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The Influence of Corporate Psychopaths on Employees, Workplaces and Society

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Contents

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Abstract

This PhD by public works is based on a context statement and eight, refereed papers published in academic journals. Six papers theoretically examine the possible influence of corporate psychopaths on organizations and society. Additionally the two empirical papers focus on the influence of corporate psychopaths on counterproductive work behaviour, conflict, well-being and organizational decay. Collectively the papers make an empirical, theoretical and methodological contribution to research into corporate psychopaths. Areas of Corporate Psychopathy Theory are developed in all eight papers. The first paper was based on an initial understanding of the possible effects of corporate psychopaths. The second paper, called "The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths", was published in a British journal and was the further theoretical development of the ideas presented in the first paper. The third paper is an empirical paper which makes a contribution to knowledge in terms of investigating the influence of corporate psychopaths on conflict, well-being and counterproductive work behaviour. The fourth paper: "Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths" again makes a contribution to knowledge based on exploratory qualitative research conducted in the UK in 2013. The fifth paper is a theoretical paper published in the Journal of Business Ethics. The sixth paper; "The Impact of Corporate Psychopaths on Corporate Reputation and Marketing" was a theoretical paper concerning how psychopaths may influence marketing, thus providing avenues for further research. The seventh paper portrays corporate psychopaths as irresponsible leaders while the eighth paper is an update of the literature on corporate psychopaths within the last ten years and which identifies areas for further research.

List of submitted publications

1. "The Implications of Corporate Psychopaths for Business and Society: An Initial Examination and A call To Arms". In the Australasian Journal of Business and Behavioural Sciences, 2005, vol.1, issue 2, pp 30 - 40.

2. "The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths" In the journal 'Management Decision', 2006; vol. 44, issue. 10, pp.1461-1475. Published with permission of Emerald Group Publishing Limited. DOI:10.1108/00251740610715759

3. "Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Employee Affective Well-Being and Counterproductive Work Behaviour" Journal of Business Ethics, 2014; vol.121, issue 1, pp. 107-121. Published with permission of Springer. DOI:10.1007/s10551-013-1688-0

4. "Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths"; in "Organization" vol. 2, no.4, pp.530-551. Published with permission of Sage Publications. DOI:10.1177/1350508415572508

5. "The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis" Journal of Business Ethics, 2011; Vol. 102, No.2, pp. 255 – 259. Published with permission of Springer. DOI: 10.1007/s10551-011-0810-4

6. "The Impact of Corporate Psychopaths on Corporate Reputation and Marketing". The Marketing Review, 2012; Vol. 12, No.1, pp. 79-89. Published with permission of Westburn Publishers Ltd. DOI:10.1362/146934712X13286274424343

7. "Corporate Psychopaths: Uncaring Citizens, Irresponsible Leaders". Journal of Corporate Citizenship, 2013; Vol. 49, pp. 8-16. Published with permission of Greenleaf Publishing.

8. "Organisational Psychopaths: A Ten Year Review" 2015, Management Decision vol. 53, no. 10, pp. 2407-2432. Published with permission of Emerald Group Publishing Limited. DOI: 10.1108/MD-04-2015-0114

Declaration

I am the sole author of all these papers apart from paper number 4 ("Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths") which I wrote as the lead researcher and main author.

This research is new and original and it has not been submitted for any other degree or academic award. The quantitative and qualitative research conducted in Britain in 2011 and 2013 respectively, into corporate psychopaths, was used as the basis for the two empirical papers presented here.

The theoretical papers related to marketing, business and the global financial crisis are based on my considerations of how the presence of corporate psychopaths may possibly affect organizations in these areas.

Chapter 1: Context Statement: The Influence of Corporate Psychopaths on Employees, Workplaces and Society

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this introduction is to contextualise the papers presented here within the wider literature on corporate psychopaths and also within the broader literature concerning toxic, dysfunctional, unethical and destructive leadership.

1.2 Overall Context

The study of Leadership is compellingly argued to be the most important subject of study in the human sciences because leaders are very influential in terms of organizational outcomes and in terms of their impact on other people's lives (Hogan & Kaiser 2005). Within the study of leadership, the dire consequences of toxic leadership make it a particularly important area of investigation. However, notwithstanding calls for management academics to engage with the current issues of society, including the global financial crisis (Munir 2011), toxic leadership is under-researched and incompletely comprehended. The concept of toxic leadership has not been accorded a pertinent amount of importance compared to the damage that these leaders do to employees and organizations (Mehta & Maheshwari 2014). With the exceptions of a few authors (Goldman 2008; Goldman 2011; Lipman-Blumen 2004; Lipman-Blumen 2005; Pelletier 2010; Reed 2004; Reed & Bullis 2009; Reed 2012; Goldman 2012; Delbecq 2001; Schyns & Schilling 2013; Thoroughgood, Hunter & Sawyer 2011; Aasland et al. 2010; Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007; Harvey et al. 2007; Krasikova, Green & LeBreton 2013) toxic leadership has been neglected.

However, the accumulating evidence for personality disorders in leaders has been noted and reported as a trend that warrants supplementary examination and attention (Goldman 2006a; Spencer & Wargo 2010; Babiak 1995; de Vries 1985; de Vries 1990; Goldman 2008). In this respect the evolving literature on corporate psychopaths provides a powerful structure for the examination of corporate leadership and the emergence of corporate scandals (Zona, Minoja & Coda 2013). Corporate psychopathy is therefore worthwhile examining in terms of the potential contribution it can make to comprehending leadership in general and toxic leadership in particular. This is one contribution of the papers presented in this thesis.

Psychologists and management researchers report that psychopathic corporate employees are destructive towards organizations and towards other employees. This has progressively emerged as a flow of management research. This context statement contextualizes corporate psychopaths' research as an important part of the literature on management and leadership, linking dysfunctional management to senior managers with personality disorders and organizational performance. A description is given of how, with some conceptual drift away from Cleckley's (1941) original conceptualization of the psychopath in business; psychopathy and criminality became confounded, resulting in corporate psychopaths being more or less ignored for almost half a century. The context statement discusses the subsequent development of research into corporate psychopaths, starting with Babiak's influential (1995) paper and describing the books this inspired. The context statement then summarizes management research on the subject and describes some of the gaps between theoretical expectations of how corporate psychopaths might behave, and the growing empirical evidence of how they have been shown to behave within organizations.

One aim of this context statement is to review the emergent literature on corporate psychopaths, including the eight papers on the subject that are to be found within this thesis. Further, in order to demonstrate the potential importance of the subject, another aim is to describe what has been written about corporate psychopaths so far. An additional aim is to indicate areas where further research may generate added insights as to their behaviour and effects.

This context statement describes the conceptual foundations of this research into corporate psychopaths and suggests useful directions that future investigation may take. Academic papers linking managers with personality disorders and dysfunctional management became increasingly visible this century e.g. (Boddy 2006b; Morse 2004; Mount, Ilies & Johnson 2006). Within this literature on managers with personality disorders, the psychopath has been noted as one such disordered personality at work (Babiak 1995; Boddy 2006b; Pendleton & Furnham 2012; Laurijssen, Wisse & Sanders 2015). The emergence of research into corporate psychopaths has been described as establishing a new bearing in leadership research (Gudmundsson & Southey 2011) and as providing a powerful structure to researchers to guide further research into CEO's and corporate scandals (Zona, Minoja & Coda 2013). As a result of these various publications some researchers and writers now claim that corporate psychopaths are the most noteworthy threat to ethics in business that the world currently faces (Marshall et al. 2014).

This context statement describes how research on psychopaths in organizations started at the theoretical level, as described in a number of books, and has slowly progressed.

This progression has been into a series of published papers from the USA e.g. (Babiak 1995), the UK e.g. (Board & Fritzon 2005) and more recently from wide-ranging empirical studies of psychopaths in US, Australian and British workplaces e.g. (Malovany 2014; Boddy 2011c; Boddy 2011b; Boddy 2013a; Tucker & Marino 2015) and studies of the effects of psychopathy on other employees (Nelson & Tonks 2011; Boddy et al. 2015) and organizations (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010; Boddy & Croft 2016). Individual personality traits such as those found in psychopathy are important to consider in management research because, as Hogan and Kaiser (2005) argue, managerial incompetence resides in the undesirable qualities of individual managers.

Hogan and Kaiser argue that examples of these undesirable qualities are embedded in the personality disorders described in the DSM IV (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders version 4). This (DSM IV) description of personality disorders (version 5 is now available) offers, they claim, a useful classification of the most important antecedents of failure in management endeavours. Leader personality, argue these researchers, modifies the form of leadership, which influences employee attitudes and team functioning, which in turn influences the performance of organizations (Hogan & Kaiser 2005). In line with this view that a manager's personality influences performance, Goldman discusses two case study examples of managers who displayed Narcissistic and Anti-Social Personality Disorder, both of which are related to psychopathy. The nexus of dysfunctional organization, proposes Goldman, may well have its beginning in the pre-existing pathologies of individuals in leadership (Goldman 2006b).

Goldman reports on a senior manager as an example for this. That manager firstly looked to be an enchanting and seductive person; but in addition, was violent, aggressive and bullying at work. This behaviour is characteristic of psychopathy and Goldman states that other employees mimicked and copied it. Goldman therefore called for the intensified appliance of an awareness of personality disorders within management research, in order to further an understanding of corporate dysfunction. Recent research utilizing psychopathy measures from psychological investigations, has partially answered this call (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010a; Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010; Nelson & Tonks 2011). Management psychologists have written about the negative effects that leaders with personality disorders can have on corporations, both through their own behaviour and through their influence as leaders and role models (Goldman 2006b; Siegel 1973a; Goldman 2006a).

It is widely recognized that senior managers influence workplace behaviour via the norms of behaviour which they establish (Van Fleet & Griffin 2006; Pendleton & Furnham 2012; Weber 2010) and therefore it is important whether managers are psychopathic or not. Employees, by scrutinising their superiors and in what way they behave, learn in what ways they are sanctioned to act in the workplace (Othman, Ee & Shi 2010). This makes senior managers influential determinants of the culture, ethics and values held within organizations (Van Fleet & Griffin 2006).

To help understand who corporate psychopaths are (as opposed to other psychopaths) and how they have been found to influence the workplace, psychopaths are firstly defined below followed by a description of corporate psychopaths. Prior to this a brief description of the papers in this thesis is given below.

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1.3 The Papers in this Thesis

The work submitted here consists of eight papers published between 2005 and 2015 which address the issue of corporate psychopaths at work in organizations and society. The three earlier papers are all theoretical as they attempt to arrive at a preliminary understanding of what the presence of psychopaths in the workforce and within organizations may mean for employees, organizations and society. This involved distilling relevant information from a handful of popular books on psychopaths and sifting out, informed by workplace experience, what theories about their behaviour may be applicable to psychopaths working in corporations and other organizations. It also involved extrapolating from the sparse number of academic research papers available at the time, most notably Babiak's (1995) study of what, at that time, he called an "industrial psychopath" and Moorse's very brief description of an "Executive Psychopath" in 2004. This current author's early papers were more or less attempting to establish an agenda for future academic research to follow. The two early papers submitted here were; "The Implications of Corporate Psychopaths for Business and Society: An Initial Examination and A call To Arms" (Boddy 2005b) and "The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths" (Boddy 2006b). These two papers attempted to outline, in increasing levels of detail, what the implications of having corporate psychopaths in the workplace may be. Their genesis and publication was a conscious attempt to draw attention to the fact that, as implied by Cleckley's 1941 pioneering book on the subject, there are other psychopaths to study apart from criminal psychopaths. (Criminal psychopaths have been the subject of extensive research by psychology researchers).

The two later papers; "Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Employee Affective Well-Being and Counterproductive Work Behaviour" (Boddy 2014) and "Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths" (Boddy et al. 2015) are empirical in nature. These papers attempt to answer the call for research into psychopaths in the workforce established in the two earlier papers and also made by various psychologists such as Board and Fritzon (2005).

The four remaining papers; "The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis" (Boddy 2011a); "The Impact of Corporate Psychopaths on Corporate Reputation and Marketing"(Boddy 2012b); "Corporate Psychopaths: Uncaring Citizens, Irresponsible Leaders" (Boddy 2013b), and "Organisational Psychopaths: A Ten Year Update" (Boddy 2015a), revert to theoretical considerations of in what other ways psychopaths at work in corporate banks or within marketing functions, may effect business and society. The last of these papers serves as an update on current research into corporate psychopaths. This is an attempt to stimulate further research into the behaviour of corporate psychopaths.

As the study of psychopaths at work has only emerged erratically and very slowly starting from 1941, with a gap until 1995, and then from 2004 onwards; it is thus still a relatively new area and represents a new idea to management researchers. Therefore the following section of this thesis by public works explains who psychopaths are and in what ways corporate psychopaths are different to criminal psychopaths.

1.4 Psychopaths

Psychologists estimate that about one per cent of people are almost emotionless, mainly conscience-free, coldly indifferent as well as callous towards others, and can therefore be called psychopaths (Coid et al. 2009; Babiak & Hare 2006). This lack of emotions and a conscience appears to be interrelated with physical factors characterised by atypical brain connectivity and chemistry (Blair 2001; Blair et al. 2005; Blair et al. 2006; Kiehl et al. 2001; Kiehl et al. 2004; Kiehl et al. 2006). These psychopaths have few developed emotions, are without a conscience, and are unable to feel affective concern or empathy for others. The areas of the brain that have been associated with psychopathy are the prefrontal cortex and the amygdala (Glenn, Raine & Schug 2009; Weber et al. 2008; Anderson & Kiehl 2012; Osumi et al. 2012; Blair 2008). In particular the core emotional features associated with psychopathy, including lack of empathy and cold-heartedness, are also associated with reduced amygdala activity (Glenn, Raine & Schug 2009).

A lack of integrity is also associated with psychopathy (Connelly, Lilienfeld and Schmeekl 2006). This lack of integrity was illustrated in the examples of corporate psychopaths at work in paper 5; "Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths". The corporate psychopaths examined in this paper (5) were reported to be liars, manipulative, parasitic, ruthless, uncaring and untrustworthy. These findings make an empirical contribution to the literature on corporate psychopaths.

The realization that not all psychopaths are in institutions or prisons (Widom 1977), that sub-clinical psychopaths may have some specific advantages over normal people (Ray & Ray 1982), and that psychopaths live freely among the rest of humanity and in the workplace (Stout 2005b; Hare 1994; Stout 2005a), constitutes a re-acknowledgment of Cleckley's (1941/1988) original thesis, that psychopaths exist in business. Furthermore, this entails a realization that Cleckley's seminal ideas still set an appropriate agenda for further research.

The personality constructs that are most commonly associated with psychopathy are Machiavellianism and Anti-Social Personality Disorder (ASPD). Machiavellianism is discussed in section 1.9 of this thesis. ASPD is a personality disorder defined by the American Psychiatric Association as a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others, and an inability or unwillingness to conform to what are considered to be the usual rules of society (American Psychiatric Association 1994). A description to help understand how ASPD and psychopathy are reported to differ is given below. Reportedly, ASPD entails a background of enduring antisocial behaviour which begins before the age of fifteen and continues into adulthood (Frick 2000). The disorder manifests in a picture of antisocial and irresponsible behaviour as indicated by such things as engaging in illegal undertakings, academic failure, recklessness, poor job performance and impulsive behaviour (Hare 1996). Symptoms reportedly include an incapacity to tolerate boredom, a feeling of being victimized, and a reduced facility for emotional closeness.

Thus, measurement of Anti-Social Personality Disorder is founded upon behavioural indices, rather than it being a personality based approach (Kirkman 2002). Among the complications that are said to arise from this disorder are recurrent imprisonment, drug abuse and heavy drinking. Anti-Social Personality Disorder is reportedly found in around 1.1% of the adult (US) population (Skodol et al. 2011). Anti-Social Personality Disorder was previously referred to by some as psychopathy. However since then influential psychologists have compellingly argued that the definition of ASPD is much greater in scope than psychopathy (Hare 1991; Edens et al. 2006; Shipley & Arrigo 2001) and that thus the two should not be confused (Ogloff 2006).

Hare for example, reports that there is misconstruction concerning the conditions because of an earlier and erroneous statement in the DSM-IV, that Anti-Social Personality Disorder and psychopathy are equivalents (Hare 1996). Anti-Social Personality Disorder, reports Hare, is a wide-ranging behavioural diagnosis of inexact consistency linking a mixed collection of criminals. On the other hand, psychopaths, asserts Hare, are a more definitive clustering than people with ASPD; psychopaths have a distinct personality involving particular affective and interpersonal constituents (Hare 1996). Thus there a separation of the two diagnoses; Anti-Social Personality Disorder and psychopathy has occurred, together with a plea for a common nomenclature to be agreed on (Shipley & Arrigo 2001). Psychologists have noted that ASPD is largely a reflection of criminal behaviours rather than the more unfeeling and unemotional personality traits exhibited by psychopaths (Ogloff 2006). Further, they point out that an ASPD diagnosis does not have the diminished connotations for treatment success, re-offending and aggressive behaviour that a diagnoses of criminal psychopathy does.

People with ASPD are also highly heterogeneous (Blair 2001). Psychopaths, it is argued, may well be anti-social but only a minority of those who are diagnosed with ASPD are simultaneously psychopaths (Ogloff, 2006, Edens et al., 2006, Hare, 1996). For example, Blair and colleagues in a review of the knowledge concerning psychopathy state that only about 25% of individuals classed as being anti-social personalities, concurrently demonstrate psychopathic tendencies (Blair et al. 2006). In addition there are reportedly many forerunners to an anti-social personality and psychopathy is but one of them (Blair et al. 2006). Psychopaths are thus commonly understood to be a more specific group than people with ASPD (Brinkley et al. 2004). Consequently on its own, antisocial behaviour is not evaluated as sufficient to characterize the construct of psychopathy (Levenson, Kiehl & Fitzpatrick 1995).

The definition of Anti-Social Personality Disorder is supposedly less problematic in relation to criminal psychopaths as the definition was agreed to after the study of criminal psychopaths (Hare 1999a; Hare 1996). However, an emphasis on the anti-social elements of psychopathy and the omission of the interpersonal and affective symptoms is reported to have resulted in an over-diagnosis of psychopathy within criminal populations and an under-diagnosis of psychopathy within non-criminals (Hare 1999b). Some people in society may be psychopathic without being overtly anti-social. ASPD thus characterizes the behavioural aspects of criminal psychopaths rather than the innate personality factors (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996).

A majority of studies of psychopathy have been with imprisoned populations and over time psychopathy has been confounded and confused with measures of criminality (Lynam, Whiteside & Jones 1999).

A degree of conceptual drift has thus occurred in the study of psychopaths, report some researchers, and they requested the development of measures of psychopathy that do not link it to criminality. These researchers argue that psychopathy should be within the dominion of personality deviation, rather than criminality, and that the appropriate population for studying psychopathy should be the greater adult population rather than criminals (Skeem, Mulvey & Grisso 2003). Thus it is psychopathy, in the general population of corporate employees that is the focus of this current contextual review. All of the eight papers submitted as a part of this thesis have corporate psychopaths as their subject and thus collectively they make an important empirical, theoretical and methodological contribution to the literature. This directly relates to this contextual statement because this author argues that the confounding of anti-social criminality with psychopathy has largely blinded researchers to the presence of white-collar, successful psychopaths in organizations.

In line with this viewpoint, a weakness of research into psychopathy is acknowledged to be the lack of ability to generalize from research because of the dominant use of criminal populations (Kirkman 2002; Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001; Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003; Kirkman 2005). ASPD is thus a broad based construct that overlaps with criminal psychopathy, but less so with corporate psychopathy, because corporate psychopathy is hereby conceptualized as a related, but not totally overlapping construct to criminal psychopathy. In particular corporate psychopaths are not often violently anti-social in their overt behaviour.

Regardless of its inclusion in the different versions of the DSM, the term psychopath is a term that is established in the legal system in the USA and the labelling of a criminal as a psychopath can have negative consequences in terms of sentencing and chances of gaining parole. To aid an understanding of in what ways corporate psychopaths are assumed to be less anti-social than criminal psychopaths are, a description of them is given below.

It should be noted that the measurement and definitions of psychopathy and of corporate psychopathy are contested. The substance and make-up of psychopathy measures has been marked by contention and disagreement with regard to the borders and features of the condition and a resolution of these issues is a long way from being settled (Lilienfeld et al. 2014; Crego & Widiger 2016). A full description of these disagreements is beyond the scope of this context statement but please see the paper by Lilienfeld and colleagues (2014) for a fuller description of this.

Debates, regarding the nature and boundaries of psychopathy are reported to reflect an emphasis on two differing ways in which the condition has been made operational; each of which reflects a different "species" of psychopath (Lilienfeld et al. 2014). In summary the measurement debate centres around whether measures of psychopathy should be uncontaminated by antisocial behaviour (Lilienfeld 1994). The Psychopathy Measure – Management Research Version (PM-MRV) used by this author attempts to achieve this by focussing on the essential or underlying traits of psychopathy rather than the criminal elements, which are arguable the correlates or consequences of psychopathy rather than its core features.

If psychopaths are almost exclusively studied in criminal or institutionalised populations – as they have been – then this will only help to confirm the pre-conception that psychopaths are impulsive and overtly anti-social. Such research is arguably just an exercise in tautology as other psychopathy researchers have already pointed out in relation to Hare's PCL-R (Skeem & Cooke 2010). Based on non-criminal presentations of psychopathy, for example Cooke and Skeem's and Michie's, then the anti-social and impulsive elements are clearly manifestations of psychopathy and not essential ingredients of it (Cooke et al. 2004; Skeem & Cooke 2010; Cooke & Michie 2001). Indeed Hare and colleagues report that the items within the PCL-R may not be appropriate for use in the business sector (Mathieu et al. 2015).

Recently therefore, experienced psychopathy researchers have developed psychopathy measures which avoid confounding the measure with criminality; such as the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP) (Cooke et al. 2012). In recognition of these arguments, psychopathy researchers estimate that the PM-MRV's explicit focus on interpersonal and affective features of psychopathy may make the measure well-suited to use in business research (Smith & Lilienfeld 2013).

1.5 Corporate Psychopaths

The idea of the white collar, professional, business or corporate psychopath was originally put forward by Cleckley, inherent in his description of psychopaths working in the professions such as medicine, academia and engineering. This idea of the successful psychopath in the workplace has recently re-emerged in management, policy and business ethics journals. In these journals, the study of corporate psychopaths has gathered acceptance, e.g. (Gudmundsson & Southey 2011; Boddy 2006b; Cleckley 1941/1988; Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010). The eight papers presented in this thesis have been a part of, and stimuli for, this re-emergence.

Corporate psychopaths have been identified as those people who display the traits such as lying, conning, and being unremorseful, cold, glib, charming, manipulative, grandiose, calculating, un-empathetic and lacking in responsibility, and as people who pursue a corporate rather than a criminal career. However, the two; corporate psychopathy and criminal psychopathy, can overlap as in the case of psychopathic fraud, for example, and as detailed in one example of this given in paper 4.

In terms of how such corporate psychopaths ascend to leadership positions, it has been suggested that in the presence of their attributes, such as apparent friendliness, charisma and charm; their other faults, such as not following rules, can easily be overlooked in personnel assessment. This may particularly be the case when these attributes are deliberately used in a strategy of image manipulation and impression management; thus facilitating the ascension of corporate psychopaths within organizations (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010).

The origins of corporate psychopathy and psychopathy are under debate. Psychology researchers are evaluating and discussing this in terms of whether corporate psychopaths are "successful" because they are not as severely psychopathic as criminal psychopaths or are better able to control themselves because of the influences of education, intelligence and upbringing. Alternatively this may be because corporate psychopaths just possess less of the anti-social elements of psychopathy. However, the tentative conclusion that amygdala dysfunction applies to non-criminal or successful psychopaths just as it appears to apply to criminal psychopaths has been made. For example, Osumi et al (2012) carried out a functional magnetic imaging study among twenty undergraduates in Japan, who had various levels of psychopathy and whose brains were scanned during a test involving moral choices. The conclusions drawn by Osumi and colleagues were that amygdala dysfunction may underpin the affective deficits that psychopaths exhibit and that successful psychopaths may be more able to be in command of their impulses towards maladaptive aggression (Osumi et al. 2012).

The suggestion that successful corporate psychopaths may be better at controlling their expressions of anti-social violent aggression than criminal psychopaths are (Boddy 2011c), has therefore been presented with support by this research from Japan. Mullins-Sweatt and colleagues found, in a separate study, that successful psychopaths displayed more conscientiousness than non-successful or criminal psychopaths (Mullins-Sweatt et al. 2010). This indicates consequential differences between psychopaths who may be successful in a business career and those who may not.

One notable facet of the behaviour of successful psychopaths is accepted as being their aim of procuring personal gain (Babiak 1995; Babiak & Hare 2006; Osumi et al. 2012). Their control over their aggressive tendencies can therefore be characterized as being instrumental in that they control themselves because they need to be accepted by others so as help them to achieve their longer term aims of gaining various resources for their own use.

Corporate psychopaths have been theoretically linked (e.g. in the theory papers submitted as part of this thesis) to diverse aspects of corporate misconduct including fraud, bullying and corporate collapses (Boddy 2006b; Clarke 2005; Babiak & Hare 2006; Hare 1999a; Boddy 2015b). Issues like these, which are centred around disordered personalities in management; such as ethics, the concealment of negative organizational outcomes and fraud, have historically been the concern of business academics (Abrahamson & Park 1994).

In the same way, the study of the influence of disordered personalities in management, like that of Machiavellians and Narcissists (see McHoskey et. al. 1998 for a description of these), who have some major similarities with corporate psychopaths, has also been discussed by management academics: (Calhoon 1969; Gemmill & Heisler 1972; Siegel 1973b; Durand & Nord 1976). How the concept of the corporate psychopath has developed over time is discussed in more detail below.

1.6 Conceptual Foundations of Research into Corporate Psychopaths

This section of this context statement reviews the literature on corporate psychopaths, highlighting how the subject has slowly come to prominence, stemming from Cleckley's seminal work "The Mask of Sanity" (Cleckley 1941/1988). Cleckley's book discusses the presence of well-adapted psychopaths operating without detection in society, holding white collar and professional jobs, based on observations from his clinical and professional practice. Hervey Cleckley was a Clinical Professor of Psychiatry in the USA. In his book, Cleckley discusses psychopaths as businesspeople and capable "men of the world" from well-off family backgrounds who, in early displays of a parasitic life-style, proceed through university via cheating and by copying the work of their academic peers.

Such psychopaths then move forwards to careers where they may frequently disregard their primary work responsibilities, but nevertheless manage to maintain their organizational positions through their apparent friendliness, interesting personalities, charm, seeming sophistication, and verbal dexterity. Supporting Cleckley, this sort of behaviour is reported in paper 4 ("Extreme Managers") in this thesis. Cleckley described such psychopaths at work in hospitals and universities; able to portray them-selves as capable, knowledgeable and influential and apparently living well-adapted and positive lifestyles. They seem to be interesting, well-connected and desirable people to know and to be genuine, agreeable, socially at ease, constructive and happy (Boddy 2011d). Despite all this, reports Cleckley, psychopaths are problematic to deal with for their relatives, teachers and the general public.

Cleckley identified a number of less immediately recognizable and more distasteful personality trait possessed by psychopaths such as their being undependable and insincere. Cleckley reported that these business psychopaths indulge in insufficiently motivated antisocial behaviour, are egocentric, and have no capacity for love or remorse. Psychopaths also suffer from affective emotional deficiency with a concomitantly impersonal sex life, and they are interpersonally unresponsive with no sense of responsibility. While psychopaths are not irrational, Cleckley reports that they can indulge in incredible and uninviting behaviour but that they are notably not nervous, neurotic, or prone to suicide. Cleckley, in summary, describes a psychopath as someone who can look on the surface to be worthier, more at ease, more un-defensive, agreeable, charming and more appealing than most people do upon first acquaintance. Cleckley writes that conversationally psychopaths come across as level-headed and healthy in ethics and judgment, but that nevertheless, they cannot feel genuine love and can engage in activities which have abysmal costs for other people.

These irresponsible acts include adultery, casual sexual encounters, dereliction of duty, parasitic behaviour and theft. However, psychopaths are adept at avoiding punishment and restraints, as they are capable of deceiving others as to their involvement in these acts and talking themselves out of trouble (Babiak & Hare 2006). Cleckley's pioneering study influenced several psychologists, and in particular Robert Hare, who as a prison psychologist, was primarily interested in criminal psychopaths. Hare acquired ideas from Cleckley's work and developed them into a measure of psychopathy, the Psychopathy Checklist (PCL) which he then revised, into the PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist-Revised) (Hare 1991).

This measure permitted researchers to identify and study criminal psychopaths, and thereby provided the foundation for psychopathy to become one of the most well researched personality patterns in psychology. Hare and other psychologists, working with prison populations, studied psychopaths in relation to their emotional responses and brain functioning. This led to the confounding of psychopathy with criminality, an element of confusion which still persists, especially in the popular imagination (Hercz 2001).

Accordingly, Cleckley's professional and white collar psychopaths were more or less ignored for about 50 years. Hare, conceivably apprehending how far he had taken Cleckley's work away from these successful psychopaths, and towards criminal psychopath, and possibly as a consequence of reading Babiak's (1995) work on psychopaths in industry, subsequently called for more consideration to be given to corporate psychopaths and other "successful" psychopaths (Babiak & Hare 2006; Hare 1999a; Hare 1994).

Several books on psychopaths in society were then published. The first was Hare's "Without Conscience: The Disturbing World of the Psychopaths Among Us" (Hare 1999a). This was followed by Babiak and Hare's "Snakes in Suits: When Psychopaths Go to Work" (Babiak & Hare 2006) and "The Sociopath Next Door" by Martha Stout (Stout 2005b). At about the same time came the books "Working with Monsters: How to Identify and Protect Yourself from the Workplace Psychopath" (2005) and "The Pocket Psycho" (2007) both by John Clarke (Boddy 2011d).

A book which primarily considers criminal psychopaths and their identification is Hare's 1999 "Without Conscience: The Disturbing World of the Psychopaths Among Us". This appears to be largely based on Hare's appreciation of psychopaths from prison settings and his projection of ways in which successful corporate psychopaths could behave in organizations. The book forewarns the reader towards psychopaths who might deceive people out of their assets and partake in corporate financial scandals. The concepts of the white-collar psychopath and the corporate psychopath are also introduced. The book describes their potential role in multi-million dollar bank fraud and corporate embezzlement. Following Cleckley, Hare (1999) describes the persona of this type of psychopath as being charming, professional and trustworthy.

The issue of psychopaths at work was also discussed in Babiak and Hare's "Snakes in Suits: When Psychopaths Go to Work" (2006). This book makes use of a drawn-out fictionalised case-study to describe the conceivable behaviour of workplace psychopaths. The book compares psychopaths with Narcissists and reports similarities between the two personalities, but suggests that psychopaths have no conscience, whereas Narcissists usually do. Corporate psychopaths, say Babiak and Hare, can generally outmanoeuvre Narcissists because corporate psychopaths have a totally ruthless long term plan which outclasses the relatively short term and ego-driven manoeuvring of Narcissists. This totally ruthless, strategic plan permits corporate psychopaths to circumvent any detractors and organizational regulators. In this manner, report Babiak and Hare (2006), the corporate psychopath sooner or later rises to positions of organisational seniority and power.

As theorised in the conceptual papers presented as a part of this thesis by public works, the theoretical effects of this ascension of corporate psychopaths in the workforce on bullying, morale, job satisfaction and productivity are negative. These theoretical speculations prompted both business journalists and management researchers to become more interested in the possible influence of organizational psychopaths on corporations (Morse 2004; Boddy 2006b; Ferrari 2006).

Babiak and Hare (2006) write that psychopaths can obtain jobs within corporations relatively easily, because of their interview skills, seeming rationality and apparent charm. These are traits that also help the psychopath get promoted. Once inside organizations corporate psychopaths engineer and do well in a chaotic environment which facilitates them in concealing their self-seeking activities and in terms of exploiting and manipulating others. Master manipulators are thus how corporate psychopaths are described, and as employees who can easily hide their true characters. Also, the authors point out that more power, status and wealth are usually to be found in larger organizations and that these are what attract the corporate psychopath. Babiak and Hare (2006) describe how corporate psychopaths use their apparent friendliness, political and networking skills to form and manoeuvre groups of supporters in order to promote their own objectives.

Martha Stout's book on psychopaths (whom she refers to as sociopaths since a common nomenclature did not then exist); "The Sociopath Next Door", describes how psychopaths live in society. Like Hare, Stout reports that psychopaths make friends with and charm people whom they think may be useful for them to know, they then manipulate these people and prey on their weaknesses.

Stout describes how psychopaths from socio-economically advantaged families may be harboured from detection and legal prosecution by the influence and protection of their families (Boddy 2011d). These psychopaths can therefore can have long, but well obscured backgrounds involving abusive behaviour, before they are eventually unmasked (Stout 2005b).

In his book; "Working with Monsters: How to Identify and Protect Yourself from the Workplace Psychopath" and "The Pocket Psycho", John Clarke sub-divides workplace psychopaths into organizational psychopaths, corporate criminal psychopaths, violent criminal psychopaths and occupational psychopaths (Clarke 2005; Clarke 2007). Clarke's books are apparently founded on his knowledge of psychopaths obtained from consulting in business and at a university in Australia, where businesspeople he lectured to reported psychopathic-traits among people in the workplace, piquing Clarke's interest in this area (Boddy 2011d). The organizational psychopaths, reports Clarke, desire financial rewards and power, but also want to see other employees suffer. Clarke's sub-definitions define corporate criminal psychopaths as wanting benefits at the expense of others through scams, fraud and corporate theft. Violent criminal psychopaths, report Clarke, use their positions of authority as opportunities to physically hurt others for their own entertainment and pleasure, while enjoying the reduced chances of discovery or punishment that are intrinsic within such organisational positions. Finally, occupational psychopaths use their positions of authority within organizations to engage in bullying with limited chances of detection or reprimand (Boddy 2011d). Clarke's sub-groupings of workplace psychopaths have not been developed further in the literature.

Clarke speculates that workplaces where such psychopaths were present would be characterized by high levels of bullying and conflict, emotional suffering for staff and high levels of personnel turnover. These outcomes have all been discovered in the studies reported on as a part of this thesis as discussed below. Clarke (2005) describes the emotional hurt that the victims of these workplace psychopaths undergo. Clarke, along with the aforementioned authors, draws on individual case studies in his dealings with psychopaths as a psychologist, to describe their likely behaviour in organizations. From the theoretical and anecdotal propositions put forward in these books, management researchers were stimulated to investigate whether such behaviour was actually evident when psychopaths were present in organizations (Boddy 2011d).

Papers 3 and 4 in this thesis, and previous research from this author, support Clarke's suppositions by presenting empirical quantitative and qualitative evidence. This illustrates that the presence of psychopaths in corporations, now called corporate psychopaths, has a predictable influence on conflict and bullying in the workplace, as well as on levels of workload, job satisfaction, perceived levels of corporate social responsibility, and organizational constraints (Boddy 2011c; Boddy et al. 2014).

Evident within Babiak's description of a psychopath working in industry, was the re-realization that psychopaths will be working in businesses (Babiak 1995). His paper appears to have influenced Hare, because in later collaboration with Babiak, Hare began to re-focus some of his thinking about psychopaths away from violent criminals and towards corporate psychopaths (Hare 1999a; Babiak 1995). This collaboration resulted in the book; "Snakes in Suits" (Babiak & Hare 2006).

This re-direction was arguably aided by the recognition that the characteristics of individual managers predispose them towards doing wrong and engaging in illegal acts and immoral behaviour (Baucus 1994) and that such behaviour in managers stimulates negative responses in employees (Biron 2010).

One of the anonymous reviewers of one of this current author's articles on corporate psychopaths noted that it was unique for most of the books on psychopaths at work and in society to have been produced before a body of empirical research was established. This reviewer further commented that it was more usual for book production to follow the emergence of research evidence, rather than it being the reverse. A possible explanation for the books preceding most of the published research studies is that once psychologists realized that there was a gap in knowledge with regard to psychopaths in business, they could initially only fill it with conjecture based on anecdotal and limited case study material (Boddy 2011d). Only later did empirical research start to emerge, stimulated by the conjecture in the books.

Perhaps psychologists and psychiatrists recognized that conceptual drift had occurred in terms of a move away from Cleckley's original conceptualization of a psychopath at work and towards Hare's criminal psychopathy as measured by his PCL-R (Hare 1993). Thereafter Babiak's 1995 case study of a white collar managerial psychopath and Hare's comment that if he wasn't studying psychopaths in prisons he would be studying them in stock exchanges may have reinforced this viewpoint. At this time psychologists and psychiatrists may also have realized that the lack of research into corporate psychopaths was an important omission and they began to call for more research into these "successful" psychopaths (Boddy 2011d).

However, having been used to the ready identification of relatively large samples of psychopaths in prisons, where they make up to 24% of the population, psychologists struggled to find suitable tools to identify ways of identifying sufficiently large numbers of corporate psychopaths. Thus psychologists now acknowledge that studying psychopaths in the workplace has been difficult to undertake because of their relative rarity and the lack of an assessment tool for such corporate research (Mathieu et al. 2012).

The current author used a survey research approach to studying psychopathy, adopted from methods used in management and market research, and this methodological innovation enabled the more frequent identification of the presence of corporate psychopaths in organizations (Boddy 2011d). This method used reports of the traits and behaviour of current managers from individual respondents from medium sized samples (e.g. of N = 346 and N = 304) of people working in many different business organizations. In other words this approach did not look for individual psychopaths in one organization and then investigate what behaviour they engaged in as an individual; but rather investigated what the presence of managers with psychopathic traits correlated with, in terms of other employees and with managerial behaviour in general. This methodological approach allows a larger sample with which to conduct research, i.e. of those who have worked with a corporate psychopath rather than of those who are themselves corporate psychopaths (Boddy 2011d).

After Babiak's 1995 paper there was a temporal gap and the next important paper in this area was ten years later, in Board and Fritzon's (2005) paper on disordered personalities at work.

This straightforward but ground-breaking study simply compared the personalities of a small sample (N=36) of businesspeople with those of larger samples of psychopathic prisoners and mental health patients. Findings included that the businesspeople had higher levels, on average, of histrionic personality disorder and were more narcissistic. This paper brought to the attention of business academics, the possibility that people with personality disorders, including some characteristics shared with psychopaths, were running some companies as senior managers (Board & Fritzon 2005). Board and Fritzon suggested that some psychopaths may be able to channel their personalities into socially acceptable behaviour and commented that there was growing evidence for the existence of successful psychopaths in society and business. Such psychopaths, it was hypothesized, may have the ability to influence and manipulate those around them and thereby gain positions of personal power and prestige (Babiak & Hare 2006).

Articles published at about the same time (2005/2006) (including papers 1 and 2 in this thesis), conjectured as to the possible widespread effects of the presence of psychopaths in organizations (Boddy 2006a; Boddy 2006b; Boddy 2005a). These papers, including the two submitted as a part of this thesis, suggested that just as criminal psychopaths are responsible for a far greater share of crimes than their low numbers would imply, so too could psychopaths within organizations be responsible for more than their share of organizational misbehaviour. This current author (2006) speculated that corporate psychopaths would create environmental damage, lost economies of expertise, a disheartened workforce, no sense of corporate social responsibility, workplace bullying, political rather than objective decision making and corporate failures.

Recent research has confirmed some of these expectations, while many others remain under-investigated (Boddy 2015a). For example, research has identified links between perceived levels of corporate social responsibility and corporate psychopaths (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010a) and the willingness to indulge in the illegal dumping of toxic wastes (Ray & Jones 2011). Furthermore, research has identified significant correlations between corporate psychopaths and bullying, conflict, workload, withdrawal and job satisfaction (Boddy 2011b). On the other hand, evidence for correlations between corporate psychopaths, fraud and corporate failure remains largely absent, apart from within the qualitative findings presented in paper 4, submitted as a part of this thesis and apart from qualitative case studies linking fraud and psychopathy (Perri & Brody 2011; Perri & Brody 2012).

Wexler (2008) discussed how increasingly frequent reports of corporate scams and conscienceless behaviour have led to the corporation itself being characterized as psychopathic. Wexler comments on the increasingly dark portrayal of the corporation. Wexler further notes that the middle class employees who work within such corporations do not appear to be shocked by this dark behaviour; implying that there may be a feeling that unethical and psychopathic corporate behaviour is expected and cannot be effectively opposed. Nevertheless, pleas that bad and immoral leadership should be challenged and prevented have been made (Ferrari 2006; Allio 2007; Boddy, Galvin & Ladyshewsky 2010; Cangemi & Pfohl 2009; Perkel 2005).

As discussed above, some researchers have focused on corporations behaving in a psychopathic manner rather than on managerial corporate psychopaths themselves (Ketola 2006; Wexler 2008; Daneke 1985).

Daneke was discussing, as early as 1985, the role of abnormal psychology in assessing corporate behaviour and in particular how a sociopathic corporation may have a limited and self-interested view of things such as corporate social responsibility (Daneke 1985). The corporation has been identified as a conscience free entity devoted to its own financial enrichment at the expense of all other considerations (Bakan 2004; Achbar 2003). This discussion centred around capitalist (for profit) corporations rather than not-for-profit enterprises such as publicly owned health service providers. However, the same dynamics creating institutional or systemic psychopathy may apply if the organization loses sight of its main mission of care, as some health service organizations have demonstrably done.

Despite these attempts to view the corporation itself as potentially psychopathic, it has been argued that the corporation is essentially amoral and that it is individual organizational managers and leaders who make decisions that may be psychopathic in nature. Therefore, the study of corporate psychopaths as individual managers and leaders is argued to be the most appropriate dominion of managerial research into psychopathy (Boddy 2006b).

More recent theoretical papers have taken some of the ideas expressed by Babiak and Hare, in particular that psychopaths in corporations tend to climb to senior management positions, and discussed them further (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010; Pech & Slade 2007; Babiak & Hare 2006). Further, Pech and Slade (2007) argue that numerous cases of managerial manipulation, poor decision making, greed and bullying are evidence of the presence of sociopaths (a term often used interchangeably with psychopaths) in senior management.

Pech and Slade (2007) also report that sociopaths, as consummate manipulators, form sympathetic groups of followers who mimic them and support their rise to the top, thereby legitimating abhorrent behaviour at a systemic level.

The subject of psychopathy is under further discussion within disciplines such as philosophy, law, ethics, accountancy, criminology and corporate social responsibility. Here the discussion of corporate psychopathy and related personality disorders has grown, typically at a theoretical or conceptual level.

This discussion involves issues such as to what degree psychopaths can be assumed to be morally and legally accountable for their own behaviour (Boddy 2006b; Clarke 2005; Ciocchetti 2003b; Ciocchetti 2003a; Ketola 2006). Legal philosophers are currently debating the culpability of psychopaths based on their brain chemistry and connectivity issues and in particular on their deficiency in emotional response or understanding (Haji 2003; Zavaliy 2008; Glenn, Raine & Laufer 2011; Varga 2015).

The most accepted view so far, is that psychopaths can be held liable for their actions because at an intellectual level, if not an emotional level, they do comprehend that their actions in hurting other people are iniquitous (Matravers 2008; Sifferd & Hirstein 2012; Fox, Kvaran & Fontaine 2012). In this regard, Varga (2015) correctly points out that philosophers have concentrated their discussion on criminal psychopaths rather than also considering the cases of more successful psychopaths and this could be an area worthy of further debate.

In management research a series of papers from the current author, was published based on research into a sample of 346 Australian managers in 2008 which found that the presence of corporate psychopaths affects organizational outcomes across many areas of behaviour (Boddy 2011c). This included, among other things, that workload, organizational constraints and withdrawal behaviour all increase (Boddy 2010a). More recent research in the UK shows, in a paper (paper 3) submitted as a part of this thesis, significant correlations between the presence of corporate psychopaths and conflict, counterproductive work behaviour and employee affective well-being (Boddy 2013a).

The ideas around the hypothesis that corporate psychopaths tend to rise to higher positions than their work abilities may warrant, are connected with their ability to present an attractive persona to those who evaluate them (Babiak & O'Toole 2012). Corporate Psychopathy Theory, a theory developed with the papers presented in this thesis, thus proposes that corporate psychopaths are not normally distributed (in a statistical sense) through the working population but are theoretically expected to rise to higher corporate positions (Babiak & Hare 2006). Further, that they tend to congregate in the types of organizations, which offer enhanced opportunities to gain power, money and prestige (Boddy 2010c).

A qualitative study of eighteen Australian employees (equally split between males and females) who had all worked with colleagues who demonstrated substantial levels of psychopathic behaviour was undertaken and reported on in 2011. This research found that employees reported experiencing high levels of stress, despair, insecurity, frustration and anger (Nelson & Tonks 2011).

Nelson and Tonks also uncovered examples of staff withdrawal behaviour and research participants reported increased levels of avoidance behaviour, staff turnover and resignations (Nelson & Tonks 2011). Similar effects on employee job satisfaction, distress, well-being, morale and staff turnover were found in the USA (Malovany 2014; Mathieu et al. 2014).

In 2010 another paper confirmed that psychopaths are to be found in the senior ranks of management (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010). In this study of 203 senior US corporate executives who were participating in a management development exercise, greater levels of psychopathy were evident than have been found in the general adult population (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010). Nine senior executives (4.4%) had very high psychopathy scores and six (3%) scored highly enough to qualify as psychopaths on a psychopathy measure, indicating that they may well have been corporate psychopaths. This provides support for the argument within Corporate Psychopathy Theory, that corporate psychopaths are able to obtain high corporate positions. Babiak, Neumann and Hare (2010) conclude from their study that psychopathy is not necessarily an impediment to progress in corporations and they imply that style and presentation skills can win over substance in terms of managerial advancement. In their 2010 study individual executives with high psychopathy levels were rated as correlating positively with measures of perceived charisma and presentation style including on good communication skills. The same executives were also rated negatively on estimations of performance and responsibility including on management skills and managerial accomplishments (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010).

This finding corresponds with this current author's Australian research suggesting that corporate psychopaths are more likely to be found at senior organizational levels than they are at junior levels (Boddy 2011c).

Corporate psychopaths may, in other words, present themselves well and look like attractive people to hire, but there may also be little of real substance behind this facade. The theory related to this, is that corporate psychopaths get promoted beyond their actual managerial abilities because of their presentation abilities and persuasive powers, thus ending up in positions where they cannot perform well or even adequately using their own skills and resources (Boddy 2011a). This position is supported by the recent qualitative research delineated in a paper (paper 4) submitted as a part of this thesis (Boddy et al. 2015). Findings here were that corporate psychopaths appropriated the ideas of other people at work and claimed them as their own, engaged management consultants to do the jobs that they themselves were supposedly hired to do (but were judged to be incompetent at) and interfered with corporate strategic plans in a whimsical and apparently irrational manner.

Babiak and Hare's (2010) sample was basically a convenience sample of managers who happened to be on a training/assessment course in the USA. Therefore strictly speaking the extent to which the 3% to 4% range of corporate psychopaths at senior levels is representative of the whole population of managers, even within the US, is questionable. More robust research among a random sample of managers would be the most appropriate to use to confirm or disconfirm this finding. Whatever the real incidence figure is, corporate psychopaths are certainly to be found working at senior levels in organizations (Ferrari 2006; Pech & Slade 2007; Cangemi & Pfohl 2009).

In these positions they may be theoretically expected to be responsible for instigating and/or acting as the catalyst for corporate misconduct of a variety of kinds (Boddy 2006b; Morse 2004; Spinney 2004; Board & Fritzon 2005; Clarke 2005; Babiak & Hare 2006; Ramamoorti 2008)

Drawing on Corporate Psychopathy Theory and the books previously mentioned, Langbert (2010) suggests that psychopathic employees may be responsible for a major share of corporate crime and ethical breaches and that a single psychopathic employee can have devastating effects on a corporation. Langbert mentions Jeffrey Skilling at Enron as an example of a senior manager who had a destructive effect on a corporation (Langbert 2010). The current author (of this thesis) supports Langbert's viewpoint and in recent papers has discussed the possible role of systemic and individual corporate psychopathy in cases like Enron and the Mirror Group financial scandals (Boddy 2015c; Boddy 2015d). Langbert suggests that psychopathic employees should be closely managed by HR professionals and that employees be trained to recognize the traits involved in psychopathy so that it is not confused with good leadership. De Silva also suggests that employees in the UK's National Health Service should be taught about psychopathy as a means of coping with the levels of bullying found therein (de Silva 2014).

In a new area of investigation relating to entrepreneurship and psychopathy, Cesinger et al. (2011) investigated the relationship between the "dark triad" of Machiavellians, Narcissists and psychopaths with entrepreneurialism.

This relationship with entrepreneurialism has not been precisely covered by the theoretical and clinical reports of psychopathy and this work therefore opens up a new area of investigation in relation to psychopaths and the other members of the dark triad (Paulhus & Williams 2002). As psychopaths are reported to be parasitic in nature and to claim the good work of others as their own (Clarke 2005); the prospect of needing to labour conscientiously in establishing a business may be one element of entrepreneurialism that could be expected to be unappealing to them. On the other hand, Cesinger and colleagues point out that their self-important grandiosity, exaggerated opinion of their own talents and abilities and their attraction to positions of power, success and stimulation may entice psychopaths towards becoming entrepreneurs. These authors found a correlation between psychopathy and the intention to be an entrepreneur but a negative correlation with entrepreneurial performance in the form of business planning (Cesinger et al. 2011). The work of Cesinger and colleagues is noteworthy because it took the study of corporate psychopaths into an un-explored area, that of entrepreneurialism. Some of the findings they uncovered may be counter-intuitive in that the parasitic nature of psychopaths and entrepreneurialism may not have been expected to go together.

In a more recent (2013) paper on psychopaths and entrepreneurialism Akhtar, Ahmetoglu and Chamorro-Premuzic described their findings from an on-line survey of 435 adults in the UK. These researchers measured entrepreneurial tendencies and entrepreneurial success together with primary psychopathy and secondary psychopathy. Their definition of primary psychopathy is compatible with the conceptualization of corporate psychopathy used in this thesis because it measures the underlying (non-criminal) interpersonal and affective aspects of psychopathy.

Secondary psychopathy corresponds more with the conceptualization of anti-social/criminal psychopathy because it measures the criminal and anti-social behaviour associated with criminal psychopaths. Thus of most interest to the arguments presented in this thesis is the finding from Akhta et al.'s research that primary psychopathy was significantly and negatively related to social entrepreneurship. This indicates that primary (or corporate) psychopaths are less likely to initiate activities aimed at improving society (Akhtar, Ahmetoglu & Chamorro-Premuzic 2013).

This finding is in line with the expectations of Corporate Psychopathy Theory which postulates that corporate psychopaths will be more drawn to some types of organization rather than to others, and will for example, not be attracted to those organizations whose objective is the care for and betterment of other people (Boddy 2011a; Boddy 2010c). This issue of organizational type and psychopaths is discussed further in the next section of this context statement.

There is a scarcity of evidence in terms of psychopathy and leadership. However Westerlaken and Woods recently (2013) reported on their research among a small (N=115) sample of students who had at least some managerial work experience. This investigated the relationship between psychopathy and leadership and found a significant negative correlation between psychopathy and transformational leadership and individual consideration (Westerlaken & Woods 2013). They also found a significant positive correlation between psychopathy and passive management, passive leadership and a laissez-faire approach to leadership.

Laissez-faire leadership may be characterized as a "couldn't care less" approach to leadership involving avoidance of decision making and abdication of responsibility. This finding is entirely in line with the expectations of Corporate Psychopathy Theory and is a useful addition to the knowledge on psychopaths as leaders in organizations. Their findings are supported by the paper on corporate psychopaths as extreme managers, submitted in this thesis, where corporate psychopaths appeared to have an indifference to the fate of the organisations they managed (Boddy et al. 2015). A longitudinal study of a CEO corporate psychopath also supports this idea that psychopathic leaders have a laissez-faire approach to leadership (Boddy 2015b).

As mentioned earlier, a lack of integrity is also associated with psychopathy (Connelly, Lilienfeld & Schmeelk 2006) and in relation to this, research has found that character strengths such as integrity correlate with executive performance as measured by colleagues (Sosik, Gentry & Chun 2012). Integrity has also been associated with higher levels of trust and more effective workplace relations. This implies that leaders without integrity, such as corporate psychopaths, may be expected to perform less well and to be less trusted than other leaders are and this may a fruitful area for further investigation.

1.7 The Contribution of This Research into Corporate Psychopaths

The collective contribution of the research presented here in these eight papers is discussed below. The work as a whole makes contributions to knowledge – an empirical contribution – as well as to theory development and methodology. This has played an important role in driving forward new understanding and further research. This is discussed below.

1.7.1 The Empirical Contribution

As noted above, much of the early books on the potential behaviour of corporate psychopaths in organizations were based on anecdotal evidence and the speculations of psychologists based on their knowledge of the behaviour of criminal psychopaths. Books were also informed by individual case studies of psychopaths within organizations such as Babiak's (1995) ground breaking case study of an industrial psychopath. The empirical research presented here in papers three; "Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Employee Affective Well-Being and Counterproductive Work Behaviour"; and four; "Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths", are among the first published empirical papers on the influence of corporate psychopaths on organizational outcomes.

Paper three was the first paper to investigate employee well-being and levels of counterproductive work behaviour under corporate psychopaths as managers. For the first time among a British sample this paper demonstrates, that well-being, conflict, bullying and counterproductive work behaviour all correlate significantly with the presence of managers who are corporate psychopaths.

Paper four was the first psychopathy paper to uncover the extremely abusive behaviour of corporate psychopaths in the workplace and the resultantly high levels of staff turnover experienced in those workplaces. Again for the first time among a British sample, this paper delineates the destructive consequences, at an organizational and personal level, of working closely with a corporate psychopath. The humiliations, lies, incompetence, bullying, tension and lack of conscience of corporate psychopaths are illuminated in this qualitative paper. The particular contribution of this paper was in aiding an understanding of how such large amounts of bullying, identified in the quantitative research reported in paper three, could emanate from such a small incidence of psychopaths within organizations. The paper reports on the bullying of multiple victims by the same corporate psychopath on a daily basis, a level of frequency that was not even envisaged when the questionnaire for the research in paper three was being designed. This paper was also the first to examine the high levels of staff turnover and the frequent firing of employees that was evident under corporate psychopaths. Additionally, the paper was the first to illuminate the high esteem in which corporate psychopaths are commonly held by those above them. The finding that fraud was committed by one corporate psychopath broke new ground in that such a link has been theorised but rarely established.

1.7.2 The Theoretical Contribution

The theoretical contribution of these eight papers is to elucidate a set of propositions and theoretical expectations which have collectively become known as Corporate Psychopathy Theory. This theory was built up from the first paper on the implications of corporate psychopaths for business and society and then further developed in the second paper on the dark side of management decisions.

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These two papers suggested a series of propositions in terms of what the theoretical expectations may be as regarding how corporate psychopaths may influence organizational decisions in terms of organizational performance, longevity, corporate social responsibility and impact on other employees. For example, the 2005 paper suggests that corporate psychopaths may be a threat to business success, longevity and corporate social responsibility. The (2005) paper also proposes that corporate psychopaths will get to the top of organizational life more frequently, relative to their absolute incidence, than non-psychopaths will, due to their ability to present a charming and plausible façade of normality.

Organizational success and longevity are linked to the building of an effective human organization by strategists, who claim that resources, including human resources, are the key to such success (Hansen & Wernerfelt 1989). The 2005 paper claims that corporate psychopaths, as self-interested leaders, will hamper rather than promote the building of an effective human organization and thereby reduce the chances for organizational success. The next (2006) paper presented in this thesis continues the theoretical development and in addition to the propositions mentioned above, this paper suggests that corporate psychopaths may also be related to; fraud, unnecessary organizational redundancies, a disheartened workforce, workplace bullying, short-term decision making, lost economies of expertise, disregarded investor interests and decisions of questionable legality. The paper further suggests that corporate psychopaths may have a 'multiplier effect' and be linked to disproportionate amounts of corporate misbehaviour, relative to their incidence in the workforce.

Besides its empirical contribution to knowledge, the third paper also makes a theoretical contribution. This is because it suggests that through the ideas inherent in social learning theory, corporate psychopaths will increase the levels of negative and dysfunctional behaviour in their subordinates, as those subordinates learn to emulate the bullying and abusive behaviour they observe in the psychopathic manager. This third (2014) paper also discusses the ethical issues around the conflicting ethical demands that organizations may face in dealing with corporate psychopaths. For example, in terms of organizations having a duty of care towards their employees, and therefore protecting them from the stress and abuse of working with corporate psychopaths, while at the same time having a responsibility towards the individual human and legal rights of the person with a psychopathic personality.

Another paper which explicitly expounds Corporate Psychopathy Theory is the paper called the "Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis". This paper again suggests that corporate psychopaths may be increasingly attaining leadership positions because of a confluence of factors. Firstly, the paper suggests that corporate psychopaths are proficient at impression management, lying and appearing calm and unflustered and therefore shine in interview situations. Secondly that the above, combined with the fact that staff turnover is now faster than ever before, means that the true personalities of colleagues worked with are less and less known, meaning that aberrant personalities cannot be recognized and avoided. This is confounded by the fact that recruitment techniques are overwhelmingly interview based and relatively shallow, thus facilitating the rise of those who can con interviewers via their false persona of competence and experience.

The remaining papers which constitute this thesis by public works also add to corporate psychopathy theory, for example paper six describes how the presence of corporate psychopaths may influence corporate reputation and marketing practices. In addition paper seven describes how the presence of corporate psychopaths may influence responsible decision among political leaders and with important effects on society and environmental sustainability.

1.7.3 The Methodological Contribution

The "other–report" approach adopted by the PM-MRV, whereby employees rate their current supervisor on a measure of psychopathy in order to identify the presence of corporate psychopathy in the workplace, represents a methodological contribution to psychopathy research. Prior to 2008, when this approach was adopted by the current author, no evidence can be found of psychologists having undertaken research using this approach. Psychologists historically worked at the individual level of analysis, rating for example a person on a self-reported or individually observed psychopathy measure and then investigating levels of other behaviour in that person. Babiak for example, observed a workplace psychopath and wrote a case study paper about those observations (Babiak 1995). A contribution of this author's research it is the suggestion that it is their influence on the behaviour of other employees that is of most impact and most in need of further research.

Another benefit of the 'other-report' approach is that it was able to generate larger sample sizes of psychopathic managers than previous methods were able to. Recently, other psychopathy researchers and psychologists have started to emulate this approach to psychopathy research.

For example in one Canadian study employees were asked to rate their supervisor on a psychopathy measure and this was compared to employee distress levels (Mathieu et al. 2014).

The possibility of this wider influence on others has been acknowledged by psychology researchers such as O'Boyle and his colleagues (2012). They discuss the idea that that although it has not been measured in the psychological literature, the effect of dark personality traits on the subordinates, colleagues and supervisors of the person with the "dark trait" could be far-reaching.

The "other-report" approach to psychopathy research pioneered by this author also entails taking a wider perspective than the "individual" approach usually adopted by psychologists. For example research using the PM-MRV does not investigate whether corporate psychopaths engage in counterproductive work behaviour themselves (as individuals) (O'Boyle et al. 2012) but rather whether those who work with them do (Boddy 2014).

Qualitative and historical methods of conducting research in corporate psychopathy are also examples of how this author's approach to corporate psychopathy research contributes to methodological diversity. For example, Maxwell has been investigated via historical records to assess his possible corporate psychopathy (Boddy 2016b).

The recent work by psychologists using an other-report approach has supported many of this author's original conjectures about the likely dark behaviour of psychopaths in the workplace (Boddy 2006b; Boddy 2015a).

That corporate psychopaths would generate high levels of distress has been supported (Mathieu et al. 2012). Similarly that job satisfaction would be significantly correlated to the presence of corporate psychopaths was proposed (Boddy 2005a) and supported by research (Boddy 2010b). This relationship with job satisfaction was also investigated and supported by recent findings from other researchers (Mathieu et al. 2014). Further, that employee well-being would be significantly correlated to corporate psychopaths within organizations has been proposed, demonstrated (Boddy 2013a) and then further supported in more recent research using a similar approach to research (Mathieu et al. 2014).

1.8 Research Philosophy and Paradigm

The majority of commentators and writers on psychopathy and corporate psychopaths are psychologists and they typically conduct research under the positivist paradigm. I.e. psychologists operate within the research philosophy which states that knowledge is objectively constructed and can best be comprehended from the gathering of empirical data (Blackburn 1996). An assumption of the positivist method is that quantitative, objective measures provide data which are replicable and can therefore be verified in terms of reliability and validity (Westen & Rosenthal 2005). The ability to replicate and thus cross-check research contributes towards reliability because it enables verification of obtained results by independent researchers (Gill & Johnson 1997).

Positivism thus aims to blend deductive logic with accurate empirical observations of data to generate causal laws of a probabilistic nature (Neuman 1997). Under the positivist scientific paradigm, it is assumed that objective answers are obtainable and can be gained by observation and reasoning in order to establish a connection between phenomena (Comte 1853).

In practical terms, that psychologists operate under the positivist scientific paradigm has had the consequence that almost 100% of research into corporate psychopaths has been positivistic and quantitative in nature. This positivistic research has involved numerical studies of psychopaths using statistical techniques to establish patterns of correlating behaviour.

The only exceptions to this that are known of, are firstly, Babiak's case study of an industrial psychopath (Babiak 1995), secondly Nelson and Tonk's qualitative study in Australia (Nelson & Tonks 2011), thirdly Malovany's study of corporate psychopaths in the USA (Malovany 2014), and lastly this current author's qualitative studies of corporate psychopaths in the UK (Boddy et al. 2015; Boddy 2015b; Boddy & Croft 2016). A latter study, (paper 4) reported in chapter 5, therefore represents one of the contributions to knowledge presented in this thesis. By exploring the lived experience of those managers working under a corporate psychopath in a leadership position, this constructivist research illuminates, for the first time among a British sample, the destruction, at a personal level, of working closely with a corporate psychopath. The bullying, conflict, humiliations, lies, ineptitude and lack of conscience of corporate psychopaths are illuminated in this qualitative research in an immediate, accessible and subjective way that the raw statistics from positivist empirical studies cannot easily emulate. As Brennen notes in her discussion of qualitative and quantitative approaches to research, using both methods can uncover findings that corroborate, elaborate and complement each other (Brannen 2005). The qualitative studies of corporate psychopaths have corroborated quantitative findings of bullying for example, but they have also elaborated the nature and severity of that bullying.

Constructivist research bases its epistemological legitimacy as science in philosophical traditions that are different from those which legitimise positivist science (Susman & Evered 1978; Charmaz 2000). The constructivist or post-modern scientific tradition is the idea that universal, objective truth cannot be found with certainty and that individual subjective truth is a valid form of truth (Hancock & Tyler 2001; Hassard 1999).

The post-modern, post-positivist, tradition has an emphasis on constructivist ontology; which entails the idea that the things which really exist can be identified and explored by a co-operative exploration between the subjects researched and the researcher (Letiche & Essers 2004; Linstead 2004). This scientific paradigm has an emphasis on a concomitantly interpretive epistemology in the idea that a researcher can interpret and investigate research subjects in terms of their subjective knowledge. This type of scientific inquiry is arguably best suited to research investigating the in-depth subjective experience of employees who had experienced working with a corporate psychopath and this is what the paper (4) reported on in chapter 5 does. This different approach adds to knowledge because it has rarely been used in psychopathy research and arguably reaches depths of understanding and a richer elucidation than quantitative, positivist approaches can usually gain. A further contribution to knowledge presented in this thesis is from the (positivistic) paper (paper 3) on corporate psychopaths, conflict and counterproductive work behaviour (Boddy 2014). This paper shows, for the first time among a British sample, that well-being, conflict and counterproductive work behaviour all correlate significantly with the presence of corporate psychopaths. The five theoretical papers which make up the rest of this thesis contribute to theory by exploring other areas where corporate psychopaths may have an influence, but which have not yet been investigated via research. More recently measures of corporate psychopathy have been applied retrospectively to key figures in business history to see if corporate scandals could be associated with the presence of potentially psychopathic leaders and chief executives. Ken Lay at Enron and Robert Maxwell at the Mirror Group have been examined to see if they displayed the characteristics associated with corporate psychopaths (Boddy 2015c; Boddy 2015d). They did display these characteristics.

1.9 Research Issues
1.0.1 Measuring Personality and Its Effects

As discussed earlier, psychologists tend to use self-report measures of psychopathy in their research and, for example, a recent meta-analysis of papers concerning the "dark triad" (Narcissists, Machiavellians and psychopaths) reported no instances where peer or supervisor ratings of other people were used to measure the personality traits concerned (O'Boyle et al. 2012). This meta-analysis involved analysing 186 published articles examining 245 different research samples. The typical approach of psychologists to this type of research is to measure the self-reported personality traits of individuals and what other behaviour those individuals engage in. The articles referenced in this meta-analysis of Narcissists, Machiavellians and psychopaths are not directly relevant to this context statement for two reasons. Firstly, as mentioned, psychologists concentrate on the effects of these personalities on the individual who possesses them, rather than on the organization, corporation or on other employees. Secondly, the measures used for psychopathy are nearly always ones that are confounded with criminality and violent anti-social behaviour and therefore the findings uncovered do not necessarily apply to more successful psychopaths (Mullins-Sweatt et al. 2010; Stevens, Deuling & Armenakis 2011) such as corporate psychopaths. This has led to the measurement of psychopathy and of corporate psychopathy being a contested area. For example it has compellingly argued that Hare's measure was based on a misinterpretation of congruence coefficients and that the criminality elements were correlates or consequences of psychopathy rather its core elements and further, that these criminal elements did not fit in with a superior delineation of the construct of psychopathy (Cooke & Michie 2001).

To avoid further conceptual drift this context statement and thesis concentrates on literature that relates to corporate psychopaths rather than to criminal psychopaths. Nonetheless, because there are personality overlaps between Narcissists, psychopaths and Machiavellians, a brief description of Narcissists and Machiavellians is given here. The concept of the Narcissist was originally developed by Freud and comes from the myths concerning Narcissus. Narcissus was a beautiful young man who, rejecting the amorous affections of Echo and other nymphs, was fated by a goddess (Nemesis) to fall into unrequited love (Freud 1914; Holme 1981; Boddy 2011c). Narcissus then fell in love with his own reflection in a pond, and, unable to pull his gaze away from his own image, he starved to death, and his remains turned into a white and purple flower (Holme 1981). Since then a Narcissist has been regarded as being someone who loves themselves too much for their own good (Kansi 2003) and who expects and wants others to admire them. Narcissism is marked by a sense of entitlement and a grandiose sense of one's own importance. Narcissists are thus concerned with displaying and acknowledging their own talent and brilliance and have a desire to be exclusively admired and acknowledged (Goldman 2006b). Narcissists are said to be self-absorbed, lacking in human values and to have a need to control others and to thereby make management decisions that are not necessarily in the best interests of organizations, their employees or other organizational stakeholders (Holian 2006). Narcissists are reported to exist at an incidence level of around 0.5% of the adult (US) population (Skodol et al. 2011).

A Machiavellian is a person who adopts a ruthless and selfish approach to management as deemed, by some, to be advocated by Niccolo Machiavelli in his sixteenth century book 'The Prince' (McGuire & Hutchings 2006).

Basing his book on observing his employer, the infamous Cesare Borgia, Niccolo Machiavelli worked as a 16th century Italian political strategist. Machiavelli is deemed to have advocated the use of power as a tool, recommending that leaders be ruthless like a lion and cunning like a fox (Allio 2007). Machiavellianism is thus a type of behaviour which has no deference to moral standards and promotes the idea that the end justifies the means. Machiavellianism advocates a political approach to management including the use of a fraudulent persona when necessary (entailing the advantageous use of apparent honesty, charm and diplomacy), further, it advocates the use of force to achieve desired ends (McGuire & Hutchings 2006).

Machiavellianism has been described as a strategy of socially manipulating others for personal gain (MacNeil & Holden 2006) however this does not imply a lack of conscience, as displayed by psychopaths. Machiavellianism is a construct which has been used extensively in management research.

As discussed, in terms of measuring psychopathic personality recent researchers (including this author), coming from the discipline of management rather than psychology, use a different approach to that of psychologists in investigating the influence of personality on the workplace. The presence of psychopaths in the workplace is measured by these researchers through "other-reports" of the behaviour of respondent's colleagues and superiors, such as their current managers, they then also measure what types of behaviour are evident in the workplace (Nelson & Tonks 2011; Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010a; Malovany 2014). This can result in differing conclusions to those of psychologists.

For example, psychologists have found that psychopaths have a significant but weak correlation with (their own) counterproductive work behaviour and conclude that psychopathy is "not a particularly powerful predictor of" counterproductive work behaviour (O'Boyle et al. 2012). Research presented as a part of this thesis, on the other hand, finds that the presence of corporate psychopaths strongly and significantly correlates with other employees engaging in counterproductive work behaviour, concluding that psychopathy is a powerful predictor of counterproductive work behaviour among employees in the workplace (Boddy 2013a).

This illustrates the emphasis in psychology, on individuals, and their individual "success" (e.g. logically psychologists would hold the view that Hitler was a "success" because he got to be a political leader, which is what he wanted). This author takes a wider and longer term view of success and investigates the effects of the individual success of corporate psychopaths on other employees and on the whole organization, rather than just on the psychopaths themselves (e.g. this entails the view that Hitler was a "failure" because even though he got to be a political leader, he committed heinous crimes, destroyed much of Europe and caused the most destructive world war in human history).

O'Boyle and his colleagues (2012) recognize the possibility of this wider influence on others, when at the end of their comprehensive meta-analysis they acknowledge that, although it is unmeasured in the psychological literature, the effect of dark personality traits on the peers, subordinates and supervisors of the person with the "dark trait" may be extensive.

This current author's paper (2013a) observed that psychopaths appear to be the stimuli or catalyst for counterproductive work behaviour among employees. It is this significant influence on others that helps to make corporate psychopaths destructive leaders.

Psychologists and researchers (including Babiak and Hare and their collaborators) have recently started to utilize this "other-report" manner of measuring the presence of psychopaths in organizations. For example, by getting employees in a financial institution to report on their manager's behaviour using a management questionnaire incorporating a psychopathy measure (Mathieu et al. 2012) or by asking people if they had ever worked with colleagues who demonstrated substantial degrees of psychopathic behaviour (Nelson & Tonks 2011). Reporting on their individual reported distress levels, these same employees, in Mathieu's study, were rated on whether their distress correlated with the presence of psychopaths as managers. In line with Corporate Psychopathy Theory, as outlined in the theoretical papers (e.g. paper 5) presented as a part of this thesis i.e. (Boddy 2011c), the researchers concerned reported that supervisor psychopathy did predict employee's psychological distress (Mathieu et al. 2012). Nelson and Tonk's findings in Australia were similar (Nelson & Tonks 2011).

Psychologists McHoskey, Worzel and Szyarto (1998) have compellingly argued, based on theoretical considerations and their own research results, that Machiavellianism as measured by Chrsitie's measure, the Mach IV scale (Christie & Geis 1970), is actually a global measure of psychopathy in non-institutionalized populations.

Other researchers have found a smaller but significant overlap between Machiavellianism and psychopathy (and narcissism) (Paulhus & Williams 2002; Jakobwitz & Egan 2005). Further, Machiavellianism has long been associated with poor individual ethical choices in business (Bass, Barnett & Brown 1999; D'Andrade 1993). The direction in which future research into the influence of corporate psychopaths on business, ethics and society could go can therefore be informed by the knowledge gained from research into Machiavellianism. Corporate psychopaths have broad and deep similarities to Machiavellians, although conceptually, psychopaths do not have the restraining influence of a conscience (Hare 1999a; Stout 2005a). Because of the overlaps between the constructs, research into Machiavellianism (which has a longer history of empirical research) can act as a guide to further research into corporate psychopaths. Whatever Machiavellians have been found to influence, will most likely also be influenced by the equally scheming but more ruthless (i.e. uninhibited by a conscience) corporate psychopaths.

Besides "other reports" of psychopathy in managers, as measured by those who report to them, it may be useful to simultaneously measure psychopathy in "self-reports" so that for example the reports of subordinates can be triangulated with the reports of the managers themselves. To avoid the conceptual drift that has occurred already and the confounding of psychopathy with criminality this would best be undertaken by the use of a self-report measure that avoids measuring anti-social or criminal behaviour as a part of the measure and concentrates on the core traits of psychopathy.

Such a self-report measure is Lilienfeld and Andrews' (1996) Psychopathic Personality Inventory which involves 154 items (questions). A potential problem with using this, as with many such measures from psychology, is that it would be considered, by many management researchers as much too long to administer when put along-side the questions about management behaviour that were the real area of concern for research about corporate psychopaths. Management researchers are concerned that overly long questionnaires result in respondent fatigue, boredom and careless responding, putting the validity of the data generated in question, whereas in succinct questionnaires this occurs less. Adding 'control' questions to the questionnaire to measure the amount of careless answering, as some psychologists do, arguably exacerbates the respondent fatigue problem by making the questionnaire even longer.

Other measures of psychopathy that could be used or modified for use in management research include the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (Cooke et al. 2012), the Levinson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale and the Business Scan 360 which appears to be a commercially available screening version of the PCL-R. For a fuller description of many of these measures see Smith and Lilienfeld (2013). They give a useful discussion of these psychopathy measures as they might apply to management research from a psychologist's point of view (Smith & Lilienfeld 2013).

1.10 Corporate Psychopaths and Organizational Type

A recent journalistic report on Hare's commentary gives an estimation that while around 4% of CEO's may be psychopathic this may be up to 10% in terms of leading financiers being psychopathic; implying Hare believes that psychopaths are more attracted to working in some types of organizations than they are in others (Godwin 2013). This author's papers also state that they expect to find that corporate psychopaths are more attracted to some organizations more than others and mentions financial corporations as likely attractors as these can provide the wealth, status and power that corporate psychopaths reportedly long for (Boddy 2010c). However, one attempt to investigate this was partially inadequate as detailed in the limitation section of the research paper concerned. This was because the research involved looking at the incidence rates of those who were currently working with or had ever worked with a corporate psychopath by industry sector (i.e. an indirect measure) rather than at direct incidence rates of individual psychopathy by sector. Using a self-report psychopathy measure would have been a more accurate way of doing this.

This self-report approach has now been undertaken by Dutton (2011), albeit in a survey with scientific and sampling limitations of its own. In an article reporting on an on-line survey of 5,500 self-selecting respondents in the UK in 2011, Dutton reportedly asked people to complete a self-report psychopathy scale and to state their profession or occupation. Unfortunately the sample was not randomly chosen and so may be only representative of those who answered the questions, rather than of a wider population.

However the results were in line with the expectations of Corporate Psychopathy Theory and those professions where the financial rewards are high reported higher levels of psychopathy than those in the caring professions such as nurses, therapists and charity workers (Abrams 2013). Nonetheless this area is inconclusively researched and would benefit from further investigation.

1.11 Corporate Psychopaths as Useful Employees

The ability to make ruthless decisions without remorse may be aided by the presence of a cold, ruthless and manipulative personality such as that possessed by psychopaths and this may look like the capacity and willingness of a job candidate to make tough managerial decisions, indicating the presence of leadership potential to some assessors (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010). This apparent benefit has perhaps led to a minority stream of commentary on psychopaths in the workforce suggesting that their presence might have benefits to the organization when, for example, tough decision have to be made. For example a report on Dutton's recent book reads like an appreciation for non-criminal psychopaths because of their coolness under pressure and their reward-driven, assertive, un-procrastinating approach and their lack of self-blame and ability to look on the positive side when things go wrong (Crawford 2013; Dutton 2013).

Smith and Lilienfeld (2013) also suggest that there may be adaptive and positive features of psychopathy as far as leadership is concerned. They posit the existence of positive as well as negative psychopathic leadership outcomes stemming from such traits as the fearless dominance and boldness of psychopaths, and possibly resulting in increased persuasiveness and the ability to set an agenda for the future (Smith & Lilienfeld 2013). This view is echoed in a minority of press reports about psychopaths with suggestions that financial market traders who are psychopathic may be more rational because they are un-swayed by emotional considerations or that some professionals need to be coldly rational in order to do their jobs well (Crawford 2013). Corporate psychopaths it is reported, may be useful to have when the workforce *"needs"* (my italics) to be cut in half or factories *"need"* to be closed (Lynn 2005).

Lilienfeld and his colleagues also reportedly find support for a link between the perceptions of historians towards the effectiveness of US presidential leadership, and the psychopathic traits of fearless dominance and self-centred impulsivity (Lilienfeld et al. 2012). These commentators reported that fearless dominance was related to historians' perceptions of presidential performance, and they speculate that components of psychopathy may be related to positive leadership outcomes. The study entailed some methodological limitations in that it suffered from an ethnocentric viewpoint and possible bias. It was mainly conducted via US, with some UK (a culturally similar country) historians, evaluating US presidential success. Such estimations of success may be more upbeat than those of historians from more culturally different backgrounds. However, notwithstanding the methodological issues, claiming that "components" of psychopathy may have positive leadership outcomes is very different to having actual psychopaths as leaders in politics or business delivering positive outcomes (Boddy 2015b; Boddy 2015a).

There is a prima facie level of conceptual conflict between the description of psychopaths as selfish, uncaring and ruthless and simultaneously as potential contributors to organizational success. To resolve this apparent conceptual conflict the questions of at what point in time positive outcomes are to be measured and for whom the results of psychopathic leadership are judged to be positive are posed. The reason for these questions is that corporate psychopaths are hypothesized to be proficient at creating a positive impression when first met and at presenting a credible and attractive vision of the future (Babiak & O'Toole 2012; Babiak 1995).

People who have worked alongside colleagues who score highly on psychopathy measures estimate that such people can manipulate their image in order to appear attractive on first meeting them but that this impression is not necessarily maintained over time (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010a; Boddy 2006b). Thus at one point in time a psychopathic leader may be judged to be successful on many measures and by most supporters but may eventually produce outcomes that are negative for everyone with the possible exception of the psychopath.

In light of Lilienfeld et al.'s introduction of political psychopathy, a case study example of this phenomenon is described below with regards to a political psychopath. Time magazine's man of the year 1938 was a country leader who had been diagnosed as a psychopath in 1933 (Lavik 1989) but who had nevertheless gone on to transform his country's fortunes, eliminating widespread unemployment, creating a motorway system that was the envy of the world and re-establishing a sense of national pride and identity to many of the people of the country concerned.

Thus in 1938 Hitler was at the height of his popularity in his home country but six years after that, the estimations of his success were radically revised, ethically downwards. Examining Hitler as a case study example of a political psychopath; he was diagnosed as a psychopath in 1933 (Lavik 1989) and went on to display all the traits mentioned as being useful to society by Crawford's report on Dutton's view of psychopaths. He was positive in outlook and promised his followers a thousand years of success and glory.

He was cool under pressure, reneging on high profile peace and cooperation treaties whenever he saw fit (e.g. in Germany's invasion of its ally, Russia) and he was reward driven and assertive as he sought to acquire more land for his country and more power for himself. Hitler didn't blame himself for failure during the Russian campaign, the Normandy landings and afterwards but rather blamed his generals, and nearly always looked on the positive side, refusing to surrender even when losing looked inevitable to almost everyone else in the Nazi high command. These "admirable" traits led to a global war which was the deadliest in world history involving the deaths of up to 80 million people, genocide and the total destruction of large parts of the world.

Results of his leadership included the demolition of much of Europe and the institutionalization of mass murder with crimes so obscene that even some of the hardened members of his own leadership team wept openly during their trials in Nuremberg, when they were confronted with horrific evidence of what they had done (Gilbert 1948).

This minority reporting of psychopaths as somehow admirable and as people society can count on in a crisis may sound plausible to some people. Smith and Lilienfeld's (2013) view that psychopathic leaders may sometimes be successful as leaders on some measures may therefore be correct, but arguably this might only be the case in the short to medium term and not in the longer term as the self-oriented grandiosity, ruthlessness and unrelenting greed of the psychopath eventually take precedence.

To establish the veracity of this conjecture, leaders who are estimated to embody psychopathic traits will have to be researched over time to see if initial views of their success are maintained over the longer term. Similarly popular leaders, who are estimated to be psychopaths, as Hitler was in 1933, can be tracked over time to see if their perceived success in leadership is maintained.

1.12 Do Corporate Psychopaths Create A Sociopathic Organizational Culture?

As discussed above, some psychologists use the terms sociopaths and psychopaths interchangeably, however this contextual discussion prefers the tighter definition for sociopaths as being those people who are socialized into adopting ruthless behaviour rather than having no conscience to begin with. Thus a research question becomes whether psychopaths can influence organizational culture so that it becomes sociopathic in tone and ethics. In his 2008 paper Wexler offers conjecture on how a corporation may gradually become systematically psychopathic due to the rise of psychopaths within it. Wexler hypothesizes that corporate psychopaths may act as role models for other employees as organizational norms of behaviour deteriorate further and further and organizational scams are increasingly regarded as legitimate models of behaviour (Wexler 2008). Nelson and Tonks (2011) uncovered at least one instance of employees copying the behaviour of a corporate psychopath, supporting the theory that psychopaths can help create a sociopathic environment.

A paper which may have uncovered evidence (if it existed) in support of this hypothesis (that corporate psychopaths create a sociopathic organization around them) was the paper (4), submitted as a part of this thesis, on corporate psychopaths as extreme managers (Boddy et al. 2015). Here the findings were not really in line with the hypothesis that corporate psychopaths create a sociopathic organization around them. What they did create was an atmosphere and culture of aimless, hopeless, and exasperated indifference to the fate of the organizations concerned. The resulting culture was not sociopathic in the sense that it was deliberately cruel or hostile but it was certainly careless, ineffective and dysfunctional.

Apart from this inconclusive evidence, the question of whether psychopaths, by their influence and example, create sociopaths around them is a gap in present research. Such research may investigate the ability of psychopaths to make an organization more sociopathic at the individual and cultural level (Yolles 2009).

Social exchange theory (Gouldner 1960; Blau 1964/1986; Nord 1969) suggests that relationships are initiated and continued through the exchange of costs and benefits between people: at work, employees work for financial rewards but also for psychological reasons to do with status and reciprocity with colleagues. As corporate psychopaths do not care for others then they may not feel the need to reciprocate when others help them or do them a service. This may cause a breakdown in the normal functioning of a work environment as other employees come to realize that their good deeds are not reciprocated. A decline in corporate citizenship behaviour may therefore be expected. This presents another possible avenue for further research into the influence of corporate psychopaths in the workplace.

One of the ways corporate psychopaths can influence the ethical behaviour of their colleagues is that employees tend to comply when told to do something unethical by a superior (Smith, Simpson & Huang 2007). This coincides with the findings of Milgram in his famous studies of obedience to authority (Milgram 1963; Milgram 1974). Further, when a knowledge of moral development theory (Kohlberg 1984; Kohlberg & Hersh 1977) is added to this, it may seem that most managers are simply not morally strong enough (Maclagan & Snell 1992; Cavanagh 2010) to counter or even resist an immoral leader such as a corporate psychopath (or Milgram's authority figure).

Thus it is apparent that while there are variations within this tendency, people generally follow organizational instructions, including those of any unethical and immoral leaders such as corporate psychopaths. This helps understand why toxic leaders (Lipman-Blumen 2004; Lipman-Blumen 2005; Pelletier 2010) are followed and obeyed. This knowledge of follower-ship when applied to political leaders such as the top three members of the Nazi party in 20th century Germany, who were all identified as being psychopaths by different psychiatrists at different times, Hitler in 1933, Hess in 1941 and Goering in 1948; (Moore 2012; Gilbert 1948; Lavik 1989) makes the follower-ship of toxic leaders such as psychopaths more understandable. It also suggests that corporate psychopaths can create a sociopathic culture around them.

Game Theory provides another insight into how psychopaths may influence corporate culture. Game Theory has been criticised (Solomon 1999) but it can usefully be seen as a method for understanding human behaviour rather than a proposal for how people should behave. Game Theory may help us understand both the behaviour of corporate psychopaths and of their colleagues. Empirical research into Game Theory suggests that in an organizational environment a minority of people, acting as self-interested agents (Vanderschraaf 1999), will always cheat (cheaters) in an attempt at self-promotion. Others will reciprocate (reciprocators) positively when they feel that the actions of other people have helped them or negatively when they think otherwise. A third group, the altruistic, the smallest minority, will always help others regardless of reciprocation.

Some writers on psychopathy in management have linked psychopathy with game theory and proposed that psychopaths are a variety of the "cheaters" (Spencer & Wargo 2010). Further, it may be hypothesized that the presence of corporate psychopaths, in terms of their bullying and abuse, influences the majority of "reciprocators" to engage in negative reciprocation. However, even by the nascent standards of research into corporate psychopaths this is an undeveloped area of research.

1.13 Corporate Psychopaths and the Global Financial Crisis

Theoretical predictions in the 2005 paper presented in this thesis included that major damage to human society could occur if corporations continue to use their size and power to influence legal changes in their favour. The paper concluded that such corporations were in danger of spoiling the societies in which they operate. Corporate banks have long lobbied for, and achieved, changes to the banking regulations that were brought in after the economic collapses of the 1930's. Initially enacted to prevent similar banking collapses these laws have been increasingly abolished since the 1980's culminating in the effective repeal of the Glass-Steagal laws in 1999 (Barth, Brumbaugh & Wilcox 2000; Crawford 2011)   This paved the way for the corporate banks to deal in the 'socially useless' debt derivatives which in turn led to the debt crisis of 2008.

In the literature on psychopaths in business, corporate psychopaths have been theoretically associated with the Global Financial Crisis, specifically in one of the papers presented as a part of this thesis (Boddy 2011a). This connection was made because of a logical linking that was made between the drivers of the crisis in terms of greed, love of money and a ruthless approach to business, and the characteristics of psychopaths in terms of their conscience-free pursuit of money, power and prestige (Boddy 2011a; Spencer & Wargo 2010; Cohan 2012a). As presented in a paper that was not included in this thesis, some reactions to this theory among financial insiders, writers and commentators have been that the presence of psychopaths among senior managers in the corporate banking and financial services industries is well-known within the financial sector (Boddy 2012a).

Nonetheless, whether corporate psychopaths had a causal influence on the global financial crisis remains to be verified. Reports that some corporate banks actually used psychopathy measures to recruit employees (Basham 2011) have not been properly investigated. It may however be hypothesized, that the banks which may have recruited psychopaths, will exhibit more unethical and illegal behaviour than those that did not. Further, that now corporate banks are shedding large staff numbers in line with recessionary demand for their services, it may be the charming, manipulative psychopaths who are the most persuasive in retaining their jobs, leading to a greater concentration of corporate psychopaths in the financial sector.

1.14 Corporate Psychopaths and Psychopathy Screening

Some psychologists and management researchers call for the screening of psychopaths to prevent their gaining sensitive positions where they could adversely affect the environment or other people's well-being (Boddy 2013b). For example, Langbert (2010) suggests that psychopaths be closely managed at work. Further, that other employees should be trained to recognize psychopaths in the workplace to aid in monitoring and managing them (Langbert 2010). In an extant literature stream on leadership and managerial effectiveness, commentators were calling for the screening of senior managers for "dark side" tendencies and associated personality disorders as early as 1994 (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan 1994).

However, other psychologists, in a recent review of the psychopathy literature, conclude that calls for psychopathy screening are premature because they claim that there is not enough scientific evidence to support the necessity for workplace psychopathy screening (Skeem et al. 2011). Of the psychologists who have called for psychopathy screening in organizations (Mathieu et al. 2012) at least two have partial ownership of or participation in a commercial enterprise that can provide such screening to corporate clients. This perhaps demonstrates how seriously some psychologists view the potential problem of psychopaths in management.

Some management researchers (including this author) adopt a more pragmatic attitude than some psychologists. They support the calls for screening for various reasons (Boddy 2016a) including: 1, the empirical associations of corporate psychopaths with declining job satisfaction, increasing workload, employee withdrawal, conflict and bullying, increased organizational constraints and lowered perceptions of corporate social responsibility (Boddy 2011c); 2, the empirical research showing that psychopaths are more likely to engage in environmental pollution in the form of illegal toxic dumping (Ray & Jones 2011); 3, the historical association of political psychopaths with total war, genocide and widespread death and destruction (Lavik 1989); 4, the theoretical but increasingly accepted association with elevated incidences of corporate psychopaths in the corporate banking sector with the global financial crisis (Spencer & Wargo 2010; Basham 2011; Boddy 2011a; Corbett 2011; Cohan 2012c; Cohan 2012b; Jones 2012); 5, the empirical associations of corporate psychopaths with increased levels of counterproductive work behaviour, conflict and psychological distress (Mathieu et al. 2012; Boddy 2013a; Boddy et al. 2014) and 6, the emerging research showing the destructive effect workplace psychopaths have when they are in leadership positions (Boddy & Croft 2015; Boddy 2015b).

The next section of this context statement suggests areas where further research may produce additional insights to the behaviour and influence of corporate psychopaths.

1.15 Impact on Future Directions and Further Research

A potential research agenda for the further study of corporate psychopaths that may help drive advances in theoretical development and establish new directions for empirical research in management; is outlined below. Further research could make a contribution to the literature on business ethics, corporate psychopathy, and toxic and unethical leadership as well as in relation to Corporate Psychopathy Theory. Such moral issues as duty of care and the responsibilities of corporations to employees (Bishop 2008), the social responsibilities of business (Schwartz & Carroll 2003; Duska 2010) and internationalization (Reynolds 2003) concern business ethicists. Thus the issue of whether individualistic western corporations are exporting psychopathy, in the form of expatriate managers and a systemically ruthless business culture, to collectivist cultures (where Stout (2005b) claims psychopaths may usually be held in check by the interconnected nature of society) is not yet established but may be worthy of investigation.

Recent articles into the behaviour of corporate psychopaths give some ideas in relation to the various avenues that further research may take, including into management inertia, entrepreneurialism and fraud, (Nelson & Tonks 2011; Perri 2011; Perri & Brody 2011; Stevens, Deuling & Armenakis 2011; Cesinger et al. 2011). Numerous calls for further research in this area have been made (Kirkman 2005; Wu & Lebreton 2011; Kirkman 2002) and few studies have been conducted into populations of non-criminal psychopaths (Mahmut, Homewood & Stevenson 2007; Board & Fritzon 2005; McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto 1998; Skeem et al. 2011).

Also, psychologists tend to investigate the impact of psychopathy on psychopaths' own behaviour whereas according to this author (2011) it is their influence on the behaviour of other employees that is of most impact and most in need of further research. The presence of corporate psychopaths may also influence corporate reputation as postulated in paper six in this thesis. Research into the reputation of organizations or parts of organizations, run by corporate psychopaths may thus be interesting to pursue. Potential employees, suppliers, business partners and financiers, may negatively evaluate the prospects of engaging with a psychopathic or partially psychopathic organization. Similarly the media and government departments may form opinions and judgements concerning organizational worthiness based on the perceived corporate psychopathy of an organization's senior managers.

A recent article on the psychological profile of white collar offenders finds that some have psychopathic traits, which itself is not surprising. However, the article serves as a reminder of the types of activities that such corporate psychopaths may engage in. These include securities fraud, financial statement falsification, antitrust offences, counterfeiting, bank embezzlement, tax fraud, bribery and health care fraud (Ragatz, Fremouw & Baker 2012). Research in all these areas could look at the extent of the involvement of corporate psychopaths. Also potentially helpful is a comparison of some of the areas where corporate psychopaths have theoretically been expected to make an impact on organisations, as outlined in the two earlier (papers 1,2) and three later (papers 5, 6 and 7) theoretical papers submitted as a part of this theses (Boddy 2005a; Boddy 2006a; Boddy 2006b; Boddy 2011a; Boddy 2012b), with areas where no empirical research currently exists or where current research findings are weak.

The latter includes research to define Corporate Psychopathy Theory with more clarity in terms of for example whether corporate psychopaths are indeed to be found more the top of organizations and whether exploitation, illegality, workload, turnover and redundancies increase in their presence (Boddy 2006b).

Further research into the links between student choice of academic discipline and psychopathy may be insightful to address the ideas put forward that some business and commerce students may be inherently more psychopathic, on average, than are students from different disciplines (Wilson & McCarthy 2011; Andrews 2015). Investigating psychopaths' preferences in terms of employment and in particular the question of whether they are particularly attracted to financial organizations would also be interesting.

It may be that Clarke's conceptualization of violent criminal psychopaths; as people who use their positions of authority as opportunities to physically hurt others for their own pleasure and with reduced chances of discovery or punishment, are not particularly attracted to financial institutions. On the other hand, Clarke's corporate criminal psychopaths who desire to make gains at the expense of others through fraudulent scams and corporate theft may be more attracted to financial institutions. Nonetheless, the conceptualization of the corporate psychopath delineated in the papers submitted in this thesis, implies that it is not necessarily theft and scams that attract them to financial institutions but rather the realization that great wealth can be unethically and ruthlessly acquired from others without going outside the law.

The adoption by management researchers of the psychopathy measures used by psychologists could also be examined in further research. This could include the presence of psychopathic managers being identified by a variety of measures such as "self-report" psychopathy measures (where a subject reports on his own behaviour), an example of which is the Psychopathic Personality Inventory (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996).

Also "other-report" (where other people report on a subject's behaviour) measures such as those used qualitatively by Nelson and Tonks or quantitatively and qualitatively by this author and colleagues (Boddy et al. 2015; Boddy 2014) could also be utilized in further research to understand the deeper personal consequences of working with these psychopaths (Nelson & Tonks 2011). Further research may also be able to triangulate results by using a combination of behavioural measures and possibly (and much more controversially) brain scans using functional magnetic resonance imaging technology for identifying psychopaths. The possible influence of this type of neuroscience on management research has already been acknowledged (Waldman, Balthazard & Peterson 2011).

Some suggestions for further research can also be made from a comparison of the findings from the different papers in this thesis. For example, paper three used a bullying scale that peaked at seeing bullying once a day. Computations using this scale resulted in a finding that 35.2% of all UK corporate bullying is associated with the presence of corporate psychopaths. However, findings in the qualitative research reported in paper four show that some psychopathic bullying was taking place up to four times per day.

One manager was bullying four different people, publicly, every day. This means that the scale used in paper three was inadequate in that it may have under-recorded and under-represented the frequency of bullying. Future research should take this into account in scale development and, for example, an open-ended scale could be used to record the actual frequency of witnessing bullying in a defined time period such as the past week. Respondents would report their actual experience in terms of frequency rather than having to fit their response into a pre-coded and pre-determined scale.

The influence on employees in terms of their faith in capitalism could also be explored by further research. Those who have worked under corporate psychopaths may have their confidence in the equity, fairness and justice of capitalism shaken by the events which take place under psychopathic management. This is postulated in paper six – concerning the theory that corporate psychopaths were instrumental in creating the global financial crisis – but has not been explored in further research since then.

Table 1, below, summarizes some of the expectations from theory, of what corporate psychopaths can be expected to influence in terms of management behaviour. It may be seen that while there are many predictions based on a theoretical knowledge of how corporate psychopaths are likely to behave, there are also many areas where little or no empirical evidence yet exists. It can be seen from this table that a considerable portion of the available evidence and literature on corporate psychopaths stems from this author's own research. This is an indication of the empirical and other contribution made to corporate psychopathy research by the current author.

Table 1: Summary of Corporate Psychopathy Theory compared to Empirical Evidence

Theoretical Expectations from Corporate Psychopathy Theory of what Corporate Psychopaths will engage in/influence	Empirical Evidence
Bullying and conflict (Clarke 2005) (Conjecture in his book on psychopaths at work)	(Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010: Study of 203 US managers' self-reported psychopathy). (Boddy 2011b; Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010; Nelson & Tonks 2011; Boddy 2013a). (Boddy et al. 2014)
Fraud. (Babiak & Hare 2006) (Conjecture in their book on psychopaths at work)	(Perri 2013; Perri & Brody 2011; Boddy et al. 2014) Case studies linking fraudsters with psychopathic traits.
The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) (Boddy 2011a; Spencer & Wargo 2010) (Theoretical papers)	(Boddy 2012a) (Content-analysis of 60 British on-line comments reacting to the GFC theory paper).
Rising to high organizational levels (Babiak 1995) (A case study of an individual psychopath at work)	(Board & Fritzon 2005; Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010; Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010b).
Creating a chaotic environment (Babiak & Hare 2006) (Conjecture in their book on psychopaths at work)	(Nelson & Tonks 2011; Boddy 2011c) (Nelson & Tonks was a qualitative study of 18 Australian employees who had experienced a psychopathic manager) (Boddy et al. 2014)
Use of illegal work practices (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	(Ray & Jones 2011) (A study of correlations between psychopathy measures and reported willingness to do toxic dumping)
Lowering of customer service delivery levels (Logical conjecture from the perceived selfishness and lack of care of psychopaths (Hare 1999a)	None.
Counterproductive work behaviour (Logical conjecture from social exchange theory combined with expectations of psychopaths behaviour at work e.g. (Babiak & Hare 2006)	(Mathieu et al. 2012; Boddy 2013a) (Mathieu's was a study of 116 financial co. employees rating their supervisors on psychopathy and distress)
Increasing stress, decreasing well-being (Clarke 2005) (Conjecture in book on psychopaths at work)	(Mathieu et al. 2012; Nelson & Tonks 2011)
Increasing workload (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	(Boddy 2011c) (From a quantitative study of 346 Australian employees).
Decreasing performance/productivity (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	(Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010)
Increasing withdrawal behaviour, absenteeism, turnover (Babiak & Hare 2006) (Conjecture in their book on psychopaths at work)	(Nelson & Tonks 2011; Boddy 2011c)
Decreasing job satisfaction (Clarke 2005) (Conjecture in his book on psychopaths at work)	(Boddy 2011c)
Decreasing corporate social responsibility/increasing environmental damage. (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	(Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010a; Ray & Jones 2011)
Creating a sociopathic organizational culture (Wexler 2008) (Wexler's conjectural paper plus logical conjecture from the ideas of reciprocity in social exchange and game theories)	None.
Corporate collapses. (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	None.
Entrepreneurialism (Cesinger et al. 2011) (A quantitative study relating "dark triad" characteristics with entrepreneurialism).	(Cesinger et al. 2011) (Akhtar et. al., 2013: An on-line study of 435 UK adults relating psychopathy to entrepreneurialism).
Decreasing employee well-being. (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	(Nelson & Tonks 2011; Boddy 2011c; Boddy 2013a) (Boddy 2013 was a study of 304 UK employees rating managers on psychopathy).
Share value manipulation/misstatement of financial statements (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work)	None.
Political decision making. (Boddy 2006b) (A theoretical paper proposing what psychopaths may do at work) (Babiak & Hare 2006) (Conjecture in their book on psychopaths at work)	None.

Employee safety may also be another area influenced by the presence of corporate psychopaths as senior managers. With their lack of care and the depleted levels of training and job instructions concurrent with the presence of corporate psychopaths, it may be that the numbers and severity of organizational accidents are higher under corporate psychopaths compared to normal managers. This is hypothesised in paper six (reputation and marketing) in this thesis but has not been empirically explored. Such accidents can have very large financial and reputation consequences as demonstrated by the BP Gulf of Mexico oil blow-out (Fortson 2012; Boddy 2015a).

The work ethic of those who work under corporate psychopaths has been shown to suffer, as described in the qualitative research reported on in paper four and summarised in paper eight of this thesis. Productivity should therefore suffer as work-ethic declines and both of these issues could be investigated quantitatively to demonstrate the level and extent of this effect.

Paper eight also concludes that corporate psychopaths may use elaborate corporate configurations involving hundreds of owned, subsidiary corporate entities in order to obfuscate the true nature of the financial position of the main holding company. If this is the case then psychopathically run enterprises should encompass more subsidiary corporate entities than non-psychopathic enterprises. This could be investigated and further elucidated in additional research studies to be carried out in the future via empirical studies or via historical research.

Another under-examined area is into the inter-relationships between the three characterizations of the "dark triad" of personality types, in particular where the conceptualization of the psychopathy construct is a white collar one rather than one that has been confounded with criminality. A psychopathy construct (i.e. that of the corporate psychopath) denuded of its anti-social/criminal elements may prove to be much closer to the construct of Machiavellianism. This would be logical since Machiavellianism has not been confounded with criminality (as psychopathy has) but is still a scale used to identify ruthless and calculating individuals within management (Leary, Knight & Barnes 1986).

This finding would be in line with arguments that Machiavellianism and psychopathy are essentially the same construct (McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto 1998). This is meaningful because there is already a large literature on Machiavellianism and it would reinforce the view that whatever management researchers have found Machiavellians to be associated with in the past, will probably also hold true for corporate psychopaths in future research.

Paper seven in this thesis raises the issue of one type of corporate psychopath, the political psychopath. That Hitler, Hess and Goering were all diagnosed, completely independently and at different times, as psychopaths suggest that political psychopaths can be particularly destructive. Further research in this area may thus uncover significant and important findings. These findings may be connected to such issues as the rule of law, the breaking of international treaties, the use of torture in interrogation, imprisonment without trial and the denial of truly democratic processes.

The last paper raises the concern that destructive leaders are more consequential than constructive leaders, because the former throw organizational events into reverse, thereby causing significant disruptive repercussions. Future research could investigate this further by studying the outcomes of positive organizational leadership relative to the outcomes of negative, toxic and psychopathic organizational leadership. Indicators of success or failure could include numbers of people employed, financial sustainability, the adequacy of pension fund provision, and levels of organizational debt relative to financial turnover.

1.16 Conclusions

The issue of corporate psychopaths in business has now resolutely emerged from Cleckley's original work and the examinations of prison psychologists, and has entered into the popular and academic consciousness. The press has increasingly drawn attention to the presence of corporate psychopaths in management and their possible role in harming their fellow employees and organizations (Hercz 2001; Ferrari 2006; Economist 2004; Deutschman 2005; Walker 2005; Spinney 2004; Cohan 2012a; Torrie 2014). The presence of corporate psychopaths appears to be so widespread and influential that research into their behaviour as managers and leaders should arguably be counted as both relevant and important.

In addition to being a structured contextualization of the field this context statement suggests areas for further research and analysis. A review of recent literature concerning corporate psychopaths shows that some of the hypothesized types of psychopathic misbehaviour such as bullying in the workplace have now been demonstrated empirically but that numerous gaps in research still exist. The most common theoretically expected association is that of fraud and psychopathy but there is little known empirical evidence concerning this. Other areas which may benefit from research are the issues of whether corporate psychopaths prefer to work in some kinds of firms rather than others and in large corporations rather than small ones, also whether they are attracted to particular professions and whether they engage in white collar crime.

The concept of a psychopathic corporation outlined in this contextual review entails the theoretical claim that any corporation could become systemically psychopathic if its leaders are psychopaths and they influence the culture and norms of the corporation through their leadership and example. Further conceptual development in terms of other influences on the point at which a corporation becomes psychopathic could also take place. In relation to this, industrial and organizational psychologists could follow individual corporate psychopaths, once identified, throughout their careers to examine whether they do tend to get to the top of organizations and what the consequences are of this for organizational psychopathy, success and longevity.

As a general comment about the study of both psychopaths and corporate psychopaths the literature is lacking in robust random samples of either people in society or managers in the workplace. Convenience samples rather than random samples of respondents are evident in the literature and this means that generalizations are problematic and must be circumspect and tentative. Psychologists have tended to use convenience samples of prisoners and other institutionalized respondents and these cannot strictly be generalized towards the adult population. This practice has however, resulted in the confounding of criminality with psychopathy. Psychologists also commonly tend to use convenience samples of students, and further, in the USA academic psychologists give their students course credit for taking part in surveys which subjects the answers to possible bias including social desirability bias (Fisher 1993) as the students try to please their Professors.

Further, such student samples are only representative of the segment of society (socio-economic, demographic (e.g. age related), geographic) from which they are drawn and to what extent the measures of psychopathy derived from these studies and the results found from using them, apply to the general population of adults is problematic.

The few studies of managers and psychopathy that exist are also derived from convenience samples. Given the hugely consequential importance of (dysfunctional) organizational leadership to organizations and to society (Aasland et al. 2010; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan 1994; Hogan & Hogan 2001; Hogan & Kaiser 2005) and the ethically negative nature of the findings from the studies of psychopaths in management so far (Boddy 2014; Johnson, Beehr & O'Brien 2015; Boddy et al. 2015; Mathieu et al. 2014) it is important that properly funded and statistically robust research take place so that more definitive conclusions can be drawn.

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Chapter 2: The Implications of Corporate Psychopaths for Business and Society: An Initial Examination and A Call To Arms

The title of the published paper that constitutes this chapter is: "The Implications of Corporate Psychopaths for Business and Society: An Initial Examination and A call To Arms". This was published in the Australasian Journal of Business and Behavioural Sciences, 2005, vol.1, issue 2, pp 30 – 40. This first paper was based on an initial understanding of the possible effects of those psychopaths who existed successfully in society and worked in the corporate environment. This was based on reading about such psychopaths firstly in a short piece on executive psychopaths in the Harvard Business Review (Morse 2004) and then in a number of academic articles about psychopaths in society (Widom 1977; Hare 1994), and in industry (Babiak 1995).

The paper follows below exactly as it appears in the journal. This paper reflects the emergent nature of the field at the time it was written and published. As it states in the paper, more questions are raised in the paper than are answered. However, some of the later papers in this thesis do present a few of the answers to the questions raised here. In particular the theoretical associations between corporate psychopaths and bullying are well supported in the two empirical papers presented later on.

The Implications of Corporate Psychopaths for Business And Society: An Initial Examination And A Call To Arms

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ABSTRACT

Corporate Psychopaths are managers with no conscience who are willing to lie and are able to present a charming façade in order to gain managerial promotion via a ruthlessly opportunistic and manipulative approach to career advancement. What the implications of their presence in business organisations are is an area that is relatively new to the area of business and behavioural research. However the presence of Corporate Psychopaths has several implications for work in business research. This paper reviews the concept of Corporate Psychopaths, describes how they may theoretically be present in organisations at senior managerial levels in much larger numbers than their approximately 1% incidence in the general population would suggest and discusses the implications of this for business and society.

The paper defines Corporate Psychopaths as those people working in corporations who are self-serving, opportunistic, ego-centric, ruthless and shameless but who can be charming, manipulative and ambitious. It reviews the recent series of papers and news articles on Corporate Psychopaths and discusses how and why Corporate Psychopaths are drawn to corporations as sources of power, prestige and money. The paper suggests that Corporate Psychopaths are a threat to business performance and longevity because they put their own interests before those of the firm. It also discusses how they are a threat to the development of a sense of corporate social responsibility because they have no sense of guilt, shame or remorse about the consequences of their decisions.

INTRODUCTION

At the 2005 Australasian Business and Behavioural Sciences Association Conference, Professor Sandra Speedy identified the problem of ruthless, dysfunctional managers (Speedy 2005) and their affect on organisations and society. Although Speedy did not name these managers as Corporate Psychopaths the behaviour of some of the managers she described clearly identified them as such and this paper continues that argument. Speedy describes how a 'morally anchored manager' could be humble, courageous and compassionate and says that she hopes that it is possible to help create such leaders, however if such leaders are Corporate Psychopaths this will not be possible as discussed in the paper below. Corporate Psychopaths have recently been identified as possible agents of corporate misbehaviour and misconduct and a recent paper (Boddy 2005b) suggests that Corporate Psychopaths are a

threat to business performance and to corporate social responsibility because they put their own interests before those of the corporation or of society. The concept of Corporate Psychopaths has caught the popular imagination and been reported in the popular press and in business magazines and television programmes including The Australian Broadcasting Commission's 'Catalyst' programme, the Dublin Sunday Times, The New Paper (Singapore), The Times, The West Australian, The Financial Times, New Scientist magazine, The Economist, The Daily Mail, The Liverpool Echo, Harvard Business Review and the recent book 'Working with Monsters'.

The presence of Corporate Psychopaths within organisations has important implications for the way resources are allocated and companies are run and for this reason the concept is worth examining further.

WHAT ARE CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS?

A psychologically oriented definition of what a psychopath is comes from the book 'A Dictionary of Psychology' which defines it thus; *"A mental disorder roughly equivalent to antisocial personality disorder, but with emphasis on affective and interpersonal traits such as superficial charm, pathological lying, egocentricity, lack of remorse, and callousness...."(Colman 2001)*. This psychological definition illustrates the characteristics of a Corporate Psychopath.

According to Professor Robert Hare (Morse, 2004) Corporate Psychopaths are simply the roughly 1% of the population who are certifiably psychopathic and who work in corporations and other business organisations. Unlike the criminal psychopaths of popular imagination these people are not identifiably insane or suffering from mental delusions but are just ruthless, corporate careerists. Outwardly charming, polished and apparently total normal they have a hidden cunning and ability to manipulate others to their own advantage making them ideally placed to establish a fast track career in business organisations. Thus Corporate Psychopaths are not psychotic or delusional (insane) but merely opportunistic, lacking any concern for the consequences of their actions and ruthless in their pursuit of their own aims and ambitions. Self-gratification is their main aim in life.

Most of the recent news articles on Corporate Psychopaths were based on the work of Professor Robert Hare who has published work on the reliable identification of psychopaths (see the paper by Molto, Poy & Torrubia, (2000) for a description of this) and who developed the Psychopathy Checklist for use in clinical psychiatry and psychology. This checklist has been adopted worldwide (Wormith 2000; Molto, Poy & Torrubia 2000) as the standard reference for researchers and clinicians to assess psychopathy. Working with Dr Paul Babiak, Hare has reportedly turned his attention to the corporate world and developed a version of his Psychopathy Checklist, called the Business Scan 360, for use in business. The "360" refers to the fact that the checklist involves interviews with all the people around the person concerned. A questionnaire about them is administered to their colleagues in the corporation they work for and concerns questions on anti-social tendencies, organisational maturity, interpersonal

relations and personal style. A rating or score on how psychopathic the person is results from this.

Hare's original checklist for criminal psychopathy is summarised below for reference.

Glibness/superficial charm
Grandiose sense of self-worth
Need for excitement
Pathological lying
Conning/manipulative
Lack of remorse or guilt
Shallow affect (emotion)
Callous/lack of empathy
Parasitic lifestyle
Poor behavioural control
Promiscuous sexual behaviour
Early behavioural problems
Lack of realistic long term goals
Impulsivity
Irresponsibility
Failure to accept responsibility for actions
Many short term marital relationships
Juvenile delinquency
Revocation of conditional release
Criminal versatility

Psychologist Dr. John Clarke, an Australian academic has also been working along the same lines as Hare as reported in a recent Australian Broadcasting Corporation Television programme (Newby 2005). Clarke has recently written a book on the subject, somewhat revealingly called 'Working with Monsters'. Drawing on this book the ABC programme reported that up to 0.5% of women and 2% of men could be classified as psychopaths and described how coming across them in organisations could present an employee with situations of harassment and humiliation. Psychopaths are also described as being grandiose, manipulative and cold-hearted (Bernstein et al. 2000) and lacking in genuine remorse or empathy. Other traits, described in a New Scientist article (Spinney, 2004) as belonging to a Corporate Psychopath are, superficial charm and good intelligence; no sign of delusions or irrational thinking or nervousness,...unreliability, untruthfulness, and insincerity; lack of shame; pathologic egocentricity and incapacity for love; general poverty in major affective reactions, an impersonal sex life and uninviting behaviour with drink. The New Scientist article reports how in 1977 an academic called Cathy Widom, at Harvard University in put an ad in a Boston paper as a means of luring what she called "non-institutionalised psychopaths into the open. The ad. read "Wanted: charming, aggressive, carefree people who are impulsively irresponsible but are good at handling people and looking after number one." All of those who responded and were interviewed were described as having met the criteria for psychopathy as defined by personality traits and antisocial behaviour. This

description therefore provides a useful thumbnail sketch of the characteristics of a Corporate Psychopath. The various news articles resulting from Hare's work only named one possible CEO psychopath, who was already a CEO Celebrity in a negative sense and already dead. This was the disgraced British media tycoon Robert Maxwell, who was found to have stolen from his own company pension fund. Hare reportedly said "I'm not saying Maxwell was a psychopath...but he sure had pschopathic tendencies."

In terms of the origins or causes of psychopathy little is known but 1993 research by Joanne Intrator with Robert Hare collaborating (Kaihla 1996) suggests a physical, neurological factor at work. The researchers used an emotional language test that tested reactions to neutral words as well as to emotionally-loaded words after injecting test subjects with a radioactive tracer and then scanning colour images of their brains. When normal subjects processed the emotion-laden words, their brains lit up with activity, particularly in the areas around the ventromedial frontal cortex and amygdala. The former apparently plays a crucial role in controlling impulses and long-term planning, while the amygdala is often described as "the seat of emotion." In tests on the psychopaths, those same parts of the brain appeared to remain inactive while processing the emotion-laden words.

CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS AND BUSINESS ORGANISATIONS

Corporate Psychopaths are reportedly (Boddy 2005b) drawn to business organisations because within them are the sources of power, prestige and money they seek to accrue to themselves. A Daily Mail article (Utton 2004) reports Professor Hare as saying that "Wherever you get power, prestige and money you will find them (psychopaths)". The article says that psychopaths tend to be manipulative, arrogant, impatient, impulsive and charming and have no conscience. Another article (Kaihla 1996) claims that Corporate Psychopaths find wealth and success as highly manipulative corporate careerists and have a profound lack of empathy and remorse for the harm they do others.

Another article in the Irish Sunday Times (McConnell 2004) reported on another academic's research in the same area saying that Michael Barry reports that some of the country's business bosses display recognised psychopathic behaviour. These included an ability to be charming, a thirst for money, power and status and an ability to manipulate others and be expert liars. He said "the world of business often rewards people who have these traits, and common sense suggests that some are occupying high office" but he declined to name any CEOs showing such signs.

Dr Paul Babiak, an organisational psychologist reports (Selamat 2004) that psychopaths tend to rise quickly in organisations thanks to their manipulative charisma, single-minded determination and near-complete lack of remorse about who they run over in their callous climb to the top and also that their intelligence and social skills permit them to present a façade of normalcy which enables them to get what they want with relative impunity. Elsewhere (Hipern 2004) Babiak is reported as saying that psychopaths have the ability to demonstrate the traits that

organisations need and can present a charming façade and look and sound like an ideal leader but actually be manipulative and deceitful.

If the description of Corporate Psychopaths given above is correct (and there is no evidence at this stage to suggest that it is not), then they are arguably more motivated and better equipped than other corporate managers to rise to high corporate positions. They are more motivated (Boddy 2005a) because they crave the power, money and prestige that senior managerial positions bring and they are better equipped because they are ruthless, prepared to lie, have fewer other claims on their time because of fewer other emotional attachments and can present a charming façade and appear to be an ideal leader.

These attributes may facilitate their entrenchment, the ability to gain more power through informal mechanisms and through increased popularity (Brockmann et al. 2004) and this consolidation of power in turn can facilitate further advancement in the corporate hierarchy.

This combination logically suggests that Corporate Psychopaths exist in greater numbers at higher corporate levels than their estimated population frequency of 1% would imply if they were just spread evenly across the corporate population. It has been hypothesised (Boddy 2005b) that the higher up an organisation one goes the more likely one is to find corporate psychopaths. This is because of the skills of cunning and manipulation corporate psychopaths have which enable them to do well in job and promotion interviews.
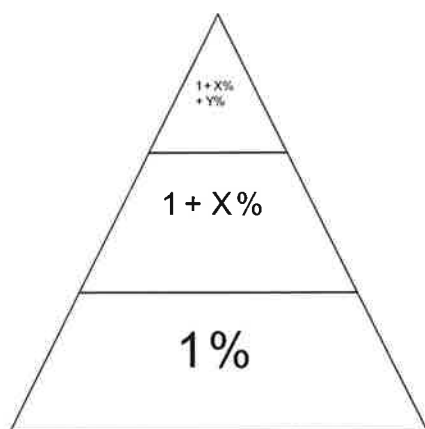
Evidence for this outcome comes from an examination of workplace crime via a bagel selling honesty box. In an extract from the book 'Freakonomics' (Levitt & Dubner 2005) the authors describe how a bagel seller used an honesty box to collect money for bagels left in offices for office workers to buy. Workers could take bagels to eat and were supposed to put the money for the bagels in a box left for that purpose. The seller, Paul Feldman, kept detailed records of levels of honesty according to the numbers of bagels taken and the money collected. He found that levels of honesty were typically around 90% but went up or down with various factors such as the weather (good weather = more honesty/better feelings?) and time of year (Christmas = less honesty/higher anxiety?). He also

concluded that the workers higher up the corporate ladder were less honest than those further down and this fits in with and supports the hypothesis that corporate psychopaths are more likely to be found the higher up a corporation one goes. Feldman suspected this higher level of theft from his overall experience but also found this out in delivering to a company over three floors where one floor was an executive floor. He found that the honesty rate was higher on the more junior sales and administrative floors than it was on the executive floor. Levitt and Dubner suggest that rather than explaining this difference in terms of the executives having an overdeveloped sense of entitlement it could be that they got to be executives in the first place by cheating and just continued this cheating behaviour in stealing the bagels without paying for them.

CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS AND BUSINESS PERFORMANCE

Recent news articles in major business magazines like the Economist (Economist 2004) and regional newspapers like the West Australian (Phillips 2004) have discussed the idea of psychopaths at work as well as the lack of ethics in business leading to inferior business performance (Rutherford 2004). At first view the existence of Corporate Psychopaths would appear to provide evidence for the bounded rationality of managers. However because they are ruthless and largely unaffected by the emotional consequences of what they do, they may actually operate as almost perfectly rational beings, with the important caveat that in making rational decisions they will put their own interests before those of the corporation they work for. If they are in positions of power then this could have important implications for firm performance. Resource based view strategists (Hansen & Wernerfelt 1989) have concluded that the critical issue in firm success is the building of an effective human organization and the presence of Corporate Psychopaths would directly affect such organisational development because they tend to be disruptive (Clarke 2005) to those around them, especially to junior colleagues.

In another paper (Buttery & Richter 2005) at the 2005 Australasian Business and Behavioural Sciences Association Conference it was argued that the sort of Machiavellian machinations that may be adopted by some managers may be a source of corporate crisis rather than away of successfully managing a company. Here the authors again seem to be implicitly talking about the types of behaviour which may be manifested by Corporate Psychopaths. However an underlying premise of the authors seems to be that a Machiavellian manager would want to avoid corporate crisis, whereas a Corporate Psychopath would not necessarily care about any corporate crisis and may even want to create a crisis rather than avoid one in order to divert attention away from his activities or to benefit from the opportunities a crisis throws up. As they have no conscience Corporate Psychopaths are not at all bothered about the affects of their actions on the corporation they work for as long as their own needs and wants are being met by their actions.

CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS AND CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Psychopaths are not a homogenous group (Adshed 2003) and their presence in large firms in relatively large numbers (1% or more) can affect a firm's ability to make ruthless decisions in its own interests. An article in The Times (Naish 2004) talks about heartless organisations which exploit sweatshop labour in foreign countries and pollute the environment in pursuit of profit. However it is managers within those organisations who make the decisions necessary to lead to those consequences and if those managers are Corporate Psychopaths then such decisions, it may be argued, are more likely to be made.

As Corporate Psychopaths have little or no conscience then they are not driven by any idea of social fairness or social responsibility and this in turn limits the development of corporate social responsibility within the corporation. Corporate Psychopaths lack any sense of remorse, guilt or shame and so are capable of making decisions that put lives at risk in situations where other managers would make different decisions.
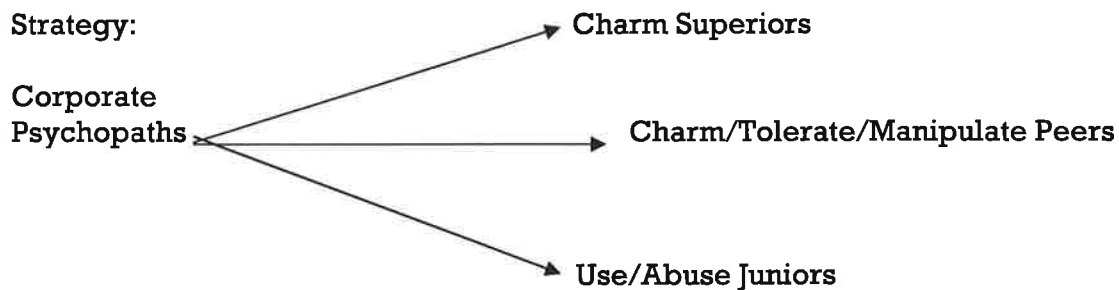
CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS AND BUSINESS LONGEVITY

In describing Corporate Psychopaths a New Scientist article (Spinney 2004) gives a case as involving a man who was "a natural leader, creative, energetic and ambitious...someone charming, yet aggressive; a manipulative boss...who constantly switches allegiance as different people become useful ... (who) turned out, in the end, to be setting up his own business on company time and resources. He is what some psychologists describe as an industrial or Corporate Psychopath".

Corporate Psychopaths are concerned with their own advancement and enrichment in terms of power and money and these concerns take precedence over any concerns over the continued success of the business or organisation they work for.
This is one reason why organisations should be concerned with identifying and containing the Corporate Psychopaths who work within the organisation. The Corporate Psychopath puts self-interest and self-enrichment before corporate longevity and corporate success.

DEALING WITH CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS IN THE ORGANISATION

Corporate Psychopaths are reportedly more likely to reveal their true ruthlessness in front of those colleagues who are not useful to them as there may be no perceived need to impress such people. Therefore rank and file staff may be the first to notice that a person is a potential Corporate Psychopath. A mechanism to allow these concerns to be heard, through for example an anonymous complaint or reporting procedure, allows such concerns to surface early in the career of a Corporate Psychopath before any serious damage can be done to the organisation and the lives of its employees. A diagram of how corporate psychopaths behave towards different colleagues is shown below.

```
Strategy:                                      ──► Charm Superiors

Corporate
Psychopaths ◄──────────────────────────► Charm/Tolerate/Manipulate Peers


                                           ──► Use/Abuse Juniors
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In the case where they fear being found out then their strategy is to create chaos so that in the confusion they can avoid scrutiny and detection as people concentrate on bring order to the confusion created. Creating chaos and confusion so that they can draw attention away from themselves and manipulate events to their own ends are their means.

Eventually Hare's psychopathy screening tool (BS360) could be used to identify Corporate Psychopaths as part of the usual batch of intelligence and personality tests carried out by human resources departments. Hare's BS360 asks (Butcher 2004) an individual's colleagues to answer yes, no or maybe to questions about his or her behaviour to determine the level of psychopathy present. Questions cover areas including whether the person is creating a power network for personal gain; lies to co-workers; comes across as smooth, polished and charming and uses a lot of management jargon to impress people. Hare says that psychopaths have an uncanny ability to perceive the needs and wants of the person they are interacting with and can put on a different facade for each person they meet.

CORPORATIONS AND SOCIETY

The size, scale and pervasiveness of modern corporations means that they affect society as never before and according to some commentators (Assadourian 2005) this relationship with society is becoming too one-sided for equilibrium to exist and a readjustment is therefore necessary. Some corporations are reportedly bigger, in financial terms than many nation governments and of the 100 largest economies in 2002 50% were corporations. Assadourian says that if these corporations, taking advantage of their size and power to change and influence laws in their favour, keep on exploiting and polluting the environment with toxic chemicals, gases and other hazardous materials then major damage to human society could occur. Arguably then corporations are in danger of spoiling the societies in which they operate and exist and they have a duty therefore to make sure that they organise themselves to make sure that those societies can continue to exist. It can be argued that if such organisational decisions are in the hands of Corporate Psychopaths then decisions that are friendly to society or to the environment are less likely to be made.

CONCLUSIONS

That Corporate Psychopaths exist is beyond question. The implications of this for business and society are just beginning to be explored. However the existence of Corporate Psychopaths has potentially major implications on understanding some decisions on firm resource allocation, ethical decision making and overall firm performance.

As one of the first papers on the subject of Corporate Psychopaths in the area of business, this paper of necessity raises more questions than it answers. Above all what sort of people do we want running our major institutions and organisations and making decisions about how those institutions and organisations affect business, the environment, society and the economy?

Academics involved in the areas of business and behavioural research should arguably be much more heavily involved in research in this area as it has major implications for the way in which business and society are managed. This paper calls for much more research in this area.

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Chapter 3: The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths

The title of the published paper that constitutes the third chapter of this thesis is: "The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths". The use of the term 'organisational psychopaths' in this title, merely reflects the inconsistent nomenclature that was then evident in the psychopathy literature. While this has consolidated around the terms 'corporate psychopath' this is still far from being consistently used.

This paper was published in the refereed journal "Management Decision" 2006; vol. 44, issue. 10, pp. 1461-1475. This paper below is not exactly as it appears in the journal because Emerald Group publishing wanted it to be de-branded – with their logo removed and a copyright statement added at the bottom of the page - before allowing it to be published in this thesis. This also applies to the paper in chapter nine which was published in the same Emerald journal.

The paper makes a theoretical contribution in that it describes a variety of ways in which the actions of corporate psychopaths may be predicted to influence other employees and organisations.

According to "google scholar" this paper has been cited 97 times as of May 2016. It has therefore, at least partially achieved its aim of stimulating debate in this subject area.

The Dark Side of Management Decisions:
Organisational Psychopaths

Abstract:

Purpose - This paper looks at some of the implications of organisational psychopaths for organisations and corporations.

Design/methodology/approach – This paper defines organisational psychopaths as being those psychopaths who exist at an incidence of about 1% of the general population and who work in organisations. The paper describes how these organisational psychopaths are able to present themselves as desirable employees and are easily able to obtain positions in organisations. Without the inhibiting effect of a conscience they are then able to ruthlessly charm, lie, cajole and manipulate their way up an organisational hierarchy in pursuit of their main aims of power, wealth and status and at the expense of anyone who gets in their way.

Findings - The paper suggests that just as criminal psychopaths are responsible for a greater share of crimes than their numbers would suggest so too organisational psychopaths may be responsible for more than their fair share of organisational misbehaviour including accounting fraud, stock manipulation, unnecessarily high job losses and corporately induced environmental damage. The paper suggests that having organisational psychopaths running corporations which are themselves, at best, amoral is a recipe for negative consequences.

Keywords: Occupational psychology, Organisations, Ethics

Introduction

Recent revelations as to the Machiavellian machinations of the managers of some of the world's largest companies that have gone bankrupt have reportedly (McCormick & Burch 2005) lead to a growing interest in how psychopaths effect organisations and the workplace. Organisational psychopaths are the 1% of the population who score highly on a psychopathy checklist and who work in organisations. Estimates of the incidence of psychopathy vary from researcher to researcher with Clarke saying that 2% of males are psychopathic (Clarke 2005), Stout estimating that 4% of the population are psychopathic (Stout 2005b) and Salekin et. al. saying that 5% of a student sample displayed marked (Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001) psychopathic traits. The definition of the incidence of psychopathy depends on what cut-off point is adopted in the particular psychopathy measurement scale used.

A key defining characteristic of psychopaths is that they have no conscience (Hercz 2001; Stout 2005b) and are incapable of experiencing the feelings of others. Their other characteristics however (Walker 2005) make them appear very hireable and worthy of promotion; they are smooth, adroit at manipulating conversations to subjects they want to talk about, willing to put others down, are accomplished liars, totally ruthless and opportunistic, calculating and without remorse. Their coldheartedness and manipulativeness are the traits that are least discernable by others (Mahaffey & Marcus 2006) and this allows organisational psychopaths to gain people's confidence. They are adept (BBC 2003) at faking the emotions which they do not have and by doing this they appear normal to those around them.
Although not any more or less intelligent (Johansson & Kerr 2005) than the population as a whole, according to Hare (BBC 2004; Stout 2005b) organisational psychopaths see the world as one large 'watering hole' and use their arrogance and charm to rise up the ladder of corporate success, knocking off whoever gets in their way.

They have a knack of getting employed and of climbing the organisational hierarchy because of their charm and networking skills. This implies that there are more of them at the top of organisations than there are at the bottom. Organisational psychopaths have been argued to be more motivated and better equipped than other corporate managers to rise to high corporate positions. They are more motivated (Boddy 2005b) because they crave the power, money and prestige that go with senior managerial positions and they are better equipped because they lack empathy (Maibom 2005; Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003) and are ruthless, prepared to lie, have fewer other claims on their time because of fewer other emotional attachments (Maibom 2005) and can present a charming façade and appear to be an ideal leader. They can thus eventually rise to senior positions and control huge resources that can be used for selfish or selfless ends; resources that can be used for the good of the organisation or for their own good. That is why the study of these people in organisations is important. If large organisations and corporations are run by psychopaths then any chance of decisions being made that are friendly to the environment, to employees or to investors is greatly reduced.

The presence of psychopaths in the workforce has only been acknowledged (Hare 1993) within the past twenty years. However with the realisation that every large company almost certainly has organisational psychopaths working for them (Newby 2005; Clarke 2005; Hercz 2001) it is arguably incumbent on academics working in the area of business to understand what potential effects this can have on corporate decision making and organisational outcomes. How these organisational psychopaths think, act and behave affects the organisation and its management in ways that need to be explored and recognised if management are to manage them.

Organisational psychopaths are employees with no conscience (Stout 2005a) who are willing to lie and are able to present an extrovert, (Miller & Lynam 2003) charming façade in order to gain managerial promotion via a ruthlessly opportunistic and manipulative approach to career advancement (Hare 1993). The implications of their presence in business organizations is an area that is relatively new (Deutschman 2005; Boddy 2005c; Butcher 2004; Morse 2004) to business and behavioural research. Organisational psychopaths are reportedly (Hare 1994) drawn to business organizations because within them are the sources of power, prestige and money they seek to accrue to themselves. Hare (Utton 2004) reports that psychopaths are to be found wherever you get power, prestige and money.

The US psychiatrist Hervey Cleckley was one of the first to develop the idea of the psychopathic personality in his book 'The Mask of Insanity' (1941). Cleckley considered (Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003) psychopaths to be superficially charming, emotionally shallow, egocentric and deceitful, irresponsible, insincere and remorseless. More recently and building on Clerkley's work, Professor Robert Hare has probably conducted the most work on criminal psychopaths (Deutschman 2005) and his work is referred to in describing organisational psychopaths below.

Hare refined, modified and extended Cleckley's checklist for identifying criminal psychopaths and has recently begun to apply this tool for the identification of organisational psychopaths. According to Hare a subset of his criminal checklist caters for identifying organisational psychopaths: they are glib and superficially charming, have a grandiose sense of self-worth, are pathological liars, good at conning and manipulating others, have no remorse about harming others; are emotionally shallow, calculating and cold; callous and lacking in empathy and they fail to take responsibility for their own actions. These are the personality traits traditionally deemed central to the syndrome (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996) as opposed to the more behavioural antisocial manifestations of it. According to researchers (Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001) Hare's checklist when subject to factor analysis usually presents a two factor solution (Hare et al. 2004) and a two factor structure is widely discussed in the literature (Miller & Lynam 2003; Lynam, Whiteside & Jones 1999; Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003; Sandoval et al. 2000) as a feature of psychopathy.

The factors are described as being on one hand the personality traits traditionally deemed central to the syndrome and on the other the anti-social behavioural manifestations of the syndrome.

Organisational psychopaths are thus defined as those workplace employees who are perceived to exhibit a score of 75% or more on the twenty traits identified as psychopathic in Hare's Psychopathy Checklist (Hare 1991) modified (Deutschman 2005) for use in business research. A number of measures exist that determine a level of psychopathy and these include (Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001) the Psychopathic Personality Inventory, Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire, Hare's Psychopathy Checklist and others. In researching these psychopathy measures Salekin et. al. found that a substantial level of convergence exists between five measures they tested and concluded that there is a high convergent validity between psychopathy measures and antisocial personality disorder. Other researchers (Reise & Wink 1995; Sandoval et al. 2000) have also found significant correlations between different psychopathy measures. It is reasonable to state therefore that the principal psychopathy measures commonly used in psychology are measuring essentially the same thing. However Hare's is the most commonly used method (McCann 2002) for identifying psychopathy in both research and clinical settings and is the best validated (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996; Sandoval et al. 2000) and most reliable (Lynam, Whiteside & Jones 1999) measure. This psychopathy checklist has been adopted worldwide (Wormith 2000; Molto, Poy & Torrubia 2000) as the standard reference for researchers and clinicians to assess psychopathy.

Organisational Psychopaths

Psychopaths should not be confused with psychotics who are people (Davidson et al. 1998) suffering from a mental disorder which has made them lose touch with reality. Organisational psychopaths, also known as Corporate Psychopaths, are the circa 1% segment of the population who are psychopathic and who work for organisations. Psychopathy does not imply a loss of touch with reality but is rather, according to Robert Hare; a world expert on psychopaths, a cluster of interpersonal, affective, lifestyle and antisocial characteristics.

A main criterion for psychopathy (Prior 2002) is the lack of a sense of guilt and the absence of a conscience (Boddy 2005a; Hare 1999). Probably their single key defining characteristic is that they have no conscience (Hercz 2001). Organisational psychopaths are reported to be able to use their extroverted charm (Hare 1994) and charisma (McCormick & Burch 2005) to shrewdly manipulate others to achieve their own selfish ends of enrichment and empowerment. They cold bloodedly get rid of anyone standing in their way in the organisational hierarchy. Although not psychotic then, they are ruthless and dangerous (Hofmann & Hasebrook 2004) to the economic and mental health welfare of those around them and to the companies and organisations that employ them.

Able to adapt to their environment, Organisational or Corporate Psychopaths have the ability to appear reasonable and sincere to whoever they are talking to at the time and are quite capable of lying to put across the right message about them-selves. Their aim is self-gratification (Hare 1994) and their means is the manipulation of others to their own ends. They are thus very far from being the lunatics of popular imagination and can be amusing and entertaining conversationalists, able to present themselves well and to charm those around them. According to Hare (Hare 1994) psychopaths are only concerned with looking after themselves and have no concern whatever for the effects that their actions may have on others. They are able to rationalise their behaviour and shrug off any sense of personal responsibility. They are completely indifferent to the suffering or the rights of others. It has been noted that although they lack emotional depth they are able to put on brief displays of emotion to their own ends and to appear to have the usual range of human responses.

Organisational psychopaths do not seem like the psychopaths of popular imagination when you first meet them (Adshead 2003). They can appear to act as appropriately as anyone else and they use that disguise of normality (Clarke 2005) to gain the trust and support of others. They are able to use their charm to seduce (Reise & Wink 1995) and manipulate (Deutschman 2005) their victims and play games of corporate politics.

Psychologists have historically been most concerned with criminal psychopaths, often those who directly and physically harm others. Organisational psychopaths are different in that they are much more in control of themselves (and others) and can appear (Walker 2005) to be charming, polished, likeable and even charismatic.

While psychopathy measures correlate (Sandoval et al. 2000) positively with antisocial personality disorder there are some differences between these. Antisocial personality disorder is defined by National Institute of Mental Health (Anonymous 2006) as a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others and inability or unwillingness to conform to what are considered to be the norms of society. The disorder is reported to involve a history of chronic antisocial behaviour that begins before the age of 15 and continues into adulthood. The disorder is also said to be manifested by a pattern of irresponsible and antisocial behaviour as indicated by academic failure, poor job performance, illegal activities, recklessness, and impulsive behaviour. Symptoms are said to include an inability to tolerate boredom, feeling victimized, and a diminished capacity for intimacy. Antisocial personality disorder, also known as psychopathic personality or sociopathic personality often brings a person into conflict with society as a consequence of a pattern of behaviour that is amoral and unethical.

Complications that might arise from having this disorder include: frequent imprisonment for unlawful behaviour, alcoholism and drug abuse. According to Hare (Hare 1999) this definition is unproblematic for referring to criminal psychopaths because the definition itself was made after the study of criminal psychopaths, mainly in prison populations. A weakness of research into psychopathy is acknowledged (Chapman, Gremore & Farmer 2003; Salekin, Trobst & Krioukova 2001; Kirkman 2005) to be the lack of generalisability from it because of the dominant use of criminal populations in research studies.

Hare states that organisational psychopaths are clever, charming and manipulative enough to avoid detection and conflict with society and therefore avoid prison and that a revised definition has to be used for these psychopaths. Other researchers (Lilienfeld & Andrews 1996) also acknowledge that antisocial personality disorder characterises the behavioural aspects of criminal psychopaths rather than the innate personality factors and that because the majority of studies of psychopathy have been with incarcerated populations (Lynam, Whiteside & Jones 1999) psychopathy has been confounded with criminality measures. Hare's argument is essentially that just because organisational psychopaths do not display obvious antisocial personality disorder traits, does not mean that they are not psychopathic, just that their displayed behaviours are different to those of a typical Criminal Psychopath.

Origins of Psychopathy

In terms of the origins or causes of psychopathy there is still much debate. Research conducted in 1993 by Joanne Intrator with Robert Hare collaborating (Kaihla 1996) suggests a physical, neurological factor at work. The researchers used an emotional language test that tested reactions to neutral words as well as to emotionally-loaded words after injecting test subjects with a radioactive tracer and then scanning colour images of their brains. When normal subjects processed the emotion-laden words, their brains lit up with activity, particularly in the areas around the ventromedial frontal cortex and amygdala.

The former apparently plays a crucial role in controlling impulses and long-term planning, while the amygdala is often described as "the seat of emotion." In tests on the psychopaths, those same parts of the brain appeared to remain inactive while processing the emotion-laden words.

Hare says that psychopathy is a syndrome, a collection of characteristics which together make up a psychopath. However it is not known definitively whether this syndrome stems from biological or environmental factors (Hare 1994) and is probably the result of an interplay of both. Somehow internal controls and emotions are undeveloped and a conscience is not present in the individuals concerned. Research (Nadis 1995) indicates that a neurophysiological factor may be affecting psychopaths and that some areas of their brains may be undeveloped or under-active. For example psychopaths reportedly respond differently to emotional stimuli than normal people do. They do not become apprehensive before electric shocks are delivered and the area of the brain known as the amygdala does not activate as much in psychopaths as in normal people in response to emotional stimuli. A study using magnetic resonance imaging (Birbaumer et al. 2005) found that the amygdala of psychopaths does not react to emotional stimuli as much as it does with non-psychopaths.

Thus it may be a biological predisposition which when subject to an adverse social environment (Kirkman 2005) creates the conditions necessary for the development of a psychopath. The social environment, such as educational opportunities and family background may determine how the psychopathy becomes manifested as either Criminal Psychopathy or Organisational Psychopathy.

Another experiment (Nadis 1995) showed that psychopaths paid as much attention to a picture of a woman with blood oozing out of her head who looked like she had been run over by a car as they did to a picture of a woman who was just riding a bike in front of cars. Normal people remembered the emotionally worrying picture of the wounded woman in much more detail than they did the other more emotionally neutral pictures, whereas psychopaths treated both pictures in the same rational, unworried way, displaying a distinct lack of an emotional response.

According to Hare psychopaths themselves see no problem with their lack of conscience, empathy or remorse and do not think that they need to change their behaviour to fit in with the societal norms which they do not believe in. One researcher in this field refers to non-criminal psychopaths like organisational psychopaths as being successful psychopaths. They are successful in as much as they have deployed their skills of lying, manipulation and deception well enough to avoid detection; can avoid the displays of antisocial personality that would get them into trouble with the law and can have successful careers (in terms of their getting jobs and promotions in those jobs).

Why do Organisational Psychopaths Work for Organisations?

Organisational psychopaths Work for Organisations and Corporations because they are attracted (Hercz 2001) by positions of power. Motivated by a desire to win what they see as being the 'game' of life, and by a desire for power and a desire to gain wealth and prestige, organisational psychopaths gravitate to wherever these can be found and this often means that they are to be found in large organisations. Hare says that (Deutschman 2005) organisational psychopaths can be found in positions which have power and control over other people and where the opportunity is there for self-enrichment.

How Organisational Psychopaths Get Into Organisations

According to Hare (Walker 2005) organisational psychopaths look and dress like any other business people, can be very persuasive, fun to be around and so are able to do well at recruitment interviews. Organisational psychopaths also do well in interviews because of their charm, (Anonymous 2005) ability to think on their feet and ability to present a good image. Their charm in particular means that (Gettler 2003) they come across well at job interviews and promotion interviews and inspire people to have confidence in them (Ray & Ray 1982) and this means that they can easily enter and do well in organisations and corporations. They present the traits of intelligence and success that many people aspire to (Ray & Ray 1982) and they thus come across as accomplished and as desirable employees. Being accomplished liars (Kirkman 2005) helps them in obtaining the jobs they want.

According to evolutionary psychologists (Hofmann & Hasebrook 2004) humans like to be liked and approved of in order to gain social advantages, supportive relationships from parents and friends and to attract mates (e.g. spouses). Psychopaths are aware of this need that people have and are able to use this by presenting themselves as people who can help, befriend and aid others. They thus make themselves attractive to know and this facilitates their generating support networks for themselves. Their friends, family and patrons do not typically realise at early stages of their relationships that to organisational psychopaths they are all extremely expendable.

Once inside an organisation they can survive for a long time (Loizos 2005) before being discovered during which time they can establish defences for themselves to protect their positions. Dr Paul Babiak, an organisational psychologist working in this area (Selamat 2004) says psychopaths tend to rise quickly in organisations thanks to their manipulative charisma, their single minded determination to get to the top and their almost complete lack of remorse about who they run over in the process. Babiak says that their intelligence and social skills permit organisational psychopaths to present a veneer of normalcy which enables them to get what they want.

Hare reportedly says that (Gettler 2003) once organisational psychopaths are inside an organisation they go about methodically planning their rise to the top. Psychopaths have a reported talent (Ullman 2006) for using other people and for concealing their true motives through a combination of ingratiating ways and a façade of normality. Their polish and cool decisiveness (McCormick & Burch 2005) can make them seem like ideal leaders.

They identify (Clarke 2005; Hare 1994) a potential support network of patrons who can help them; they identify pawns who can be manipulated and they also identify 'police' (auditors, security and human resources personnel) who could potentially hinder their progress if not dealt with. Organisational psychopaths then manipulate their way up the corporate ladder, using pawns and shedding patrons as they become superseded and no longer needed. According to Hare two fractions then typically develop in the organisation; the supporters, pawns and patrons of the organisational psychopaths and the detractors, those who realise they have been used and abused or that the company is in danger. A confrontation results from this during which the detractors are outmanoeuvred and ultimately removed and the organisational psychopath ascends to power.

The Effects of Organisational Psychopaths on Organisations

Every large company has organisational psychopaths (Newby 2005) working for it. According to human resources magazine (Anonymous 2005) the recent spate of corporate collapses in the US can be linked to the senior management of those corporations exhibiting the behaviours of organisational psychopaths.

As organisational psychopaths are only interested in self-enrichment, then it follows that they do not necessarily have the interests of their employers in mind and will go against those interests if they perceive that this will benefit them.

Reporting on the privatisation of New Zealand hospitals in the 1990's one commentator (Bjornsson 2002) likened the effects to those that would be expected from an organisational psychopath. Once corporate management took over the running of hospitals, corporate norms reportedly began to replace healthcare norms in the hospitals concerned. This meant that knowledge sharing between hospitals was stopped, resource allocation became based on a financial analysis of which departments could make a return on investment rather than being based on societal health needs and risk became redefined as being the risk to a hospital's reputation. Reportedly although there was little money for patient treatment there was money to spend on team building exercises, management consultants and generous executive benefits.

As organisational psychopaths have little or no conscience then they are not driven by any idea of social fairness or social responsibility and this in turn limits the development of corporate social responsibility within the corporation. Organisational psychopaths lack any sense of remorse, guilt or shame and so are capable of making decisions that put lives at risk in situations where other managers would make different decisions. Not sharing medical information between hospitals may put lives at risk that could otherwise not have been put at risk and so the example from New Zealand above is an apt one. Where an organisation has been infiltrated by Organisational or Corporate Psychopaths the result is often (Ullman 2006) that a few people get very rich while everyone else suddenly finds themselves abandoned, out of a job, without their promised pension and/or without even a company left to work for.

In studies of criminal psychopaths Hare and others have found that psychopaths are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime compared to their incidence in the criminal population. It is not unreasonable therefore to hypothesise that organisational psychopaths may be similarly responsible for a disproportionate amount of organisational misbehaviour, including accounting fraud, stock manipulation, unnecessary firings and corporately induced environmental damage.

Organisational psychopaths who get to the top of organisations can be assumed to be highly intelligent as well as manipulative and some research indicates that (Johansson & Kerr 2005) high intelligence in psychopaths seems to enhance their destructive potential. The power inherent in senior managerial roles in major organisations and corporations means that the implications of these findings are obviously significant for corporate management and regulation and for the societies in which those organisations operate.

In terms of what some of the implications of this for practitioners and employees are; Clarke, in his book 'Working with Monsters' (Clarke 2005) describes the destructive effects organisational psychopaths can have on the inter-personal relationships, mental health and self-image of the people working around them and he reminds employers that they have a duty of care top protect their workforce from harm. This should include providing protection from the effects of working with psychopaths, Clarke says. Shareholder groups, like pension funds, may also start to take an interest in whether organisations screen for psychopathy in mangers in order to help protect their investments.

From a review of the literature on organisational psychopaths it is possible to hypothesise that a number of effects may be evident resulting from the presence of organisational psychopaths in managerial roles in organisations. In order to stimulate further debate and research in this area these are discussed briefly below.

Corporate Failure

Organisational psychopaths are concerned with their own enrichment and success and not that of the organisation they work for. It may be hypothesised therefore that corporations and other organisations which employ organisational psychopaths are more likely to experience failure than others are. Psychopaths have no emotional attachment to the company they work for or to the people they work with and find it easy (Loizos 2005) to sack people.

Fraudulent Activities

Psychopaths are willing to falsify financial results to get promotion (McCormick & Burch 2005) bonuses and other benefits and even to commit outright fraud (Clarke 2005) on the company that employs them. Fraud is (Kirkman 2005) a particular crime that psychopaths tend to commit according to Cleckley, one of the fist writers and researchers on psychopaths.

Unnecessary Employee Redundancies

Organisational psychopaths have no conscience and are not concerned with the financial or emotional effects of their actions on other people. They are quite willing to sack large numbers of staff if this will impress the stock market when passed off as a cost cutting exercise. The real aim would be to increase the share price and make the organisational psychopaths' shares or share options in the company more valuable or make the company (and its psychopathic managers) more financially powerful.

Exploited Workforce

Organisational psychopaths parasitically claim the credit for work they have not done (Clarke 2005) and blame others for things that go wrong because of their actions. They are very willing to exploit the workforce or to move operations to a geographic area where the workforce can more easily be exploited. With no emotional attachments to their colleagues organisational psychopaths are happy to exploit everyone who works for them.

No Sense of Corporate Social Responsibility

As they have no conscience organisational psychopaths are not at all concerned with the consequences of their actions on the environment or on society. They have no sense of corporate social responsibility other than paying lip service to the concept when it makes them look good to do so.

Disheartened Workforce

Organisational psychopaths use their manipulative skills to dominate the people they work with (Clarke 2005), exploiting them, involving them in sexual affairs, spreading rumours and engaging in office politics to further their aims. Employees who realise what is going on after being used and abused and who lose control of their careers at the hands of a Organisational Psychopath are naturally disheartened. They are often, according to Clarke, too afraid to talk to others in the organisation about how they are suffering.

Political Decision Making

Generating hostility between groups of colleagues and co-workers can create confusion in the workplace and enable psychopaths to push through their own agenda at the expense of the organisations true interests. They can be master political manipulators and this enables them to make organisational decisions in their own interests rather than in those of the organisation.

Workplace Bullying

Bullying is used by organisational psychopaths as a tactic to humiliate (Clarke 2005) subordinates. This may occur just because many psychopaths enjoy and are stimulated by hurting people but it is also used as a tactic to confuse and disorientate those who may be a threat to the activities of the organisational psychopath. It distracts attention away from the activities of the organisational psychopath which may otherwise be notice by a normally functioning staff.

Short- Term Decision Making

Organisational psychopaths are often content to maximise their immediate wealth and power and will tend therefore to make decisions which are not necessarily in the long term interests of the organisation they work for.

Disregarded Investor Interests

Self-enrichment, self-promotion and self-gratification are the main aims of organisational psychopaths. They always put their own interests first and this means that the interests of investors in the company are disregarded.

Lost Economies of Expertise

Staff who get in the way of the rise of organisational psychopaths or who try and police their activities often end up undermined, counter-attacked and eventually removed from the organisation. Expert staff members are thus lost for no objective reason other than that they got in the way of an Organisational Psychopath. This leads to a loss of expertise within the organisation and it is thus weakened.

Environmental Damage

As organisational psychopaths have little or no conscience then they are not concerned with the effects of their actions on the environment or on other people and this in turn limits the development of any sense of environmental responsibility within the corporation as a whole.

Decisions of Questionable Legality

With no conscience or sense of morality organisational psychopaths have no problems with making organisational decisions that are immoral, unethical, contrary to accepted codes of professional practice or outright illegal.

Business Partnerships with Organisational Psychopaths

Martha Stout, a psychologist and author of the book 'The Sociopath Next Door' says that most business partners would feel an allegiance to each other out of a common humanity whereas psychopaths (Loizos 2005) lie without remorse and treat the partnership as a game, a game that they aim to win. It can be expected therefore that when a number of partners go into a business together, if one of them is a psychopath, then that person will end up with the great majority of financial and material gains from the business.

Coping with Organisational or Corporate Psychopaths

According to Hare, who is probably the world's leading expert on psychopaths, if we can not identify psychopaths we are forever doomed, (Hare 1994) as individuals and as a society, to be their victims.

Psychopaths are able to succeed in society (Deutschman 2005) and in corporations largely because their colleagues are unaware that people like this actually exist. Creating an awareness among organisational managers that psychopaths exist is thus a good first step in attempting to stem the havoc (Clarke 2005) that these people cause in organisations.

Refining the earlier work of Cleckley (Kirkman 2005) Hare's checklist for identifying criminal psychopaths (Johansson & Kerr 2005) is now the most widely used assessment measure in the world for this. This checklist assigns a score of 0-2 on each of 20 attributes (Hare 1991) and those who score 30 or over are entitled to be called psychopaths.
Hare says (Hare 1999) that even experts can be taken in by psychopaths and that great care needs to be taken with identifying them and dealing with them. He suggests that it is a good idea to look for other victims, to form a team with, in attempting to deal with psychopaths and that this is possible because most psychopaths have lots of victims.

However psychopaths want power and Hare warns that it is dangerous to engage in direct power struggles with psychopaths as they will seek to inflict emotional or physical harm on those who oppose them. Both Hare and Clarke, another writer on organisational psychopaths (Clarke 2005), advise cutting your losses when dealing with them. Clarke advises getting out of the organisation concerned as early as you can, as often by the time you 'blow the whistle' on their behaviour your credibility will have been undermined already and you will not be believed. At the recruitment stage interviewers should beware of smooth talking, charming extroverts who say all the right things and seem like ideal candidates. Gaining references from their ex-bosses as well as from their peers and their subordinates can illuminate their true nature.

Why Don't Organisational Psychopaths Retire Once They Become Rich?

In discussions about organisational psychopaths it has been observed (Boddy 2005d) that organisational psychopaths do not retire once they become very wealthy, which is perplexing until one considers the nature of organisational psychopaths. According to Hare the psychopaths' appetite for power and control is insatiable. In other words they never feel that they have enough power, money or prestige. This may be why such people in the corporate world do not retire voluntarily no matter how wealthy and successful they become. Playing the game of corporate power politics is what gives them their thrill and nothing in their lives can replace that. Being emotionally shallow they probably have few real friends or a family (promiscuity often brings divorce for them and friends are discarded as they lose their usefulness) with whom they have emotional ties. A family day at the seaside is just not appealing to them compared to the satisfaction to be gained from another day manipulating and abusing people at work.

Speculation as to what drives organisational psychopaths includes that they pursue wealth and status to compensate (Pepper 2005) for an internal sense of worthlessness and despair. This again gives a clue as to why they never consider themselves rich enough to retire; in place of an emotionally fulfilled life they have an ever-extendable wallet that can never be full enough and a desire for power that can never be completely satisfied and would certainly not be satisfied by retirement.

Why Do Organisational Psychopaths Go On Corporate Acquisition Sprees?

Also in discussions about organisational psychopaths it has been noted (Boddy 2005d) that organisational psychopaths tend to go on corporate acquisition sprees once they are in a position to do so. They buy other companies around the world because their appetite for power and control is insatiable and because it feeds their grandiosity.

The more they can say that they control in terms of financial turnover, geographic coverage, number of companies purchased, then the more they can feed their sense of self-importance and the more they can claim to be worth to the company in terms of salary and bonuses. According to one commentator (Bendell 2006) they need to be loved, love to be feared and like to live a lifestyle of conspicuous consumption in order to reinforce their sense of greatness. Acquisitions also create a sense of change and a certain amount of chaos in organisations and according to Dr. Paul Babiak, (Bendell 2006) organisational psychopaths thrive in a changing environment. They can hide their activities behind a rapidly changing background and can more easily deflect attention away from themselves and the results of their activities in this environment.

Corporations As Psychopaths

It has recently been suggested (Bakan 2006) that Corporations themselves could be psychopathic because of their lack of conscience. Comments by Robert Hare in the article suggest that corporations do have the characteristics of a psychopath according to the definition of the World Health Organisation which states that psychopaths display the characteristics of being: callous to the feelings of others, incapable of maintaining enduring relationships, reckless as to the safety of others, deceitful, incapable of experiencing guilt and display a failure to conform to social norms and laws.

Corporations which have become psychopathic will engage in such activities as seeking out loopholes in the law to avoid taxes and regulations, manipulating their stock prices where possible to the benefit of executives with shares and share option schemes and to the detriment of investors, pension funds and workers. Corporations engage in illegal accounting practices to cover these activities up regardless of the long term implications of doing this. If corporations themselves display psychopathic characteristics then the effect must be amplified or even multiplied when some or all of the managers running those corporations are organisational psychopaths as well. Here the lack of any conscience or guiding sense of morality in the corporation can be a recipe for financial, environmental and societal disaster.

Further Research

This paper has been more concerned with exploring the effects of psychopaths on organisations and of the effects of psychopathically managed organisations on society and the environment rather than on individuals. This is not to say for one moment that their effects on individuals are not worth studying and preventing if possible. Rather that their effects on all areas of business need to be studied and researched in more detail. Further Research is arguably badly needed is this area because very little research has been undertaken in this area to date and research is needed to contribute to the building of a body of knowledge to explain the impact of organisational psychopaths on organizations. Such research would be significant because it would stimulate debate on this issue in academic circles outside the disciplines of psychology and criminology and in particular will bring it to the attention of business strategists and other academics involved in conducting research into business.

Conclusions

The effects of organisational psychopaths on organisations are just beginning to be explored and this is an under-researched and important area that needs further research. Further research has been called for into the effects of organisational psychopaths on the psychopathology of organisations and on employee's mental health (Hofmann & Hasebrook 2004), on the implications of organisational psychopaths for organisational fraud and business longevity (Boddy 2005b) and on the implications of organisational psychopaths for management (Boddy 2005a) and corporate social responsibility.

Research into how commonly organisational psychopaths are to be found at the top of organisations and what the effects of this are on the organisations is also much needed.

In the meantime organisations that are concerned that they may be employing organisational psychopaths can employ consultancies like John Clarke's or Robert Hare's to help them identify organisational psychopaths and manage their behaviour. Employees who consider they may be working with an organisational psychopath should perhaps be well advised to look beyond the popular quizzes on the subject such as that reported in the Times newspaper on-line (TheTimes 2005) or the BBC (BBC 2003) and review some of the more substantial published literature on the subject, such as Clarke's 'Working with Monsters' or Hare's 'Without Conscience', to help them confirm or soothe their fears about their colleagues.

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Chapter 4: Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Employee Affective Well-Being, and Counterproductive Work Behaviour

The title of the published paper that constitutes the fourth chapter of this thesis is: "Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Employee Affective Well-Being and Counterproductive Work Behaviour". This paper was published in the refereed journal, the Journal of Business Ethics, 2014; vol.121, issue 1, pp. 107-121.

This paper is exactly as it appears in the journal.

Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Employee Affective Well-Being and Counterproductive Work Behaviour

Clive R. Boddy

Abstract This article explains who Corporate Psychopaths are, and some of the processes by which they stimulate counterproductive work behaviour among employees. The article hypothesizes that conflict and bullying will be higher, that employee affective well-being will be lower and that frequencies of counterproductive work behaviour will also be higher in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Research was conducted among 304 respondents in Britain in 2011, using a psychopathy scale embedded in a self-completion management survey. The article concludes that Corporate Psychopaths have large and significant impacts on conflict and bullying and employee affective well-being; these have large and significant impacts on counterproductive work behaviour. There is no difference between male and female degrees of negative reaction to the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Keywords Corporate Psychopaths · Counterproductive work behaviour · Toxic leadership · Employee well-being · Conflict · Bullying

Introduction

Research into toxic leadership personalities and counterproductive work behaviour is scarce. A recent call was made for an examination of the links between individual differences, and in particular the role of people with aberrant personality traits, and counterproductive work behaviour (Wu and Lebreton 2011).

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These authors note that recent public scandals involving unethical business behaviour have led to an increasing focus in the organisational sciences on counterproductive and deviant behaviour such as aggression and sabotage. A few deviant employees can affect an entire business and the influence of deviant employees such as Corporate Psychopaths is, therefore, worthy of further investigation (Dunlop and Lee 2004). Wu and Lebreton (2011) recommend a review of Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy, and the development of research hypotheses designed to spur future research in these and related areas. Others have made broadly similar calls (Board and Fritzon 2005; Boddy 2005). In response, this article begins by defining and discussing Corporate Psychopaths, presents hypotheses related to their presence in organisations and tests them empirically. It concludes by discussing its theoretical implications and future research directions.

Psychopaths

Psychopaths are those one per cent of the population who have no conscience and who, therefore, demonstrate an egotistic and ruthless approach to living (Hare 1994, 1999). They have traits similar to other anti-social personalities and if their lack of conscience is manifested in violence and anti-social acts then their behaviour may be found criminal by courts (Hare et al. 1991). While Widom and others pointed out that they could be studied in other settings, most studies occurred in institutional settings thereby confounding anti-social criminality with psychopathy resulting in popular confusion between the two (Widom 1977; Herez 2001).

Non-imprisoned psychopaths came to be known by different terms, inter alia Industrial Psychopath, Executive Psychopath, Successful Psychopath, Organisational Psychopath and Corporate Psychopath (Clarke 2005; Babiak

1995; Morse 2004; Babiak and Hare 2006; Boddy 2006). The latter term is used here.

Corporate Psychopaths

Corporate Psychopaths were initially recognised in Cleckley's book "The Mask of Sanity" (Cleckley 1941/ 1988) and the recognition developed that sub-clinical psychopaths may have advantages over normal people (Ray and Ray 1982), and that psychopaths live in society (Stout 2005a, b; Hare 1994). The realization then developed that psychopaths may be working in industry and business (Hare 1999; Babiak 1995), at senior levels (Ferrari 2006; Pech and Slade 2007; Cangemi and Pfohl 2009) where they may be theoretically expected to be responsible for corporate misbehaviour of various kinds (Boddy 2006; Morse 2004; Spinney 2004; Board and Fritzon 2005; Clarke 2005; Babiak and Hare 2006; Ramamoorti 2008). These psychopaths working in corporations came to be called Corporate Psychopaths (a comprehensive description is provided in Boddy 2011a). The emergence of this research strand has been described as setting a new direction in leadership research (Gudmundsson and Southey 2011).

Corporate Psychopaths have been described as simply those psychopaths working in the corporate sector, possibly attracted by the potentially high monetary rewards, prestige and power available to those who reach the senior managerial levels of large corporations (Babiak and Hare 2006).

The presence of Corporate Psychopaths is important partly because according to social learning theory people learn vicariously by observing others' behaviour especially when observing influential role models who are credible to the observer (Bandura 1977). This implies that when unethical managers such as Corporate Psychopaths are present (Boddy et al. 2010) then toxic behaviour such as rudeness, conflict and bullying will be magnified as it is learnt, repeated and copied throughout the organisation. Corporate Psychopaths have been identified as possible sources of bullying and other forms of conflict in organisations.

Conflict and Bullying at Work

Interpersonal conflict at work is behaviour involving people imposing their will on others and victimizing them through extra-ordinary behaviour; this can include argumentativeness, yelling, other elements of abusive supervision and bullying (Tepper 2000; Wornham 2003). Conflict is important because it is associated with decreased team working efficiency and lower organisational productivity (Alper et al. 2000; Dunlop and Lee 2004). Job insecurity, workload, frequency of conflict, social support from colleagues and leadership are all related to bullying (Baillien and De Witte 2009). A higher workload, the frequency of conflict and the existence of abusive forms of leadership have also all been related to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths (Boddy 2011a). This study, therefore, examines the links between conflict and Corporate Psychopaths.

Bullying, as one pernicious form of conflict, may result from destructive organisational cultures (Baillien et al. 2009) and Corporate Psychopaths are hypothesized to create these (Babiak 1995; Babiak and Hare 2006; Clarke 2005, 2007). Such cultures exert an important influence on both organisations and their employees (Kuenzi and Schminke 2009).

Social learning theory specifically recognises that human behaviour is learned from observing the behaviour of others and then modelling one's own behaviour on that (Decker 1986). Therefore, managers are recognised as important role models for the employees they lead (Decker 1986). In line with social learning theory which implies that subordinates learn negative and dysfunctional behaviour from observing and emulating their managers, subjects who are bullied and who experience interpersonal conflict at work become involved in the bullying of others (Hauge et al. 2009). This may especially be the case when they observe perceived benefits to bullying such as increased control, ability to manipulate and the gaining of power; but no costs or consequences of bullying such as organisational disciplinary proceeding. This provides a further rationale for the study of conflict and bullying in relation to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

Workplace incivility, expressed in such measures as rudeness, is associated with workplace performance (Estes and Wang 2008). The frequency of experiencing rudeness at work was, therefore, measured here. Rudeness in the workplace is a measure of levels of uncivil behaviour and conflict and its presence also decreases levels of employee helpfulness (Porath and Erez 2007).

Workplace conflict is also associated with stress in the workplace (Alper et al. 2000; Abdel-Halim 1978). Andersson and Pearson (1999) describe how workplace incivility has the potential to spiral into increasingly aggressive behaviour, thus establishing the important link between uncivil behaviour like yelling and arguments and outright conflict. Clarke (2005) discusses the conflict that psychopaths can create between employees and how they can manipulate workplace events to cause conflict and bullying. One form of conflict, bullying is also important because it has been associated with the intention to leave an organisation, increasing organisational costs (Djurkovic et al. 2004).

Leaders' moral development can influence an organisation's ethical climate (Schminke et al. 2005) and so it is likely

that immoral leaders will have a negative influence. Corporate Psychopaths as organisational leaders are thought to create a culture in which bullying is practiced, allowed to flourish and even encouraged. Engaging in counterproductive work behaviour is one employee response to some forms of conflict and this is investigated here.

Counterproductive Work behaviour

Counterproductive work behaviour is the deliberate jeopardizing of workplace outcomes and normal functioning and has well-established connections with productivity and efficiency (Dunlop and Lee 2004). The links between counterproductive work behaviour and conflict are also well established (Bruk-Lee and Spector 2006; Penney and Spector 2005; Spector and Fox 2010).

Conflict creates the conditions in which employees seek revenge on the perceived perpetrators of the conflict, such as company managers, in line with social exchange theory (Biron 2010; Cropanzano and Mitchell 2005; Blau 1964/1986; Emerson 1976). Social exchange theory helps explain how and why people create unspecified reciprocal (Gouldner 1960) relationships with others and, at their discretion (Blau 1964/1986), repay in kind those who have helped (or hindered) them (Nord 1969). Revenge is thus an element of reciprocity enacted by employees engaging in counterproductive work behaviour towards the company (Kisamore et al. 2010; Spector et al. 2006). Employees who engage in such behaviour (e.g. sabotage) may, therefore, be seeking revenge against the company for the perceived wrongful actions of their managers viewed as agents of the corporation (Jones 2009; Ambrose et al. 2002).

Researchers have investigated the individual differences of employees in terms of their characteristic responses to stimuli that may include engaging in counterproductive work behaviour (Bowling et al. 2011; Penney et al. 2011). Such stimuli may include stressful situations including those arising from conflict with supervisors and others (Bruk-Lee and Spector 2006) and even from evaluations that co-workers are not performing adequately (Spector and Fox 2010). Events external to the work environment such as the financial stability of individual employees may also influence whether those employees engage in counterproductive work behaviour or not (Oppler et al. 2008). Employees may engage in destructive behaviour and production deviance such as misuses of time and resources (Gruys and Sackett 2003). These are the two types of counterproductive behaviour measured here. In a recent comprehensive review of the literature on psychopathy, Skeem et al. (2011) conclude that virtually nothing is known about the predictive relationship between psychopathy and counterproductive work behaviour. This current research helps to address this lack of knowledge.

Employee Affective Well-Being

Affective, emotional or psychological well-being is a state where a person is content and happy with their life and with the balance of their work, home, emotional and spiritual lives. Individually such a state promotes mental and physical health; collectively it promotes a healthy and stable society. At work it helps promote a stable and efficiently functioning organisation. Employee affective or psychological well-being is important to organisations because it has been found to predict job performance (Wright and Cropanzano 1997). The colloquial version of this is the saying that a happy worker is a productive worker (Wright and Cropanzano 2004). Employee affective well-being is also important because it predicts costly employee turnover (Wright and Bonett 2007). At an individual level, well-being is a forerunner of health including cardiovascular health (Wright et al. 2009) as it precludes stress—a major cause of unhealthiness (Giacalone and Promislo 2010)—and promotes feel-good chemicals in the brain which promote healthiness. The following section ties together the possible links among Corporate Psychopaths, conflict, well-being and counterproductive work behaviour.

Corporate Psychopaths, Conflict, Bullying, Employee Affective Well-Being and Counterproductive Work Behaviour

It has been noted that a few bad or deviant employees can affect entire businesses (Allio 2007) and, therefore, the presence of Corporate Psychopaths requires further investigation (Dunlop and Lee 2004). Corporate Psychopaths manifest their parasitic lifestyles by engaging in such behaviour as claiming the successful work efforts of their colleagues as their own (Clarke 2005). According to equity theory this would infringe on the perceived fairness of the workplace and would, therefore, influence measures of workplace conflict (Janssen 2001). It may also be expected to influence counterproductive work behaviour. Penney and Spector (2005) researched the relationship among job stressors, negative affectivity and counterproductive work behaviour. Designed to investigate the effects of workplace incivility on employee job satisfaction their work revealed that incivility, organisational constraints and interpersonal conflict are negatively related to job satisfaction and positively related to counterproductive work behaviour (Penney and Spector 2005; Spector et al. 2006). Other research suggests that employee evaluations that co-workers are not performing well enough may trigger a response involving counterproductive work behaviour from some employees (Spector and Fox 2010). Parasitic employees such as Corporate Psychopaths may be evaluated in this way.

Similarly, Pearson and Porath (2005) discovered that incivility at work correlates with both an erosion of organisational values and with a depletion of organisational resources. They reveal that employees exposed to incivility and conflict at work decrease their work effort, time spent on the job, productivity and performance.

Job satisfaction and organisational loyalty were found to diminish and turnover was also increased (Pearson and Porath 2005). The article, therefore, hypothesizes:

Hypothesis 1 Conflict and Bullying are significantly correlated with counterproductive work behaviour.

As discussed above there are several theoretical reasons why the presence of Corporate Psychopaths may trigger counterproductive work behaviour since they are parasitic, divisive and create conditions of conflict and bullying (Boddy 2011a). It is logical to assume that their presence will correlate with high levels of conflict and counterproductive work behaviour.

Some claim that all forms of workplace incivility, with the exception of sexual harassment, are grounded in organisational chaos (Roscigno et al. 2009). Corporate Psychopaths have been identified as agents of organisational chaos and, therefore, uncivil behaviour like rudeness and levels of conflict would be higher in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths than would otherwise be the case (Roscigno et al. 2009). Corporate Psychopaths could thus be expected to positively influence conflict. The article, therefore, hypothesizes:

Hypothesis 2 Conflict is higher in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Bullying is here defined as the repeated unethical and unfavourable treatment of one person by another in the workplace. This includes behaviour designed to belittle others via humiliation, sarcasm, rudeness, over-managing, overworking an employee, threats and violence (Dierickx 2004; Djurkovic et al. 2004). Bullying can take the form of name calling, sexual harassment, making the victim a scapegoat and applying undue work pressure (Harvey et al. 2007). Bullying is reportedly undertaken to maintain or increase the power and control of the person doing it (Dierickx 2004).

Bullying in organisations can lead to a variety of dysfunctional and negative outcomes for organisations as well as for individuals within them (Harvey et al. 2007). Bullying is widespread, inherently unfair to its victims and a key ethical problem in modern workplaces (LaVan and Martin 2008; Wornham 2003). Narcissism, lack of self-regulation, lack of remorse and lack of conscience have been identified as some of the traits displayed by bullies. There is an element of theoretical cross-over between

bullies and psychopaths (Harvey et al. 2007). It has been suggested that the definition of bullying should include practices like the taking of credit for another's work, which is reported as a common practice of psychopaths in the workplace (Babiak and Hare 2006). Furthermore, in the literature on psychopathy and bullying it is theorized that bullying can be used to intimidate others and make them afraid to confront the Corporate Psychopath involved, allowing the Corporate Psychopath more leeway. Bullying is also used by Corporate Psychopaths to humiliate (Clarke 2005) subordinates, possibly because many psychopaths enjoy hurting people (Porter et al. 2003).

Bullying is also used as to confuse and disorientate those who may be a threat to the Corporate Psychopath's activities (Clarke 2005). It distracts attention away from the Corporate Psychopath's activities, which may otherwise be noticed by personnel who were functioning normally. It seems likely then, that bullying will be associated with the presence of psychopaths. People with high scores on a psychopathy rating scale were more likely to engage in bullying, crime and drug use than others (Nathanson et al. 2006). In line with this, Hare and Babiak found that of seven Corporate Psychopaths identified within a study of about two hundred high level executives, two of these were bullies as well as being Corporate Psychopaths. They note that this level of incidence (i.e. about 29 % of Corporate Psychopaths also being bullies) is also reported by other researchers (Babiak and Hare 2006). The study, therefore, hypothesizes:

Hypothesis 3 Bullying is higher in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Employee affective well-being declines with increasing amounts of incivility and mistreatment (Lim and Cortina 2005) and, therefore, it may be that well-being will decrease with conflict and bullying and with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths as managers. Employee well-being declines where a manager is not trustworthy (Kelloway et al. 2012) and as Corporate Psychopaths are characterized as liars, manipulators and deceivers, they can be assumed to be untrustworthy. The study, therefore, hypothesizes:

Hypothesis 4 Employee affective well-being is lower in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Research on how males and females react to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths has apparently never been reported on. Writers on psychopaths within organisations speculate how women may be emotionally vulnerable to psychopaths and, therefore, it may be that women are more affectively influenced by Corporate Psychopaths than men, giving rise to the hypothesis:

Hypothesis 5 Employee affective well-being in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths will be lower among women than among men.

Counterproductive work behaviour has been described as being the deliberate jeopardizing of workplace outcomes and is recognised as being influenced by job satisfaction (Mount et al. 2006; Dunlop and Lee 2004). As Corporate Psychopaths have been found to affect job satisfaction (Boddy 2011b), then counterproductive work behaviour must theoretically also be influenced by Corporate Psychopaths' presence. Furthermore, support exists for the view that ethical leadership would increase the willingness of employees to put extra effort into their work (Brown et al. 2005). Here, the opposite is proposed, i.e. that unethical leaders in the form of Corporate Psychopaths will increase employees' counterproductive work behaviour.

Hypothesis 6 Counterproductive work behaviour is higher in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

As women are reported to be less tolerant of rule breaking than men (Eagly 2005) and more socially and harmoniously oriented, more caring and more concerned about others (Heilman 2001), then it may be hypothesized that under Corporate Psychopaths female counterproductive work behaviour will be lower than for males in the same situation.

Hypothesis 7 Counterproductive work behaviour in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths will be lower among women than among men.

The amount of counterproductive work behaviour present in the form of sabotage behaviour and of production deviance was, therefore, investigated. The theory is that reported levels of both sabotage and production deviance will be significantly higher in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Measures of sabotage used here include whether employees have purposely wasted their employer's materials, whether they have purposely damaged equipment or purposely dirtied or littered the place of employment. Measures of production deviance include whether employees have purposely done work incorrectly, worked slowly when things needed to get done or purposely failed to follow instructions.

Methods

In line with previous research on psychopathy in the workplace the psychopathy measure used was treated as both a continuous and a categorical variable. Debate is ongoing concerning whether psychopaths are a discrete group of people or a continuum of those who score towards the top end of a scale of psychopathy (Board and Fritzon 2005). Psychologists and management researchers sometimes treat them categorically: UK researchers recently examined the distribution of psychopathy among a sample of 638 adults (Coid and Yang 2008). Using the PCL:SV (Psychopathy Checklist Screening Version), a measure of psychopathy used worldwide, Coid and Yang found there to be an exceptional rise in behavioural problems in people who scored beyond 11.8, in line with the recommended cut-off score (12) to identify psychopaths on that particular psychopathy measure. They concluded that psychopathy can usefully be categorically defined because subjects become an exceptional risk for indulging in bad behaviour at a score of 12 and above (Coid and Yang 2008). Psychopathy has become a commonly researched personality construct in psychology (Boddy 2010a). Hervey Cleckley was an early leader in the field who identified sixteen characteristics of psychopaths. Subsequent researchers identified a sub-set of these as measures for identifying Corporate Psychopaths.

They are emotionally shallow, calculating and cold, glib and superficially charming, have a grandiose sense of self-worth, are pathological liars, good at conning and manipulating others and have no remorse about harming others; they are also callous and lacking in empathy and fail to take responsibility for their own actions.

Others agree that these traits are the core elements describing a psychopath (Cooke and Michie 2001; Cooke et al. 2004a, b, 2005; Neumann et al. 2005). This set of characteristics has been developed into a measure of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths within organisations, called the "Psychopathy Measure—Management Research Version" (PM—MRV) (Boddy 2010a).

Respondents were informed that the current research was a survey of management behaviour. To avoid biased responses to the questionnaire, respondents were informed that the survey was anonymous and confidential both in terms of the respondent and the manager(s) they reported on. In order to boost the potential sample of psychopaths in the total sample, the questionnaire contained questions about the respondent's current manager and about a dysfunctional manager, if one had been experienced. The PM—MRV was built into the questionnaire and used to determine the presence or absence of psychopaths in workplaces. In line with this measure, and the items specifically related to Corporate Psychopaths, respondents were asked to rate their current or past managers in terms of whether those characteristics were present, somewhat present or not present.

Typically, subjects who score 75 % or more on common psychopathy measures are judged to be psychopathic. In line with previous research, the PM—MRV measure of

eight types of behaviour was scored as 0 (not present), 1 (somewhat present) or 2 (present). The maximum score possible, therefore, was sixteen (2 9 8) and the minimum was zero (0 9 8).

In line with the usual procedures for the classification of psychopathy, scores of 13 and above were taken to indicate the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. Scores of 9–12 were taken to indicate the presence of Dysfunctional Managers (dysfunctional in that some psychopathy was evident) in an organisation. The managers of respondents, who were scored at 8 or less on the scale, were called Normal Managers for our purposes. Cross tabulations of responses were then examined for significant differences in results.

Sample

A self-completion on-line survey of 304, senior (mainly managerial and professional) white collar employees in Britain was undertaken to investigate this subject in 2011. Such self-completion questionnaires are reported to be good for use in management research because their inherent confidentiality encourages, candid, truthful responses among respondents (Buchanan 2008). Respondents were selected from a survey panel of white collar and managerial employees who worked in a very wide variety of businesses. Respondents could rate more than one manager they had worked, providing a total of 446 responses from 304 respondents. Respondents were 53.3 % male. Respondents were all aged 21 and over with 19.4 % being 21–30; 31.3 % were aged 31–40; 20.4 % aged 41–50 and 21.1 % aged 51–60 with the remaining 7.9 % being 61 and over. 45.7 % of respondents worked for a company with 1–50 employees, 25.0 % of respondents worked for a company with 51–250 employees and 29.3 % of respondents worked for a company with over 250 employees.

Instrument Reliability

Psychologists believe that psychopaths can be identified by observation and there is evidence from numerous studies that psychopathic traits are detectable by ordinary untrained people who are well acquainted with the psychopaths concerned (Mahaffey and Marcus 2006; Lilienfeld and Andrews 1996). Fowler and Lilienfeld (2007) speculate that observer ratings from people who are well acquainted with their peers could reveal pockets of incremental validity in terms of identifying psychopaths. There is some consistency of opinion among psychologists on this point.

A reliability coefficient (a) of 0.7 is considered acceptable in research (Radhakrishna 2007; Norland 1990) although some suggest that 0.6 is acceptable (Todd et al. 2004). Using

Cronbach's a as a measure of internal consistency, the coefficient for this research construct of the Corporate Psychopath was very strong at 0.93. This high coefficient was also found in the Australian research (Boddy 2011a) and is unsurprising given the well-established nature of this type of psychopathy measure. In the case of this research, the a levels for the Corporate Psychopaths construct would not be improved by deletion of any of the eight individual items in the construct and the inter-item correlations were all positive. This was again consistent with the finding as in the Australian research using the same psychopathy measure in 2008. That these statistical measures were nearly identical in the British and Australian research studies underlines the reliability of the findings.

The coefficient for the construct of counterproductive work behaviour was also strong at 0.93 for all respondents in the current British sample. The a levels for the construct of counterproductive work behaviour would not be improved by the deletion of any of the individual items in the construct and the inter-item correlations were all positive. The coefficient for the construct of employee affective well-being was 0.91 for all respondents. This could also not be improved by item deletion.

Similarly, the coefficient for the construct of conflict was 0.89 for all respondents which could also not be improved by item deletion. The items detailed below relate to the hypothesis that employees who work in workplaces where managers are perceived to demonstrate the traits associated with high levels of psychopathy will report lower levels of counterproductive work behaviour, than those who do not. Following Spector and Jex (1998) descriptions, the items measuring counterproductive work behaviour in relation to sabotage and production deviance were whether respondents had ever:

(1) Purposely wasted their employer's materials or supplies.
(2) Purposely damaged a piece of equipment or property.
(3) Purposely dirtied or littered their place of work.
(4) Purposely done their work incorrectly.
(5) Purposely worked slowly when things needed to get done or
(6) Purposely failed to follow instructions.

Following a modified (Boddy 2011a) version of Spector and Jex (1998) interpersonal conflict at work scale, the items measuring conflict asked respondents how often they ever:

(1) Got into arguments with others at work.
(2) Experienced people yelling at them at work.
(3) Experienced people being rude to them at work.
(4) Witnessed the unfavourable treatment of one employee by another at work (used as a measure of bullying).

This construct (conflict) achieved a Cronbach's a of 0.78 when it was used in Australian research in 2008 and was judged to have good face validity in use. In this current research, it again achieved a good a of 0.89. Employee-affective well-being was measured using a modified sub-set of the job-related affective well-being scale (Van Katwyk et al. 2000) and by asking respondents whether their job made them feel:

(1) Angry.
(2) Anxious.
(3) At ease.
(4) Bored.
(5) Calm.
(6) Content.
(7) Depressed.
(8) Discouraged.

Analysis

Cross-tabulated by the three groups (Normal Managers, Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths), results were analyzed for significant differences using T test measures of statistical significance (Kinnear and Gray 2000; Harris 2000; Garner 2005). The presence of both Dysfunctional Managers and Corporate Psychopaths was found to significantly affect perceptions of levels of conflict and counterproductive work behaviour in organisations.

Table 1 below demonstrates that all the elements of conflict and of the counterproductive work behaviour constructs were highly significantly different, in a negative direction, when Corporate Psychopaths were present. Using T tests as the significance test (Taplin 2008), results show that nearly all results were significantly different at the 99 % (P \ 0.01) or 95 % (P \ 0.05) levels.

Means in Table 1 above and Table 2 (below) are mean frequencies of experiencing behaviour in the past year.

The scale used went from 'Never', coded as 0 times per year, to 'once to eleven times per year' coded as 6 times per year 'once to three times per month, coded as 24 times per year 'once to four times per week' coded as 120 times per year and 'every day' coded as 240 times per year. Frequencies were based on 240 working days per year.

Table 2 shows differences between males and females in terms of mean frequencies of indulging in counterproductive work behaviour under a Corporate Psychopath manager.

In the following part of the analysis, a calculation to uncover the extent of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths as they are currently to be found in the working population is made.

Therefore, in Table 3, only ratings of current managers are used to establish the numbers in the distribution of managers across the three groups analyzed. The second row in Table 3 shows the mean number of incidents per year of displaying the behaviour in question. This mean was computed based on all responses (to ensure that means are based on robust sample sizes) using numerical values, in terms of times per year that each type of behaviour was reported by respondents. For example if a respondent reported that they had never witnessed the unfavourable treatment of others at work then, then this was given a numerical value of 0. If they reported that they had witnessed this every day then this was given a value of 240.

The third row shows the number of cases per year of displaying the behaviour in question. This is simply the number of people in each sub-group of managers multiplied by the mean number of times per year of the behaviour. By computing the total number of cases involved in the sample, the percentage of total cases associated with each group can be established. The last row in Table 3 thus shows the percentage of the total cases per year of the behaviour in question, which are accounted for by each of the three sub-groups, i.e. this last row (row 4) shows row, not column percentages. It can be seen (i.e. in column four, fourth row) that of all cases reported of ever witnessing unfavourable treatment of others (bullying) at work, 35.2 % of them were associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. This figure is a measure of the magnitude of the influence of Corporate Psychopaths. Significant differences in means are indicated in the table, using T tests.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had ever experienced various measures of conflict, including bullying. The results are shown in Table 4. These percentages indicate the pervasiveness of Corporate Psychopaths' influence. The mean frequencies shown in Table 1 illustrate the mean number of times per year that behaviour such as bullying, for example, was observed.

The percentages below show how many people experienced each type of behaviour. The figures add qualitatively to understanding of the phenomenon. The difference in proportions test for two proportions was applied to the percentages in Table 4 to test for significant differences. The percentages for Dysfunctional Managers were compared to those for Normal Managers, and the percentages for Corporate Psychopaths were also compared to those for Normal Managers.

Means in Table 5 are mean scores on a five-point scale consisting of Never (1), Rarely (2), Sometimes (3), Quite Often (4) and Extremely Often (5). Thus, the higher the score the higher the attribute is associated with the presence of the (normal, dysfunctional or psychopathic) manager concerned.

Table 6 shows differences between males and females in terms of mean levels of reported affective well-being under managers who are Corporate Psychopaths.

Table 7 shows the Pearson's correlations between the different constructs used.

Table 1 Means, standard deviations and significance scores for frequencies of items in the constructs of counterproductive work behaviour and conflict

Means, standard deviations and significance scores for frequencies of items in the constructs of counterproductive work behaviour and conflict (N = 446)	NM X	NM Sd	DM X	DM Sd	CP X	CP Sd	T test NM/DM	T test (NM/CP)
Purposely wasted employer's materials or supplies	6.1	22.9	20.5	45.4	22.5	54.7	0.01***	0.01***
Purposely damaged a piece of equipment or property	3.3	14.0	9.9	32.8	8.4	26.7	0.10*	0.10*
Purposely dirtied or littered their place of work	3.0	15.5	6.3	28.1	11.6	33.0	NS	0.05**
Purposely did their work incorrectly	3.7	20.2	6.7	28.2	14.9	47.0	NS	0.05**
Purposely worked slowly when things needed to get done	2.2	9.1	14.2	37.8	19.6	51.7	0.01***	0.01***
Purposely failed to follow instructions	3.3	15.4	13.7	36.1	17.8	50.8	0.01***	0.01***
Got into arguments with others	8.9	23.1	37.9	61.3	59.7	68.4	0.01***	0.01***
Experienced others yelling at them	9.4	33.7	32.3	62.5	42.4	66.4	0.01***	0.01***
Experienced people being rude to them	11.5	34.8	36.6	50.1	63.5	76.7	0.01***	0.01***
Witnessed unfavourable treatment of one employee by another	13.2	38.2	52.1	75.1	84.4	88.7	0.01***	0.01***

Statistical key: NS not significant; 99 % level of confidence *** P \ 0.01; 95 % level of confidence ** P \ 0.05; 90 % level of confidence * P \ 0.10

Table 2 Male and female mean frequencies for counterproductive work behaviour under corporate psychopaths

Mean frequencies in counterproductive work behaviour by gender (N = 97)	Corporate psychopaths present		T test
	Male employees (N = 53)	Female employees (N = 44)	Males/ females
Purposely wasted employer's materials or supplies	24.5	20.1	NS
Purposely damaged a piece of equipment or property	7.1	9.8	NS
Purposely dirtied or littered their place of work	13.1	9.7	NS
Purposely did their work incorrectly	16.1	13.4	NS
Purposely worked slowly when things needed to get done	23.9	14.5	NS
Purposely failed to follow instructions	25.3	8.9	*

Statistical key: NS not significant; significant at 80 % level of confidence * P \ 0.20

Table 3 Reported frequency of witnessing unfavourable treatment of others at work

Reported frequency of witnessing unfavourable treatment of others at work (bullying)	Normal managers present (N = 231)	Dysfunctional managers present (N = 40)	Corporate psychopaths present (N = 33)
Mean frequency per year	13.2	52.1***	84.4***
Cases per year computed from above figures (total = 7,918)	3,049	2,084	2,785
Cases per year associated with each group expressed as a percentage of all cases	38.5 %	26.3 %	35.2 %

Statistical key: 99 % level of confidence *** P \ 0.01

Correlations Between Current Manager Psychopathy Scores and Counterproductive Work behaviour

The internal consistency of the 6 items comprising the current counterproductive work behaviours scale was high: Cronbach's a = 0.93. As predicted, current manager psychopathy total scores were significantly correlated with total counterproductive work behaviours (r = 0.29, P \ 0.001).

Correlations Between Current Manager Psychopathy Scores and Conflict

The internal consistency of the 4 items comprising the conflict scale was high: Cronbach's a = 0.89. As predicted, current manager psychopathy total scores were significantly correlated with total conflict (r = 0.50, P \ 0.001).

Table 4 Reported incidence of experiencing conflict and bullying

Reported incidence of experiencing conflict and bullying Base: all respondents (N = 304)	Normal managers present (N = 231)	Dysfunctional managers present (N = 40)	Corporate psychopaths present (N = 33)
Ever got into an argument with others at work	44.6 %	80.0 %***	100.0 %***
Ever experienced people yelling at respondent at work	21.6 %	52.5 %***	78.8 %***
Ever experienced people being rude at work	37.7 %	80.0 %***	93.9 %***
Ever witnessed unfavourable treatment of others at work (bullying)	38.5 %	87.5 %***	97.0 %***

Statistical key: 99 % level of confidence *** P \ 0.01

Table 5 Means, standard deviations and significance scores of items in the construct of employee affective well-being

Means, standard deviations and significance scores for items in the construct of employee affective well-being Base: all responses (N = 446)	NM $\bar{x}$	NM Sd	DM $\bar{x}$	DM Sd	CP $\bar{x}$	CP Sd	T test NM/DM	T test NM/CP
Angry	2.39	1.03	3.52	1.03	3.68	1.03	***	***
Anxious	2.48	1.08	3.34	0.98	3.67	1.06	***	***
At ease	3.59	1.08	2.67	0.97	2.42	0.93	***	***
Bored	2.35	1.03	3.15	1.27	2.92	1.23	***	***
Calm	3.24	1.08	2.54	0.97	2.33	1.04	***	***
Content	3.46	1.04	2.63	0.82	2.40	1.04	***	***
Depressed	2.19	1.02	3.22	1.15	3.48	1.19	***	***
Discouraged	2.28	0.98	3.42	1.06	3.68	0.93	***	***

Statistical key: 99 % level of confidence *** P \ 0.01

Table 6 Male and female means for employee affective well-being

Male and female means for employee affective well-being	Corporate psychopaths present		T test
Base: all responses where corporate psychopaths were present (N = 97)	Male employees (N = 53)	Female employees (N = 44)	Males/ females
Angry	3.75	3.59	NS
Anxious	3.62	3.73	NS
At ease	2.45	2.39	NS
Bored	2.81	3.05	NS
Calm	2.40	2.25	NS
Content	2.47	2.32	NS
Depressed	3.40	3.59	NS
Discouraged	3.58	3.80	NS

Statistical key: NS not significant (even down to levels of 80 % confidence, P \ 0.20)

Correlations Between Current Manager Psychopathy Scores and Employee Affective Well-Being

The internal consistency of the 8 items comprising employee affective well-being was high: Cronbach's a = 0.91. As predicted, current manager psychopathy total scores were significantly correlated with total employee affective well-being (r = 0.29, P \ 0.001).

Discussion

As literature suggested, there are high and significant correlations between conflict (including bullying) and counterproductive work behaviour. The first hypothesis is supported. Conflict, including a single measure of bullying within the construct, has a Pearson's correlation of 0.418 with the construct of counterproductive work behaviour. However, as found previously and as predicted above, there is also a high and significant correlation between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and conflict at 0.504, supporting the idea that Corporate Psychopaths are key contributors to conflict and bullying and through this to low employee affective well-being and high counterproductive work behaviour.

A simple numerical calculation of the total number of incidences of witnessing unfavourable treatment (bullying) of others, broken down by type of manager, reveals that 35.2 % of all bullying was associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths. The same calculation from an Australian study provided a figure of 26 % of all bullying being associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths.

These findings support Babiak, Hare and Clarke's theoretical contention, that Corporate Psychopaths are major organisational instigators of bullying, and of the

Table 7 Pearson's correlation matrix for constructs, based on all respondents ratings of their current managers (N = 304)

Pearson's correlations	Scale means	Standard deviation	Corporate psychopathy	Conflict	Employee affective well-being	Counterproductive work behaviour
Corporate psychopathy	12.68	4.92	1			
Conflict	7.21	3.65	0.504	1		
Employee affective well-being	20.63	6.91	0.291	0.445	1	
Counterproductive work behaviour	8.05	3.95	0.285	0.418	0.524	1

development of a culture of bullying. To modify a phrase developed from Brown and Treviño's work, it appears from the findings that unethical leadership (in the form of Corporate Psychopaths) is not only a question of behaving incorrectly but also of setting a bad example and motivating others to behave badly (Treviño et al. 2006).

As shown in Table 1 where Corporate Psychopaths were not present the average number of incidents per year of witnessing unfavourable treatment of others (bullying) at work was 13.2 (about once every 4 weeks) whereas it was 84.4 (about 1.6 times per week) when Corporate Psychopaths were present. It is a similar situation for the other elements of conflict.

For example, in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were not present the average number of incidents per year of getting into arguments with others at work was 8.9 times whereas it was 59.7 times when Corporate Psychopaths were present. The second hypothesis is, therefore, supported as the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is strongly associated with the existence of conflict in an organisation. Table 3 showing that Corporate Psychopaths account for 35.2 % of all bullying also provides strong support for this hypothesis. Table 3 shows that where there were no Corporate Psychopaths present 38.5 % of employees reported ever witnessing unfavourable treatment of others (bullying) at work compared to the significantly greater figure of 97 % for employees in organisations where Corporate Psychopaths were present.

In other words, when Corporate Psychopaths are present conflict and bullying occurs more frequently and affects more employees than when they are not present.

In terms of employee-affective well-being, when Corporate Psychopaths are present then employees are significantly (P \ 0.01) more likely to feel angry, anxious, bored, depressed and discouraged and significantly less likely to feel at ease, calm or content. The fourth hypothesis that employee-affective well-being is lower in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is, therefore, supported. The fifth hypothesis that employee-affective well-being in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths will be lower for females than for males is not supported. The mean scores of females working under Corporate Psychopaths in terms of employee-affective well-being were not significantly

different to those of males working under Corporate Psychopaths and this held true even down to an 80 % level (P \ 0.20) of confidence. Furthermore, there was no consistency in the pattern of results: males scored higher on some items, females on others. This suggests that the overall negative effect on well-being of having a Corporate Psychopath present applies equally to male and female employees. However, within this there may be a differential effect but this requires further investigation. Under Corporate Psychopaths on average both men and women feel angry, anxious, depressed and discouraged.

The research supports the view that toxic and unethical leadership, as embodied in Corporate Psychopaths, is negatively related to subordinates attitudes and behaviour, i.e. as expressed in manifestations of counterproductive work behaviour. This supports social learning theory which implies that a subordinate learns negative behaviour from their unethical managers (Bandura 2006; Rotter et al. 1972).

It also supports social exchange theory (Gouldner 1960; Blau 1964/1986; Emerson 1976), which implies that employees will respond negatively to unfair treatment. Of the ten individual items in the construct of counterproductive work behaviour, seven were significantly higher in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths at a 99 % level of confidence (P \ 0.01), two at a 95 % level (P \ 0.05) and the remaining one at a 90 % level of confidence (P \ 0.10). The sixth hypothesis that counterproductive work behaviour is higher in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is, therefore, supported.

Under Corporate Psychopaths female respondents consistently (in five out of six measures) reported lower frequencies of counterproductive work behaviour across the board, than males did. This was not significant at 95 % (P \ 0.05) levels of confidence. In this research, the mean scores for counterproductive work behaviour for females working under Corporate Psychopaths were not significantly different than those for males in the same situation except for one item (Table 2, item: purposive failure to follow instructions) at a low (80 %, P \ 0.20) level of confidence. Therefore, the seventh hypothesis that counterproductive work behaviour in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths will be lower among females than among

males is not supported. Nevertheless, because of the consistent pattern of female response in terms of lower levels of counterproductive work behaviour than males in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and bearing in mind the small sample sizes for this part of the analysis, it may be that the sample sizes were too small to pick up a significant difference. This result, therefore, could usefully be further researched.

The implications of these research findings for employees are that counterproductive work behaviour such as sabotage and the deliberate slowing of productivity may be manifestations of employee anger, anxiety, depression and discontent (low well-being) due to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths causing a toxic work environment as evidenced by a culture of conflict and bullying. Employers should recognise that ignoring conflict and bullying perpetuates it and probably, in line with social learning and exchange theories, exacerbates and facilitates it. Social actions may have equal and opposite reactions and bullying in a toxic environment, if not dealt with by the organisation, may result in counterproductive work behaviour as well as low levels of employee well-being and the consequences of lowered firm success that this is already associated with.

Limitations

This research was constrained by resources and was based on a medium sized sample (N = 304) of representative respondents in one state (the United Kingdom). Ideally, a strictly random and much larger sample of corporate employees could be used to generate findings which were more statistically robust. A random sample across more states/countries would allow for the increased ability to generalise from the findings. A larger sample would allow for increased levels of certainty regarding some of the sub-analysis performed, for example in examining the issue of the male versus female experience of working under a Corporate Psychopath.

Future Research

Future research into Corporate Psychopaths could investigate the differences, if any, between the male and female experiences of working with or for Corporate Psychopaths. Also, other unexplored areas, as mentioned in the article, include investigating possibly important links between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and employee stress and healthiness.

Implications for Business Ethics Education

The need for and value of ethics education in business schools has been called for and recognised by business ethics theorists and commentators, particularly in view of the multiple recent ethical lapses in businesses (Jennings 2004; Boddy 2010b; Poff 2007; Yoo and Donthu 2002; Bloodgood et al. 2010; Tang and Chen 2010). However, in the light of the emerging evidence concerning the unethical practices of Corporate Psychopaths in business this need for training and education may be even greater than anticipated. This is because there is both theoretical speculation and increasing empirical evidence that more unethical characters such as Machiavellians, psychopaths and narcissists are attracted into business (and into business schools) than into other areas of organisational life (Wilson and McCarthy 2011; Boddy 2011b) and furthermore, that the incidence levels of such egotistical personality trait are rising (Webster and Harmon 2002; Westerman et al. 2012). Those working in business are thus increasingly likely to come across such individuals and increasingly likely to have to make ethical business decisions in the face of pressure to do otherwise.

Businesspeople arguably need to be equipped with the awareness of this, with knowledge of the strategies that are adopted by people with unethical personalities and with the intellectual ability to make their own ethical assessments. Such education may also be seen by students as being more relevant, practical and involving than other, more abstract education in ethical issues in business can be (Pamental 1991).

Conclusions

Research into toxic leadership, as embodied in Corporate Psychopaths, and counterproductive work behaviour is scarce and this study helps to fill this gap thereby making an important contribution to the literature. Findings support the idea that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is predictive of counterproductive work behaviour. This adds to our understanding of Corporate Psychopaths as it is the first such published finding.

Furthermore, this study reports on research that for the first time, examines differences between male and female behavioural reactions in the form of counterproductive work behaviour and employee affective well-being, to the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in management. This adds to the literature on psychopathy and gender. The article thus makes a contribution to the ethical leadership and psychopathy literature by examining the influence of toxic and unethical leaders, in the form of Corporate Psychopaths, on counterproductive work behaviour.

The theoretical expectation that Corporate Psychopaths will cause conflict in the workplace is strongly supported, as it was in a past (2008) study in Australia. In particular, Corporate Psychopaths are associated with bullying to a large and significant extent. As a contribution to theory the

results from this and the previous research in Australia support social learning and social exchange theory and also suggest that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths may be the biggest single contributor to conflict and bullying in any organisational setting. This finding suggests that further research into the mechanisms by which psychopathy, conflict and bullying are linked would be illuminating.

In this current research, conflict is associated with high levels of counterproductive work behaviour including all the elements measured of sabotage and production deviance. The arguments around the calls for the screening of Corporate Psychopaths in senior positions within corporations are thereby strengthened. Corporate Psychopaths are demonstrably disruptive to the effective running of organisations. Corporations that wish to maximize the well-being of their employees and to minimize conflict and bullying will have to minimize their employment of Corporate Psychopaths or carefully manage their behaviour. Similarly, corporations which desire to minimize wasted materials, property damage, dirtied work environments, incorrectly undertaken work, slow production and employee failure to follow instructions will have to minimize their employment of Corporate Psychopaths or carefully manage them. Arguably, the greater the seniority of the position within a corporation, the greater the capacity there is for constructive behaviour that benefits the corporation and its stakeholders.

However, this simultaneously presents a greater capacity for destruction. Therefore, it is logical to propose that the higher the position that is to be filled by new recruitment, the more beneficial it would be to screen job applicants for psychopathy. This raises multiple and extensive ethical issues which have partially been discussed elsewhere (Boddy et al. 2010; Boddy 2011b) but which revolve around balancing the individual rights of the person with no conscience, the psychopath, with the rights of other employees, stakeholders and the corporation itself. In other words doing more social good for the corporation, in line with some views on ethical theory directed at bringing about general well-being at a practical level (Hodgson 2001), may result in lesser good for the Corporate Psychopath.

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Chapter 5: Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organizations and Corporate Psychopaths

The title of the published paper that is the fifth chapter of this thesis is: "Extreme Managers, Extreme Workplaces: Capitalism, Organisations and Corporate Psychopaths". This article was published in the journal; "Organization", vol. 2, no.4, pp. 530-551.

Adopting a constructivist, interpretive approach to scientific enquiry, this paper contributes to our empirical knowledge of how abusive and bullying corporate psychopaths are towards other employees in the workplace.

Extreme managers, extreme workplaces: Capitalism, organizations and corporate psychopaths

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Abstract
This article reports on qualitative research carried out in England in 2013. Participants were five organizational directors and two senior managers who had worked with six corporate psychopaths, as determined by a management psychopathy measure. The corporate psychopaths reported on displayed consistency in their approach to management. This approach was marked by high levels of abusive control. The corporate psychopaths were seen as being organizational stars and as deserving of awards by those above them, while they simultaneously subjected those below them to extreme behaviour, including bullying, intimidation and coercion. The corporate psychopaths also engaged in extreme forms of mismanagement characterized by poor personnel management, directionless leadership, mismanagement of resources and fraud.

Keywords
abusive management, corporate psychopaths, extreme managers, extreme workplaces, neoliberal capitalism, organizations

Introduction

In the current era of 'casino capitalism' (Sinn, 2010; Strange, 1997), where managers are reported to be experiencing increasing, significant, progressively intense work pressures (McCann et al., 2008), including work overload and bullying (Boyle et al., 2013), research into the role of corporate psychopaths provides valuable insights. Corporate psychopathy theory has provided one means of understanding the increasing rise of psychopathic managers as toxic and bullying leaders

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(Lipman-Blumen, 2004, 2005) within organizations in western capitalist societies (Boddy, 2011a, 2012; Wexler, 2008).

With their conscience-free approach to life (Hare, 1999) and willingness to lie to present themselves in the best possible light, corporate psychopaths are to some extent products of modern business. In particular, the increasing pace of business and fast turnover of personnel combined with the relatively shallow appointment procedures, which do not uncover their personality flaws, has allowed them to advance (Boddy, 2011a). Furthermore, western business has promoted psychopathic managers because of their ruthless willingness to 'get the job done'. However, as they attain senior positions, corporate psychopaths have become architects of ruthlessness as they create a culture of extremes.

Their characteristics of being ultra-rational, financially oriented managers with no emotional concern for or empathy with other employees (Boddy et al., 2009), marks them as apparently useful to the style of capitalism (Friedman, 1970) that is merely profit oriented. This may be illustrated by a brief examination of one CEO who has been nominated as possessing some psychopathic traits, Albert Dunlap.

A number of potential candidates for the title of corporate psychopath (or its synonyms) have been nominated. In an article about sociopaths—a term commonly synonymous with that of psychopaths (but arguably of different meaning see (Pemment, 2013)—Bernard Ebbers was mentioned in relation to his role in the US$11 billion fraud at Worldcom. Similarly, Ken Lay, Jeff Skilling and Andy Fastow were also mentioned in relation to the Enron scandal (Ferrari, 2006). Enron's Skilling was mentioned as possessing the traits of a corporate psychopath being manipulative, glib, lying, bullying, egocentric and lacking in remorse (Perri, 2013). Fastow has also been described as displaying many of the traits of a corporate psychopath (Jarirdar, 2010). Bernard Madoff, the ex-Chairman of Nasdaq, a competitor to the New York Stock Exchange, has been called a sociopath (Henriques, 2012) as well as a potential psychopath (Winarick, 2010).

Albert Dunlap was mentioned as a possible psychopath (Deutschman, 2005) as well as being discussed by Hare as a possible corporate psychopath (Ronson, 2011). Dunlap was the CEO of Scott Paper and then Sunbeam Corporation in the United States. Dunlap was at first lauded by analysts on Wall Street and known as 'Chainsaw Al Dunlap' because of his ruthless and bullying approach to cutting costs and callous indifference to firing employees (Long, 2002). Callousness is a key trait of psychopaths and Dunlap has been described as being outrageously callous (Kellerman, 2005). Furthermore, the more people he fired, the more the share price increased.

At Scott Paper, Dunlap started in 1994 and soon shed about US$2 billion of assets and laid-off a third of the global workforce. To many analysts, such a strategy suggested a move to make Scott Paper an attractive acquisition target (rather than a successful growing organization), and indeed by the end of 1995, Dunlap had organized the sale of the corporation to its competitor, Kimberley Clark. This caused more layoffs at both companies, whereas Dunlap's severance package was activated, and he left with a reported US$100m. Scott Paper's headquarters was closed, and in total, about 11,000 people lost their jobs during Dunlap's management. At Sunbeam, the share price initially increased 50% after Dunlap's appointment as Wall Street looked forward to a repeat performance of factory closures and mass redundancies.

This possible role as the lauded agents of capitalism marks corporate psychopaths as worthy of further investigation. As a part of such an investigation, this article qualitatively examines the experience of organizational managers who reported working with individual psychopathic managers. The article examines the extreme nature of the workplace that is created by these psychopathic managers and reports on some of the outcomes of attempting to work with them. Of the six corporate psychopaths investigated in these seven interviews, only one has been brought to account for his actions and jailed.

This research is important because there is deemed to be a lack of research into psychopaths within corporations and what the implications of this presence may be, and several calls for further research in this area have been made (Babiak et al., 2010; Boddy, 2006; Smith and Lilienfeld, 2013).

Also, corporate psychopathy theory posits that changes in the speed of personnel turnover within corporations are making it easier for psychopaths to advance because there is not enough time for colleagues to recognize their destructive character traits (Boddy, 2011a). Psychologists imply that corporations, by using less structured and longitudinal methods of personnel assessment, facilitate the rise of corporate psychopaths, as these possible barriers to their advancement are removed (Babiak et al., 2010). In such an environment, the superficial charm of the corporate psychopath, together with their willingness to lie and ability to present a false persona of competence and commitment, makes them appear to be ideal leaders. This is particularly the case with those above the corporate psychopaths who do not interact with them on a day-to-day basis and so do not know them well. This implies that there is a need to understand the effects of the presence of corporate psychopaths in organizations. The current research helps in furthering this understanding. First, there is a brief introduction to corporate psychopaths.

Corporate psychopaths

Psychopaths are people with a constellation of behavioural traits that marks them as uniquely ruthless in their parasitic, care-free, predatory approach to life (Boddy, 2006; Connelly et al., 2006; Hare, 1994). Psychologists have not reached a conclusion as to the causes of psychopathy. However, patterns of similar brain dysfunction have been associated with the personality, with particular impairment in the orbital-frontal cortex being evident (Blair, 2001, 2008; Perez, 2012). Causality is implied but not established, and, for example, physical damage to this area of the brain can result in the onset of psychopathic behaviour (Blair and Cipolotti, 2000).

Some psychopaths are prone to instrumental violence, which is violence with a further purpose, such as robbery (Blair, 2001), in order to get what they want, and these violent criminal psychopaths tend to end up in prison (Hare, 1994). More successful psychopaths have been less frequently studied. However, they may have better cognitive levels of executive functioning, for example, in the orbital-frontal cortex of the brain and may retain the ability to control their impulses, enabling them to seek corporate rather than criminal careers (Mullins-Sweatt et al., 2010). Such psychopaths have been called 'Industrial', 'Executive', 'Organizational' or 'Corporate' psychopaths, to differentiate them from their more commonly known criminal peers (Babiak, 1995; Babiak and O'Toole, 2012; Boddy, 2006; Morse, 2004). The term 'corporate psychopath' has been adopted as the usual term for such people (Babiak and O'Toole, 2012; Boddy, 2011d; Hare, 1999). Corporate psychopaths may cross the line into criminal activity, and fraud is theoretically considered to be common among corporate psychopaths. However, as yet, there remains little empirical evidence concerning corporate psychopaths as white-collar criminals (Lesha and Lesha, 2012). Perri (2013) makes a persuasive argument that psychopathy is a risk factor for fraud. Furthermore, Perri (2013) states that several frauds have involved CEOs and chief financial officers (CFOs) with psychopathic traits. In terms of the estimated incidence of psychopathy in the population, a UK study found a 0.6% incidence with a statistical confidence level of 95%, indicating that the true figure may be somewhere between 0.2% and 1.6% (Coid et al., 2009a). This corresponds with the figure of 1% that psychology researchers have quoted for the incidence level of psychopathy (Babiak and Hare, 2006: 18).

Research method

One approach to studying psychopaths is to ask people whether they have come across such personalities, confirming this with the use of a psychopathy measure. This approach entails asking participants how those psychopathic managers behaved and how others reacted. This was the approach adopted in a study by Mullins-Sweatt et al. (2010) which identified successful psychopaths, defined as being those psychopaths who succeed in their exploitative approach to life. Boddy et al. (2010a) have also used this approach successfully. Following this approach, current research adopted a qualitative methodology. Instead of asking respondents to complete a questionnaire, they were questioned in-depth using semi-structured interviews to solicit information about workplace psychopaths they had known.

A series of 1-hour interviews was conducted with four human resources (HR) directors and three other managers in the United Kingdom from April to September 2013. Academic researchers conducted the interviews, which were voice-recorded (with permission) and transcribed. The HR directors were a part of a HR group who had seen a presentation on corporate psychopaths. All but one said they had worked with such people. Usually in such presentations, around 35% of people claim to have worked with a corporate psychopath, and similar figures have been found in quantitative research (Boddy, 2010a, 2014). Presumably, the higher incidence of having come across corporate psychopaths among HR directors reflects the nature of their role in recruiting and managing senior managers and in dealing with problematic employees.

Research participants were shown a 10-item psychopathy measure called the 'Psychopathy Measure—Management Research Version 2' (PM-MRV2) (see Appendix 1) and asked which items on the measure applied to the potentially psychopathic manager they were referring to. In this qualitative research, a score of at least 8 out of 10 was used to identify subjects as corporate psychopaths. This is an abbreviated and statistically untested measure of psychopathy. However, it corresponds with other measures of psychopathy in use.

For example, an examination of the distribution of psychopathy among a representative sample of 638 UK adults, using the screening version of the Psychopathy Checklist Revised, was conducted. This research found an exponential rise in behavioural problems at a cut-off score of 11.8 on the psychopathy measure, which is in line with the recommended cut-off score (12 out of 16 or 75%) for that measure (Coid and Yang, 2008). They concluded that psychopathy can usefully be categorically defined because individuals become an exceptional risk at this score and above in terms of social and behavioural problems (Coid and Yang, 2008).

Psychopaths share some characteristics with narcissists and Machiavellians, and psychologists often research them as the so called dark triad of personalities (Paulhus and Williams, 2002). Some psychologists suggest that the 'dark triad' consists of three overlapping but distinct personality variables: narcissism, Machiavellianism and psychopathy (Jones and Figueredo, 2013). Others suggest that Machiavellians and psychopaths are so similar that they are essentially the same (McHoskey et al., 1998).

Narcissists can be exploitative and destructive leaders (Godkin and Allcorn, 2011; Maccoby, 2000; Nevicka et al., 2011; Rosenthal and Pittinsky, 2006; Stein, 2013). However, research is arguably moving towards a consensus that narcissism is the 'lightest' of the triad and that while Machiavellianism and psychopathy are very similar, psychopaths are the 'darkest' of the three personalities (Jones and Figueredo, 2013; Rauthmann and Kolar, 2012). For a view of the characteristics of the three personalities, see the following articles for a description of the 'dark triad', 'dirty dozen' measure (Jonason and Webster, 2010) and of an abbreviated measure of the original 'dark triad' measure (Jones and Paulhus, 2013).

The 'dark triad' literature is extensive and growing, and a discussion is beyond the scope of this article (see Furnham et al. (2013) for a recent review). From an examination of 'dark triad'

measures, it could be argued that the measure used in the current research may have been capturing Machiavellians rather than psychopaths. However, the extreme nature of the behaviour reported on appears to imply a lack of conscience which is characteristic of psychopaths but not necessarily of Machiavellians.

The main findings from the current research are included in this article. However, because of the sensitivity of the material and the potential danger to interviewees, the names of exact industries involved and job titles have been disguised or changed. Participants in the research—the interviewees—were particularly and understandably concerned about maintaining anonymity.

Findings

In terms of whether there is likely to be a psychopath in every organization, there is an ongoing debate. However, in simple terms, if psychopaths are 1% of the population, then, assuming a normal distribution, it is statistically likely that every organization of over 100 people will have a psychopath in it. The current research supports this view because nearly all the HR directors involved reported that they had worked with a corporate psychopath. Furthermore, all of the six managers nominated by interviewees as possible psychopaths did score highly enough on the management psychopathy measure to be called corporate psychopaths.

A recent article raised issues concerning workplace psychopaths, their incidence and the relative importance of studying their behaviour (Caponecchia et al., 2011). It suggests that because of the low incidence rate of psychopaths in the population then, not many employees will be affected by psychopaths. The authors expressed surprise at their finding that 13.4% of respondents reported, via a behavioural scale, that they worked with a psychopathic colleague. However, the incidence of employees who work with a corporate psychopath is a multiple of the incidence of corporate psychopaths. Therefore, if 1% of employees are corporate psychopaths, and assuming that people can accurately report on 5–15 other employees whom they know well, then expected incidence rates of working with corporate psychopaths should vary between 5% and 15%. The 2011 finding that 13.4% of research participants rated someone in their corporation as psychopathic then falls within expected levels. Caponecchia et al. also note that there are ethical issues involved in labelling people as psychopaths, and these are discussed elsewhere (Boddy et al., 2010a).

The corporate psychopaths investigated in the current research reportedly created a variety of extreme and dysfunctional workplaces. For example, the HR director involved in managing the psychopathic manager identified in interview 2 described the workplace as being extreme; first, in terms of staff withdrawal behaviour. Departmental staff turnover at about 40% per year was twice the average for the industry sector involved, and the reasons given for leaving were marked by fear. One employee, in tears, reported, 'it's horrible, I cannot say how, but it's all horrible' when giving in her resignation. In this case, the departmental head (the corporate psychopath) handled most resignations personally, without involving HR, and reported that a high turnover was because of the stress of working in such a highly efficient department:

> He (the corporate psychopath) ..., would say, 'oh they've lost their drive ... (He'd say) I don't think 'x' is performing very well; I am going to persuade them to go'. Then of course his superiors would think, gosh he's being proactive. He is really on top of his team. (HR director, interview 2)

This was an explanation that was accepted by the highly educated and professionally qualified principals of the professional services company involved.

Second, in the department headed by the corporate psychopath, the department's level of cooperation with other departments, notably with finance and HR, was extremely low. Post-crisis

examination (the presence of the corporate psychopath precipitated an organizational crisis) revealed that staff in the corporate psychopath's department had been warned not to deal with HR and finance other than through their departmental head (the psychopathic manager). This was to minimize the possibility of his fraudulent scheme coming to light. However, this lack of communication was what first alerted the suspicions of the HR director:

> I had suspicions about the Head of (named department) from when I first joined because of the way that he interacted with people because of the way that he preferred to do things quietly on a one-to-one. How lots of people at a senior level in the firm sang his praises but there seemed to be a slight atmosphere where people in his department were clearly quite intimidated and had been specifically told not to communicate with people in other departments. (HR director, interview 2)

Third, the department was managed via a culture of fear, involving the bullying and intimidation of junior staff and the coerced resignations of those unwilling to unquestioningly obey the psychopathic manager.

Another key manager was coerced, threatened with murder, and then blackmailed by the psychopath into cooperation with his fraud, and because of this had a nervous breakdown. Perri and Brody warn that psychopathy is a risk factor for fraud and further, that if a psychopath's fraud is thwarted, then violence and murder may result from this (Perri, 2010, 2011; Perri and Brody, 2011, 2012). Such links between psychopathy and white-collar criminal behaviour have been noted (Ragatz et al., 2012), and in the current research, a link between fraud and the threat of murder was evident:

> The man was vile but very clever, extremely good at managing upwards, so got promoted because everybody thought he was doing such a fantastic job and saving everybody so much money and he was crooked to the core and ruthless. (HR director, interview 2)

The manager embroiled by the corporate psychopath into the fraud believed that the lives of her family and herself were in danger if she disobeyed the psychopath. He had threatened to kill members of her family if she did not cooperate. That manager finally became a witness in the eventual prosecution and imprisonment of the psychopath. Other departmental members also reported that they had been in fear of their lives.

Fourth, and counter-intuitively to those unaware of the modus operandi of corporate psychopaths, prior to exposure, the workplace was marked by high levels of top management support for the corporate psychopath who perpetrated the fraud. The top managers of the business regarded him as being an extremely able manager who was highly efficient at running his department and at saving money for the firm. This expertise at cost cutting was actually from another manager—the manager who had been coerced into the fraud. Such claiming of the good work of others is thought to be typical of corporate psychopaths:

> He managed the relationship in a charming fashion entirely and pretty much every one thought he was a star until you hit that middle management layer who were having to provide a service to him and they hated him. (HR director, interview 2)

This good reputation among superiors was so positive that when the HR director first made the allegations, they were met with disbelief and denial by the main board members and accusations that the HR director was acting out of jealousy. Only when presented with specific evidence did the directors bring in fraud accountants.

This latter experience is in line with the expectations raised in the literature on toxic leadership and corporate psychopaths. Corporate psychopaths are described as being people who flatter those

above them while manipulating their peers and abusing those under them (Babiak, 1995; Boddy, 2011c). Reed describes toxic leaders as being malicious, malevolent and self-aggrandizing. People who manage by controlling, bullying and instilling fear rather than uplifting their followers while simultaneously appearing to their superiors to be enthusiastic, impressive and articulate managers (Reed, 2004). Similarly, Clarke and other psychology researchers describe corporate psychopaths as typically recognized as toxic leaders by their followers but not by their superiors (Boddy, 2011c; Boddy, et al., 2010b; Babiak, 1995; Babiak and Hare, 2006; Clarke, 2005, 2007). This is how psychopathic managers were regarded in the current research.

An extreme level of top management support for the corporate psychopath in interview 1 was evident. Those under the corporate psychopath judged him to be destroying the company from within by losing good staff, premises and clients and by eroding the reputation of the company, resulting in what was judged to be an unsustainable business. However, the main board (based overseas) gave him a financial excellence award.

Similarly for the psychopath discussed in interview 2, who was described as being charming and manipulative, which is in line with expectations from corporate psychopathy theory (Boddy, 2011a). Here, the directors of this global professional services organization were fooled by the apparent charm of the psychopath, while his bullying and fraudulent activities went unnoticed by them:

> (He had) ... Lots of superficial charm, lots of apparent intelligence, a smooth talker ... everybody thought, gosh, hasn't he done well ... the fact that he managed to get an MBA despite having next to no other qualifications and of course the MBA was completely fabricated! ... Extremely charming to superiors. The senior (directors) thought he was wonderful particularly as he was a rough diamond because most of them were public school educated or American Ivy League ..., I think they liked the fact that he was more of a contrast and yet clearly had skills they didn't have. (HR director, interview 2)

Staff withdrawal and turnover

In terms of staff turnover through resignations and firings, this aspect of the influence of having a psychopathic manager was a notable finding. This was evident from the discussion of interview 2 given above as well as those discussed below. This finding represents a useful contribution to knowledge. Corporate psychopaths have been theoretically expected to influence turnover, but there has been little empirical evidence to support this expectation. In the presence of corporate psychopaths, employees are significantly more likely to withdraw in terms of leaving work early, taking longer breaks, coming to work late and claiming to be sick than they are under normal managers (Boddy, 2011c), but there are no known quantitative findings on actual staff turnover. In the current research, high employee turnover was a commonly reported consequence of the presence of a corporate psychopath.

For example, in interview 3, one HR director reported the firing of employees who would be relatively unproductive in the short term (e.g. the training manager), as the principals of the company concerned concentrated on short-term profitability before a stock-market floatation. The HR director also reported that he decided to seek alternative employment from the first day in that job when he realized the way in which employees were treated. This corresponds with expectations from social exchange theory (Emerson, 1976; Nord, 1969) which are that employees engage in exchanges of reciprocal (Gouldner, 1960) positive or negative (Biron, 2010) behaviour. In the current research, this HR director came across negative supervisory behaviour towards employees in the form of the dismissal of employees who would have been of long-term benefit. This alerted the HR director to the probability that his own future with the organization

would not include a mutual exchange of benefits and commitment, and therefore, he would be better off working elsewhere.

In other words, there was going to be no positive psychological contract between the organization and its employee over and above the legal contract, and so, no compelling reason to stay with the organization. This corresponds with Turnley and Feldman's (1999) finding that psychological contract violations result in increased levels of employee withdrawal. They also found decreased levels of loyalty to the organization where such psychological contract violations existed (Turnley and Feldman, 1999).

In the current research, the HR director reported that he left in about 2 years, reporting that he stayed that long so that his employment with that organization did not look too short:

> I mean quite honestly as soon as that first incident with the apprenticeship issues came to light I suddenly thought well I ought to be planning my career move out of this establishment at the earliest opportunity which is what I set about doing. (HR director, interview 3)

This HR director also reported that the organization had a high turnover rate because good employees in that area at that time had other opportunities to be employed and would not tolerate poor-quality working environments. This aligns with theories of conversion, brand switching and organizational attrition which hold that other things being equal, the presence of attractive alternatives influences people to move their loyalty or commitment to these alternatives, be they religions, brands or organizations (Boddy, 2010c; Tinto, 1988):

> Well certainly in the factory managers' context turnover was high. … We did have high turnover because we had regular redundancies and it was an area of high employment which meant that people didn't have to hang around. If they didn't like what they had in terms of the work experience they moved on to other organizations. (HR director, interview 3)

This shows that the ruthless, money-oriented culture engendered by the presence of a corporate psychopath does affect individual turnover decisions. Firings for the sole purpose of short-term profitability do not go unnoticed by other employees who take note of the values and priorities displayed by top management.

Another interviewee reported that a psychopathic manager would get rid of any employees who he thought may prove to be a threat:

> If he didn't think he had complete, 100% loyalty within the juniors in his team, then he would basically lean on them to make them want to leave and hand in their resignation. (HR director, interview 2)

The HR director in interview 3 also mentioned that the presence of a psychopathic manager jeopardized the discretionary extra effort that employees can put into a business. Therefore, it is not just physical withdrawal that is influenced by the presence of corporate psychopaths but also emotional withdrawal:

> His selfish nature, his negativity around things that didn't suit his own particular agenda, his whimsical way in which he made decisions and people had to live with the consequences, the uncertainties of it all. All of that militated against a constructive business. (HR director, interview 3)

A rapid turnover of personnel in the department headed by a corporate psychopath in interview 4 was also reported. The research participant reported that he found out that his predecessors had all lasted about 18 months, whereas he lasted 14 months before resigning. This research participant

also reported physically withdrawing from the particular environment as often as he could by working in other parts of the plant.

In interview 1, the corporate psychopath's actions reportedly destroyed the morale and commitment of the advertising department. At the time of the interview, those who had not yet left were all planning to do so. This is in line with theoretical expectations because in the employee withdrawal literature, there is a clear link between commitment and intention to leave (Falkenburg and Schyns, 2007; Tett and Meyer, 1993). The psychopath had also reportedly divided the main (UK) board, and one board member had resigned in disgust, leaving the corporate psychopath even more in control.

Another example of an extreme form of staff turnover resulted from on-the-spot firings marked by an emotionless and uncaring attitude towards long serving staff. Corporate psychopaths are theorized to indulge in this kind of activity, and this was evident in this research. In interview 1, an 'on-the-spot' firing orchestrated by the corporate psychopath was reported to have had a poor influence on morale:

> So basically it was 'your face no longer fits, you are gone'. That has never been the culture of this company. This company prides itself on its integrity. The one thing this company has is integrity. Then suddenly for people to be … disappearing like that is a big concern. (Advertising manager, interview 1)

The research participant in interview 6 reported on the influence of a newly appointed corporate psychopath CEO in a not-for-profit organization. With less than 50 employees, absenteeism was reported to have gone from a monthly occurrence to a daily one. Senior staff were reported to be absent for weeks due to stress, and junior employees were reported to take regular days off sick. In terms of turnover, 86% of the staff employed at the time of the CEO's appointment had left, with the remaining staff planning to leave:

> The thirtieth person handed her notice in two weeks ago … He made her life like a living hell … she left with no job to go to. (Middle manager, interview 6)

Morale in this organization was described as being at an all-time low. The research participant was reportedly planning to leave as soon as his final attempt to warn the board of governors of what was happening with the CEO was complete. Success in this endeavour was not anticipated by the interviewee as the psychopathic CEO had reportedly ingratiated himself with the head of the board of governors who had come to regard the psychopath as a friend.

Reports of extreme work environments

In interview 3, the HR director reported that there was high turnover, lack of long-term planning and of any attempt to engender employee engagement in the business. When asked to place the company with the corporate psychopath in it on a scale from one (normal) to ten (extreme), this HR director reported it as an eight or nine and as the worst organization he had ever worked for:

> I've never come across a company worse than that one and therefore I don't know how bad bad would have to be but it would be in the lower reaches of eight or nine. Yeah. It was not the good experience that I was looking for, not the constructive, positive proactive type of role that I was hoping for. (HR director, interview 3)

Regressive work practices such as whimsical decision making and abusive management were also reported when there was a corporate psychopath present. There was reportedly an emphasis in

these environments on increasing short-term profits by cost cutting rather than by increasing longer term profits through investment in new production techniques and training:

> The whole culture, well from my perspective it was very much what you would say was traditional British, 'them and us' type of manufacturing. Everything was about cost reduction, ... high volume, it was about quality but the investment really wasn't being put in to get the high volumes and the quality because they wanted to keep the costs down. ... My own view is it was almost a stereotype of some of the worst films of management/worker relationships. (HR director, interview 4)

Similarly in interview 3, the HR director reported that other senior managers were doing a good job and making progress with exports and advertising but that the corporate psychopath was like a cancer in the UK business.

Commentators have reported that single bad leaders can have a disproportionately negative effect on the whole organization (Allio, 2007; Ferrari, 2006). In this research, it was found that the extent of the bad influence of the corporate psychopath depended on his position. At main board director or CEO level, the malignant influence was organizational, whereas at departmental level, the influence was more specifically located but with wider repercussions:

> So it was a fascinating business with some very much larger-than-life characters who were doing an excellent job in their own part but you had this cancer, if you like, in this guy who was doing everything he could to screw what essentially was the operational side of the UK business. (HR director, interview 3)

Interview 4 was the discussion about a HR director by another HR practitioner (now a director himself) for whom the practitioner used to work in a large manufacturing plant. The plant was reportedly under pressure to improve its financial performance, but this pressure did not manifest as psychopathic behaviour in other managers apart from the corporate psychopath. The atmosphere generated by the corporate psychopath in the HR department was described as hostile, unpleasant and nasty:

> So much of my life had been wasted there which was just miserable or unpleasant, it's not even miserable, it was nasty. I think that is some of the difference. I think if something is unpleasant you can put up with it if you need to. If it feels just nasty and vicious then why stay, so I didn't. (HR director, interview 4)

A strength of qualitative research is that it gives a more in-depth and profound understanding of a phenomenon than quantifications supply. For example, it is known from the literature that employees are significantly more likely to withdraw from an organization when corporate psychopaths are present (Boddy, 2011c). However, comments that research participants 'hate' these 'vicious' and terrible situations 'with a passion' give a greater depth of understanding as the comments below demonstrate:

> Well me, personally, I hated the place with a passion. I started finding opportunities to get out as much from in the office and on to the production floor in to manufacturing just to hide from what was going on, to some extent. ... I was miserable. I didn't enjoy the time there. (HR director, interview 4)

> I would liken the (working environment) to the reign of terror in the French revolution. (HR director, interview 3)

The sense from the participants in this research was that the experience of working with a psychopath was a harrowing one, remembered long after the event and considered unique. One

participant reported dreaming about it for 10 years afterwards and that his resignation from that company was the only fond memory of working there. Another participant found that they could not continue to talk about the experience at all because it was too painful:

> Actually I will be honest, for quite a few years afterwards ... I would dream about being back there ... which that would have been for a good ten years or more afterwards I think ... It was really unpleasant working there ... I've worked in quite a lot of different sectors. I've worked in construction which is a really hard-nosed industry ... I never saw anybody like him (the corporate psychopath) before or after. (HR director, interview 4)

Corporate psychopaths are reported to be excellent manipulators of people, good at organizational politics and skilled at causing divisions in order to make people disunited and easier to control (Babiak and Hare, 2006; Boddy, 2006; Clarke, 2005). This was evident in one manufacturing plant where the unions were reported to be divided and where a multiplicity of different work practice agreements were reported to exist:

> He took a lot of pride that there wasn't a plant wide union agreement. There was something like about 30 and each of your operating lines had a separate arrangement and a separate deal negotiated and for me I think it was a divide and rule kind of strategy. (HR director, interview 4)

The literature on corporate psychopaths characterizes them as bullies (Boddy, 2011b), and this was evident in the current research where fear was endemic and public humiliations were reportedly both frequent and regular. Orders were issued via shouts or screams, and normal everyday pleasantries were reportedly absent. The atmosphere could be reasonably described as being extremely hostile to such as extent that one employee just walked out and never came back after one humiliation. Similarly, in interview 7, the psychopathic manager created an atmosphere of fear:

> Amongst a very senior population there was a huge amount of fear around dealing with the individual. So everybody was trying to develop strategies to cope with what might come their way. It was never balanced and reasonable. ... It was provocative, it was undermining people, it was making a fool of them in public. (HR director, interview 7)

This behaviour is again in line with the expectations from the bullying literature, where there is a clear correlation between bullying and employee withdrawal (Lewis and Orford, 2005; Sliter et al., 2012):

> He would never come in and ask somebody to come and see him ... just sit there and scream and you had to get up and respond when shouted at. Typically ... three or four times a day, everybody went through ... a humiliating dressing down to an extent which was quite public ... The whole atmosphere was very hostile and unpleasant ... When he left.. he never said goodbye. You knew he had gone because the door slammed. (HR director, interview 4)

Bullying was also evident in the other interviews and was reportedly used as a tactic to instil fear, obedience and confusion as illustrated by the comment below. Similarly, the corporate psychopath who had resorted to fraud used bullying to intimidate his staff and keep them from questioning him:

> I think his bullying tactic was the bit about him that was so unpredictable ... you never knew what he was going to do. (Advertising manager, interview 1)

Corporate psychopaths fail to provide training and information needs for employees working under them (Boddy, 2010a). The current research extended this finding to uncover that research participants thought that they were being undermined in their jobs as part of, for example, organizational power plays by the psychopath involved. This is illustrated by the following comment:

> Because people didn't trust people … It was unpleasant. You were undermined quite regularly as a young professional which I would have been in my mid 20's I suppose. There was no support … He said 'I am a hard manager'. A hard manager is fine … hard and fair is OK but hard and completely contradictory and unpleasant and undermining is not OK. (HR director, interview 4)

A characteristic of psychopaths is their ability to lie convincingly because they do not get emotionally flustered (Porter et al., 2011). This was evident in interview 1 where the psychopathic board director denied to the other members of the UK board that he had been advised of a business plan that was about to be implemented. This resulted in the plan being abandoned, after months of careful planning, on the day it was supposed to start, and this engendered organizational confusion and personal upset. This can best be understood in the words of the participant concerned in the incident:

> An awful amount of work went into this (business plan) involving lots of people. We … briefed this (psychopathic) guy on what was going to happen … He went through it in detail with us and he said, 'yes, I am very happy'. … He was very supportive of it … So anyway (the day of implementation) came around and the Board sat down for a final meeting … He said 'I know nothing about what you are talking about' … Other people … were saying, '… you talked to us about it'. He was just adamant that … he knew nothing about it and he said you have to stop the whole thing. … So huge trauma in the Board room … people in tears and all sorts … it really got very angry and feisty in this conversation with people saying 'but you know!'. He was adamant he didn't know anything. So they had to stop the whole thing … Straightaway you could see he … would just lie blatantly. (Advertising manager, interview 1)

This interviewee also commented that the corporate psychopath was untrustworthy in that he would undermine other people's work, lie about his involvement or knowledge, and sit through presentations and criticize them but then later represent the same presentations and ideas as his own work. Trust, when given to someone who does not deserve it or abuses it, can become like a poisoned chalice (Skinner et al., 2014), and this was the case in the current research. The psychopath would also make promises and business predictions to head office that he knew were impossible to meet. The interviewee reported that the corporate psychopath did not have the ability to do the job he was hired for and had, for example, no grasp of strategy. Instead, he stole the ideas of other people or got management consultants in to do his work. This reported behaviour was so typical of textbook descriptions that during the interview the researcher asked the participant whether he had read any books on corporate psychopaths; he had not.

Interview 5 was scheduled to be with another advertising manager who was a colleague of interviewee 1 and concerned the same psychopathic manager. However, after starting the interview and hearing the questions the research covered, the participant reported that talking about the experience was bringing painful memories back and was too upsetting to continue. The participant reported forgetting how horrible the experience was and not wanting to go through the experience again by recalling it. Worries about confidentiality and about the psychopath discovering about the interview were also mentioned. This interview thus ended within minutes of it starting.

Organizational destruction

In the literature on corporate psychopaths, it has been theorized that their presence and influence will ultimately lead to organizational destruction and that an ethically bankrupt organization will

become financially bankrupt (Boddy, 2010b, 2011c). However, this theorized link between psychopathy and performance has not been established empirically. The current research was not designed to establish this but nevertheless provides some evidence. In one case, the fraudulent activities of a corporate psychopath cost the company over a million pounds but did not lead to organizational destruction because of its overall size and profitability.

In another case (interview 1), the corporate psychopath was reported to be in the process of destroying the company from within by causing good people to leave, needlessly abandoning good business plans and by destroying its ethical reputation. Service and product quality were reported to be deteriorating, and clients were said to be leaving as they noticed the decline. However, at the time of this research that company was still reporting profits.

The research participant in interview 1 was an advertising manager in the company he was talking about with reference to a corporate psychopath who occupied a main board position. This psychopath reportedly had a devastating effect on the advertising department and advertising practices of the company because with no real experience he took over advertising within the company:

> The first challenges started to come when my old boss, (the advertising director) who was a great creative, found that she was being put out of place by this guy coming in and saying he could do advertising and yet … had no real experience. His experience was very shallow compared to the broad depth experience that she had and he was basically telling her that she was wrong in everything she was doing. (Advertising manager, interview 1)

This interference was so great that it caused the highly regarded advertising director to resign with no job to go to. The corporate psychopath then proceeded to disregard or replace the plans, initiatives and advertising staff associated with the ex-advertising director until nothing of the original and previously highly successful department was left. This included the product development team whose presence was considered by other employees to be central to the future success of the business. This new product development process, representing the innovativeness underlying the core competency of the organization, was then outsourced. In the literature on strategy, it is usually considered advisable to maintain the core competencies within the business and only to outsource non-essential elements of it. Therefore, outsourcing a key element, as happened here, demonstrates the lack of competence of the corporate psychopath involved. This left other staff demoralized and disheartened.

Corporate psychopaths are theorized to be promoted beyond their true abilities because of their capacity to present themselves well, manipulate others, lie about their abilities and claim the good work of other people as their own (Boddy et al., 2010b). Another example of this is that in interview 2, the claimed MBA from a world-class university turned out to be bogus in the case of the psychopath involved in the organizational fraud.

With the psychopathic CEO discussed in interview 6, the CEO would not permit any discussion at board meetings which were convened to pass his policy papers, distributed before the meetings. This was said to create a totally different tone at the top than was evident under the previous CEO. The previous tone was reported to be marked by openness, creativity, innovation and communication. The psychopathic CEO was reported to cut-off any discussion and thus to deny potentially valuable contributions to the organization from experienced staff. In the organization discussed in interview 6, employees were described as having changed from being motivated, happy and innovative to being directionless, unmotivated and uncommitted after the appointment of a new, psychopathic CEO:

> Staff morale is just at an absolute low. When the guy walks in the office falls silent and it is worse than a morgue, I imagine, in our place. (Middle manager, interview 6)

In interview 4, the research participant was of the opinion that the corporate psychopath was instrumental in the eventual closure of the business:

> If you look at that plant, the plant was sold and within about two to three years was closed down and flattened and it is now a housing estate. So, did he do a great job? In my opinion it was an appalling job otherwise that place wouldn't have failed. (HR director, interview 4)

In interview 1, the research participant reported that the corporate psychopath closed down one office merely because it was associated with being a success and initiative of the advertising director who had resigned. The particular office was described as being in a convenient central location at a remarkably cheap rent. Closing it down led to extra costs and lost clients and was reported to have been a poor business decision, so could be classed as a partial destruction of the company concerned.

Similarly, the research participant in interview 6 was of the opinion that the organization was being effectively destroyed from within. This destruction was reported to be through the influence of the psychopathic CEO involved in this not-for-profit organization:

> We've got this situation where the finances are plummeting downwards; the staff are leaving on almost a fortnightly basis now. (Middle manager, interview 6)

The work ethic, involvement and commitment of the employees were reported to have been largely destroyed with staff taking days off, undertaking large amounts of non-organizational related activities in the workplace and lacking drive and purpose:

> Well I think there were lots of issues … grievances, people off sick, people having to move on to new roles very, very quickly, people getting damaged along the way, performance not being great, not positive behaviours permeating down the organization, lack of willingness to tackle what was becoming quite evident. (HR director, interview 7)

The research participant in interview 7 also described a variety of ways in which the presence of a psychopathic manager affected the performance of the organization and of the employees within it. These included staff withdrawal and a lack of commitment towards tackling the problems facing the organization.

Discussion

Writers engaged in the study of organizations have called for a multiplicity of approaches, diffusing disciplinary boundaries to enrich our analysis of organizations whereby ideas from other disciplines are integrated into a viewpoint encompassing the real world in order to converge on and further the prospect of a better world (Burrell et al., 2003).

In line with this viewpoint, Winchester (2012) comments that sociologists adopt a systems appraisal which is valuable but which does not sufficiently account for individual greed, fraud, theft and mismanagement. He reports that more individually oriented analyses do account for this and so deserve consideration (Winchester, 2012). Winchester reports that sociology is uniquely capable of considering both systematic and individual aspects of events and thus of bridging a divide in the approach to studying organizations and society, that between the sociological or situational view and the psychological or personality-based view (Hogan and Kaiser, 2005).

In what may be seen as a different approach relative to sociological orthodoxy (Parker and Thomas, 2011), this article attempts to bridge the sociological and individual by demonstrating how individual managers can influence the work environment around them towards an extreme

environment marked by poor practices and conflict. The stance taken is not critical in Rowlinson and Hassard's (2011) sense. Rather, a critical stance is adopted in the sense of being critical of how these unethical psychopathic leaders have been allowed to prosper in the high risk, unethical, casino capitalism that has become emblematic of neoliberal society (Rowlinson and Hassard, 2011).

What neoliberal organizations and managerial psychopaths apparently share is abusive control and an unethical lack of care (Baines, 2004; Yates et al., 2001) for employees. Ethics has long informed and guided the approach taken to management studies (Rhodes and Wray-Bliss, 2013), and this ethical viewpoint is of relevance to the study of corporate psychopaths as managers. Such unethical management has been expected of corporate psychopaths, as noted in the speculations of psychology researchers (Clarke, 2005) and as uncovered through research (Boddy, 2011b; Babiak, 1995; Babiak and Hare, 2006) as well as in this study.

From the body of research into psychopaths at work, theories have arisen which attempt to explain how modern business has facilitated the emergence of the psychopathic manager who has in turn influenced capitalism in an extreme direction (Boddy, 2011a; Cohan, 2012; Spencer and Wargo, 2010). The findings in his research illustrate a profane side of organizational leadership, one that is neither heroic nor in any way self-sacrificing (S'liwa et al., 2013). Furthermore, there was a perceived lack of credibility and of competence in the abilities of the corporate psychopaths discussed in the current research. Such competence uncertainty has been associated with workplace deviance and leader mistreatment (Mayer et al., 2012), and this corresponds with the current findings.

Counter to current findings, some psychology researchers claim psychopathic traits such as the ability to remain calm and unemotional in pressured circumstances may be factors of success in business (Crawford, 2013; Lilienfeld et al., 2012). However, psychology researchers usually define success in individual terms (e.g. Do traits help the individual get promoted?). Broader measures of success could include whether psychopathic managers are good for other employees, society or corporate social responsibility (Boddy et al., 2010a) or are likely to indulge in the illegal dumping of toxic waste (Ray and Jones, 2011).

Psychology researchers and management writers differ in their views on whether there is enough known about psychopaths at work to screen for them in employment decisions. Some say that not enough is known (Smith and Lilienfeld, 2013); others are sufficiently convinced to offer psychopathy screening services such as the BS360 to employers (Babiak et al., 2010). The current research throws some light on this discussion because it shows how damaging this type of personality can be in management.

Limitations and suggestions for further research

The research was conducted in England, mainly in London, and findings may be subject to cultural influences that do not operate elsewhere. For example, Stout (2005) suggests that collectivist cultures may present psychopaths with a more constraining influence than that imposed by individualistic countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. This may influence how their behaviour manifests itself and could be a subject for further research. The current research adopted a qualitative approach utilizing a small sample size to gain essentially constructivist insights into how corporate psychopaths act. As such the research makes no claims towards positivist statistical validity.

Conclusion

This research makes a contribution to the literature on extreme workplaces by demonstrating that ruthless managers in the form of corporate psychopaths have an influence in generating such

workplaces. The research makes a contribution to corporate psychopathy theory because it shows that corresponding with expectations, employees seek to leave or emotionally withdraw from the organizations or parts of organizations that are managed by corporate psychopaths. Furthermore, that as expected, turnover is higher in such organizations.

The psychopathy measure used demonstrated good face validity; findings from using it were as would be expected of the behaviour of corporate psychopaths. Employees are mistreated, loyal employees are fired or resign, resources are misallocated or stolen, business plans are capriciously rejected, management consultants are hired needlessly and internal intellectual resources are abused or unused. Employee well-being decreases, organizational confusion replaces a sense of direction, organizational ethics decline and corporate reputation suffers. Corporate psychopaths rely on the good work of others claiming their ideas, presentations and plans as their own or else rely on management consultants to do their work. Employees report that they hate to work in these environments and withdraw from these extreme workplaces via claiming high levels of sick leave, leave due to stress and via seeking alternative employment. A minority even withdraw from the workforce with no other jobs to go to.

Although often regarded as stars and given awards for their short-term or apparent financial performance by those above them, these research findings illustrate that the behaviour of corporate psychopaths is not aligned with the longer term success of the organizations that employ them.

Corresponding with theoretical expectations, the current research found that corporate psychopaths will engage in fraud and are unconcerned with the organizational destruction that they create.

The commonalities in these reports concerning the behaviour of corporate psychopaths were notable, and they appear to have a modus operandi involving bullying, fear, control and manipulation. The current research supports earlier findings from quantitative studies because yelling, shouting and the undermining of employees via public humiliations were all evident. Insights gained go beyond what has been established quantitatively because reports of employees living in fear of their lives were recorded.

The current research also supports the view that corporate psychopaths over-state their qualifications and abilities, claiming degrees from prestigious universities and management competencies that they do not possess. Furthermore, corporate psychopaths use divide-and-conquer tactics to maintain control of employees, unions and boards, while jeopardizing client service quality and organizational outcomes through their erratic and fickle management plans.

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Appendix 1

In-depth interview guide

Introduction. Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research concerning your experience of one manager you worked with who displayed the characteristics of a corporate psychopath. I would like to talk to you about this particular manager and what influence they had on the organization that you worked for and on you and the other employees. Your answers will be reported on anonymously and confidentially in that any names of people or companies including your name and any relevant dates will be changed to ensure the anonymity of the people concerned and the confidentiality of your answers and so that nobody will be able to identify the companies and people concerned. You will also be able to veto any material before it is published in academic journals or in material presented back to this HR directors group. As an aid to my memory and in the interests of accuracy and validity, I would very much appreciate your consent to my tape-recording the interview—would that be acceptable to you? (if not then make extensive notes including verbatim responses).

Can you first tell me something about the company you were working for at the time you experienced the psychopathic manager (nature, size, geography, number of personnel, purpose). What was your position and that of the psychopathic manager? (Hierarchical nature of the working relationship).

What did they do that displayed a psychopathic personality? What impact did they have on you and their colleagues—the organization—its other stakeholders?

How did you manage them? What successes/failures did you have in managing them?

What were the outcomes for the organization, its culture and the working environment? Were there any outcomes related to HR issues with the company? Were there any outcomes related to legal issues with the company?

What were the outcomes for you? What were the outcomes for other employees? What were the outcomes for corporate partners like suppliers, any advising consultants like advertising agencies or advertising consultants, and auditors?

On a range from normal to extreme, how would you characterize the working environment when the psychopathic manager was operating? In what ways, if any, would you say the working environment was an extreme one? In what ways, if any, would you say the working environment was a normal one?

What advice would you give someone in your position if they knew beforehand that the manager they would be dealing with was psychopathic? Is there anything else you would like to say about the situation in which you worked with a psychopathic manager?

Thank you very much for taking part in this research, I will contact you again once the interviews are complete and all the material has been analysed.

Finally, looking at this page describing corporate psychopaths is there anything this makes you remember about their behaviour that you have not mentioned already? Also, what elements do you think apply to the person we have been talking about—please tick all sections that apply to them and put a cross against all those that do not.

The PM-MRV2 (Psychopathy Measure—Management Research Version 2) Copyright: The Corporate Psychopaths Research Centre; reproduced with permission.

Ask: How do the ones you have ticked resonate with your experience?

1. Superficial charm and apparent intelligence. The subject appears to be friendly and easy to talk to, agreeable, makes a positive first impression and is apparently a genuine person who is socially at ease.
2. Untruthful and insincere. The subject lies and is a convincing liar because of their apparent sincerity and honesty.
3. A cheating personality. The subject cheats, fails to live up to promises, cons, seduces and deserts others. They are good at organizational politics, claim the good work of others as their own and would probably steal, forge, commit adultery or fraud if they could get away with it.
4. Is totally egocentric. The subject is egocentric and self-centred, cannot love or care for others and can only discuss love in intellectual terms. They are totally indifferent to the emotions or fate of their colleagues.
5. Has no remorse about how their actions harm other employees. The subject denies responsibility for their own poor behaviour and accuses others of responsibility for failures that they themselves cause. If they admit any fault, then they do so without any regret or humiliation. They put their career advancement above their colleagues.
6. Emotionally shallow. The subject can readily demonstrate a show or display of emotion but without any true feeling. They cannot experience true sadness, woe, anger, grief, joy or despair and are indifferent to the troubles of others.
7. Unresponsive to personal interactions. The subject does not respond to kindness or trust in the ordinary manner. They can display superficial reactions but do not have a consistent appreciation for what others have done for them. They are indifferent to the feelings of others and can openly make fun of other people.
8. Refuse to take responsibility for their own actions. The subject initially appears to be reliable and dependable but can then act unreliably and with no sense of responsibility or regard for any obligations to others.
9. Calm, poised and apparently rational. The subject does not display neurotic or irrational characteristics. They are always poised and not anxious or worried even in troubling or upsetting circumstances which would disturb or upset most other people.
10. Lack of self-blame and self-insight about own behaviour. The subject blames their troubles on other people with elaborate and subtle rationalisations. They do not think of blaming themselves, even when discovered in bizarre, dishonest or immoral situations that would promote despair or shame in other employees.

Chapter 6: The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis

The title of the published paper that is the sixth chapter of this thesis is: "The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis". The article was published in the Journal of Business Ethics, in 2011; Vol. 102, No.2, pp. 255 – 259.

This paper has been widely reported on in the press and on social media, discussed in documentaries and cited 113 times (google scholar) as of May, 2016. Financial insiders support the paper in the ratio of about 5:1 (Boddy 2012a).

The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis

Clive R. Boddy

ABSTRACT. This short theoretical paper elucidates a plausible theory about the Global Financial Crisis and the role of senior financial corporate directors in that crisis. The paper presents a theory of the Global Financial Crisis which argues that psychopaths working in corporations and in financial corporations, in particular, have had a major part in causing the crisis. This paper is thus a very short theoretical paper but is one that may be very important to the future of capitalism because it discusses significant ways in which Corporate Psychopaths may have acted recently, to the detriment of many. Further research into this theory is called for.

KEY WORDS: Corporate Psychopaths, The Global Financial Crisis, leadership, corporate management

Introduction

The Global Financial Crisis has raised many ethical issues concerning who pays for the damage inflicted and who is responsible for causing the crisis. Commentators on business ethics have noted that corporate financial scandals have assumed epidemic proportions and that once great companies of longstanding history and with previously unblemished and even dignified reputations have been brought down by the misdeeds of a few of their leaders. These commentators raise the fascinating question of how these resourceful and historic organizations end up with impostors as leaders in the first place (Singh, 2008). One writer on leadership even goes as far as to say that modern society is suffering from a epidemic of poor leadership in both the private and the public sectors of the economy (Allio, 2007).

An understanding of Corporate Psychopaths as expressed in a recent series of papers in this journal and in others, and based on empirical research, has helped to answer the question of how organizations end up with impostors as leaders and how those organizations are then destroyed from within (Boddy, 2005, 2010a, Boddy et al., 2010a, b).

The event of the Global Financial Crisis has hastened an already changing climate in business research. Commentators are no longer willing to assume that all managers are working selflessly and entirely for the benefit of the organization that employees them, and the study of dark, dysfunctional, or bad leadership has emerged as a theme in management research (Allio, 2007; Batra, 2007; Boddy, 2006; Clements and Washbrush, 1999). The onset of the Global Financial Crisis has thus led management researchers to be increasingly interested in researching various aspects of dark leadership in an attempt to explain the current financial and organizational turmoil around the world. Numerous papers on dark leadership have, for example, been recently reviewed by this author for this journal and it is evident that there are commentators with a deep knowledge of individual types of dark and dysfunctional leadership and with views on how these people have contributed to the current crisis. Corporate Psychopaths are one such type of dark manager, and this paper investigates their possible influence on the companies involved in the Global Financial Crisis. This is important because when large financial corporations are destroyed by the actions of their senior directors, employees loose their jobs and sometimes their livelihoods, shareholders lose their investments and sometimes their life savings and societies lose key parts of their economic infrastructure. Capitalism also loses some of its credibility.

These corporate collapses have gathered pace in recent years, especially in the western world, and have culminated in the Global Financial Crisis that

we are now in. In watching these events unfold it often appears that the senior directors involved walk away with a clean conscience and huge amounts of money. Further, they seem to be unaffected by the corporate collapses they have created. They present themselves as glibly unbothered by the chaos around them, unconcerned about those who have lost their jobs, savings, and investments, and as lacking any regrets about what they have done. They cheerfully lie about their involvement in events are very persuasive in blaming others for what has happened and have no doubts about their own continued worth and value. They are happy to walk away from the economic disaster that they have managed to bring about, with huge payoffs and with new roles advising governments how to prevent such economic disasters.

Many of these people display several of the characteristics of psychopaths and some of them are undoubtedly true psychopaths. Psychopaths are the 1% of people who have no conscience or empathy and who do not care for anyone other than themselves. Some psychopaths are violent and end up in jail, others forge careers in corporations. The latter group who forge successful corporate careers is called Corporate Psychopaths. Who psychopaths are and who Corporate Psychopaths are, is discussed further below.

Psychopaths

Psychopaths are people who, perhaps due to physical factors to do with abnormal brain connectivity and chemistry, especially in the areas of the amygdala and orbital/ventrolateral frontal cortex (Blair et al., 2005, 2006; Kiehl et al., 2001, 2004, 2006) lack a conscience, have few emotions and display an inability to have any feelings, sympathy or empathy for other people. The area of the brain known as the amygdala has been described as the seat of emotion and fear and is reported to be important in processing socially relevant information and it is therefore theorized that disruption of its functions could lead to cold and socially inappropriate behaviour (Wernke and Huss, 2008). This abnormal brain connectivity and chemistry of psychopaths makes them extraordinarily cold, much more calculating and ruthless towards others than most people are and therefore a

menace to the companies they work for and to society (Brinkley et al., 2004; Viding, 2004).

Corporate Psychopaths

The concept of the Corporate Psychopaths marries the terms 'psychopath' from the psychological literature with the term 'corporate' from the area of business to denote a psychopath who works and operates in the organisational area (Boddy, 2005). These people have also been called Executive Psychopaths, Industrial Psychopaths, Organisational Psychopaths, and Organisational Sociopaths by other researchers in this emerging area of research (Pech and Slade, 2007). They ruthlessly manipulate others, without conscience, to further their own aims and objectives (Babiak and Hare, 2006).

Although they may look smooth, charming, sophisticated, and successful, Corporate Psychopaths should theoretically be almost wholly destructive to the organizations that they work for. The probable mal-effects of the presence of psychopaths in the workplace have been hypothesized about in recent times by a number of leading experts and commentators on psychopathy (Babiak, 1995; Babiak and Hare, 2006; Boddy, 2005, 2006; Clarke, 2005; Hare, 1994, 1999).

Researchers report that such malevolent leaders are callously disregarding of the needs and wishes of others, prepared to lie, bully and cheat and to disregard or cause harm to the welfare of others (Perkel, 2005). Corporate Psychopaths are also poorly organized managers who adversely affect productivity and have a negative impact on many different areas of organizational effectiveness (Boddy, 2010b).

The theory

Professor Robert Hare, the world's leading expert on psychopathy, has said that if he didn't look for psychopaths to study in prisons he would look for them in stock exchanges. Recent newspaper headlines such as 'Wall Street Shows No Remorse' do nothing to suggest that his viewpoint is incorrect. Hare has repeatedly drawn attention to the possible damage that Corporate Psychopaths could cause in major financial and other organizations. Some of this

damage has been illuminated by the research presented in a number of recent papers while other damage is merely hypothesised about.

Psychologists have argued that Corporate Psychopaths within organizations may be singled out for rapid promotion because of their polish, charm, and cool decisiveness. Expert commentators on the rise of Corporate Psychopaths within modern corporations have also hypothesized that they are more likely to be found at the top of current organisations than at the bottom. Further, that if this is the case, then this phenomenon will have dire consequences for the organisations concerned and for the societies in which those organisations are based. Since this prediction of dire consequences was made the Global Financial Crisis has come about. Research by Babiak and Hare in the USA, Board and Fritzon in the UK and in Australia has shown that psychopaths are indeed to be found at greater levels of incidence at senior levels of organisations than they are at junior levels (Boddy et al., 2010a). There is also some evidence that they may tend to join some types of organisations rather than others and that, for example, large financial organisations may be attractive to them because of the potential rewards on offer in these organizations (Boddy, 2010a).

These Corporate Psychopaths are charming individuals who have been able to enter modern corporations and other organisations and rise quickly and relatively unnoticed within them because of the relatively chaotic nature of the modern corporation. This corporate nature is characterized by rapid change, constant renewal and quite a rapid turnover of key personnel. These changing conditions make Corporate Psychopaths hard to spot because constant movement makes their behaviour invisible and combined with their extroverted personal charisma and charm, this makes them appear normal and even to be ideal leaders.

The knowledge that Corporate Psychopaths are to be found at the top of organisations and seem to favour working with other people's money in large financial organisations has in turn, led to the development of the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis. The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is that Corporate Psychopaths, rising to key senior positions within modern financial corporations, where they are able to influence the moral climate of the whole organisation and yield considerable power, have largely caused the crisis. In these senior corporate positions, the Corporate Psychopath's single-minded pursuit of their own self-enrichment and self-aggrandizement to the exclusion of all other considerations has led to an abandonment of the old fashioned concept of noblesse oblige, equality, fairness, or of any real notion of corporate social responsibility.

The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is that changes in the way people are employed have facilitated the rise of Corporate Psychopaths to senior positions and their personal greed in those positions has created the crisis. Prior to the last third of the twentieth century large corporations were relatively stable, slow to change and the idea of a job for life was evident, with employees gradually rising through the corporate ranks until a position was reached beyond which they were not qualified by education, intellect or ability to go. In such a stable, slowly changing environment employees would get to know each other very well and Corporate Psychopaths would be noticeable and identifiable as undesirable managers because of their selfish egotistical personalities and other ethical defects.

Changing companies' mid-career was seen as being questionable and inadvisable and their rise would therefore be blocked both within their original employer and among external employers who would question their reasons for wanting to change jobs.

However, once corporate takeovers and mergers started to become commonplace and the resultant corporate changes started to accelerate, exacerbated by both globalisation and a rapidly changing technological environment, then corporate stability began to disintegrate. Jobs for life disappeared and not surprisingly employees' commitment to their employers also lessened accordingly. Job switching first became acceptable and then even became common and employees increasingly found themselves working for unfamiliar organisations and with other people that they did not really know very well. Rapid movements in key personnel between corporations compared to the relatively slower movements in organisational productivity and success made it increasingly difficult to identify corporate success with any particular manager. Failures were

not noticed until too late and the offending managers had already moved on to better positions elsewhere. Successes could equally be claimed by those who had nothing to do with them. Success could thus be claimed by those with the loudest voice, the most influence and the best political skills. Corporate Psychopaths have these skills in abundance and use them with ruthless and calculated efficiency.

In this way, the whole corporate and employment environment changed from one that would hold the Corporate Psychopath in check to one where they could flourish and advance relatively unopposed.

As evidence of this, senior level remuneration and reward started to increase more and more rapidly and beyond all proportion to shop floor incomes and a culture of greed unfettered by conscience developed. Corporate Psychopaths are ideally situated to prey on such an environment and corporate fraud, financial misrepresentation, greed and misbehaviour went through the roof, bringing down huge companies and culminating in the Global Financial Crisis that we are now in.

Writing in 2005, this author commentating on Corporate Psychopaths predicted that the rise of Corporate Psychopaths was a recipe for corporate and societal disaster. This disaster has now happened and is still happening. Across the western world the symptoms of the financial crisis are now being treated. However, if the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is correct, then this treatment of the symptoms will have little effect because the root cause is not being addressed. The very same Corporate Psychopaths, who probably caused the crisis by their self-seeking greed and avarice, are now advising governments on how to get out of the crisis. That this involves paying themselves vast bonuses in the midst of financial hardship for many millions of others, is symptomatic of the problem. Further, if the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is correct then we are now far from the end of the crisis. Indeed, it is only the end of the beginning. Perhaps more than ever before, the world needs corporate leaders with a conscience. It does not need Corporate Psychopaths. Measures exist to identify Corporate Psychopaths. Perhaps it is time to use them.

Conclusions

When presented to management academics in discussion, the Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is accepted as being plausible and highly relevant. It provides a theory which unifies many of the individual interpretations of the reasons for the Global Financial Crisis and as such is worthy of further development. The message that psychopaths are to be found in corporations and other organisations may be important for the future longevity of capitalism and for corporate and social justice and even for world financial stability and longevity. Stemming from this belief that the message concerning psychopaths in corporations is important, an aim of this paper has been to get the work that psychologists have been doing on psychopathy, and on 'successful psychopaths' and Corporate Psychopaths in particular more widely known to management researchers and to managers themselves. In particular the paper presents a theory concerning the Global Financial Crisis which may throw considerable light on its origins.

Implications for further research

The Corporate Psychopaths Theory of the Global Financial Crisis is a theory that would benefit from further development and research. This research could be into the personalities and moral reasoning aptitudes of the leaders of the financial institutions that are most associated with the Global Financial Crisis. Simultaneous research into the brain chemistry and connectivity of these people may prove to be highly enlightening in helping to establish the nature and extent of their psychopathy.

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Chapter 7: The Impact of Corporate Psychopaths on Corporate Reputation and Marketing

The title of the published paper that is the seventh chapter of this thesis is: "The Impact of Corporate Psychopaths on Corporate Reputation and Marketing". The article was published in the journal; The Marketing Review, 2012; Vol. 12, No.1, pp. 79-89.

This paper speculates how the presence of corporate psychopaths, as pernicious dysfunctional leaders, may influence organisational reputation and marketing as well as job satisfaction and thus acts as a stimulus towards further research in this area as well as indicating areas where organisational vigilance may be beneficial.

The impact of corporate psychopaths on corporate reputation and marketing

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This paper briefly discusses why Corporate Psychopaths, as one particularly pernicious type of dysfunctional leader, should be of interest to marketers. One reason is because of the negative impact of Corporate Psychopaths on some of the antecedents of Corporate Reputation. The paper discusses how Corporate Psychopaths through their direct action and via their example to others, undermine some of the key drivers of corporate reputation such as good communications, job satisfaction and corporate social responsibility. The paper discusses past research which found that in the presence of managers who are Corporate Psychopaths, a corporation's levels of perceived corporate social responsibility, good communications and commitment to employees go down. Simultaneously, levels of conflict and organisational constraints go up. The negative impact of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation is discussed and the implications for marketers are drawn out. The paper finishes by hypothesising that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths will probably affect some of the other areas of marketing that influence corporate reputation as well. This includes levels of marketing service provision and delivery, marketing orientation, job related stress, marketing ethics and management credibility and trustworthiness. The paper calls for further research into how Corporate Psychopaths influence these important areas of marketing management.

Keywords   Toxic leadership, Corporate psychopath, Corporate reputation, Corporate image, Marketing ethics

Introduction

The reputation of corporations has rightly interested marketing academics for fifty years. A corporate reputation is defined as being the various stakeholders overall evaluation of a company over time based on the images it generates due to its behaviour, its communications and its symbolism

(Gotsi & Wilson, 2001). Managers are reported to be well aware of its importance and to be interested in maintaining a good corporate reputation and image (Alsop, 2004; Gotsi & Wilson, 2001). Indeed, the most senior organisational managers see the management of the corporate reputation as a very important part of their own leadership role, not only in terms of managing the corporate reputation externally but also internally as well, because employees who are proud of their company are reported to perform better (Van der Jagt, 2005). These very senior organisational managers report that important target groups for managing the corporate reputation are internal employees, clients, the media, financial groups, governments and the labour market of potential employees (Van der Jagt, 2005).

Corporate reputations are developed over very many years but can be damaged in much shorter periods of time (Plummer, 2005) as the demise of Arthur Andersen demonstrated (Linthicum, Reitenga & Sanchez, 2010) and as the recent oilwell blowout involving BP illustrates. BP reportedly lost its good reputation as well as $8 billion in direct costs related to the accident and a further $70 billion fall in stock market value (Krause & Balkcom, 2011). Krause and Balkcom call for boards to ensure that CEOs are concerned with safety at an ethical level to help ensure that safety issues are taken seriously by corporate boards.

Investigation of this BP blow-out has reportedly found that managerial negligence has contributed to the accident via the ignoring of numerous warning signs and incidents that should have alerted further investigation and controls. This is at least the second time that a similar finding has been made against BP. In a 2007 report by the Texas City Chemical Safety Board on the investigation of an explosion at a BP petrochemical refinery in Texas City, the accident was attributed to gross negligence and cost-cutting by management (Eisberg, 2007). Perhaps there is a conflict between social responsibility and profitability in some organisations. In 2010 BP announced that it would set up a new safety and operational risk division to manage the safety of its operations. However, the danger is that this may merely be treating the symptoms rather than the root cause of the unsafe cost-cutting that may be occurring.

This conflict and others like it in major organisations may be resolved one way or the other according to the ruthlessness and personal ethics of the individual managers involved. Also conflict resolution between the costlier dictates of responsibility, safety and care, is determined by the pressures front-line managers may be under from any ruthless and unethical managers, such as Corporate Psychopaths are, who may be above these front-line managers. Managers may thus feel pressured to take risks and cut ethical corners at work.

There are many reasons why marketers care about corporate reputation. Corporate reputation stems to some extent from marketing as it is partly dependent on corporate marketing and corporate communications activities (Balmer & Greyser, 2006). A firm's corporate reputation is said to be a unique resource that can generate positive financial performance and can create a competitive advantage. For example, researchers have found that customers are willing to pay more to obtain a service from a company with a better corporate reputation (Graham & Bansal, 2007). Further, a good corporate reputation can be useful in launching brands as the brand can benefit from

the general impression of the corporate entity (Caruana, 1997; Caruana & Ewing, 2010) making the brand's success more assured. This can also mean that launch costs for new products are reduced, as a level of corporate awareness, for example, can already be present and can be built on by the individual new brand.

A strong reputation can also allow a company to charge a premium price compared to its competitors (Greyser, 1999). Corporate image and reputation do influence customer buying behaviour and loyalty and that loyalty is higher when corporate reputation is favourable (Alsop, 2004; Gotsi & Wilson, 2001). This loyalty affect also applies to on-line organisations where corporate reputation has been found to have a direct effect on online loyalty (Caruana & Ewing, 2010). This loyalty effect is one reason why corporate reputation is important to marketers. Another is that researchers have also found that that corporate social responsibility and corporate reputation have positive effects on brand equity (Lai, Chiu, Yang & Pai, 2010).

A high quality corporate reputation is also said to lead to increased likelihood of purchase among potential customers, better perceptions of likely product quality, increased attractiveness to investors and a lower cost of capital (Caruana, 1997; Caruana & Ewing, 2010). Similar findings from other researchers suggest that firms with good reputations are associated with a significant market-value premium, superior financial performance, and lower cost of capital (Smith et al., 2010).

In the light of this it is perhaps not surprising that corporate reputation has also been linked to a firm's future financial performance (Eberl & Schwaiger, 2005).

In more strategic terms the three major benefits of a company having a good reputation are that the good reputation means that the company gets preference from customers in doing business, a good reputation provides support when controversy arises and it gives value to the company in the financial markets (Greyser, 1999). Corporate reputation is thus said to be of vital importance to the organisation, and employees are reported to be key in managing it (Cravens & Oliver, 2006). Whether employees care about the image of the corporation is therefore important. Corporate Psychopaths do not care about these things and it is therefore important for marketers to be aware of such people and how their attitudes are likely to manifest in the types of behaviour that would jeopardise a good corporate reputation, especially when these Corporate Psychopaths are in senior management positions.

Corporate Psychopaths

Psychopaths are those people, comprising about 1% of the population, who possibly because of brain connectivity and chemistry issues, have no conscience and have a concomitantly ruthless but guilt-free approach to using and abusing other people to further their own ends (Blair, et al., 1995; Boddy, 2007; Boddy, Galvin & Ladyshewsky, 2009; Hare, 1999; Kiehl, Laurens, Bates, Hare & Liddle, 2006; Kiehl et al., 2004; Kiehl et al., 2001; Nadis, 1995; Pridmore, Chambers & McArthur, 2005; Taylor, Loney, Bobadilla, Iacono & McGue, 2003; Viding, Blair, Moffitt & Plomin, 2005).

Many of them follow a criminal lifestyle marked by the acquisition of goods through theft and violence and not surprisingly such psychopaths often end up in prison. Others, perhaps because of a more socially and educationally advantaged background, choose a corporate path to personal self-enrichment (Boddy, 2010a). Corporate Psychopaths are therefore merely those psychopaths who work in corporations (Babiak & Hare, 2006; Boddy, 2005). There have been few empirical studies of Corporate Psychopaths but in line with theoretical expectations one recent study found that psychopathy was positively associated with charisma and good presentation style and negatively associated with ratings of responsibility and performance such as having good management skills and being a team player (Babiak, Neumann & Hare, 2010). Such a person would be a great salesman who nevertheless fails to follow through on his promises to customers.

In terms of a history of their study in marketing this is a short one and they have only come to the attention of management and marketing researchers in recent years (Boddy, 2006a). However, psychopaths share many personality traits with Machiavellians, and these people have been researched in marketing for many more years, which is relevant because there are significant areas of commonality between the two personality types and therefore the negative traits associated with Machiavellian managers can be expected to also be associated with Corporate Psychopaths (Calhoon, 1969; Gemmill & Heisler, 1972; Harris, 2001; Hunt & Chonko, 1984; Singhapakdi & Vitell, 1992). Another dysfunctional personality with shared characteristics with both Machiavellians and Corporate Psychopaths is that of narcissists, indeed these three types of manager have been referred to as the 'dark triad' of dysfunctional personalities (Jakobwitz & Egan, 2005; McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto, 1998; Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

Thus, although the study of Corporate Psychopaths is nominally a new area in marketing and management, it very probably shares areas of concern that the previous study of narcissists and Machiavellians in marketing have illuminated. The behaviour of these types of people would give rise to a poor corporate reputation because their behaviour is fundamentally selfish, ego-driven and manipulative, just as that of Corporate Psychopaths is.

Corporate Psychopaths and Corporate Reputation

As discussed above, corporate reputation depends partially on corporate marketing and corporate communications activities (Balmer & Greyser, 2006). Parts of such communications are via the personnel who work for and represent the corporation. Gotsi and Wilson (2001) say that a corporate reputation is based on the company's behaviour, communications and symbolism and logically the way in which these are projected to the stakeholders involved is via the employees and managers who manage these activities. Psychologists agree that a major influence on an organisation's reputation is the behaviour of the personnel within it (Bromley, 2001).

The individual character of those employees and managers influences their behaviour and how they communicate with others (Adler, 2007; Allio, 2007; Bennis, Goleman & O'Toole, 2008) and therefore the individual characters of employees and managers should be of interest to marketers. If

some of these employees and managers are Corporate Psychopaths then this will adversely affect their corporate behaviour. How Corporate Psychopaths in management positions think, act and behave thus affects the corporation and its reputation in various ways that need to be understood in order to fully comprehend their influence (Boddy et al., 2009).

Researchers have found that UK companies which display high levels of discretionary social responsibility such as higher levels of expenditure on philanthropy have better corporate reputations (Brammer & Millington, 2005; Williams & Barrett, 2000). The corporate culture of a company, including such things as its ethical standards and social responsibility is reported to be one of the six key drivers of corporate reputation (Greyser, 1999). A good reputation as a socially responsible firm can bring commercial advantages such as being seen as a preferred employer and supplier, having motivated employees and greater customer loyalty (Alsop, 2004; Heikkurinen, 2010).

Corporate Psychopaths, with their lack of care for others, can be expected to negatively influence levels of corporate social responsibility and through this, levels of corporate reputation. As personalities, Corporate Psychopaths tend to be extroverts and their sociability makes them appear trustworthy as people tend to assume that sociable people are trustworthy (Bromley, 2001). This helps them get into organisations in the first place and helps them to create political spheres of influence which help them ascend the corporate ladder. However, Corporate Psychopaths care nothing about anything other than themselves and so it may be expected that if they are in influential corporate positions then they will create a corporation marked by a poor reputation and by low levels of perceived corporate social responsibility for example.

This is indeed what has been found, when Corporate Psychopaths are present in an organisation the perceived levels of corporate social responsibility are significantly lower than when they are not there (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin, 2010). When Corporate Psychopaths are present in organisations, employees are less likely to agree with views that: the organisation does business in a socially desirable manner; does business in an environmentally friendly manner and less likely to agree that the organisation does business in a way that benefits the local community (Boddy et al., 2010). Psychopaths in organisations have long been hypothesised to indulge in managerial misbehaviour such as environmentally unfriendly and anti-social behaviour (Boddy, 2006b). A recent paper partially supports this view because it finds that there is a link between the psychopathy of people and their tendency to indulge in white collar crime such as taking part in environmentally damaging activities such as the dumping of toxic waste (Ray & Jones, 2011).

Of relevance to the discussion of whether Corporate Psychopaths influence corporate reputation is that research in a financial service setting has revealed that the perception of corporate reputation had a tendency to be higher when customer perceptions of both competence and benevolence were favourable (Nguyen, 2010). In the global financial crisis these perceptions of benevolence and competence were not present for financial services companies with survey respondents' comparing the ethics of investment banks to those of the mafia or of Las Vegas (Alsop, 2004). Researchers suggest that benevolence intervenes as a moderator variable to

enhance the impact of work competence on overall corporate reputation. Corporate Psychopaths are not known for their benevolence.

From the perspective of relationship marketing the performance of contact personnel in particular is said to help attract customers and to define the corporate reputation (Nguyen, 2010). Corporate Psychopaths are anything but benevolent and they may also lack competence because of their ability to get promoted regardless of their actual workplace or managerial ability. Having malevolent and incompetent contact personnel is therefore of interest to marketers as this could be expected to damage the corporate reputation at the point of contact with customers, suppliers and professional partners. Similarly having contact personnel who are cowed, timid, withdrawn, ineffective and emotionally damaged due to being abused and bullied by their Corporate Psychopath managers, would also be a source of a poor corporate reputation (Boddy, 2011b).

One group of management researchers report that one way of ensuring increasing future sales within companies may be to manage the corporate reputation so as to elevate employee perceptions of a company's reputation (Davies, Chun & Kamins, 2010). When Corporate Psychopaths are to be found within corporations it is found that levels of job satisfaction, employee withdrawal and absenteeism and other markers of a good corporate reputation such as having good internal training and good internal communications, are depressed (Boddy, 2010b). In such an environment employee perceptions of a company's reputation will logically be negative rather than positive, logically leading to falling sales. This is another reason why marketers should be concerned with the numbers of Corporate Psychopaths within the organisations that they work for. The internal reputation of a corporation may be different to the external reputation because of the greater knowledge and experience of employees over other people (Bromley, 2001).

Internal marketing communications efforts may be specifically aimed at maintaining a good internal reputation and good levels of employee morale and high job satisfaction levels as these affect the commitment of employees to the organisation and influence such issues as productivity and corporate performance. However, if Corporate Psychopaths are operating at the divisional or departmental level then such corporate level marketing communications may not be able to overcome the negative effects of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths at the more local level.

Some of these negative effects of the presence of Corporate Psychopaths include, higher levels of employee withdrawal, increased levels of organisational constraints and lower levels of job satisfaction. These provide another reason why marketers should be interested in the presence of Corporate Psychopaths, they influence internal levels of reputation as well as external levels.

Job satisfaction has been described as an affective state of mind that reflects an emotional reaction to the job being undertaken (Falkenburg & Schyns, 2007). Corporate Psychopaths, with no conscience and no genuine emotional attachments to their colleagues, are happy to exploit everyone they work with and this can involve a parasitic, manipulative and abusive approach to their work colleagues. This approach must logically lead to low levels of job satisfaction among their fellow employees as well as a poor internal corporate reputation for the company. In terms of corporate psychopathy

and job satisfaction, research has shown a significant and strongly negative correlation between the corporate psychopathy score and measures used in the construct of job satisfaction. In other words, as expected, as corporate psychopathy increases, job satisfaction decreases. There was reportedly a very high, significant negative correlation (r = −0.702) between the presence of Corporate Psychopaths and a construct of job satisfaction (Boddy, 2010b).

A poor employee–supervisor relationship, as could be expected when the supervisor is a Corporate Psychopath, has also been linked with low levels of job satisfaction (Stringer, 2006) and this is another reason why the presence of Corporate Psychopaths is associated with low job satisfaction. A poor-quality supervisor–employee relationship would also be associated with not respecting employees' feelings, not establishing open and effective communications, and not recognising or properly rewarding employees for their efforts. All these could also be expected to adversely influence the reputation of the company involved.

Similarly, aggression and conflict in the organisation have been found to share a significant negative relationship with overall levels of job satisfaction (Lapierre, Spector & Leck, 2005). The finding in recent research that the increased levels of conflict that are associated with the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in the workplace go hand in hand with lower levels of job satisfaction is therefore not unexpected. Bullying is a key characteristic of Corporate Psychopaths and of the unfriendly, uncivil and abusive organisational environment that they create (Boddy, 2011b). Such behaviour creates a poor internal environment and this is reflected in employees' external reports of their organisation, creating a poor corporate reputation.

Such psychopathic and abusive behaviour has also been reported to cause low levels of confidence and morale among employees (Pech & Slade, 2007). Another researcher found similar results in that abusive supervision was associated with lower job satisfaction and lower job commitment (Tepper, 2000). These all directly or indirectly influence corporate reputation. Finally, corporate reputation may also be affected by the perceived levels of greed, avarice and self-enrichment evident in the corporations recently involved in the global financial crisis and it may be fruitful to conduct further research into this area to establish any links more clearly (Boddy, 2011a).

Conclusions

A good corporate reputation has many benefits to a company, including benefits to do with forming partnerships with other companies, hiring and keeping good quality new employees and launching new brands. Corporate reputation is thus important to marketers and therefore Corporate Psychopaths should also be of interest. Recent research shows that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation has a negative impact on corporate social responsibility, workplace conflict, organisational constraints, job satisfaction and withdrawal from the organisation. These elements are all potential influencers of corporate reputation.

It may also be hypothesised that the presence of Corporate Psychopaths will probably affect some of the other areas of marketing that influence corporate reputation as well. This includes having a detrimental effect on levels

of marketing service orientation, and service delivery, marketing orientation, marketing ethics and also on management credibility, management trustworthiness and greed. Further research into how Corporate Psychopaths influence these important areas of marketing management is therefore called for. A way forward for marketers to start to deal with the threat of having Corporate Psychopaths in an organisation may be for them to try and ensure that psychopathy scales are built into staff satisfaction surveys so that organisational areas that contain dysfunctional managers, psychopaths and other toxic leaders can be identified for further study and monitoring.

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Chapter 8: Corporate Psychopaths: Uncaring Citizens, Irresponsible Leaders

The title of the published paper that is the eighth and penultimate chapter of this thesis is: "Corporate Psychopaths: Uncaring Citizens, Irresponsible Leaders". The article was published in the Journal of Corporate Citizenship, 2013; Vol. 49, pp. 8-16.

The paper speculates on the total effects that corporate psychopaths in leadership positions may have on societal and World outcomes. As before, this paper is exactly as appears in the journal.

The paper presents a theoretical expectation regarding how corporate psychopaths may significantly and negatively influence society as irresponsible leaders. If this theory is correct then this represents a strong case for making sure leaders are caring and responsible rather than callously indifferent to the fate of others. This can be achieved through careful leader selection and appointment procedures.

Corporate Psychopaths

Uncaring Citizens, Irresponsible Leaders

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This article suggests that because mankind may be simultaneously at a tipping point for unsustainability in multiple areas, then it is probably imperative that certain ruthless, unethical and psychopathic people be denied leadership positions. The article describes who corporate psychopaths are and how corporate psychopathy theory posits their rise to power. The article then outlines how corporate social responsibility and environmental sustainability have declined, outlining specific cases of this. Then using the example of corporate psychopaths in the political sphere, the article demonstrates how psychopaths can influence society at levels that are out of all proportion to their incidence (of 1%) in the population. The article finishes by discussing the role of corporate psychopaths in the global financial crisis and concludes by suggesting that screening measures for psychopathy should be introduced for senior organisational positions.

T CAN BE ARGUED THAT MANKIND appears to stand on the verge of unsustainability in many areas of existence. For example fish stocks are declining dramatically around the world, pollution is causing environmental damage and collapse in large areas, global warming appears to be altering world weather systems towards greater levels of unpredictability/severity and the financial crisis has forced millions into poverty, unemployment and potential homelessness. Scientists and other experts have issued warning after warning concerning these issues but leaders at the corporate and political levels have steadfastly done little or nothing so as not to make themselves unpopular or their companies unprofitable. This article addresses the question of who these leaders are, that put short-term popularity and profit before long-term sustainability. The article also suggests how these leaders can be avoided.

The article argues that there is a personality trait that is common among those leaders who would willingly and without

conscience take humanity over the edge of sustainability into declining corporate social responsibility, corporate scandals leading to financial and economic crisis, ruthless political leadership leading to revolutionary political upheaval or total war and into environmental collapse and unsustainability. This personality trait is that of psychopathy which involves a lack of conscience resulting in a totally ruthless approach to personal gain. This trait of psychopathy is evident in about 1% of the adult population.

In terms of corporate social responsibility and corporate governance, corporate scandals instigated by senior organisational leaders have reached epidemic proportions (Singh 2008) and continue unabated despite the superficial reassurances of politicians. Singh raises the important question of how such resourceful and powerful organisations end up with these types of leader at the top.

Singh proposes (2008) that good leadership requires a balance among three characteristics, comprising energy, expertise and integrity, adding that integrity is the critical characteristic and that without it an organisation is not run for the collective good, but rather for the good of the top leaders themselves. In choosing leaders, integrity should therefore be the first and most important consideration (Singh 2008). This paper argues that it is precisely leaders without integrity, in the form of psychopaths within organisations, who have taken the reins of leadership in many organisations, leading Western and other societies to the point of economic collapse and environmental unsustainability.

Psychopaths and corporate psychopaths

While corporations themselves have been reported to overtly display the characteristics of psychopathy in that they often pursue profit to the exclusion of all other considerations (Hofmann and Hasebrook 2004; Newby 2005; Wexler 2008), it is the actual managers within organisations who make the decisions that result in these displays of psychopathy and so it is the personalities of those managers which is of most concern to this article.

Psychopaths are those 1% of the population with no conscience, empathy or concern for other people, who pursue their own interests at all costs (Hare 1994, 1999). Psychopathy is increasingly associated with physical brain deficiencies and connectivity issues and so may be grounded in personal biology and neurological issues (Intrator et al. 1997; Blair and Cipolotti 2000; Kiehl et al. 2006; Howard and McCullagh 2007; Weber et al. 2008; Gao and Raine 2010; Anderson and Kiehl 2012; Kelland 2012). This causal connection, if proven, raises various ethical considerations concerning the employment, management and culpability of psychopaths; however these considerations are beyond the remit of this particular article.

Psychologists, in their extensive studies among criminal psychopaths, seemed to largely forget, for a period of time, Cleckley's original work on psychopaths living and working relatively undetected in business and society. These psychologists, in their focus on psychopaths in prisons, consequently confounded psychopathy with criminality, resulting in a lack of knowledge about non-criminal psychopaths and a call for more research in this area (Cleckley 1941; Kirkman 2002, 2005; Mahmut et al. 2007). To differentiate the more commonly studied criminal psychopaths from less antisocial psychopaths, these latter psychopaths have been called industrial, workplace, successful, executive, organisational and corporate psychopaths (Babiak 1995; Morse 2004; Clarke 2005; Boddy 2006), with the latter term now being the most commonly used.

In terms of whether corporate psychopaths are responsible leaders, corporate psychopaths have been associated with lowering levels of corporate social responsibility and organisational commitment to employees (Boddy *et al.* 2010), less commitment to the environment and a willingness to engage in the illegal dumping of toxic waste (Ray and Jones 2011).

Because of the potential importance of this subject, the issue of corporate psychopaths as toxic leaders in the workplace has been described as setting a new agenda for leadership research (Gudmundsson and Southey 2011). Perhaps as a consequence of this, papers on corporate psychopaths have become among the most frequently downloaded academic business papers of the first few years of this century and references to corporate psychopaths can currently be found on hundreds of thousands of sites on the World Wide Web.

The rise of corporate psychopaths

Corporate psychopathy theory suggests that psychopaths within corporate organisations have been able to rise to positions of power because of the changing nature of corporate life. In particular because of increases in the speed of personnel change and the decline of stable, lifetime employment in the same organisation, employees with aberrant, ruthless personalities are less noticed by their colleagues and superiors than they previously would have been (Babiak and Hare 2006). Increasing levels of organisational streamlining, downsizing, merging, restructuring and globalisation have meant that employees only know each other superficially and so the superficially charming psychopath—all too willing to lie about their past, claim the successes of others as their own and manipulate their managers—presents as an ideal colleague

and leader, leading to more frequent promotions (Boddy 2011a).

Empirical support for this phenomenon is scarce but so far the evidence supports it and while 1% of the population are psychopathic, this appears to be about 3.5% at senior organisational levels (Babiak *et al.* 2010). This evidence that corporate psychopaths are more likely to be found at senior levels of management than they are at junior levels (Babiak and Hare 2006; Andrews *et al.* 2009; Babiak *et al.* 2010) argues that responsible leadership is a governance issue because the appointment of such people as leaders is an area of corporate governance. Further, some types of organisations, such as those concerned with wealth and power, are thought to attract psychopaths more than others, such as those concerned with helping others on a voluntary basis, and so psychopaths may be concentrated in certain sectors of the economy, for example in corporate banking (Boddy 2011b).

The decline of corporate social responsibility

In their paper, which reviews the developmental history of the main theoretical streams of thought about corporate social responsibility, Kemper and Martin (2010) remind us of what were once the substantial and stable benefits for society of business. Firms until the 1970s produced desirable products, supplied secure employment to the population, obeyed national laws and regulations and contributed to the societies in which they were embedded (Kemper and Martin 2010). This may be something of a rose-tinted view of business history but it nevertheless stands in stark contradiction to what followed.

With the rise of globalisation and the increasing financialisation (Kemper and Martin 2010) of business (the reduction

of consideration in business decisions to merely financial criteria and the pursuit of profit above all else), products, employment, regulations and corporate social responsibility all became flexible variables. Products were seen as being best made in the cheapest, least regulated and least taxed workplace, wherever in the world that was; employment and employees therefore became seen as a variable cost rather than a stable part of the overhead; and the psychological ties of responsibility to a particular country, area and workforce were largely cut or abandoned.

Global organisations, while paying lip service to shareholder interests, eventually saw themselves as owing allegiance, loyalty or service to no one but their own senior managers. With the inflated proceeds available from paying less tax, contributing less to society, being less regulated, paying less to workers and paying less in manufacturing and production costs, these senior managers were able to reward themselves beyond the dreams of avarice and became blind or indifferent to their own moral bankruptcy. According to corporate psychopathy theory their excessive rewards attracted various predators, charlatans, frauds and psychopaths into their ranks, seeking to join in the financial excesses at the expense of the rest of society.

The decline of environmental sustainability

The decline of environmental sustainability is well documented in many areas including that of the marine environment. As just one example of this, cod, for many years the staple fish in the diet of the British populace and of the populations of other European countries, now stands on the verge of unsustainability and eventual extinction. With adult cod

now numbering in the hundreds, rather than in the hundreds of thousands, their ability to reproduce in sustainable numbers is almost gone. The average age of cod caught continues to fall and as cod are more fertile the older they become this is serious in its implications for sustainability.

Callum Roberts, a Professor of Marine Biology at York University, reports that industrial-scale fishing is so intensive that few animals survive more than a couple of years beyond sexual maturity (Leake 2012). Furthermore, Roberts reports that over-fishing is leaving oceans short of fish and leaving the sea unable to sustain a healthy ecological equilibrium. Shoals of fish that were formerly up to hundreds of miles long are now no longer even a living memory. Roberts reports that UK politicians have ignored 72 recommendations for a moratorium on fishing, that recommendations for fishing only at a level that will allow a maximum sustainable yield are ignored and that landings are still allowed that are over the sustainability threshold (Roberts 2012b).

Ocean floors are now so denuded of most life, that seas are affected by runaway plankton blooms, disease, jellyfish plagues and 'dead zones', which are oxygen free and unable to sustain any life. This means that the functions of the oceans in terms of assimilating human wastes, locking away carbon and providing food are threatened (Roberts 2012a, b).

Dealing with such pressing environmental issues requires corporate leaders of integrity who are prepared to forgo short-term profits and the associated personal bonuses for longer-term sustainability. These environmental issues must also be addressed by political leaders of integrity who are prepared to look beyond their own periods of office to make apparently unpopular decisions about laws governing fishing, farming, logging and pollution control. Psychopaths are highly unlikely to make such long-term, unprofitable and potentially unpopular decisions.

Ruthless political leadership

To some commentators the influence of corporate psychopaths on unethical organisational behaviour, such as that involved in the events leading up to the global financial crisis and in conflict and bullying, appears overstated because, as they represent only 1% of the population, it appears to be illogical that psychopaths can have such a large impact (Caponecchia *et al.* 2011). However, the finding that psychopaths are more likely to be found at the senior levels of organisations (Babiak *et al.* 2010) means that as leaders and managers they can influence others more than would otherwise be the case. Their extroverted personalities also enable them to influence the overall culture of an organisation in an ethically downward direction (Boddy 2011b). Further, psychologists find that despite their low incidence levels, psychopaths account for a disproportionately large amount of all serious criminal activity and so it is not unreasonable to expect that corporate psychopaths may also be responsible for a large amount of unethical behaviour in the corporate sector. In the political sphere psychopaths have also had a disproportionately large impact as the discussion below involving psychopaths in one political party demonstrates.

In the last century various ruthless leaders adopted the label of 'Nazi' to encompass their beliefs and came to power in several European countries including in Italy, Spain and most notably in Germany. In Nazi Germany the top three members of the political hierarchy were all diagnosed as psychopaths. Hitler in 1933, well before his major negative achievements, Hess in 1941 and Goering in 1946 at the Nuremberg War Trials (Gilbert 1948; Lavik 1989; Moore 2012). This psychopathic leadership trio led Germany to total war and the destruction of large areas of Europe. This demonstrates the extent of the influence that psychopaths can have on an organisation, a country and a continent.

In more recent times the ruthless, financially acquisitive, personally exploitative leadership of at least some of the countries involved in recent invasions of other countries (e.g. that of Kuwait) and in the events leading up to the revolutions of the Arab Spring (Anderson 2011a; Ajami 2012) bear all the hallmarks of psychopathy. The use of torture by most of these regimes, the extensive siphoning off of state financial resources into personal bank accounts, and the exploitation, rape and beating of attractive young females as sex slaves by leaders such as Gaddafi (Campbell 2012) are all to be expected of psychopathic leaders. This links into revolution and the events of the Arab Spring via the work of Brinton. The revolutionary theory first proposed by Brinton (1938) suggests that it is when the ruling elite has taken all the resources for itself (as psychopaths would be expected to do) and separated itself from the whole, that revolutions start.

When the people are cramped and subject to scarcity and over-taxation then intellectuals turn against the ruling class and evolve a philosophy of freedom. Eventually the masses organise around this philosophy and begin to demand the heads of those in power. Finally the old regime falls (Brinton 1965, 1st edn, 1938). Much of the Arab Spring can arguably be better understood in the light of psychopathy theory/psychopathic leadership and revolutionary theory/political revolution, with the one inexorably leading to the other.

Corporate psychopaths and the global financial crisis

In terms of the global financial crisis there is an extension of psychopathy theory which marries all that is known about corporate psychopaths to all that is known

about the causes of the global financial crisis to propose that it was corporate psychopaths who were the main instigators of the crisis (Spencer and Wargo 2010; Boddy 2011a; Cohan 2012a). For example, corporate psychopaths are known to be greedy, ruthless, willing to lie, manipulative and conning (Hare 1994, 1999) while the financial crisis was reported to be brought about by excessive debt levels fuelled by the greed, manipulativeness, conning and unethical activities of corporate banks (Whitby 1993; Weinberg 2003; Louie 2007; Smick 2008; Eslake 2009; Mazumder and Ahmad 2010).

For example, debt was created by corporate bankers, and corporate banks were described by financial insiders as being places where the morally bankrupt excel. Such corporate banks were associated with helping companies and countries such as Greece to hide the true extent of their existing debt levels so that they could increase these debt levels even further on world markets (Fortson 2012).

Reactions to this theory by financial insiders writing on the Bloomberg website and that of the *Independent* newspaper in the UK, are predominantly that the theory is perfectly plausible, not unexpected and that people within corporate banking have known that psychopaths work in the financial system for some time (Boddy 2012).

Indeed there have been a couple of reports that corporate banks used a psychopathy measure to recruit new employees; most notably an article in the *Independent* reported a British corporate banker admitting this to a reporter (Basham 2011). It is interesting to note here that, as psychopaths represent 1% of the population and appear to be about 3.5% of senior managers, then logically some corporate bankers must be corporate psychopaths.

Furthermore, if corporate psychopathy theory is correct and corporate psychopaths are more attracted to financial organisations because of the money, power and prestige that are to be found there, then this latter figure of 3.5% may

actually be much higher, and if a conservative factor of 2 is applied then 7% of senior corporate bankers may be corporate psychopaths. Additionally, if corporate banks used a psychopathy measure to recruit employees then considerably more than 7% of senior corporate bankers may be corporate psychopaths and corporate banks may be constituted of large concentrations of these unethical and psychopathic managers.

This would help to explain such banking behaviour as that of hiding bad loans from their own auditors, allowing drug cartels and terrorist organisations to launder money, the practice of illegal interest rate fixing, a 'casino' mentality, a 'pervasively polluted' organisational culture and the judgement that some corporate banking managers were unfit to lead any organisation (Sunderland 2011; *Economist* 2012; Barrow and Salmon 2012; Brummer 2012; Dey 2012a, b; Croucher 2012; Wilson 2012).

The corporate psychopaths theory of the global financial crisis and the reactions to it by financial insiders (Boddy 2011a; Anderson 2011b, c; Cohan 2012b) raises the prospect that just as German political psychopaths devastated the Western world in the total war of 1939 to 1945 so too have psychopaths in the banking sectors in Britain and the USA, devastated the Western world in 2007 and beyond.

Conclusions

Corporate psychopaths, through their own self-centred behaviour and through their influence on the cultures and ethics of the organisations to which they belong and sometimes lead, are arguably the single biggest threat to political stability and peace, the global financial system, the world environment, good corporate governance and responsible management, that the world currently faces.

Corporate psychopaths at the top of corporate entities, because of their aberrant, self-centred and Machiavellian personalities and priorities, will act in their own short-term interests rather than in the longer-term interests of their children, their employees and colleagues, society, the environment or the future of humanity. To ensure that corporate leaders and their followers are caring citizens and responsible leaders, screening measures for psychopathy could be introduced for senior organisational and political positions. The alternative may well be total degradation of the economy, the environment, and extinction for many world species, including for humanity.

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Chapter 9: Organisational Psychopaths: A Ten Year Update

This last (2015) published paper provides an overview of the state of research into corporate psychopaths as it currently stands. The paper thus acts as a timely conclusion to this thesis by publication. The paper makes a contribution to theory and to further research by outlining other possible ways in which corporate psychopaths may influence organisations and those who work for them.

Organisational Psychopaths: A Ten Year Update

Abstract

Purpose: This current paper reviews the theoretical speculations concerning psychopaths in the workplace that were originally presented in a paper published in this journal in 2006. The 2006 paper was called: "The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths".

Design/methodology: This is a review of the literature on workplace psychopaths since 2006.

Findings: This current paper determines that while many of these prior speculations about workplace psychopaths have since been supported by evidence, several others remain unexplored. This finding suggests that several important avenues for further research remain in this important area. In particular, links between corporate psychopaths, bullying and lowered corporate social responsibility have been established. On the other hand, links between corporate psychopaths, career advancement, fraud, and corporate failure as exemplified in the 2007 global financial crisis, have been under-explored.

Social implications: Corporate psychopaths are worthy of further research because of their impact on society, for example on corporate social responsibility and their willingness to dump toxic waste material illegally.

Originality/value: The paper provides an extensive review of research into corporate psychopaths to date and highlights areas where further investigation would be potentially rewarding.

Keywords: Organisational Psychopaths, Corporate Psychopaths, Toxic Leadership, Dark Triad, Global Financial Crisis.

Introduction

Although they may initially look like successful businesspeople (Andrews, Furniss & Evans 2009) corporate psychopaths have been described as unethical decision makers (Stevens, Deuling & Armenakis 2011). Corporate psychopaths have also been reported to constitute the largest threat to business ethics across the world (Marshall et al. 2014). The study of such irresponsible employees (Boddy 2013) in leadership positions has therefore been reported to be opening up a new and important area for research in leadership (Gudmundsson & Southey 2011).

This is particularly valuable because of the consequential nature of organizational leadership in terms of performance and employee well-being (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan 1994; Hogan & Benson 2009). Bad leadership unfavourably influences all who are under its authority (Hogan & Hogan 2001; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan 1994; Kaiser, LeBreton & Hogan 2013), just as was recently found in qualitative research from the UK (Boddy et al. 2015) involving psychopathic leadership. As the case of Barings Bank shows, a single bad leader, even in a middle ranking leadership position, can bring down an entire organisation (Drummond 2002).

The aim of this current paper is to review the published evidence on psychopaths within organisations as it relates to the original speculations as to what their behaviour may encompass. These original speculations were made in a 2006 paper published in this journal, called: "The Dark Side of Management Decisions: Organisational Psychopaths" (Boddy 2006). This current paper reviews the evidence about the behaviour of corporate psychopaths at work, if any exists, under each of the categories of misbehaviour suggested in the 2006 paper. Areas of emerging interest concerning corporate psychopaths are also covered by this review. In particular the link between corporate psychopaths and the global financial crisis is reviewed. Also the assertion by some psychologists that psychopathy and success go together in the corporate world is explored.

Organisational Psychopaths

The original paper stated that organisational psychopaths were also known as corporate psychopaths. Since then the latter has come to be the most commonly used term to describe these people. Corporate psychopaths are the circa 1% segment of the population who are psychopathic (Coid et al. 2009) and who work for organisations. The original article hypothesised that a number of negative effects may be evident resulting from the presence of psychopaths in managerial roles within organisations. This review article looks at each of these in turn and assesses whether support for those hypothesised effects is now evident.

At this point the author notes that a minority of psychology researchers use the term sociopath instead of psychopath. Some psychologists appear to use the terms psychopath and sociopath inter-changeably (Babiak & Hare 2006) (p.18). For example, Stout (2005, p.76), writes that "psychopath refers to sociopathy or the absence of conscience" and also writes (2005, p.129) as if the words sociopath and psychopath are equivalent (Stout 2005b). The absence of conscience is how psychopaths are commonly described (Babiak & Hare 2006) (p.18). Babiak and Hare (2006, p.19) suggest that the term sociopath be used to describe someone who has been socialised (e.g. through upbringing or through membership of a criminal sub-culture) towards a callous and uncaring disposition (Babiak & Hare 2006). For the purposes of this paper, an uncritical view of Stout's use of the word 'sociopathic' is adopted because a critical discussion is beyond the paper's scope. However, see the following paper for a more considered discussion of the possible differences between a psychopath and a sociopath (Pemment 2013).

How Organisational Psychopaths Get Into Organisations

The original work reported that corporate psychopaths look and dress like any other business people. They can be very persuasive, fun to be around and so are able to do well at recruitment interviews. Their charm in particular means that (Gettler 2003) they come across well at job and promotion interviews and inspire people to have confidence in them (Ray & Ray 1982). This confidence means that they can easily enter and do well in organisations and corporations.

These psychopaths present the traits of intelligence and success that many people aspire to (Ray & Ray 1982) and they thus come across as proficient and desirable employees. Being accomplished liars (Kirkman 2005) helps them in obtaining the jobs they want.
The 2006 article also noted that according to evolutionary psychology, humans have a desire to be liked and approved of in order to gain social advantages, supportive relationships from parents and friends and to attract mates (Hofmann & Hasebrook 2004). The paper speculated that psychopaths are aware of this need, and are able to use this by presenting themselves as people who can help, befriend and aid others. They thus, it was hypothesised, make themselves attractive to know, and this facilitates their generating support networks for themselves.

These ideas have been supported from research into the dark triad (Paulhus & Williams 2002; Furnham, Richards & Paulhus 2013) of personalities (Machiavellians, narcissists and psychopaths). This dark triad research has found that psychopaths dress to impress and that (among other factors) people are easily fooled by the attractive appearance of such people (Baker, Brinke & Porter 2013; Holtzman & Strube 2013).

Machiavellians are well-studied in management (Swain 2002; Tang, Chen & Sutarso 2008) whereas the concept of the corporate psychopath is newer, and less well-studied. However, like Machiavellians (Tang, Chen & Sutarso 2008), psychopaths have a love of money and a propensity to engage in unethical behaviour.

Indeed their characteristics are so similar that some researchers argue that psychopaths and Machiavellians are essentially the same (McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto 1998) while others state that there are some differences.

Narcissists are similarly reported to have a lack of human values, to be self-absorbed and to have a need to control others. Narcissists make management decisions that are not in the best interests of their organisation or its employees or of other stakeholders in the organisation (Holian 2006). A full discussion of this triad of dark characters is beyond this paper, but a recent review of the dark triad literature has been made to which the reader can refer (Furnham, Richards & Paulhus 2013).

Organisational Psychopaths Rising Within Organisations

The 2006 article noted that that once psychopaths are inside an organisation they go about methodically planning their rise to the top (Gettler 2003). Further, that psychopaths have a reported talent (Ullman 2006) for using other people, and for concealing their true motives through a combination of ingratiating ways and a façade of normality. This has not been directly explored by research since 2006 apart from a study linking careerism with psychopathy (Chiaburu, Muñoz & Gardner 2013). Indeed, other than talking to corporate psychopaths directly (and psychopaths can be quite candid about their activities when there is nothing to lose from this), it is difficult to see how this well-planned approach to career success can be explored.

However, Chiaburu, Muñoz & Gardner found that primary psychopathy (corresponding to corporate psychopathy) explained additional variance in careerism after accounting for "five-factor" personality traits. This implies that psychopathy is an important predictor of careerism.

In Babiak and Hare's original (2006) description of how corporate psychopaths advance, it was suggested that two factions develop in an organisation once a corporate psychopath starts to ascend to power. One faction comprises of the supporters, pawns and patrons of the psychopaths. The other faction is their detractors, those who realise they have been used and abused, or that the company is in danger (Babiak & Hare 2006). A confrontation results from this, report Hare and Babiak, during which the detractors are outmanoeuvred and ultimately removed and the psychopath ascends to power. This is what appears to have happened in one of the original studies of a workplace psychopath (Babiak 1995).

Since the original paper (2006) was written, a piece of qualitative research has been carried out in the UK which partially addresses this point. Within this research, two participants from two different companies were both working with a corporate psychopath as a colleague or superior (Boddy et al. 2015). In one case a HR Director reported on suspicions towards a corporate psychopath who was a peer of the HR Director. Here, although initially disbelieved, the HR Director eventually overcame the psychopath, who ended up in prison for fraud.
However, this was not easily achieved because the corporate psychopath's superiors deemed him to be worthy of further promotion within the organization because of his perceived 'star' potential. The global board of directors initially said that the challenge to the reputation of the corporate psychopath may have been motivated by professional jealousy. It was only because a forensic accountant was brought in to examine the books, that the fraud was uncovered and the corporate psychopath unmasked. His claimed qualifications were then found to be bogus and his expertise and reputation for cost cutting was found to be based on his use of the work of other people. In another case a senior manager was outmanoeuvred by an even more senior corporate psychopath. The senior manager eventually left and the corporate psychopath continues as CEO (Boddy et al. 2015).

Importantly, research has found that corporate psychopaths are more often found at senior levels of organisations with about 4% of senior managers being psychopathic (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010). These researchers examined psychopathy in a convenience sample of 203 corporate professionals and found a higher incidence of psychopaths in corporations than would be expected among the general population. In this study of 203 senior US corporate executives who were participating in a management development exercise, greater levels of psychopathy were evident than are found in the general adult population (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010). Nine senior executives (4.4%) had very high psychopathy scores and six (3%) scored highly enough to qualify as psychopaths on a psychopathy measure. This indicates that these executives may well have been corporate psychopaths and provides support for the argument that corporate psychopaths can gain high corporate positions.

Babiak, Neumann and Hare (2010) concluded from their study that psychopathy is not necessarily an impediment to progress within corporations, and they imply that style can trump substance in managerial advancement. Individual executives with high psychopathy levels were rated as correlating positively with measures of perceived charisma and presentation style, including on good communication skills. However they were rated negatively on estimations of performance and responsibility, including on management skills and managerial accomplishments (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010).

This corresponds with Australian research suggesting that corporate psychopaths are more likely to be found at senior organizational levels than they are at junior levels (Boddy 2011c). In other words corporate psychopaths may present well and look good, but there may be less substance behind this façade than first appears.

Other indications are also that CEO's have disproportionate numbers of psychopaths within their ranks (Lilienfeld et al. 2014; Dutton 2013). However, these two studies from Lilienfeld and Dutton were respectively from a convenience sample and from a self-selecting sample of respondents, who knew the survey was about psychopathy. Therefore findings cannot reliably be generalised from these studies because they are not necessarily representative of a wider population. Further research would be needed to confirm these findings. Nonetheless, psychologists appear to assume that the possession of dark traits, like that of psychopathy, will accelerate career success (Furnham 2014b). This idea has led to the emergent notion linking psychopaths and corporate psychopaths with success, and to headlines in magazines and newspapers like "Every Business Needs a Psychopath". This is discussed in its own section further on in this review.

The Effects of Organisational Psychopaths on Organisations

The 2006 paper, reporting on the privatisation of New Zealand hospitals in the 1990's stated that one commentator (Bjornsson 2002) likened the effects to those that would be expected from an organisational psychopath. Once corporate management took over the running of hospitals, corporate norms reportedly began to replace healthcare norms in the hospitals concerned.

This meant that knowledge sharing between hospitals halted and resource allocation became based on a financial analysis of the potential return on investment, rather than being based on societal health needs. Further, risk became redefined as being the risk to a hospital's reputation rather than to a person's health. Reportedly, although there was little money for patient treatment there were financial resources available to spend on team building exercises, management consultants and generous executive benefits.

The 2006 article noted that psychopaths lack any sense of remorse, guilt or shame. Further, that this means that they are capable of making decisions that put lives at risk in situations where other managers would make different decisions. For example, not sharing medical information between hospitals may put lives at risk that may otherwise not have been put at risk. Since this 2006 article was published, the UK has seen the publication of the findings of the Francis inquiry (Francis 2013). Echoing the report from New Zealand, this details how lives were needlessly lost, through poor management, in a major hospital of the UK's National Health Service (NHS). Since then one retired senior doctor, with specific reference to the NHS, has suggested that managers should be taught how to deal with psychopaths in the workplace, to help prevent further ethical lapses (de Silva 2014).

Multiplier Effects of Corporate Psychopaths

The 2006 article noted that in studies of criminal psychopaths it has been found that psychopaths are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime compared to their incidence in the population. It was hypothesised that psychopaths in organisations may also be responsible for a disproportionate amount of organisational misbehaviour, including accounting fraud, stock manipulation, unnecessary firings and corporately induced environmental damage.

The original paper stated that organisational psychopaths who get to the top of organisations can be assumed to be highly intelligent as well as manipulative, and that some research indicates that high intelligence in psychopaths seems to enhance their destructive potential (Johansson & Kerr 2005). There has been no further research (to my knowledge) which relates to the intelligence of psychopaths and their destructiveness and so this area remains as an interesting area of investigation. However, there has been some recognition in the literature on toxic leadership that bad leadership has a greater negative effect than good leadership has a positive effect (Schyns & Schilling 2013; Schyns 2015a). As Schyns reported in a "state of the art" presentation on destructive leadership, "bad is greater than good" (Schyns 2015b). This may be because good leadership is incremental and directionally cumulative. Bad (toxic, destructive) leadership on the other hand throws organisational developments into reverse and so creates more repercussions.

Also there is some evidence that bullying influences the personalities of those within the abusive environment. Employees become less open and less agreeable (Nielsen 2015). This implies that the negativity of the corporate psychopath, via the creation of an abusive and bullying atmosphere, spreads across employees, who become less helpful to each other as a result.

Corresponding with this, research has found that in the presence of corporate psychopaths as managers, there are fewer resources available and more constraints on employee effectiveness (Boddy 2010b; Boddy 2010a).

Corporate Psychopaths and Other Stakeholders

The original work (2006) speculated that shareholder groups, like pension funds, may start to take an interest in whether organisations screen for psychopathy in mangers, in order to help protect their investments. There is no reported academic research on this. However one financial journalist has reported that investors such as insurance companies would have a vested interest in curtailing the unethical behaviour of corporate psychopaths in organisations (Anderson 2012). Further, at a shareholder's meeting of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 2014 the issue of banks having recruited psychopaths as employees (Basham 2011) was raised by a shareholder activist called Gavin Palmer (Bennett 2014).

Palmer related corporate psychopaths in corporate banks to the global financial crisis and to the repeated ethical misbehaviour (fraud, money laundering, rate rigging, risk taking) of those banks. Another report states that a psychopath who was turned down for a CEO position in London after being diagnosed as a psychopath by a psychiatrist, ended up working for an investment bank (Dean 2014). A further paper argues that psychopaths in banking would not be good for long term success (Mesly & Maziade 2013). This lends credibility to the possibility that the global financial crisis, of 2007 onwards, was connected to the presence of corporate psychopaths. This is discussed below.

Corporate Psychopaths and the Global Financial Crisis

The issue of corporate psychopaths in corporate banks may be a fruitful area of investigation because financial insiders tend to agree that corporate psychopaths are relatively common within corporate banks (Cohan 2012b; Boddy 2012a). Financial insiders as well as psychologists and management researchers agree that corporate psychopaths within banks were linked to the global financial crisis (Cohan 2012a; Boddy 2011a; Spencer & Wargo 2010; Mulhern 2010; Boddy 2012a).

These ideas have been supported by research which finds that psychopathy scores are higher among finance students than they are among other students (Andrews 2015). This arguably indicates that, as expected, it is the money, power and prestige offered by careers in corporate finance, that corporate psychopaths seek. Further, a thematic analysis of reactions to the main idea in the corporate psychopaths theory of the global financial crisis, shows that financial insiders support the theory (Boddy 2012a). This (2012a) paper concludes that many British commentators on the theory are aware of the nature and characteristics of corporate psychopaths and the types of behaviour that they engage in. Also, a short literature review of the accepted causes of the global financial crisis, shows that greed, avarice, love of money and ruthless business behaviour are accepted as being the underlying causes of the debt bubble that brought on the financial crisis. These are the sorts of behaviour that corporate psychopaths would be expected to engage in.

The (2012a) paper concludes that the theory linking corporate psychopaths with the global financial crisis represents the logical coalescence of what is known about the crisis with what is known about corporate psychopaths. This (2012a) paper discusses that the implications of the theory being correct, are that corporate banks still have corporate psychopaths working for them and that therefore banks will continue to engage in recklessly risky behaviour in order to boost individual bonuses. This, reported the paper, would in turn result in further adverse financial outcomes for the economy and society. This has since proven to be the case.

Corporate Failure

The original paper noted that organisational psychopaths are concerned with their own enrichment and success, and not that of the organisation for which they work. Further, that according to Human Resources magazine (Anonymous 2005) a spate of corporate collapses in the US could be linked to the senior management of those corporations exhibiting the behaviours of psychopaths. It was thus hypothesised that corporations and other organisations which employ organisational psychopaths would be more likely to experience failure. There has been no direct empirical evidence linking corporate failure with the presence of psychopaths. However, historically a number of organisations which failed have been linked with CEOs who have been described as possessing psychopathic traits. In particular the CEOs of Enron (a US power distribution company), the Daily Mirror (a UK newspaper) and the Madoff investment group (a US Ponzi scheme) have all been named as potentially psychopathic (Perri 2013; Mesly & Maziade 2013; BBCNews 2004).

The 2006 article reported that where an organisation has been infiltrated by corporate psychopaths the result is often that a few people become wealthy. However, everyone else suddenly finds themselves out of a job, without their promised pension and/or without an organisation left to work for (Ullman 2006). In the above examples of reportedly highly psychopathic CEO's, employees did lose their jobs (Enron) pensions (Enron and Daily Mirror) and investments (Enron, Daily Mirror and Madoff).

These ideas linking highly psychopathic CEOs with organisational collapse have now been more thoroughly explored using a measure of psychopathy against the reported behaviour of Robert Maxwell (of the (UK) Mirror Group) and Kenneth Lay (of (USA's) Enron Corporation). Both Lay and Maxwell score highly on the measure of corporate psychopathy used in these historical review papers (Boddy 2015a; Boddy 2015b). Furthermore, both were highly instrumental in the financial collapse of the organisations that they ran.

Following on from the ideas in the section above, concerning corporate psychopaths in corporate banks, it is evident that under true market capitalism conditions, i.e. without government intervention, most corporate banks would have failed after the 2007 global financial crisis. If corporate psychopathy theory is correct, then such failure would be expected if these banks were run by corporate psychopaths. Further research into this area is therefore called for, not least because if corporate psychopaths remain in senior positions within corporate banks then a re-run of the crisis may be expected (Boddy 2011a).

Fraudulent Activities

The original 2006 paper stated that psychopaths would be willing to falsify financial results to get promotion (McCormick & Burch 2005), bonuses and other benefits, and even to commit fraud (Clarke 2005) on the company that employs them. Fraud is (Kirkman 2005) a particular crime that psychopaths tend to commit according to Cleckley, one of the first writers and researchers on psychopaths.

Since then a persuasive argument has been made that psychopaths within organisations will be involved in fraud, and further that if thwarted they may resort to violence against those who threatened to expose them (Perri & Brody 2011b; Perri 2011; Perri & Brody 2011a; Perri 2013). For example in one paper, Perri describes how a twenty-one year old psychopathic young man, who defrauded his parents using forged signatures, went on to kill his father and attempt to kill his mother to prevent them from exposing his fraudulent behaviour to the banks concerned and to the police (Perri 2010). Perri notes the instrumental nature of this violence, (instrumental violence is expected from psychopaths). It was planned, without conscience or emotion, in order to solve the problem of potential exposure.

The psychopath had a history of fraudulently falsifying college records to appear more academically successful, and to get back into a good university. He also had a record of stealing from a past employer and from his parents and showing off by telling lies in which he claimed to be very wealthy. Within two weeks of his parents threatening to expose him to the authorities, their son committed murder and attempted murder in order to try and prevent this happening. Psychologist familiar with the case were reportedly of the opinion that the perpetrator was a psychopath (Perri 2010).

This corresponds with the finding from recent UK research, discussed below. Here the corporate psychopath threatened to kill members of the family of a manager who threatened to expose the fraud being perpetrated by the corporate psychopath. This resulted in the threatened manager having a nervous breakdown (Boddy et al. 2015).

In another paper Perri and Brody describe how some fraudsters use real or apparent similarities with their victims, to help entice the victims into parting with their money. The apparently shared affiliations or personal characteristics facilitate the development of trust between the victim and the fraudster (Perri & Brody 2012). With their defences down, people are then more gullible to the promises of the fraudster. Perri and Brody warn that fraudsters who are also psychopathic will not hesitate to use violence or murder to protect themselves from exposure.

The three potentially psychopathic CEO's mentioned above (Maxwell, Lay and Madoff) were all involved in fraud. In addition, qualitative UK research indicated a corporate psychopath within a global professional services corporation who was convicted of fraud and who had made death threats against those who threatened to expose him (Boddy et al. 2015). Therefore the link between fraud and psychopathy remains relatively unexplored, except in case study research, but it is one that would be worthy of more investigation.

Unnecessary Employee Redundancies

As psychopaths have no conscience, and are not concerned with the financial or emotional effects of their actions on other people, it was hypothesised that they would be quite willing to fire staff if this would impress the stock market. Such behaviour could be passed off as a cost cutting/organisational efficiency exercise. However it was hypothesised that the real aim would be to increase the share price, and thereby make the psychopaths' shares or share options in the company more valuable. So far there is little evidence to support this 2006 viewpoint.

However, in the qualitative UK research in 2013, one research participant reported that employees, who would have been of longer term benefit to an organisation, were sacked. This was reported to be in order to make the company look more profitable in the short term, in preparation for a stock market floatation (Boddy et al. 2015).

Further, leaders like Albert Dunlap (of Sunbeam Corporation, USA), who score highly on a measure of corporate psychopathy, were described as being people who delight in firing employees for no good reason (Byrne 2000). Dunlap was reportedly responsible for cutting thousands of staff, earning himself the nickname "Chainsaw Al Dunlap" for his willingness to make organisational cuts (Long 2002). More recently, organisations in the UK headed by corporate psychopaths, had introduced "on-the-spot" firings as an unethical way of cutting staff members, including those who had worked for the organisations for long periods of time (Boddy et al. 2015).

Exploited Workforce

Organisational psychopaths were claimed to parasitically claim the credit for work they have not done (Clarke 2005), blame others for things that go wrong because of their own actions and to exploit everyone who works for them. This is supported by research, albeit of a limited nature. For example, qualitative research in the UK found that a corporate psychopath main board director listened to the presentations of other employees, criticised them and then subsequently presented them to his hierarchical superiors as if they were all his own work (Boddy et al. 2015).

Maxwell, discussed as a possible corporate psychopath, was reported to be physically and verbally intimidating to his staff at the Daily Mirror (Boddy 2015a). He ruled via a culture of fear and such a culture was recently reported to be common within other UK companies managed by corporate psychopaths (Boddy et al. 2015).

No Sense of Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Damage

The original paper suggested that as they have no conscience, psychopaths would not be at all concerned with the consequences of their actions on the environment or on society. They would have no sense of corporate social responsibility, other than paying lip service to the concept when it makes them look good to do so. An important paper in relation to this was one which investigated the relationship between a self-reported psychopathy score and the self-reported inclination to engage in the illegal dumping of toxic waste materials (Ray & Jones 2011).

There was a close correlation between these two, indicating that as expected, corporate psychopaths have no sense of corporate social responsibility. This finding is supported by another piece of research among Australian managers, which found that the presence of corporate psychopaths correlates with a perception that an organisation has no sense of corporate social responsibility (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010). In the presence of corporate psychopaths as managers, organisations were perceived to have significantly lower levels of doing business in a socially desirable way or in a way that shows commitment to the organisation's own employees. Further, such organisations were also significantly less likely to demonstrate doing business in an environmentally friendly manner, or in a way that benefits the local community (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010).

As well as the benefits inherent in being socially responsible, and being a good corporate citizen, there are also reputation and other benefits that accrue to the organisation which demonstrates such good citizenship behaviour (Adcroft et al. 2009). Therefore the lack of corporate social responsibility of corporate psychopaths damages their own organisation as well as society.

Disheartened Workforce

The 2006 article speculated that psychopaths within organisations would use their manipulative skills to dominate and control the people they work with (Clarke 2005). Further, that the employees would be concomitantly disheartened and fearful. Empirical research from the US does indicate that employees working under corporate psychopaths are distressed by the experience (Mathieu et al. 2012). The well-being of such employees is also influenced (Mathieu et al. 2014). Furthermore, qualitative research from Nelson and Tonks in Australia described a connection between corporate psychopaths as managers and employee disillusionment. They found that many employees suffered effects such as experiencing bullying from working with corporate psychopaths (Nelson & Tonks 2011). Nelson and Tonks (2011) conducted a qualitative study of eighteen Australian workers (nine males, nine females) who had all worked with colleagues who demonstrated substantial levels of psychopathic behaviour. Employees reported levels of stress, despair, insecurity, frustration and anger (Nelson & Tonks 2011). Withdrawal behaviour was also evident from their qualitative study of employees who had worked with psychopathic colleagues. Research participants reported increased levels of avoidance behaviour, staff turnover and resignations (Nelson & Tonks 2011). Such employees also have lower levels of job satisfaction (Sanecka 2013).

UK research also indicates that employees who have been in close contact with corporate psychopaths are afraid and traumatised. This can be to the extent that many of them become disillusioned with their organisation, lose their work ethic and dedication, and leave the organization, even with no further jobs to go to (Boddy et al. 2015). This corresponds with research that has found a link between corporate ethics and job satisfaction (Koh & Boo (El'fred) 2004). Further, the unethical environment created by corporate psychopath managers does correlate with declining levels of job satisfaction (Mathieu et al. 2014).

Recent US research explored the experiences of the followers of corporate psychopaths and found that corporate psychopaths want to control their environment (Malovany 2014). Corporate psychopaths create a culture of fear through shouting at and publicly humiliating employees in front of their peers. This abusive behaviour creates self-doubt, lowered self-confidence, distress and lowered emotional well-being among employees (Malovany 2014). The findings from this qualitative US research were very much in line with the findings from similar qualitative research in the UK (Boddy et al. 2015).

Political Decision Making

The 2006 article reported that corporate psychopaths, in deliberately generating hostility between groups of colleagues and co-workers, can create confusion in the workplace. This confusion reportedly enables psychopaths to push through their own agendas, at the expense of the organisation's true interests. This is partially supported by research because it has been found that corporate psychopaths engage in corporate re-organisations which appeared to be unnecessary to other managers. For example, there were three re-organisations within two years in a charity headed by a corporate psychopath (Boddy et al. 2015). These re-organisations resulted in a weaker and less autonomous main board, in terms of their being fewer board members and in terms of these board members being less independent of the patronage of the corporate psychopath CEO. In this research, organisational decisions made under corporate psychopaths were described as capricious or whimsical, and with no obvious logical connection to the organisation's longevity (Boddy et al. 2015).

Workplace Bullying

It was hypothesised that bullying would be used by psychopaths in organisations, perhaps as a tactic to humiliate (Clarke 2005) subordinates. It was further hypothesised that this bullying may occur because many psychopaths enjoy and are stimulated by hurting people. Also bullying may occur as a tactic to confuse and disorientate those who may be a threat to the activities of the psychopath. It was hypothesised that bullying would distract attention away from the activities of the psychopath, which may otherwise be notice by a normally functioning staff.

The first of these hypotheses has been well supported by research. Corporate psychopaths seem to be responsible for between a quarter and a third of all workplace bullying (Boddy 2011b; Boddy 2014). Further, such bullying is associated with corporate psychopaths in Australia (Nelson & Tonks 2011), the USA (Malovany 2014) and the UK (Boddy et al. 2015).

The bullying experienced can be particularly vicious and involve multiple victims, several times per week, on a continuous basis (Boddy et al. 2015). The second of these hypotheses, i.e. the issue of why psychopaths bully, has not been adequately explored in research and remains an unresolved area. However, it is clear that psychopaths and bullying go together (Nelson & Tonks 2011; Malovany 2014; Boddy et al. 2015).

Short-Term Decision Making

The original 2006 paper stated that psychopaths within organisations would attempt to maximise their immediate wealth and power, and would tend therefore to make decisions which are not necessarily in the long term interests of the organisations they work for. Evidence from qualitative research in the UK supports the view that the decisions of corporate psychopaths lack strategic intent.

Corporate psychopaths are reportedly concerned with tactical minutia rather than the long term, strategic interests of the corporations they run (Boddy et al. 2015). In relation to this, Babiak and colleagues also found that psychopathy was positively associated with in-house ratings of charisma/presentation style but negatively associated with ratings of responsibility and performance (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010).

Disregarded Investor Interests

The original paper stated that psychopaths within organisations would engage in self-enrichment, self-promotion and self-gratification at the expense of other stakeholders like corporate investors. As far as this author is aware, there has since been no direct evidence relating to this. However, in research among the dark triad of personalities, psychopaths have been found to be willing to put other people's money at risk for personal gain (Jones 2014; Jones 2013).

Further, among those corporate leaders who have been identified as potential psychopaths, it is clear that Lay (of Enron) mislead investors as to the true value, sustainability and financial viability of Enron.
He withdrew large personal amounts of money immediately prior to the corporation's collapse, while simultaneously reassuring investors as to Enron's longer term viability.

Similarly Maxwell stole money from his pensioners' investment funds with little regard for the longer term interests of those pensioners. Madoff also had no regards for or care for his investors, and he was found to be running a Ponzi scheme, with no chance at all of most investors ever recovering their funds.

Lost Economies of Expertise

It was hypothesised that employees who were perceived as threatening to a corporate psychopath's career progression would be undermined, counter-attacked and eventually removed from the organisation, and that this would lead to a loss of expertise. Corresponding with this, qualitative research has found that staff turnover increases by a large margin in the presence of corporate psychopaths. People are fired capriciously, while others leave the toxic environment created by the presence of psychopaths, as soon as they are able to (Boddy et al. 2015). Employees loose heart and disengage with the business of the organisation. Their expertise thus goes to waste as they drift aimlessly in their organisational positions. Other withdrawal behaviour, like absenteeism and lateness, also increases under managerial corporate psychopaths (Boddy 2011c). This must logically imply a loss of expertise.

Decisions of Questionable Legality

With no conscience (Stout 2005a; Stout 2005b) or sense of morality it was speculated that organisational psychopaths would have no problems with making organisational decisions that are immoral, unethical, contrary to accepted codes of professional practice, or just illegal. Supporting this viewpoint, recent research among HR Directors found that at least one director was found to have fired an employee, (under orders from a corporate psychopath) with inadequate legal grounds for doing so. This employee sought legal redress and won the case against the company concerned (Boddy et al. 2015). The HR Director reported that he felt under pressure from the corporate psychopath to take such unethical and potentially illegal action at work. Furthermore and as already discussed, psychopathy and the willingness to engage in illegal toxic waste dumping have been found to correlate (Ray & Jones 2011).

Business Partnerships with Organisational Psychopaths

The original article speculated that when a number of partners go into a business together and one of them is a psychopath, then the psychopath would end up with the great majority of financial and material gains from the business. There has been no published research directly relevant to this area. In a paper about entrepreneurs and psychopaths it was found that psychopaths may be attracted to the idea of being a successful entrepreneur, but may be less likely to be willing to do the amount of work necessary to achieve this (Cesinger et al. 2011). Cesinger and colleagues point out that their grandiosity, inflated view of their own abilities and attraction to positions of power, success and stimulation may attract psychopaths towards entrepreneurialism.

They found a correlation between psychopathy and the intention to be an entrepreneur but a negative correlation with entrepreneurial performance in the form of business planning (Cesinger et al. 2011). Their work is significant because it took the study of corporate psychopaths into an un-explored area, that of entrepreneurialism, and uncovered some findings which may be counter-intuitive, in that the parasitic nature of psychopaths and entrepreneurialism may not have been expected to go together.

In a more recent (2013) paper on psychopaths and entrepreneurialism Akhtar, Ahmetoglu and Chamorro-Premuzic reported on their on-line survey of 435 adults in the UK. These researchers measured primary psychopathy and secondary psychopathy, as well as entrepreneurial tendencies and entrepreneurial success. Primary psychopathy corresponds with the conceptualization of corporate psychopathy used in this article because it delineates the underlying interpersonal and affective aspects of psychopathy.

Secondary psychopathy corresponds more with the conceptualization of criminal psychopathy because it delineates the criminal and anti-social behaviour associated with criminal psychopaths. Thus of most interest to this current article, from Akhta et al.'s research, is the finding that primary psychopathy was significantly and negatively related to social entrepreneurship. This finding indicates that primary (or corporate) psychopaths are less likely to initiate activities to improve society (Akhtar, Ahmetoglu & Chamorro-Premuzic 2013). The finding is in line with the expectations of Corporate Psychopathy Theory which hypothesizes that corporate psychopaths will be more drawn to some types of organization rather than to others, and will not be drawn to those organizations whose aim is the care of and betterment of other people.

Corporate Psychopaths and Leadership

In terms of psychopathy and leadership there is little evidence. Commentators suppose that psychopathic people can pose as successful leaders (Andrews, Furniss & Evans 2009), and they have been found in leadership positions at CEO and main board level (Boddy et al. 2015). Further, Westerlaken and Woods recently (2013) reported on their research among a small (N=115) sample of students who had at least some managerial work experience. This investigated the relationship between psychopathy and leadership and found a significant negative correlation between psychopathy and transformational leadership, and individual consideration (Westerlaken & Woods 2013). These authors also found a significant positive correlation between psychopathy and passive management, passive leadership and a laissez-faire approach to leadership; i.e. a "couldn't care less" approach to leadership, involving avoidance of decision making and abdication of responsibility. This is entirely in line with the expectations of Corporate Psychopathy Theory and is a useful addition to the knowledge on psychopaths as leaders in organizations.

Coping with Corporate Psychopaths

The original (2006) paper warned readers that it would be dangerous to engage in direct power struggles with psychopaths, as they would seek to inflict emotional or physical harm on those who opposed them. This has been reinforced by research which found reports of death threats towards those who threatened to expose the (fraudulent) activities of a corporate psychopath (Boddy et al. 2015).

Clarke advised that employees should exit the organisation concerned as quickly as possible if they came across a workplace psychopath. Clarke reported that by the time someone 'blows the whistle' on the behaviour of the corporate psychopath, the whistle blower's credibility would already have been undermined and their reporting of misbehaviour would not be believed. This has also been reinforced by research, which found that in two cases where a manager tried to expose the activities of a corporate psychopath, in both cases the complainant was disbelieved. One senior corporate psychopath was described as a star employee by his seniors, and the two complainants in this organisation were initially characterised as being motivated by professional jealousy. This was before the psychopath's fraud was unearthed and the complainants were vindicated (Boddy et al. 2015). In the second case the manager who complained was simply not believed by the board chairperson, who had become a sports playing partner of the CEO psychopath.

The original 2006 paper recommended that at the recruitment stage, interviewers should gain references from candidate's ex-bosses, as well as from their peers and subordinates. This advice is underscored by recent research which found that a fraudulent corporate psychopath had claimed on his CV that he had a world class MBA. This turned out to be a complete fabrication, (Boddy et al. 2015) and more rigorous reference checking may have uncovered this. Indeed leading organisational psychologists have recently stated that in light of (among other things) the ability of people with psychopathic personalities to present them-selves very well, the interview only approach to employee selection should be abandoned in favour of more thorough approaches (Furnham 2014a).

The Question of Why Psychopaths Don't Retire Once They Become Rich

A discussion of why organisational psychopaths do not retire once they become very wealthy was made in the original paper. It was speculated that psychopaths never feel that they have enough power, money or prestige and that they pursue wealth and status to compensate (Pepper 2005) for an internal sense of worthlessness and despair. No further research has been published in this area and it remains unexplored.

However, investigations of potential corporate psychopaths in business history may provide some further insights. For example, Maxwell, a high psychopathy scoring leader, was reported to have created 400 corporate entities to control his business empire. This made it difficult for an outsider as well as most insiders, apart from Maxwell himself, to evaluate the true worth and economic viability of the collective enterprises.

Maxwell could arguably not have left control of his empire to others (e.g. by retiring) without leaving it open to critical scrutiny, and the realisation of its lack of financial viability. This is exactly what happened after Maxwell's death. Similarly Madoff could not have left control of his investments company without exposing it as a Ponzi scheme. In the same way as Maxwell; Lay and Fastow, Enron's senior management team had created a web of over 700 related companies and deals to hide the true extent of their debt (Tonge, Greer & Lawton 2003; Culpan & Trussel 2005). These dealings allowed Enron to conceal market losses and mislead analysts. This again made a holistic analysis difficult and created a degree of confusion over Enron's profitability.

It may thus be that corporate psychopaths cling onto leadership because they are afraid of exposure once they lose power. While they control their organisations, corporate psychopaths can use their impression management skills to present an image of success. However, once they lose control, the façade unravels to reveal the true situation.

The Question of Whether Psychopaths Go On Corporate Acquisition Sprees

The 2006 paper noted that organisational psychopaths tend to go on corporate acquisition sprees once they are in a position to do so. It was speculated that they would buy other companies around the world because their appetite for power and control is insatiable, and because it feeds their grandiosity. According to one commentator (Bendell 2006) organisational psychopaths love to be feared and like to live a lifestyle of conspicuous consumption, in order to reinforce their sense of greatness. Acquisitions also create a sense of change and a certain amount of chaos in organisations and, according to Babiak, (Bendell 2006), organisational psychopaths thrive in a changing environment.

According to the 2006 paper, corporate psychopaths can hide their activities behind a rapidly changing background and can more easily deflect attention away from themselves, and the results of their activities, in this environment. While no direct research has explored this area, it is evident that in two cases where CEO's have been described as psychopathic, complicated corporate acquisitions were evident.

As discussed above, Robert Maxwell created such a complex web of around 400 public and private corporate entities in his empire, making it difficult to discern that the businesses were fundamentally unprofitable, in-debt and near collapse (Clarke 1992).

Dunlap, at Sunbeam Corporation, reportedly started to make corporate acquisitions once a sale of Sunbeam became unlikely and when the financial position started to deteriorate. He later blamed these acquisitions for 'temporary' drops in profitability. These drops in profitability were subsequently exposed as being due to accounting irregularities and fraud. This can be read as evidence of the acquisitions really being made to obfuscate the situation rather than for any intrinsic economic benefit.

Corporations as Psychopaths

The original paper noted that there were suggestions (Bakan 2006) that corporations themselves could be psychopathic, because of their lack of conscience.
Further, that a corporation can have the characteristics of a psychopath, according to the definition of the World Health Organisation. This WHO definition states that psychopaths display the characteristics of being: callous to the feelings of others, incapable of maintaining enduring relationships, reckless as to the safety of others, deceitful, incapable of experiencing guilt and display a failure to conform to social norms and laws. It was speculated in the 2006 paper that corporations which have become psychopathic will engage in such activities as seeking out loopholes in the law to avoid taxes and regulations. Further, that these psychopathic corporations would manipulate their stock prices, to the benefit of executives with shares and share option schemes, and to the detriment of investors, pension funds and workers.

There has been no direct evidence relating to these speculations. However, only one type of corporation, that of corporate banks, has ever been reported to have used a psychopathy measure to recruit new employees (Basham 2011). A procedure that has been likened to using criminal psychopaths to guard the crown jewels.

Coincidentally, corporate banks have since engaged in fraud, illegal rate rigging, money laundering and a culture of excessive risk taking; with some of their senior executives being described as being unfit to run any company at all, much less a bank (Wilson 2012). Robert Maxwell, another potential corporate psychopath, was also judged unfit to hold a directorship of a public company, long before his fraud was uncovered (Clarke 1993).

Enron has recently been described as being a psychopathic corporation (Boddy 2015b). Corresponding with predictions, it sought out, via political lobbying, changes in the law to get around regulations regarding energy supply in California. Enron also engaged in manipulative and dishonest corporate behaviour to influence the share price to the benefit of executives with shares and share option schemes, and to the eventual severe detriment of investors, pension funds and employees.

Psychopaths and Organizational Success

A development in corporate psychopathy research since 2006 is the reported linking of psychopathy with business success. There have been recent reports that businesses need psychopaths as employees and that psychopaths and success go together. For example, in an article in 'people management' called "Every business needs a psychopath" which concerns a recent book on psychopaths.

Here, the reporter asked the psychologist who co-authored the book, whether HR should actively recruit psychopaths. The reported answer was that that companies need people with a mixture of traits at various levels of "volume" (Crush 2014). This, together with the title of the article "Every business needs a psychopath" seems to imply that the answer is that HR should actively recruit psychopaths. Another press report (Crawford 2013) on the same recent book about psychopathy and success reads like an admiration for these non-criminal psychopaths, because of their personality traits. For example their coolness under pressure (i.e. unemotional coldness), their reward-driven (i.e. selfish), assertive (i.e. aggressive), un-procrastinating (i.e. impulsive) approach and their lack of self-blame (i.e. lack of conscience) and ability to look on the positive side (i.e. no remorse) when things go wrong.

The Crawford article discusses financial traders making "a killing" in the markets. In relation to this there have been reports, as already described in this paper, that corporate banks recruited psychopaths as new employees. This can be argued to have exacerbated the greed and ruthlessness that contributed to the spiral of debt that caused the global financial crisis (Cohan 2012b; Boddy 2011a). Psychopathic traders undoubtedly "made a killing" in the market but, as usual with psychopaths, it was at the expense of everyone else, as they increased global debt in generating their bonuses. Economic decline, debt, stagnation, unemployment and homelessness have been the result of this.

This reporting of psychopaths as somehow admirable and as people society can count on in a crisis may sound plausible to some people. However, subjecting this view to any rigorous analysis, even of a per-functionary nature, reveals such a view to be nonsense. Ironically, the same 'people management' article also provides a list of the twenty most common employee complaints, about work colleagues. What is interesting here is that research among HR Directors and other managers who have worked with corporate psychopaths, clearly shows that six of the top ten of these twenty types of behaviour are strongly associated with corporate psychopaths (Boddy et al. 2015). For example, corporate psychopaths blame everyone else for their own mistakes, never admit being wrong, "suck up" to their bosses, take credit for others' work, criticise others behind their backs and leave complicated work for others to do. Deliberately recruiting psychopaths would therefore antagonise other employees, often beyond their patience to remain in employment with a psychopathic colleague.

This situation would cause employees to disengage with, withdraw from, seek revenge towards and ultimately leave the organisation concerned. This is what research into corporate psychopaths at work has demonstrated (Boddy et al. 2015). This leaves the organization bereft of good employees, lacking in direction and effective leadership and declining in almost every known measure of performance.

Indeed, as already discussed above, research shows that the presence of corporate psychopaths in organizations has a major influence on conflict and bullying, withdrawal from the workplace, job satisfaction, workload, perceptions of corporate social responsibility, organisational constraints, marketing services delivery and counterproductive work behaviour (Boddy 2011c).

Nonetheless, Smith and Lilienfeld (2013) also suggest that there may be adaptive and positive features of psychopathy as far as leadership is concerned. They posit the existence of positive psychopathic leadership outcomes stemming from such traits as the fearless dominance and boldness of psychopaths, their concomitantly increased levels of persuasiveness, and ability to set an agenda for the future (Smith & Lilienfeld 2013). Corporate psychopaths, it is reported, may be useful to have around when the workforce *"needs"* (my italics) to be halved or factories *need* to be closed (Lynn 2005).

Lilienfeld and his colleagues also reportedly find support for a link between historians' perceptions of effective US presidential leadership, and the psychopathic traits of fearless dominance and self-centred impulsivity (Lilienfeld et al. 2012). These authors reported that fearless dominance was related to historians' perceptions of favourable presidential performance and speculate that components of psychopathy may be related to positive leadership outcomes. Their study entailed some methodological limitations in that it suffered from an ethnocentric viewpoint and possible bias. It was mainly US, with some UK (a culturally similar country) historians, evaluating US presidential success.

Such estimations of success may be more positive than those of historians from more culturally different backgrounds. However, notwithstanding the methodological issues, claiming that "components" of psychopathy may have positive leadership outcomes is very different to having actual psychopaths as leaders in politics or business delivering positive outcomes.

Indeed, the viewpoint that psychopaths may make a positive contribution to performance presents a prima facie level of conceptual conflict between the description of psychopaths as selfish, uncaring and ruthless, and as potential contributors to organizational success. Answers to the questions of; at what point in time positive outcomes are to be measured and for whom the results of psychopathic leadership are judged to be positive, may help to resolve this apparent conceptual conflict. The reason for these questions is that corporate psychopaths are hypothesized to be good at creating a positive impression when first met, and at presenting a credible and attractive vision of the future (Babiak & O'Toole 2012; Babiak 1995). Those who have worked with colleagues who score highly on psychopathy measures estimate that such people can manipulate their image in order to appear attractive on first meeting them, but that this impression is not necessarily maintained over time (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Galvin 2010; Boddy 2006). Thus at one point in time a psychopathic leader may be judged to be successful on many measures and by most supporters but may eventually produce outcomes that are negative for everyone with the possible exception of the psychopath.

Dealing with Corporate Psychopaths

Some psychologists and management researchers call for the screening of psychopaths, to prevent them gaining sensitive positions where they could adversely affect the environment or other people's well-being. For example, Langbert suggests that psychopaths be closely managed at work and that other employees should be trained to recognize psychopaths in the workplace to aid in monitoring and managing them (Langbert 2010).

In an extant literature stream on leadership and managerial effectiveness, commentators were calling for the screening of senior managers for "dark side" tendencies and associated personality disorders as early as 1994 (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan 1994). Corporate psychopaths should equally be identified and managed, report some commentators (Marshall et al. 2014).

However, other psychologists, in a recent review of the psychopathy literature, conclude that calls for psychopathy screening are premature, because there is reportedly insufficient scientific evidence to support the necessity for workplace psychopathy screening (Skeem et al. 2011). This remains a topic for further debate and investigation.

In terms of the moral and legal culpability of psychopaths it has been pointed out that philosophers have concentrated on discussing criminal rather than more successful psychopaths (Varga 2015). This neglect is an area that philosophers may want to address in further examination of the subject of corporate psychopaths.

Implications for Further Research

The original 2006 paper noted that further research was needed, because very little research had been undertaken by psychologists in the area of corporate psychopathy. However, if corporate psychopaths are a major threat to business ethics around the world that they are reported to be, then it may be argued that a wider perspective than that usually adopted by psychologists needs to be adopted, and that therefore researchers from other disciplines need to be involved in this investigation. To a large extent this research has only recently started to emerge and the main writers on psychopaths continue to be organisational psychologists. In spite of this, sociologists have recently started to observe that they should be more concerned with psychopathic personalities, and other dark characters in the workplace. This is reported to be because the systems appraisal approach which sociologists usually adopt cannot sufficiently account for individual greed, fraud, theft and mismanagement (Winchester 2012). Writers on information technology have also started to discuss the implications of having corporate psychopaths in their ranks (Shayo et al. 2014).

The possible implications for the function of marketing, of the presence of corporate psychopaths, have been discussed (Boddy 2012b) but no empirical evidence has been presented on this as yet.

However, it may be expected that as marketing promotes a concern for the customer, (referred to as having a marketing orientation, which is linked with organisational success) (Appiah-Adu & Singh 1998; Dobni & Luffman 2000; Harris 1996), then there will be significant differences when managerial corporate psychopaths are present. Corporate psychopaths, with their self-orientated rather than market oriented focus, will theoretically not promote customer interests or long range planning (Hormozi et al. 2002) which are among the ingredients of organisational success.

Also, it has been hypothesised that corporate psychopaths in managerial positions in supplier-client relationships, may influence these supplier-client relationships in a negative manner (Garry et al. 2015). Research could investigate what the influence is on the longevity of the supplier-client relationship, when one of the managers in key positions is psychopathic. This could include looking at how quickly these relationships change once a psychopathic manager is appointed to such a position.

Likewise of interest to organisational researchers would be an empirical examination of how speedily the culture of an organisation changes after the appointment of a psychopathic manager. Qualitative research indicates that such a change is more rapid than may be expected, and that the work-ethic and culture of an organisation changes within weeks or months of a psychopathic appointment to a leadership position. Any such finding would re-enforce the need for screening for psychopaths in leadership positions.

The issue of to what extent corporate psychopaths congregate in certain organisational types has not properly been researched. If, as theoretically expected, they tend to gravitate towards organisations that can provide them with the control, power and prestige that they desire, then this means that corporate psychopaths will influence some sectors more than others. Psychopaths in politics, for example, could theoretically yield enormous power towards selfish ends which divert resources from more deserving members of society.

The research question of what per cent of organisational leaders across different economic sectors are psychopathic would also be useful to answer. The 1% to 4% distribution throughout an organisation, already identified (Babiak, Neumann & Hare 2010) may not be reflective of some industries. Also the extent to which a high concentration of psychopathic leaders becomes able to influence the whole of an organisation's culture would be a worthwhile area to research. The related question of whether some industries have high concentrations of psychopaths in one group e.g. surgeons, together with low average psychopathy scores among another group e.g. nurses, would also be worth investigating. This is because such a sector would theoretically provide a unique combination of predator and prey in the same locale. This combination may facilitate organisational behaviour like bullying.

Corresponding with this interest in specific industry sectors, commentators have recently speculated about the effects of psychopaths in academia (Perry 2015) and an empirical investigation of this phenomenon would be useful. Perry suggests that the nature of university culture and its relatively autonomous system of governance may mitigate against the effects of a single psychopath in that workplace.

Conclusions

This review paper makes a contribution by highlighting where evidence now exists for the misbehaviour of corporate psychopaths. The paper also highlights where further research or new research still needs to be undertaken.

Some research suggests that psychopaths within corporations are proficient at reaching senior positions within organisations. However, this finding was from a convenience sample of managers which may not accurately reflect reality. More robust research (from more representative samples) is needed to definitively establish the distribution of corporate psychopaths through organisations. Nonetheless, corporate psychopaths do create a toxic workplace environment marked by bullying, abuse and fear. Employee loyalty is rewarded by summary dismissals and expertise is further lost as other employees withdraw from, or exit the organisation as soon as they are able to, even if they have no job to go to.

Corporate social responsibility is also diminished by the presence of corporate psychopaths as managers, while psychopathy correlates with a willingness to engage in the illegal dumping of toxic waste. Employees working for corporate psychopaths are disheartened, disillusioned and dissatisfied. The influence of corporate psychopaths on other stakeholders appears to be negative, but further research is needed in this area. Similarly, links between corporate psychopaths and financial fraud would benefit from further investigation. The existence of political decision making and corporate psychopaths is also under-researched as is the possible involvement of corporate psychopaths in illegal corporate behaviour.

Finally, the speculated links between corporate psychopaths and corporate failure such as that which would have been evident in the corporate banks involved in the global financial crisis, is under-explored. Also in need of exploration is the possible connection between corporate psychopaths, their recruitment by corporate banks, the global financial crisis and the recurring ethical (and legal) lapses by corporate banks.

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