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**The Dark Triad and Psychological Resilience:
The Moderating Effect of Locus of Control**

**Den Mörka Triaden och Psykologisk Resiliens:
Den Modererande Effekten av Kontroll-lokus**

Kitty Balazadeh & Josefin Hansson

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Supervisor: Katarina Veličković

Examiner: Yunhwan Kim

Abstract

The relationship between the Dark Triad and psychological resilience is understudied and literature on the subject is insufficient. This study aimed to investigate the association between the Dark Triad and psychological resilience, and the possibility of locus of control acting as a moderator of this relationship. The Dark Triad was investigated both as a single construct, as well as the triad traits (Narcissism, Machiavellianism and Psychopathy) individually. An electronic survey consisting of the study variables and a total of 81 items was distributed to students from Lund and Malmö University ($N = 57$). The results showed significant associations between the Dark Triad as a whole, narcissism and psychological resilience. Further, Locus of control was found to moderate the relationship between the Dark Triad and resilience, as well as Machiavellianism and resilience. Narcissism was the only construct in the Dark Triad that predicted resilience regardless of Locus of control. Psychopathy had no association with resilience. In conclusion, all traits had unique associations to Locus of control and resilience. Larger samples and equal gender distributions are needed for more certain conclusions regarding these relationships. Finally, since all three Dark Triad traits had unique associations to Locus of control and resilience, future research could explore the mechanisms and factors that underlie these differences.

Keywords: dark triad, psychological resilience, locus of control, narcissism, machiavellianism, psychopathy.

Sammanfattning

Tidigare forskning och litteratur kring förhållandet mellan den mörka triaden och psykologisk resiliens är begränsad. Denna studie syftade i huvudsak på att undersöka sambandet mellan den mörka triaden och psykologisk resiliens, samt möjligheten kring kontroll-lokus som en potentiell moderator för detta förhållande. Den mörka triaden undersöktes både som ett sammanhållet konstrukt, likaså även triadegenskaperna Narcissism, Machiavellianism och Psykopati individuellt. En webbenkät bestående av nämnda variabler och totalt 81 testfrågor distribuerades till studenter från Lund och Malmö universitet ($N = 57$). Resultaten visade signifikanta samband mellan den mörka triaden som helhet, Narcissism och resiliens. Vidare föreföll kontroll-lokus moderera förhållandet mellan den mörka triaden som helhet och resiliens, likaså Machiavellianism och resiliens. Narcissism var det enda konstruktet i den mörka triaden som förutspådde resiliens oavsett nivå av kontroll-lokus. Psykopati hade ingen signifikant koppling till resiliens. Sammanfattningsvis hade alla tre triadegenskaper unika kopplingar till kontroll-lokus och resiliens. Större urval och jämnare könsfördelning behövs för säkrare slutsatser kring dessa förhållanden. Avslutningsvis kan framtida forskning undersöka de mekanismer och faktorer som står till grund för skillnaderna i triadegenskapernas relation till kontroll-lokus och resiliens.

Nyckelord: mörka triaden, resiliens, kontroll-lokus, narcissism, machiavellianism, psykopati.

Preface

First and foremost, a special thanks to our supervisor Katarina, who gave us her unlimited support and guidance throughout the whole process. Your dedication and competence have been priceless and we are beyond grateful for your help. We would also like to thank all the participants of the study for their time and effort, without you this thesis would not be possible.

The Dark Triad and Psychological Resilience: The Moderating Effect of Locus of Control

The good might come with the bad; at least if we examine the many dimensions and facets of individuals with Dark Triad traits. Is it possible for phenomena that are conventionally thought to be malicious and destructive to aid with or result in positive abilities and strategies that can help with overcoming difficulties in life? Literature made on the subject states that among all the toxic traits of the Dark Triad (further referred to as DT), indeed there are positive sides too: adaptive strategies, successful crisis management and even being loyal friends are some of them (Jonason et al., 2009; Lyons, 2019; Papageorgiou et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2018, Watts et al., 2013).

What we found intriguing is that although DT traits and psychological resilience (further referred to as resilience) at first glance seem to be very distinct, they actually might have characteristics and behavioural processes in common. Effective coping strategies, stress management, and an ability to remain calm when needed are some processes that are normally seen in people that are resilient (Luthar et. al., 2000; Riopel, 2020; Türk-Kurtça & Kocatürk, 2020). However, some studies claim that these kinds of behaviours are seen in some or all of the DT traits as well (Furtner et al., 2017; Hart et al., 2018; Lyons, 2019; Patton et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2013).

To our knowledge, research conducted on the particular relationship between DT traits and resilience is narrow and deficient (Grover, 2018). To understand the relationship between DT and resilience better, we will examine the potential moderating effect of Locus of control (further referred to as LoC). Internal LoC; a sense of being in control of your surroundings and not internalizing negative emotions and events (Landström et al., 2008; Rotter, 1966) has been identified as a predictor of resilience (Gamezy, 1993; Werner & Smith, 1982).

Since DT and resilience might share similar adaptive processes, and internal LoC seems to be a predictor of resilience, we wonder if LoC could have a moderating role on the relationship between DT and resilience. Regardless of results, we hope that our study might shed a light on the exact relationships between these constructs and can contribute to a relevant gain of knowledge in this field of psychology.

Theoretical background

The Dark Triad

DT consists of three components: Machiavellianism, subclinical Narcissism and subclinical Psychopathy. These personality traits are three overlapping traits that share a common core with each other (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). The shared features among the three traits (although the level of manifestation of the characteristics might vary) typically are manipulation, selfishness, callousness and deceitfulness (Jones & Figueredo, 2013; Lyons, 2019; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). The correlation and overlap between all three constructs are ascertained by several studies (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Machiavellianism has an overlap with Psychopathy (Fehr et al., 1992; McHoskey et al., 1998), Narcissism has an overlap with Psychopathy (Gustafson & Ritzer, 1995) and Machiavellianism with Narcissism (McHoskey, 1995).

However, despite the similarities and overlapping features of the constructs they all have their own unique and differentiating attributes (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Hereby we will describe and elucidate the three components of DT to better illustrate their own distinctive properties.

Machiavellianism. The emergence and origin of the concept of Machiavellianism (from a psychological perspective) was influenced by the political strategist Niccolo Machiavelli and stems from the 1970 publication by Richard Christie and Florence L. Geis (Lyons, 2019). The authors portray Machiavellianism as consisting of two main characteristics: a sceptical perspective on human nature and interpersonally manipulating strategies (Christie & Geis, 1970). Further research has been able to establish that individuals that score high on Machiavellianism have an increased ability in reaching their own personal goals due to their tactical manipulation, avoidance of impulsive behaviors and strategic decision making (Lyons, 2019; Paulhus & Jones, 2015).

Nevertheless, the definition and distinction of Machiavellianism from the remaining DT traits has not always been clear and there has been some uncertainty concerning the essence of Machiavellianism. Linda Mealey (1995) suggests that Machiavellianism might not be different from Psychopathy, but alternatively just a less severe and subclinical form of it. Other researchers argue that Machiavellianism differs from Psychopathy by one important aspect: Machiavellian individuals care about a positive reputation and seek to build alliances, whereas

psychopathic people lack these characteristics and pay little attention to the consequences of their behaviour (Paulhus & Jones, 2015). However, modern research more often than not indicates there are many dissimilarities and contrasts between the two traits and that they should be examined and treated as separate constructs (Furtner et al., 2017; Lyons, 2019; Paulhus & Jones, 2015).

In this study, Machiavellianism will be treated as an independent construct that, along with the other traits in DT, will be measured in the Short Dark Triad test (SD3.1.1) where the key aspects are manipulateness, callous affect, strategic-calculating orientation (Jones & Paulhus, 2014).

Narcissism. Narcissism as a personality phenomenon can exist on both a clinical and subclinical level. When discussed in the context and as a component of DT, Narcissism is conceptualized as a subclinical concept and not as a pathological personality disorder (Balaji & Balasundaram, 2014; Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

Individuals high on Narcissism are characterized with traits such as a grandiose image of the self, sense of superiority, low levels of empathy, self-sufficiency, authority and a need for social admiration - among other features (Balaji & Balasundaram, 2014; Lyons, 2019; Miller et al., 2011). The results of possessing these kinds of traits might lead narcissistic individuals to have a sense of power over people and use their interpersonal relationships to achieve their goals, while still maintaining their grandiose self-view (Brunell & Campbell, 2011; Lyons, 2019).

Miller and his colleagues (2011) suggest however, that Narcissism can be divided into two subtypes: *grandiose* and *vulnerable*. Grandiose narcissists have an inflated level of confidence and self-esteem and a dominant interpersonal style, whereas the vulnerable type is described as insecure and using fake grandiosity as a strategy to mask feelings of inadequacy (Lyons, 2019; Miller et al., 2011). In this study we will use the definition of SD3.1.1 (Jones & Paulhus, 2014) where the key aspects of Narcissism are distinguished from the other two traits: a never-ending quest for ego-reinforcement and grandiosity.

Psychopathy. Similar to Narcissism, in the context of DT, Psychopathy is seen as a subclinical condition and not a pathological occurrence. There are some discussions and debates about which features should be included in the definition of Psychopathy. One subclinical definition is identified as containing high impulsivity, low levels of anxiety, thrill-seeking and lack of empathy (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). On the other hand, a triarchic model suggests

Psychopathy to mainly consist of boldness, meanness and disinhibition (Patrick et al., 2009). A third model divides Psychopathy into primary and secondary, where primary is seen as a successful type that can achieve power in society thanks to low levels of guilt and empathy, whereas secondary Psychopathy is seen as unsuccessful, often ending up in criminality (Lyons, 2019). Psychopathy, when tested with SD3.1.1 (Jones & Paulhus, 2014), is defined by the key aspects which separates Psychopathy from the other traits: deficits in affect (i.e., callousness) and deficits in self-control (i.e., impulsivity).

Psychological resilience. Resilience has been defined in various ways over the years. Luthar et. al. (2000) addresses the problem regarding the way it differs across theoretical literature and also that resilience should be understood as an individual characteristic that presents itself while the individual is being exposed to significant risks. Luthar et. al. (2000) argue that difficulties could arise while comparing resilient people's levels of experienced adversity. What is a "significant risk" and what determines the individual's level of resilience?

One way of operationalizing the concept of resilience is according to the Connor-Davidson Resilience scale (CD-RISC); originally developed by Kathryn M. Connor and Jonathan R.T. Davidson (2003). According to this scale, resilience is a trait measured by the individual's ability to recover after facing tragedy, trauma or other stressful events. Thus, resilient people have an ability to get through and move past life traumas, but also to grow and flourish despite adversity. Türk-Kurtça and Kocatürk (2020) define resilience as "the ability to maintain a high level of psychological function and to adapt healthily after being exposed to trauma or serious stress" (p.105). In this thesis, the Connor-Davidson Resilience (CD-RISC) scale will be used for measuring resilience. The CD-RISC is measuring several components of resilience such as effective adaptation to change and adversity, efficient coping skills in regards to stress, emotion regulation and the ability to stay focused and motivated despite hardships or sudden changes (Riopel, 2020).

Locus of control. LoC is a way of describing one's feelings of being in - or out of - control of events. Rotter (1966) originally proposed LoC as a "generalized and enduring belief about how responsive and controllable our environment is" (p.1). People with an external LoC explain events like personal success and failure as things out of their control, while those with an internal LoC see themselves as being in control of these events (Landström et al., 2008). This causes individuals with an internal LoC to feel more at ease and in control despite unfamiliar and

uncomfortable situations while those with an external LoC naturally are not able to feel the same sense of inner control. An external LoC has also been connected with increased feelings of helplessness as well as poorer well-being and job satisfaction (Näswall et. al, 2008) while an internal LoC has been linked to both empowerment and resilience (Kieffer, 1984). LoC is often confused with closely related concepts like self-efficacy, attribution styles and explanatory styles. While these are similar, what distinguishes LoC from others is how it refers to “the degree to which a person believes that he or she can influence his or her life through his/her own actions” (Rotter, 1966, p.1). Furthermore, Rotter (1966) emphasizes that the individual's perception of whether *reinforcement* is - 1. A result of personal behavior or characteristics or 2. A result of chance or other unpredictable forces - ultimately is what determines if the LoC is more internal or external.

The background for the LoC theory can be found in Rotter’s Social learning theory (1954, 1955, 1960), hence why the individual’s beliefs about reinforcement is crucial in understanding the concept of LoC. Having the social learning theory in mind, Rotter stated that an individual's personal history and beliefs about reinforcements is what makes people differ in locus of control; in other words, the way they attribute reinforcement as a result of personal behavior or as something out of their control (Rotter, 1966). In this thesis, the Internal-External LoC scale, developed by Rotter (1966) will be the chosen measure of LoC.

Previous research

Positive aspects of the Dark Triad

Despite the negative qualities of DT, there is also research highlighting the positive sides. Machiavellianism in particular has been associated with self-control (Furtner et al., 2017) and emotion regulation (Lyons, 2019), perhaps leading to a sense of control, power or calmness (Gustafson & Ritzer, 1995; Lau & Marsee, 2013). Further studies have shown high-macs to be pragmatic, sensitive to social context, and possessing high emotional intelligence (Czibor & Bereczkei, 2012; Furtner et al., 2017; Lyons, 2019). Compared to the other two traits of DT, Machiavellianism has been linked to a more cautious approach to life with less impulsivity and risk taking (Lyons, 2019; Malesza & Ostaszewski, 2016).

Some characteristics of Narcissism are also related to charm and leadership (Furtner et al., 2017; Lyons, 2019) and studies done on former US presidents high on grandiose type of Narcissism show successful achievements in regards to crisis management, popularity and

initiaveness (Watts et al., 2013). Other studies have also found that Narcissism, in contrast to Machiavellianism and Psychopathy, is not necessarily linked to low empathy (Jonason & Kroll, 2015; Lyons, 2019; Lyons et al., 2019) and narcissists do in fact also possess high emotional intelligence and are sensitive to social cues (Furtner et al., 2017; Petrides et al., 2011).

Narcissism was also found to negatively correlate with alexithymia, which suggests the ability to use own emotions as social cues and thus perhaps also understanding others better (Cairncross et al., 2013; Lyons, 2019). These positive characteristics and features of Narcissism are also in line with the findings of Lyons, Evans and Helle (2019) who concluded that Narcissism could act as a buffer against negative health outcomes and high stress-levels.

Some of the more advantageous sides of Psychopathy is the ability to read negative emotions (Demetriooff et al., 2017). Demetriooff et al. found that individuals scoring high on Psychopathy had an increased ability to recognize emotional states such as sadness. This instance might possibly lead to an advantage in situations when offering support might be strategic to gain personal needs. Dutton (2012) also describes some of the positives of Psychopathy: high confidence and self-esteem, low levels of anxiety and the ability to stay calm during stressful situations.

When examining some of the positive aspects of DT traits, one might ponder whether some of these individuals can be psychologically resilient; e.g. if their confidence, self-control and/or low anxiety can buffer against adversity. Hereby the relationship between DT and resilience will be examined.

Dark triad and Resilience. As previously stated, the research connecting resilience to DT by these specific constructs is quite limited (Grover, 2018). What we know today about this relationship is ambiguous and needs further clarification since research on wellbeing and DT has utilized concepts such as anxiety, depression, stress, coping, mental toughness and not resilience *per se* (Aghababaei & Blachnio, 2015; Grover, 2018; Jonason et al., 2015; Lyons, et al., 2019; Rudich et al., 2014). With this remark in mind, we will proceed to clarify research that implies the relationship between resilience and DT should be examined more closely.

Lyons, Evans and Helle (2019), examined the relationship between DT and the effects of adversity and concluded that Narcissism in fact could act as a buffer against stressful events and negative health outcomes such as anxiety and depression. However, this correlation was not found in regards to Machiavellianism or Psychopathy. They found that Machiavellianism

(especially) instead of acting as a buffer, may predispose individuals to mental distress after negative events and cumulative stress, whereas narcissistic traits might aid in coping with hardships in life.

Another perspective is elucidated by Kajonius & Björkman (2018) when examining the relationships between DT traits and perceived stress. The researchers found perceived stress to have a strong positive correlation with vulnerable Narcissism, whereas Psychopathy and grandiose Narcissism had a weak negative association with perceived stress. Machiavellianism did not seem to relate to perceived stress to a significant degree. Overall, Kajonius and Björkman (2018), concluded that the only trait that had a strong association with perceived stress was vulnerable Narcissism.

Psychopathy has also been linked to very low levels of anxiety (Cleckley, 1976) which in turn has been proposed to be an important resilience factor (Sandvik et al., 2015). Additionally, more recent research implies that psychopathic traits might buffer individuals from the negative effects on mental health caused by chronic stress (Anestis et al., 2017; Sandvik et al., 2015).

The research above investigates the relationship between DT and factors in some way closely related to and included in the definition of resilience. When further examining the construct of resilience as a whole, in relation to constructive aspects of DT, we find some, at least superficial, similarities. As previously mentioned, individuals scoring high on resilience share the ability to manage stress effectively, regulate overwhelming feelings, stay focused during adversity and efficiently adapt to change (Luthar et al., 2000; Riopel, 2020; Türk-Kurtça & Kocatürk, 2020). These processes are also at times seen in some -or all - of DT traits (Hart et al., 2018; Lyons, 2019; Lyons et al., 2019; Patton et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2013). A study conducted by Grover (2018) indicates that the individual's level of emotional intelligence, another predictor of resilience (Schneider et al., 2013), was able to regulate the negative effects of DT traits, as well as increase its positive effects. This is interesting in regards to previous research stating that narcissists might possess high emotional intelligence (Petrides et al., 2011; Furtner et al., 2017). Further, the hypothesized moderator, LoC, and its associations with resilience and DT will be explored, starting with examining its associations to resilience.

Psychological resilience and LoC. Garmezy (1993) and Werner and Smith (1982) established internal LoC as one of the main features that affected resilience. Edwards, Catling and Parry (2016) found that an internal LoC was an independent predictor of resilience. These

findings were also supported by Kieffer (1984) and in line with recent research showing a significant, negative correlation between external locus of control and resilience (Türk-Kurtça & Kocatürk, 2020). Furthermore, LoC has been associated with an improved ability to tolerate external pressure, inner feelings of independence and more effective response style while facing adversity (Ören, 1991 as quoted by Türk-Kurtça & Kocatürk, 2020), which could protect the individual while experiencing setbacks (Juby & Rycraft, 2004). Agaibi and Wilson (2005) additionally showed that an internal LoC can work as a protective factor against PTSD and other kinds of problems regarding one's mental health that could arise in face of adversity. On the contrary, external LoC has been associated with a significantly higher risk of experiencing these kinds of mental health problems (Stewart & Yuen, 2011).

Dark triad and LoC. LoC may work as a moderator of the proposed relationship between DT and resilience in the way that the strength of the relationship depends on whether one's sense of control is internal or external. Below, the concept of LoC will be defined and elucidated in the context of the three DT traits.

Machiavellianism. A review of meta-analyses made by Mudrack (1990), stated that Machiavellianism was related to an external LoC throughout several studies. This is also in line with recent research: Stanescu and Mohorea (2016) found that Machiavellianism had a positive significant correlation with LoC in professional environments. These results also replicate the findings of Gable, Hollon and Dangelo (1990) as quoted by Singh, Rita and Suri (2017), as well as Marolodo et. al (1976), who found that Machiavellianism correlated significantly with an external LoC.

Another study examining the relationship between DT, LoC and positive/negative affect conducted on entrepreneurship and psychology students found Machiavellianism having a positive correlation with external LoC in the student group of entrepreneurs, however this relationship was not found in psychology students (Rapp-Ricciardi et al, 2018).

Narcissism. Mathieu & St-Jean (2013) found that narcissists had a high sense of personal control over their life, which indicates internal LoC. However, this kind of measurement might have limitations and O'Reilly, Doerr, Caldwell and Chatman (2013) discuss narcissists' emotional vulnerability and way of defending themselves while belittling others seems like an external LoC. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the construct of Narcissism can be divided into two subcategories: grandiose and vulnerable (Lyons, 2019; Miller et al., 2011). Sullivan

(2020) explored both types and their connection to LoC and found that only the vulnerable type of Narcissism had a correlation with external LoC (Sullivan, 2020).

Psychopathy. Research regarding Psychopathy in relation to LoC is limited and there has not been much research elucidating the relationship as compared to the other two DT traits. Rapp-Ricciardi et al. (2018) found a significant correlation between Psychopathy and internal LoC in a sample of entrepreneurship students, but further stated that LoC did not have any significant associations when compared to the partial constructs of the groups. Earlier research showed a significant positive link between external LoC and psychopathic tendencies (Helode & Kapai 1986), however the scale used for measuring psychopathic tendencies is not used for testing Psychopathy in the context of DT. Further Turkcapar et. al (2002) found that an external LoC was related to antisocial personality disorder (ASPD). ASPD and Psychopathy have many traits in common (Blackburn, 2007), however they are still two separate constructs on different clinical levels.

Having examined the LoC of all three traits in DT, indeed it seems like the style of LoC varies depending on which of the traits is being investigated, or the context of the conducted research (sample size, demographics, clinical/non clinical etc). Nevertheless, it seems like Narcissism might have stronger associations with an internal LoC, and Machiavellianism and Psychopathy with external LoC. However, these relations are not ideally clear. Subsequently, it is relevant to investigate this matter further and explore whether LoC could act as a moderator between DT and resilience.

This study

The main aim of this study is to understand whether DT traits are associated with resilience, despite their collection of negative and malevolent characteristics. Another aim is to clarify whether this relationship is dependent on the level of LoC. Finally, this study aims to elucidate the relationship between resilience and DT as a whole, as well as its three constituents separately, namely Narcissism, Machiavellianism, and Psychopathy. Thus, the research questions are as follows:

1. Are individuals who score high on DT traits (Narcissism, Machiavellianism, Psychopathy) more psychologically resilient?
2. Does LoC moderate the relationship between DT traits and resilience?
 - If so, in what way does LoC moderate the relationship?

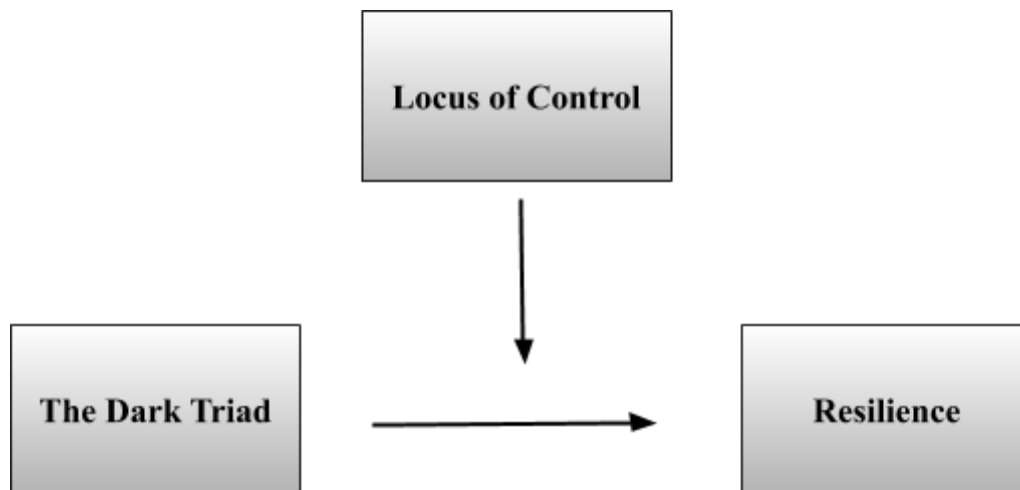
Hypotheses

H1: Dark Triad as a whole, as well as Narcissism, Machiavellianism, and Psychopathy separately, will have a positive association with resilience.

H2: This relationship will be stronger in case of internal LoC, and weaker in case of external LoC.

Figure 1

Moderating model of the proposed relationship between DT, resilience and LoC.



Method

Design

This study implemented a cross-sectional design with a predictive, however exploratory approach. The independent variables were DT as a whole and three DT traits, whereas the dependent variable was resilience. LoC was hypothesized as a moderator of the relationship between the variables.

Participants

The participants in this study were university students studying at Lund University and Malmö University. The choice to conduct this study on university students was made since students are an easily accessible population for the aim of the research. Lyons (2019) also underlines that

students are a suitable population if research needs to be done on a non-clinical population. The rationale behind choosing to include both students from Lund and Malmö is that we aimed for having an as heterogeneous student population as possible. Generalization is an important and relevant matter when examining DT traits since previous empirical evidence in this field usually has been conducted on WEIRD (white, educated, rich, industrialized and democratic) samples (Henrich et al., 2010; Lyons, 2019).

Measures

In this study, a total of three instruments were used:

Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale. (CD-RISC; Connor & Davidson, 2003). For measuring resilience, a Swedish, validated version of the CD-RISC scale was used (see appendix A). The instrument consists of 25 items in total, with no reversed items or fillers. Every item in the test has a 5-point rating, ranging from not true at all (0) to true nearly all the time (4), thus a total score can range between 0 to 100 on this scale (Riopel, 2020). The internal consistency of the scale was considered good ($\alpha = .89$).

Short Dark Triad. (SD3; Jones & Paulhus, 2014). SD3 was developed with the goal to be able to test all three DT traits in the same study. A Swedish, validated version (SD.3.1.1; Lindén et al., 2013) of the test was implemented (see appendix B). The scale has a total of 27 items, nine items for each trait. A total of five items (indicated with “R”) in the scale are reverse coded. Every item corresponds to a statement to take a stand on, with each item consisting of a five-point Likert-type format, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A mean value of the total scores for each participant are further calculated and range from 1 to 5. Internal consistency of the subscales was fair for Narcissism ($\alpha = .71$) and good for Machiavellianism ($\alpha = .82$) and Psychopathy ($\alpha = .82$).

It should be noted that scores above the normal range of this scale are simply subclinical, thus not able to indicate any occurrence of personality disorders or pathology.

The Internal/External LoC scale. (Rotter, 1966). This scale, used for measuring LoC, consists of 29 items, six of them being so-called filler items (see appendix C and D). Each item has two answering options where the participant selects the statement that they agree with more. After the participant completes the test, the sum of the scores is calculated. The final score ranges from 0 to 23, with a higher score indicating external LoC, and lower score indicating internal LoC. The Internal/External LoC scale was translated from English to Swedish using

back-to-back translation, with the help of individuals fluent in both languages. Internal consistency of the scale was found to be fair ($\alpha = .73$).

Demographic variables. The demographic data included age, gender and the university one attends.

Procedure

The data were collected using a survey method through the web-based survey tool Qualtrics (<https://www.qualtrics.com>) during the period of 23/11/20-6/12/20. A survey link was posted on personal Facebook accounts and in student groups in Malmö and Lund. The three questionnaires consisting of DT, resilience and LoC were integrated and a total of 81 items were included in the test. The first page consisted of demographic questions, followed by three sections testing the constructs individually. The demographic items were obligatory, however for gender there was a possibility to refuse to answer and this question was open-ended. The estimated time for finishing the survey was roughly ten minutes.

Criteria for participating in the research were being a student at Lund or Malmö University and being of age 18 or above. The sampling method used was a convenience sample, however the participants were also encouraged to share the survey with other students studying in Lund or Malmö University, thus implementing the snowballing technique.

Statistical analysis

Data screening

The data analyses such as descriptive statistics, t-tests, correlations and moderation analysis were performed through the statistical programme jamovi (1.2.27.0).

A total of 82 responses from the survey were originally recorded, however, not all were considered valid. Unfinished reports that had been automatically sent in through qualtrics were removed from the study and considered invalid responses. Responses made by individuals under the age of 18 were also withdrawn. A total of 25 responses were excluded from the data. Thus, 57 valid responses remained.

After filtering out the unfinished responses, the data were coded according to the original format of the three scales (see measures). SD.3.1.1 contained five reversed items and the internal/external locus of control scale included six filler items. The alpha level was set on 0.05 (two tailed) which is in line with previous research conducted on similar types of constructs and testing variables.

Data analysis. The analysis conducted in this study initially explored descriptive statistics for all variables. No outliers that affected the mean scores on any of the study variables were found. Using independent t-tests, gender differences on DT values were explored.

The normal distribution of the variables of the study population was examined, however due to the sample size these calculations were not considered fully reliable. Thus, the distribution of the scales was investigated using the standardized skewness and kurtosis values, further comparing them to the benchmark for the 95% confidence interval.

Additionally, alpha levels and the internal consistency of the three study scales were calculated (see measures). Correlations between all variables included in the study were also explored, and moderation analyses were performed using the medmod package¹ in jamovi.

The moderating effect of LoC on the relationship between DT and resilience was explored both with DT as a whole, as well as the three traits separately. Both moderation estimates and simple slope estimates were performed and analyzed.

Ethical considerations

This study did not violate any of the ethical aspects of psychological research. However, the purpose of the study was not entirely disclosed. When the survey was sent out, it was described as testing “psychological processes linked to self image” instead of disclosing what constructs were tested. The participants were informed that their participation was completely voluntary and that it was entirely acceptable to discontinue the participation and drop out of the study at any time without having to explain themselves. To ensure that participation was voluntary and that the age and university requirements were met, the participants had to check a box to give their informed consent to be a part of the study based on this.

The use of an online survey is advantageous from an ethical perspective since the respondents remain anonymous, can ignore or cancel the questionnaire at any time and participate at their own convenience (Miner & Jayaratne, 2014). Also, to guarantee that the ethical requirement of confidentiality was met, all answers of the questionnaire were anonymized and only handled by the authors and the supervisor of this thesis. The debriefing process took place when a facebook status was created stating that the thesis was done and if anyone who

¹ The moderation analysis provided by this package runs a Wald test and computes standardized Z-scores, comparing them to a Chi-square distribution, as opposed to a student’s t distribution.

participated in the study would like to see the results of the research, they could get in touch to get a copy of the thesis.

Results

Descriptive statistics

A total of 57 participants were included in the study, whereas 40 of them were women, and 17 men. 0 participants stated any other gender identity. Age of the sample ranged between 19-51 ($M = 24$, $SD = 4.9$). Mean scores for all DT variables (DT as a whole and traits separately) were overall found to be higher for men in comparison with women (see Table 1). Regarding DT as a whole, the difference in mean scores between men and women was significant ($t(55) = -4.25$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.12$). The difference between genders in Machiavellianism was also found to be significant ($t(55) = -4.27$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.18$). Further, there was no significant difference between scores on Narcissism for men and women ($t(55) = 1.53$, $p = .13$). The difference in Psychopathy split by gender was found to be significant ($t(55) = -4.64$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.19$). Women in the study population scored significantly lower than norm values ($M = 2.4$) on Psychopathy in comparison with men. The mean scores for men and women on CD-RISC were comparable to the mean scores found by a recent study conducted on a large non-clinical sample in Sweden (Velickovic et al., 2020). No significant differences between men and women were found in mean scores on resilience ($t(55) = 1.33$, $p = .19$), nor LoC ($t(55) = 1.11$, $p = .27$). It should be noted that the gender distribution within the sample was unequal, so gender differences on measures should be interpreted with caution.

DT as a whole did not have a normal distribution on a 95% confidence level. Machiavellianism was positively skewed, however with a normal kurtosis. Psychopathy deviated from a normal distribution on both skewness and kurtosis. Narcissism, resilience and LoC were normally distributed.

Table 1

Mean scores (M), Standard deviations (SD) for women (n = 40) and men (n = 17), Standardised Skewness and Kurtosis for All Variables (N = 57)

Measures	Men		Women		Standardised skewness	Standardised kurtosis
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Dark Triad	2.93	0.62	2.34	0.41	4.21*	4.30*
Machiavellianism	3.08	0.70	2.35	0.53	2.47*	0.81
Narcissism	3.19	0.61	2.94	0.54	0.41	-0.78
Psychopathy	2.54	0.84	1.74	0.45	5.75*	7.98*
Resilience	63.8	14.9	68.9	12.6	-0.93	-0.39
Locus of Control	11.5	3.24	12.8	4.30	0.91	-0.87

* $p < .05$

Main analyses

Correlations

The correlation matrix is presented with Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient r .

Table 2 contains correlations between DT as a whole, DT traits separately (Machiavellianism, Narcissism, Psychopathy), resilience and LoC.

Table 2*Correlations between All Study Variables (N = 57)*

	DT	M	N	P	R
DT	—				
M	.87***	—			
N	.74***	.42**	—		
P	.91***	.76***	.52***	—	
R	.31*	.06	.65***	.15	—
LoC	-.22	-.17	-.21	-.19	-.30*

Note. Dark Triad (DT), Machiavellianism (M), Narcissism (N), Psychopathy (P), Resilience (R) and Locus of Control (LoC).

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

DT as a whole correlated significantly with resilience. When examining the DT traits separately, only Narcissism was found to have a significant positive correlation with resilience, however this association was strong. Resilience and LoC had a significant negative correlation with each other. Furthermore, all separate DT traits significantly correlated with each other and with DT as a whole, with the strongest relationship being between Machiavellianism and Psychopathy. No significant correlations between DT traits and LoC were found.

Moderation Analysis

Dark triad

To test the moderating effect of LoC on the relationship between DT as a whole and resilience, a regression model was specified in which DT, LoC and their interaction term were entered as predictors of resilience ($F(3, 53) = 4.49, p = .007, R^2 = 0.20$). As indicated in Table 3, there was a main effect of LoC on resilience, whereas the main effect of DT was not significant. The interaction between DT and LoC was only marginally significant.

Table 3

Unstandardized Estimates, Standard Errors, z-values and p-values for Dark Triad and Locus of Control Predicting Resilience

	Estimate	SE	z	p
DT	4.25	3.01	1.41	0.16
LoC	-1.05	0.39	-2.66**	0.01
DT*LoC	-1.69	0.88	-1.92	0.055

**p < .01.

Although the moderation effect was not significant, given its marginally significant value, a simple slopes analysis and plot were performed to illustrate the pattern of effects of LoC. As shown in Table 4 and Figure 2, for low values of LoC (i.e. internal LoC), the relationship between DT and resilience was positive. For average and high values of LoC, this relationship was not significant.

Table 4

Simple Slope Estimates for Different Levels of LoC

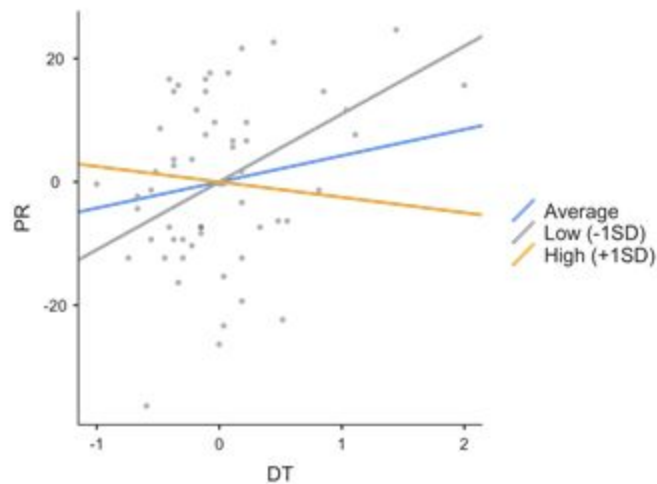
	Estimate	SE	z	p
Average	4.25	3.15	1.35	0.18
Low (-1SD)	11.01	4.07	2.70**	0.01
High (+1SD)	-2.50	5.37	-0.47	0.64

Note. Shows the effect of the predictor (DT) on the dependent variable (resilience) at different levels of the moderator (LoC)

** $p < .01$

Figure 2

Effect of DT on resilience at different levels of the moderator (LoC)



Machiavellianism. The regression model with Machiavellianism, LoC and their interaction term as predictors on resilience was further performed ($F(3,53) = 3.71, p < .05, R^2 = 0.17$). There was a significant main effect of LoC, as well as of the interaction between LoC and Machiavellianism (Table 5), suggesting a moderating effect of LoC.

Table 5

Unstandardized Estimates, Standard Errors, z-values and p-values for Machiavellianism and Locus of Control Predicting Resilience

	Estimate	SE	z	p
M	-1.01	2.43	-0.42	0.68
LoC	-1.20	0.40	-3.01**	0.003
M*LoC	-1.68	0.69	-2.41*	0.02

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Investigating the moderating effect further with simple slopes (Table 6 and Figure 2), results indicated that for high levels of LoC (i.e. external LoC), the relationship between M and resilience was negative. This relationship was marginally significant. For low levels of LoC (i.e. internal LoC), this relationship had a positive pattern, although it was not significant.

Table 6

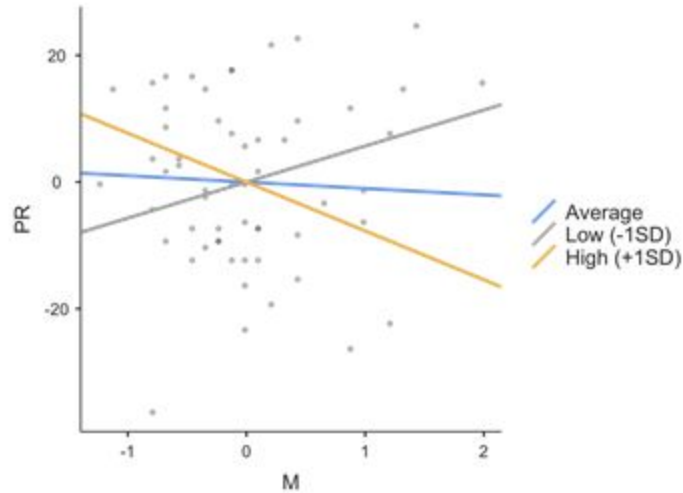
Simple Slope Estimates for Different Levels of LoC

	Estimate	SE	z	p
Average	-1.01	2.59	-0.30	0.70
Low (-1SD)	5.69	3.56	1.60	0.11
High (+1SD)	-7.71	4.12	-1.87	0.06

Note. Shows the effect of the predictor (M) on the dependent variable (resilience) at different levels of the moderator (LoC)

Figure 3

Effect of Machiavellianism on resilience at different levels of the moderator (LoC)



Narcissism. The regression model was also conducted with Narcissism, LoC and their interaction as predictors of resilience ($F(3,53) = 14.8, p = <.001, R^2 = 0.46$). Only the main effect of Narcissism was significant (Table 7). This indicates that the higher the levels of Narcissism, the higher the levels of resilience, regardless of LoC. The main effect of LoC was marginally significant.

Table 7

Unstandardized Estimates, Standard Errors, z-values and p-values for Narcissism and Locus of Control Predicting Resilience

	Estimate	SE	z	p
N	13.80	2.383	5.79***	<.001
LoC	-0.61	0.324	-1.89	0.058
N*LoC	-0.52	0.709	-0.74	0.46

***p < .001

Psychopathy. Finally, the regression model for Psychopathy, LoC and their interaction as predictors of resilience was specified ($F(3,53) = 2.74, p = 0.053, R^2 = 0.13$). As shown in Table 8, the only significant effect in this model was the main effect of LoC. The main effect of Psychopathy was not significant and neither was the interaction between Psychopathy and LoC, indicating no moderating effect.

Table 8

Unstandardized Estimates, Standard Errors, z-values and p-values for Psychopathy and Locus of Control Predicting Resilience

	Estimate	SE	z	p
P	0.59	2.47	0.24	0.81
LoC	-1.16	0.41	-2.84**	0.005
P*LoC	-1.09	0.70	-1.56	0.12

**p < .01.

Discussion

Main findings

One of the research questions in this thesis was to find out whether individuals high on DT traits are more resilient than those low on DT traits. Another aim was to understand if LoC could act as a moderator between this relationship. The correlation analysis indicates that DT as a single construct, as well as Narcissism, has a significant positive correlation with resilience, which implies that the first hypothesis is partially supported. These findings are in line with previous research, indicating that there might be similarities in characteristics between individuals high on DT and resilient individuals (Furtner et al., 2017; Hart et al., 2018; Lyons, 2019; Patton et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2013). The finding regarding Narcissism having a stronger correlation with resilience compared to Machiavellianism and Psychopathy, is also coherent with research stating that Narcissism might be different from the other triad traits (Lyons et al., 2019; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Volmer et al., 2016), and that Machiavellianism and Psychopathy are more closely linked to each other (Mealey, 1995). The close relationship between

Machiavellianism and Psychopathy is further confirmed by the correlation analysis showing that these two had the strongest correlation of all variables.

The results from the moderation analysis shows that the relationship between DT and resilience, however marginally significant, is stronger and is positive for low levels of LoC. For those with internal LoC, more DT indicates higher resilience.

The relationship between Narcissism and resilience is not moderated by LoC. The individuals in the sample with narcissistic traits seem to be resilient, independently of their level of LoC. This finding might also confirm the uniqueness of Narcissism in the Dark Triad. Thus, one might wonder why Narcissism is so strongly correlated to resilience. Previously mentioned research (see theoretical background) shows that Narcissism is not necessarily linked to low empathy (Jonason & Kroll, 2015; Lyons, 2019; Lyons et al., 2019) and that these individuals possess high emotional intelligence, are sensitive to social cues (Furtner et al., 2017; Petrides et al., 2011), and that these qualities might buffer against high stress-levels and negative health outcomes (Lyons, Evans & Helle, 2019). Perhaps these characteristics, that people high on Psychopathy and Machiavellianism not necessarily possess, is what makes narcissists resilient despite their level of LoC.

However, for the model consisting of Machiavellianism and resilience, LoC undoubtedly works as a moderator between the relationship. For Machiavellianism, level of resilience is moderated by LoC; Machiavellians are psychologically resilient if possessing an internal LoC. Thus, the second hypothesis is supported in regards to Machiavellianism. Also, interestingly, for those with an external LoC, machiavellianism was negatively associated with resilience. A possible explanation for this finding might be due to the manipulative and strategic characteristics of machiavellians. If they perceive their environment to be out of their control (i.e. having external LoC), they might feel less capable to cope with stress and adversity since they are then less reliant on their main strategies (such as manipulation) to handle setbacks. However, if they feel like their environment is within their control and power, they might be more confident in the effectiveness of their preferred strategies.

Further, the moderation analysis does not find LoC to moderate the relationship between Psychopathy and resilience to any degree. The findings from the simple slopes analysis indicates that the level of resilience is the same no matter the scores on Psychopathy. Considering there

was also no association between Psychopathy and resilience, Psychopathy does not seem to serve as a buffer against stress and adversity.

Finally, the finding that the mean scores for men were higher than for women on all the DT traits, including DT as a whole, is contingent with previous research (Chiorri et al., 2017; Jonason et al., 2012). However, both sample size and gender stereotypes could have affected these results. Jones and Paulhus (2010) argue that the DT traits are associated mainly with qualities that are desirable for men, such as independence and self-assertion. Rudman et al. (2012) further states that these traits are considered less desirable for women, who instead are more highly valued when displaying traits such as interpersonal sensitivity.

Ethical discussion

When the survey was distributed, instead of disclosing the actual study variables, it was described as testing “psychological processes linked to self image”. One of the motives for this approach is partly because the Dark Triad in general might have a negative connotation, which could cause the participants to respond based on social desirability or reactivity, rather than truth. Secondly, since scores differing from the mean on the SD3.1.1 are only used on a subclinical level and therefore not an indication of personality disorders, for a person without specialized knowledge within the field of psychology, it could be a bit misleading and perhaps even psychologically harmful if the respondents were to find out that they were scoring high on any of the traits. For that reason, it would also be unethical to give any kind of debriefing on the test results themselves.

Certainly, there is no guarantee that the risk of answers influenced by social desirability or any other kind of response bias was completely avoided. It is also not entirely clear whether or not any of the participants were emotionally affected when the true purpose of the study was disclosed. However, since the participation was completely anonymous, there was nothing in the final thesis that could tie their personal answers to the test results as a whole. No questions or complaints regarding the survey were received.

Limitations. A challenge that comes with doing online surveys, especially surveys consisting of many items, is keeping the participants engaged enough to complete the entire questionnaire. Out of 82 responses recorded, 57 of them were valid, fully completed. Thus, one limitation of this study can be non-response bias. The individuals who chose not to continue the study might be individuals with high scores on DT, or participants that could have affected the

results in another interesting way. While investigating the responses further a trend to drop out after finishing 20% of the survey was detected. No questions around the 20% mark were considered disturbing or unethical. Perhaps one of the reasons for dropping out had to do with the length of the survey. Using shorter and effective versions of the scales could be more favourable, especially when several measures are being merged into one test. If the questionnaire would have been handed out in person, supervision of the participants would have been possible and perhaps also a higher completion rate.

Another limitation is the sample size and the population examined. Larger samples and more equal distributions are needed to draw more accurate conclusions. The gender distribution was unequal and could have affected the results. The restrictions on avoiding physical contact during the ongoing pandemic made it difficult to reach out to as many participants as desired. If handing out surveys in public places would have been possible, larger and more equal samples could have been used.

Further, a convenience sample was used, making a generalization to a broader population not possible. The snowballing technique could also have led to somehow misleading results since there is a possibility participants distributed our survey to like-minded individuals etc.

Another potential issue regarding the consistency of the study could be the translation of the tests. An issue with a non-valid translation is its potential threats to the internal validity of the study, since it could lead to inaccurate results, and thus misleading interpretation. However, since the alpha level for the translations was calculated and all of them at minimum met the requirements for a fair internal validity (see measures) this indicates that the translations hopefully did not affect the results to a significant degree.

Strengths. On the contrary, by choosing to create an online survey, the risk of research leader effects was significantly reduced. One of the biggest strengths of the chosen method is its ability to avoid experimenter bias, reactivity and demand characteristics. Surveys are an effective method for figuring out how extensive a phenomena is (Barmark & Djurfeldt, 2015) and also have the convenience advantage; the respondent can participate whenever and wherever (Miner & Jayaratne, 2014). Additionally, physical contact was completely avoided which made it safe to participate in the study despite the ongoing pandemic.

Finally, the uniqueness of the research topic is another strength of the study, both in the sense that the relationship between DT and resilience has not been sufficiently studied and also

by proposing a moderating model to explain how high scores on seemingly negative traits actually could work in positive ways, given that there is a moderating relationship by LoC. Constructs like good and bad are not one-dimensional and there can indeed be positive aspects with constructs that might be socially considered as malicious and negative. This study sheds a light on the complexities regarding dark traits in a way that has not been done before.

Future research

Since research on constructs like DT and resilience in relation to each other is an understudied subject, further studies are required to draw more accurate conclusions about their associations. The construct of Narcissism is something that needs a closer examination. Since Narcissism predicted resilience alone regardless of LoC, and since previous research has pointed it out as a unique trait in the DT (Lyons et al., 2019; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Volmer et al., 2016), exploring this matter further can be out of great value. Perhaps, the answers to why Narcissism was the only trait in the DT that predicted resilience alone, lie in examining its subcategories further to get a more nuanced image of how Narcissism and resilience are connected.

Further investigation into Psychopathy is also needed in order to gain deeper insights into the correlation between Psychopathy and resilience, and the role of LoC in this relationship. In this study, Psychopathy and resilience had no association with each other. Psychopathy seems to also be the trait that mostly contributed to an unequal distribution for DT as a whole; do the women in this particular sample answer based on social desirability, are more prone to participate in studies, or were they simply very low on Psychopathy by chance? Larger and equal samples are needed to draw more certain conclusions about these findings.

Also, since machiavellians in this study were found to be more resilient if possessing an internal LoC and less resilient if attributing an external LoC, more research is needed to both confirm our findings, but also gain deeper insight into why this could be the case with Machiavellianism.

Finally, although there are strong correlations between the Dark Triad traits separately and research stating that these traits should be examined as a whole, we found the traits to have different associations to resilience when LoC was entered as moderator. Future research should perhaps focus on which mechanisms underlie these differences between Machiavellianism, Narcissism and Psychopathy and which factors that could be most important for resilience in individuals with Dark Triad traits.

Conclusions

The findings of this study demonstrate that individuals with DT traits (DT as a whole, narcissists, and machiavellians under certain conditions) seem to be psychologically resilient. All DT traits have unique associations to LoC and resilience, which implies that LoCs' effect on resilience depends on which component of DT is being examined. For DT as a whole, a marginally moderating effect was found. For Narcissism, resilience was not affected by the level of LoC. The resilience level of Machiavellianism was moderated by the level of LoC and finally, Psychopathy had no association with resilience, neither alone nor with LoC as a proposed moderator. In conclusion, in this study, LoC had a moderating effect on resilience for individuals with some DT traits, while others seem to be more resilient independent of constructs like LoC. Further, this study highlights the differences and similarities between the three DT traits in the context of variables and relationships that have not been sufficiently examined before.

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Appendix A

Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC)

1. Jag kan anpassa mig när det sker förändringar.
2. Jag har minst en nära och trygg relation som hjälper mig när jag är stressad.
3. När det inte finns några tydliga lösningar på mina problem kan ödet eller Gud ibland hjälpa.
4. Jag kan hantera allt som kommer i min väg.
5. Tidigare framgångar ger mig självförtroende att klara nya utmaningar och svårigheter.
6. Jag försöker se den humoristiska sidan av saker när jag möter problem.
7. Att tvingas hantera stress kan göra mig starkare.
8. Jag tenderar att komma igen efter sjukdom skada eller andra vedermödor.
9. Jag tror det mesta sker av en anledning oavsett om det är bra eller dåligt.
10. Jag gör mitt bästa oavsett vad resultatet kan bli.
11. Jag tror jag kan nå mina mål även om det finns hinder.
12. Även när saker ser hopplöst ut ger jag inte upp.
13. Under tider av stress/kriser vet jag vart jag skall vända mig för att få hjälp.
14. Under press blir jag fokuserad och tänker klart.
15. Jag föredrar att ta ledningen när det gäller att lösa problem framför att låta andra fatta alla beslut.
16. Jag blir inte lätt avskräckt av misslyckanden.
17. Jag ser mig själv som en stark person när jag hanterar livets utmaningar och svårigheter.

18. Jag kan fatta impopulära eller svåra beslut som påverkar andra människor om det är nödvändigt.
19. Jag kan hantera obehagliga eller smärtsamma känslor som ledsenhet rädsla och ilska.
20. När man handskas med livets problem måste man ibland handla på en ingivelse utan att veta varför.
21. Jag har en stark målmedvetenhet i livet.
22. Jag känner mig som om jag har kontroll över mitt liv.
23. Jag tycker om utmaningar.
24. Jag arbetar för att nå mina mål oavsett vilka hinder jag möter längs vägen.
25. Jag är stolt över mina prestationer.

Response categories:

- 0 – Inte alls sant
- 1 – Sällan sant
- 2 – Sant ibland
- 3 – Ofta sant
- 4 – Nästan alltid sant

Appendix B

SD3.1.1

I detta formulär finns ett antal påståenden² om hur du upplever och ser på dig själv. Din uppgift är att svara på hur väl du instämmer med varje påstående, enligt följande riktlinjer.

1: Instämmer inte alls 2: Instämmer inte 3: Varken instämmer eller inte instämmer 4: Instämmer 5: Instämmer helt och hållet

1. Det är inte så begåvat att berätta sina hemligheter för någon.
2. Jag gillar att använda smarta sätt att manipulera andra för att få som jag vill.
3. Man måste få de viktiga människorna på sin sida, oavsett vad det kostar.
4. Undvik direkta konflikter med andra personer, eftersom de kan vara användbara i framtiden.
5. Det är smart att hålla koll på saker som man senare kan använda mot andra människor.
6. Man bör vänta på rätt tillfälle att ge igen på någon.
7. Det finns saker man bör dölja för andra, eftersom de inte behöver veta.
8. Försäkra dig om att dina planer ger fördelar till just dig och inte någon annan.
9. De flesta människor kan bli manipulerade.
10. Andra ser mig som en naturlig ledare.
11. Jag avskyr att vara den som är i uppmärksamhetens mittpunkt.

² Påståendena i formuläret är utformade 2013 av Daniel N. Jones (University of Texas at El Paso) och Delroy L. Paulhus (University of British Columbia). Svensk version, inklusive ”backtranslation”, gjordes av Magnus Lindén f.d. R. Larsson (Lund universitet), Anna M. Dåderman (Högskolan Väst) och George Farrants (Billericay AB).

12. Många gruppaktiviteter tenderar att bli tråkiga utan mig.
13. Jag vet att jag är speciell, eftersom alla hela tiden talar om det för mig.
14. Jag gillar att lära känna viktiga personer.
15. Jag känner mig bortgjord när någon ger mig en komplimang.
16. Jag har blivit jämförd med kända människor.
17. Jag är en ordinär person.
18. Jag insisterar på att få den respekt jag förtjänar.
19. Jag gillar att hämnas på auktoriteter.
20. Jag undviker farliga situationer.
21. En hämnd måste ske fort och utföras på ett fult sätt.
22. Andra talar ofta om för mig att jag har tappat kontrollen.
23. Det stämmer att jag kan vara elak mot andra.
24. Människor som bråkar med mig får alltid ångra det.
25. Jag har aldrig kommit i klammeri med rättsväsendet.
26. Jag njuter av att ha sex med personer jag knappt känner.
27. Jag säger vad som helst för att få som jag vill.

Appendix C

Rotter's Locus of Control Scale (Swedish translation)

Välj det påstående som du instämmer mest med på varje fråga.

1.
 - a. Barn hamnar i trubbel för att deras föräldrar straffar dem för mycket.
 - b. Problemet med de flesta barn nuförtiden är att deras föräldrar är för slappa med dem

2.
 - a. Många olyckligheter i människors liv är delvis på grund av otur
 - b. Människors otur är ett resultat av misstag de begått

3.
 - a. En av de största anledningarna till att vi har krig i världen är för att människor inte intresserar sig tillräckligt mycket för politik.
 - b. Krig kommer alltid att finnas, hur mycket människor än försöker förhindra dem.

4.
 - a. I det långa loppet får människor den respekt de förtjänar i den här världen.
 - b. Tyvärr erkänns en individs värde ofta inte hur mycket han eller hon än försöker.

5.
 - a. Idén om att lärare är orättvisa mot studenter är nonsens.
 - b. De flesta studenter inser inte till vilken grad deras betyg influeras av olyckshändelser eller slumpen

6.
 - a. Utan de rätta bromsarna kan man inte vara en effektiv ledare
 - b. Människor som är kunniga och kapabla men misslyckas med att bli ledare har inte tagit vara på sina möjligheter.

7.
 - a. Hur mycket du än försöker kommer vissa människor ändå aldrig tycka om dig.
 - b. Människor som inte kan få andra att gilla dem förstår inte hur man kommer överens med andra.

8.

- a. Arv spelar störst roll i vad som avgör en människas personlighet
- b. Det är individens livsupplevelser som avgör hur de är som person.

9.

- a. Jag har ofta upptäckt att det som är menat att hända, kommer hända.
- b. Att lita på ödet har aldrig slutat bra för mig när det kommer till att ta beslut för en definitiv handlingsplan

10.

- a. Så länge en student är väl förberedd finns det sällan eller aldrig några orättvisa tester/kan man sällan eller till och med aldrig säga att ett test/prov är orättvist.
- b. Många gånger tenderar provfrågor att vara så orelaterade till kursen att det är meningslöst att studera.

11.

- a. Att bli framgångsrik handlar om hårt arbete, tur har mycket lite eller inget att göra med det.
- b. Att få ett bra jobb beror först och främst på om du är på rätt plats vid rätt tillfälle.

12.

- a. En vanlig medborgare kan ha en påverkan på/möjlighet att påverka regeringsbeslut.
- b. Världen styrs av få människor med mycket makt och det finns inte så mycket vanliga människor kan göra åt det.

13.

- a. När jag planerar saker är jag nästan helt säker på att jag kan få dem att funka.
- b. Det är inte alltid klokt att planera för långt i förväg, eftersom många saker visar sig avgöras av tur eller otur ändå.

14.

- a. Det finns vissa människor som bara inte är goda alls.
- b. Det finns något bra i alla.

15.

- a. I mitt fall har tur lite eller inget att göra med att få det jag vill ha.
- b. Många gånger kan vi lika gärna besluta om vad vi ska göra genom att singla slant.

16.

- a. Vem som får bli chef har ofta att göra med vem som hade turen att vara på rätt plats vid rätt tillfälle
- b. Att få människor att göra rätt saker har med förmåga att göra. Tur har lite, eller inget alls med det att göra.

17.

- a. När det kommer till världsliga angelägenheter är många av oss offer för högre krafter som vi varken kan förstå eller kontrollera.
- b. Genom att vara en aktiv del i politiska och sociala affärer kan människor kontrollera världshändelser.

18.

- a. De flesta människorna inser inte till vilken grad deras liv kontrolleras av slumpmässiga händelser
- b. "Tur" finns egentligen inte.

19.

- a. Man bör alltid vara villig att erkänna sina misstag
- b. Det är oftast bäst att dölja sina misstag.

20.

- a. Det är svårt att veta om en person verkligen tycker om en eller ej.
- b. Hur många vänner du har beror på hur trevlig du är som person.

21.

- a. I det långa loppet balanserar de goda ut de dåliga sakerna som händer oss.
- b. De flesta olyckliga händelserna är ett resultat av oförmåga, ignorans, lathet eller alla tre.

22.

- a. Med tillräcklig ansträngning kan vi göra oss kvitt med politisk korruption.
- b. Det är svårt för människor att ha särskilt mycket kontroll över vad politikerna gör på sitt kontor.

23.

- a. Ibland förstår jag inte hur lärare landar i de betyg de bestämt sig för att ge mig.
- b. Det finns en direkt koppling mellan hur mycket jag studerar och vilka betyg jag får.

24.

- a. En bra ledare förväntar sig att andra tar sina egna beslut om vad de bör göra.
- b. En bra ledare gör det klart för alla vad deras jobb är/innebär.

25.

- a. Jag har många gånger känt att jag inte har så mycket påverkan/inverkan på/möjlighet att påverka saker som händer mig.
- b. Det är omöjligt för mig att tro på att slumpen eller tur spelar en viktig roll i mitt liv.

26.

- a. Människor är ensamma för att de inte försöker vara vänliga.
- b. Det är inte någon idé att försöka för mycket för att göra folk nöjda. Om de tycker om dig, tycker de om dig.

27.

- a. Det läggs för stor vikt vid idrott i gymnasiet.
- b. Lagsport är ett utmärkt sätt att bygga karaktär på.

28.

- a. Det som händer mig är ett resultat av mina egna handlingar
- b. Ibland känner jag att jag inte har tillräcklig kontroll över riktningen mitt liv går i/tar.

29.

- a. För det mesta kan jag inte förstå varför politiker beter sig som de gör.
- b. I det långa loppet är folket ansvariga för en dålig regering - på en nationell såväl som lokal nivå.

Appendix D

Rotter's Locus of Control Scale (original version)

For each question, select the statement that you agree with the most.

1.
 - a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
 - b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2.
 - a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
 - b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3.
 - a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
 - b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4.
 - a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world
 - b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries

5.
 - a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
 - b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6.
 - a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
 - b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7.
 - a. No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.
 - b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8.
 - a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality
 - b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

9.

- a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10.

- a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
- b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying in really useless.

11.

- a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12.

- a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
- b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13.

- a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
- b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to- be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14.

- a. There are certain people who are just no good.
- b. There is some good in everybody.

15.

- a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
- b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16.

- a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability. Luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17.

- a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
- b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18.

- a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
- b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19.

- a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
- b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20.

- a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
- b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21.

- a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
- b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22.

- a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
- b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23.

- a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
- b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24.

- a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
- b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25.

- a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26.

a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.

b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27.

a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.

b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28.

a. What happens to me is my own doing.

b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29.

a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.

b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

Score one point for each of the following: 2. a, 3.b, 4.b, 5.b, 6.a, 7.a, 9.a, 10.b, 11.b, 12.b, 13.b, 15.b, 16.a, 17.a, 18.a, 20.a, 21. a, 22.b, 23.a, 25.a, 26.b, 28.b, 29.a.

A high score = External Locus of Control A low score = Internal Locus of Control