessive self-promotion, sexist or other prejudiced comments, etc. A collection of these instances triggered warning bells, which prompted additional inquiry, if it did not outright discourage the recruiter from recommending the candidate. When asked directly the prevalence of excessive charm or charisma was given as a reason to question intuition and to dig further under the surface of the potentially dark individual. "Really good, charming (people) feel a bit too good, that's a source of suspicion in itself" (II). However, the first response was primarily in the noxious dimension where the professional experience helped the recruiter judge when alarm bells went off if it was a matter of poor personal fit or something potentially troubling. Which led them into further inquiry, checking or other methods employed. Similarly, when excessively positive impressions were had, most of the consultants reported going into a similar inquisitive route.

4.4.3 Checking

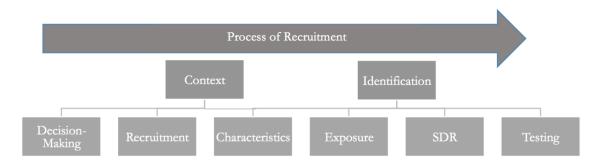
Where the recruitment consultant employed post-interview checking this was primarily done through two methods. (1) Talking to the references from previous jobs, supplied by the candidate. A few of the interview subjects stressed the importance of checking *hidden references* where a warning bell went off, i.e references that the candidate did not put forward themselves. Often lifted was a priority in taking references from *360 degrees*: peers, supervisors, subordinates and even business relations. (2) Doing background checks for unwanted or risky past behavior, such as bankruptcies, court engagements, past media presence etc. This checking was typically done to (1) generally validate the responses of the candidate, (2) gage potential weaknesses, and (3) get objective measures of performance - sales figures, client relations etc. In the checking stage the believed tendency for DT:s to put themselves forward in a favorable light was contrasted with actual results. This was used to compare short-term to long-term results, relational to transactional engagements, and actual workplace behavior. By checking references only after at least an initial interview allowed the

recruiters to better formulate questions for the reference and to get to the root of the issue. References were deemed less likely to lie or obfuscate when asked direct and specific questions rather than generally vouch for the skills or experience in relation to the potential recruit.

4.3.4 Post Assessment Stages

The presenting stage of the recruitment process consisted of presentations of the candidates, and written briefs for each candidate's characteristics in relation to the search profile, for the client. Presentations for high profile recruitments always consisted of continuous contact with the client during the recruitment process. A majority of the recruitment firms had a standardized follow-up procedure, where they evaluated the match with the client and the recruited candidate after some time had passed since the recruitment. Since most relationships with clients were ongoing, one common aspect of following-up was by keeping contact with the client and continuously discuss the recruited candidates, and how the search profiles could be altered to improve over time.

5. Analysis



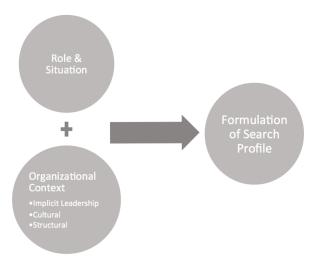
Model 5: Model of Analysis

Model 3: Literature Study Model is combined with Model 4: General Recruitment Process to build a framework for the analysis, forming Model 5.

5.1 Awareness and Priority

While all respondents reported awareness of the personality characteristics when explicitly named, that is not necessarily indicative of an accurate understanding of the academic conception of the traits, which was less common. The awareness was rather of general "dark" personalities with little regard for the personality spectrum (Paulhus & Williams, 2002) quality of the academic conception. Curiously, all respondents reported previous direct experience with Dark Triad-esque individuals (Table 2: Awareness), either directly or indirectly through their role as recruitment consultants or in their previous work experience. Still, very few employed any direct and specific measures against these dark personalities. Rather, measures of identifying DT:s were more general in nature. DT behavior was then ideally caught up when trying to cull more general unwanted characteristics.

It is clear from the responses that in many cases the Dark Triad leader is recruited with awareness of the inherent character; understanding of the risks of these characteristics was often limited, especially when it comes to more 'soft' measures such as interpersonal relations, cultural effect etc. The reason for the prevalence of DT:s in organizations might be related to ideas of their potential or necessity in certain positions, situations or a structural, cultural, context that disregards, allows or even encourages not only their climbing the cultural ladder but also their recruitment. As such it might be a larger context to the recruitment process, where the desired candidate is somewhere along the dark spectrum of personality or share many of the same traits, and as such the motivation to fully filter them out is perhaps even counterproductive. Rather, as evident by responses, it is for recruitment companies rather a question of filtering out the worst of the dark. Where a darker personality is considered as one of many traits inherent to an individual and decisions have to be made on the global evaluation.



Model 6: Formulation of search profile

The interviews (see Table 3: When DT:s are desirable) have reinforced the present literature of organizational context factors that might mediate the success of DT:s in the corporate world, highlighting structural factors such as promotion models (Cook & Emler, 1999) and strict results focus, cultural factors such as a highly competitive environment, and implicit leadership (Hogan et al., 1994) dimensions where the visionary, risk-taking, primal leader is sought by "ideal-hungry" followers (Post, 1986). DT:s are believed to be especially likely to come to power in times of rapid change, but to be considered a threat once change is no longer desired (Maccoby, 2000). Since the search profile reflects the expectations that clients and recruitment firms have of the position that is to be filled, there is a risk of the implicit preconceptions of how a normal or ideal leaders should be, might push the search profiles away from a strictly rational choice. This is further complicated by the evaluation of a person in a specific position might be based on the expectations followed by that position rather than actual results. Clients might crave a leader with DT traits because of the their expectations on leaders. A recruiter knowledgeable about DT:s and their social effects could serve as a way of mitigating this effect.

5.2 Proficiency in Identifying DT:s

In line with the literature the extensiveness of the process has multiple benefits when it comes to the recruitment of DT:s. Beyond the often repeated time aspect of impressions, there is also the added benefits of multiple instances of catching deceptive answering or other warning signals for dark traits. When the process is motivated internally or to the client for each stage and decision, this lends the process another measure of objectivity on the spectrum.

5.2.1 Tests

The tests used by the recruitment firms was in most cases not used, or believed to be able to, identify DT:s. While personality tests *could* be used to identify the Dark Triad as they have been extensively mapped onto the major models such as the Big Five and the Interpersonal Circumplex (Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013). The interviews did not reveal the knowledge of such for the respondents

and not the employment of it for this purpose. There is the possibility of using direct and specific tests such as the SD3 and DD scales (Jones & Paulhus 2014). Since the Dark Triad has been connected to derailment (Hogan & Hogan, 2001; Leslie & Van Velsor, 1996; Lombardo, Ruderman & McCauley, 1988) and CWB (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Scherer, Baysinger, Zolynsky, & LeBreton, 2013), employing these tests to a greater extent could be effective in directly if not specifically identifying DT:s.

The issue with skills tests in identification is that they make little distinction for intentions; while they could be used to filter out incapable applicants, they do not directly separate the DT with high performance from a bright personality with similar levels of competence. As the interviews revealed, perhaps a practical use for skills tests, could be in identifying and analysing those who have a self-deceptive, aggrandizing conception of their own competence (Campbell, Goodie, & Foster, 2004; John & Robins, 1994; Raskin, Novacek, & Hogan, 1991; Robins & Paulhus, 2001; Paulhus, 1998). A large deviance in believed and actual outcome could be a warning bell and grounds for further investigation. However these measures would do little to filter out DT:s with more realistically grounded self-conceptions such as is the case with Machiavellianism (Christie & Geis, 1970).

5.2.2 Interviews

The literature illustrates that DT:s can be charming and often gives good initial impressions in short relationships. Despite this, interviews and other subjective methods of assessing candidates was often mentioned by the recruitment firms to be their main way of finding asocial traits. This indicates that DT's have a good chance of bypassing the main way of detecting them in the recruitment processes.

Because of the deceitful nature of DT:s, trust in intuition or first impressions might be way of raising the risks of recruiting DT:s. Most of the recruiters reported that they used their intuition, or gut feeling, as a way of finding traits that are hard to pin down, or as a signal that there is something about the candidate that is hard to define. This might be a way of identifying if their candidates manipulate them. In contradiction to this the literature points toward our ability to objectively examine our intuition to be low at best, and the belief that we examined the issue objectively deceitful at worst (Kahneman & Tversky, 1981). Since the intuition of the recruiters is built on their experiences in their professional role, there is certainly a possibility that experienced recruiters have higher chance of identifying manipulative traits compared to managers recruiting ad-hoc. This is along with both the subjective and objective view of the recruitment spectrum, where experienced recruiters following a rigid process are better able to make the right decisions (Prien, 1992; Bolander, 1999).

The literature builds the case for DT:s being disposed to respond in a *socially desirable manner* (SDR), and the interviews often center around this fundamental topic. Many of the stages are influenced by the possibility of deceptive answering. Generally the series of interviews, especially when combined with feedback from Checking and Testing, is given as the basis to counter this tendency. Through professional experience and generally a rather extensive understanding of warning signals (Babiak & Hare, 2006), especially of the negative dimensions, the interview and process can be tailored to the situation. This flexibility was believed vital, something tests were often believed to lack - although some contained efforts to detect this desirable responding. Still, the cognitive reasoning in interview

settings might not necessarily indicate ability to perform this objective reasoning and questioning in the recruitment situation - especially when combined with the multitude of other signals and behaviours that are more or less consciously processed and tested.

5.2.3 Checking

While not always explicitly used for the purpose of finding DT:s, there are trends in DT behavior that could be brought up in the Checking stage of recruitment, especially when checking hidden references and 360 degrees, and has been reported as being done by most of the interviewed companies. This is relevant for verification of SDR, self-deceptive enhancement or outright lying (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). One example of this is narcissist's sales patterns - which was believed to include short-term success but lack of relational selling, which could be supported by the tendency for narcissists to make positive initial impressions and inability to build sustained relationships and trust (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Paulhus, 1998; Robins & Paulhus, 2001). A well conducted checking process, especially where additional references than the ones listed by the applicant, are likely to find these discrepancies. This has a potential to find many of the unwanted traits correlated to DT:s. Another example of this is DT:s tendency to polarize by producing fervent supporters or determined sceptics depending on which side of the DT they have been exposed to (Boddy, Ladyshewsky, & Galvin, 2010A; Post, 1986; Kramer, 2003).

6. Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Conclusion

6.1.1 Awareness of Dark Triad Leadership

1. How aware are recruitment companies of the prevalence of Dark Triad leaders in corporate environments?

The level of general experience based awareness is high among recruitment firms in Sweden. The level of academic awareness, is low. The conception of Dark Triad traits is in many respects shallow, with many of the nuances of the individual traits, social effects, and the spectrum nature overlooked. Perhaps one of the underlying factors for the prevalence of Dark Triad individuals in corporate settings is the various systematic, cultural or implicit leadership underlying conceptions that makes traits very similar to or even inherent to the Dark Triad be rewarded and promoted, consciously or not. Shaped by the internal context and role sought the search profile is formulated and boundaries the recruitment process.

6.1.2 How to Identify DT:s

2. What is done, and what can be done, to identify Dark Triad individuals in a recruitment context?

Few companies work directly to filter out dark personalities, they are rather included organically among other more generally unwanted characteristics and personalities. Methods that are employed with a possibly higher probability of success in accordance with the existing literature, would be (1) the result-targeted or verification based hidden reference and 360 degree reference checking, (2) tests of CWB and derailment, (3) comparing client self-conception of cognitive or skills based tests with actual results, (4) team-based or extensive journaling to client or internally, where each result and decision is motivated. Something the literature points toward that is not yet used by the studied firms is the relative ease of employing direct and specific tests such as the SD3 for identification of dark personalities.

6.2 Discussion

6.2.1 Contribution

The study has mapped out DT awareness among recruitment firms in Sweden. Moreover, it has traced some of the practical methods believed to be effective by recruitment consultants and contrasted them with the academic understanding of the field, which is highly theoretical. For recruitment firms this could serve as a guideline for further development in the realm of DT identification and in raising awareness among organizations that are recruiting. Primarily toward employment of more direct and specific tests of the DT such as the SD3, in line with the current trend of greater test usage. Perhaps most importantly, it has framed the possibilities of the recruitment consultants by the search profile and limitations imposed upon them by their clients.

Which actively or unconsciously, at times, mediates the success of Dark Triad leaders in the recruitment process. Although the exact nature of these circumstances must further be studied, to gain adequate understanding of when and how much they influence the propensity to recruit and promote DT influences.

6.2.2 Recommendations for Future Research

In light of the finding of recruitment companies working in a context of Dark Triad desirability in terms of certain elements of their personalities combined especially in certain situations, positions and cultural settings which stands in contrast to the early conceptions of the Dark Triad as entirely undesirable. We propose that more research is done conceptualizing the corporate view of the Dark Triad individual and the Dark Triad leader in particular, since this fundamentally boundaries the recruitment process and steps taken to guard against DT influences.

To get a proper understanding of the DT leader it is important to understand not only the leader itself but rather the interplay between leader and the followers, the cultural dimensions and structural underpinnings of the corporate world. As such the research could expand from trait research to the transactional and transformational nature of leadership in respect to the Dark Triad leader. Questions such as: What corporate cultures and systems promote or mediate the success of the DT leader? What are the Implicit Leadership dimensions of DT leadership?

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7.3 Interviews

IT, Interview with the test developer T, 22-03-2016, Stockholm

- IA, Interview with company A, 07-03-2016, Stockholm
- IB, Interview with company B, 23-03-2016, by phone
- IC, Interview with company C, 23-03-2016, Stockholm
- ID, Interview with company D, 18-03-2016, by phone
- IE, Interview with company E, 07-03-2016, by phone
- IF, Interview with company F, 08-03-2016, Stockholm
- IG, Interview with company G, 28-03-2016, by phone
- IH, Interview with company H, 29-03-2016, Stockholm
- II, Interview with company I, 23-03-2016, Stockholm
- IJ, Interview with company J, 24-03-2016, Stockholm

8. Appendix

8.1 Interview Guide

- I. Each interview started with us asking if those interviewed would prefer to be anonymous in the thesis, asking for permission to record the interview and informing them that they will have the chance to read the data chapter before the final version is submitted, in order to to make sure that we give a true and fair representation of their views.
- II. The first questions of the interview had the purpose of establishing their academic and professional background, and basic information about how their company works and distinguishes themselves from other recruitment firms.
- III. After establishing the background information about the interviewee and the company they work for we enquired more precisely about their recruitment process and how they carried out each step in this process. This was done both to distinguish different ways of working and to form an overall view of how recruitment firms work. We also enquired how they keep in touch with new practices and academia to develop their own processes over time.
- **IV.** After forming an overall view of the specific recruitment firm we asked specific questions regarding their tests, interviews and other recruitment stages in order to gather more detailed knowledge the purpose and form of each stage. Questions asked here had the form of: What is the purpose of using this test, how do you combine the evaluation from the interviews and tests in your candidate assessment, how many interviews do you typically have with each candidate and how do you protect yourself from deceitful answering.
- **V.** This part was used to try to summarize and gather an overall view of their process after the details had been explained. Questions such as: how do you value the overall image of a candidate compared to specific distinguishing or especially remarkable traits, negative or positive, while forming your final assessment. We also enquired about their view of, and how they worked with, intuition during the recruitment process.
- VI. Since the goal was to gather as true, and uncoloured answers specifically towards Dark Triad as possible, we chose to not introduce the Dark Triad concept before it was necessary. In this section they were asked about the concept itself and their awareness of it and their overall image of people with these characteristics. Questions such as: have you heard of the concept, have you encountered these types of people, and if so when/where/what contexts. We made sure to ask each person if they believed that there are positions where DT:s perform better or worse.
- **VII.** After establishing their view of DT:s they were asked about their believed ability to identify these kinds of people and how they believed that this potentially could be done with the highest possibility of success.
- VIII. At the last part of the interview we enquired of any possible source of misunderstanding, and ask them to restate past statements if we were unsure of their meaning. Everyone was asked if we were allowed to ask any complementing question if we needed at a later point in time.