

THE DARK TRIAD AND ADVICE SEEKING BEHAVIOR

by

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## ABSTRACT

This research study seeks to gain a better understanding of the effects of the dark triad (narcissism, Machiavellianism, psychopathy) on advice seeking behaviors. This research will involve whether or not the dark triad traits may result in working professionals being more or less likely to seek advice when facing an ethical dilemma. There is a very small amount of existing research on advice seeking behavior. What little research is available does not investigate the effects of the Dark Triad traits on advice seeking. I predict that those with elevated levels of narcissism and psychopathy will be less likely to seek advice. I also predict that Machiavellianism will have no relationship with advice seeking until there is a potential for personal gain. Participants for this study will be working professionals over the age of 18 who are legally eligible to work in the United States. The purpose of this is to learn more about how the Dark Triad may impact decision making in the work place.

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## CHAPTER I: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### Introduction

The history of advice seeking can be traced back to the origins of the advice column. It is believed that the first advice column was published in 1690 in the London magazine the *Athenian Mercury*. The advice column was referred to as the Athenian Society and is said to have been comprised of a group of 30 so called experts in various fields. These experts answered a wide variety of questions ranging from the composition of the sun to the effects of alcohol on human behavior (Beck, 2018). Fast forward three centuries and the answers to these questions are easily obtainable from a simple internet search and no longer require the consultation of an expert. However, the advice column is still thriving in today's climate as individuals continue to consult others for advice (Robb, 2016). While it is unlikely that most individuals write into an advice column every time that they desire advice, giving, seeking, and taking advice from other individuals occurs quite frequently in daily life. Whether it is giving a neighbor advice on the best restaurants in town or asking a guidance counselor for his or her opinion on which university one should attend, many humans engage in some form of advice taking, seeking, or giving (Gino, Brooks, & Schweitzer, 2012). The study of advice processes in human interaction has been an increasingly attractive topic of study within the Judgement and Decision Making (JDM) field. The field of JDM is vast and has been in existence for several decades while the field of advice taking is relatively new (Connolly, Ordonez, & Barker, 2013). The first paper on advice taking was published in 1986 by Brehmer and Hagafors and tested the principles of social judgment theory based on staff member

decision making. However, research on advice seeking behavior in that present literature is currently quite minimal. The purpose of this study is to expand on the current advice *seeking* literature by exploring one set of individual difference variables that have been shown to impact advice taking (Brooks, Gino, & Schweitzer, 2015). Specifically, this study seeks to investigate the relationship between the Dark Triad personality traits (i.e., narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy) and advice seeking

### **Advice Taking**

In the advice taking literature, advice is defined as any relevant information offered to a decision maker by another individual, called the advisor (Gino et al., 2012). Within the field many authors utilize the Judge-Advisor System (JAS) paradigm to differentiate between those giving and receiving advice (Gino, 2008). In the JAS the judge is tasked with making a judgment or decision and is exposed to one or more advisors whose role it is to give the judge advice (Gino, 2008). Individuals often ask for advice when they are unsure about something and believe another person might have more knowledge about a particular area of interest (Hütter & Ache, 2016). While it seems reasonable that individuals who seek out advice would then use that advice, studies have shown that individuals tend to discount or disregard advice. Many reasons have been offered to explain this discounting behavior. However, one of the most supported explanations is that judges value their own opinion more highly than the advisor's opinion (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). Researchers refer to this type of discounting as egocentric advice discounting (Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006)

Yaniv and Kleinberger (2000) found that judges egocentrically discount an advisor's judgement in favor of their own opinion. To measure advice discounting the authors used a measure called weight of own estimate (WOE) that accounts for the advice received by the judge and the judge's final and initial estimates of their decision. A WOE score of 1.00 represents a judge that discounted the advice they received completely or 100%. Results of this study showed that on average participants in the study rated their own judgements at a level of 0.71 and their advisor's judgments at 0.50. In situations where advisor's and judge's conclusions differ judges close the disparity gap by adhering to their own judgements (Feng & MacGeorge, 2006) . This may be due to the fact that the judge has more access to how their own judgements were formed in comparison to how their advisor's judgements were formed. Therefore, the judge may feel more comfortable with his or her own judgement (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). As such, egocentric discounting makes judges less receptive to taking advice.

The concept of receptiveness was defined by Feng and MacGeorge (2006) as how well received a piece of advice is. More specifically receptiveness is an individual's level of openness to advice or how ready they are to seek advice before and during the advice-giving interaction. Receptiveness varies among individuals and situations (Feng & MacGeorge, 2006). This concept is important in the advice taking literature because there are several factors that affect a judge's receptiveness to advice. One of these factors is the judge's level of self-confidence. Research on advice taking has shown that low levels of self-confidence acts as a mediator in the relationship between anxiety and advice taking. In other words, anxiety lowers judges' self-confidence leading to an increased reliance on advice, *even* when the advice is considered bad by the judge. (Gino et al., 2012). Another



factor that affects receptiveness is expressivity (Feng & MacGeorge, 2006). Expressivity, which refers to the combination of interdependence and emotionality, was found to be related to increased receptiveness to advice (Feng & MacGeorge, 2006). For instance, an individual who outwardly expresses their emotions to other people and relies on others for help is more likely to be receptive to advice. Additionally, a judge's trust in their advisor was found to be positively related to advice taking (Snizek & Van Swol, 2001). Related to this finding, Feng and MacGeorge (2006) discovered that judges who reported having close relationships with their advisor, were more receptive to advice. Clearly, the relationship between judge and advisor is important to judge receptiveness, but several characteristics of the advisor also affect receptiveness. Research on advisor characteristics has shown that advice given by more confident advisors is followed more frequently than advice from less confident advisors (Snizek & Van Swol, 2001). Judges were also found to be more receptive to advice from experienced and knowledgeable advisors (Feng & MacGeorge, 2006).

In addition to individual differences, characteristics of the decision situation also play a role in receptiveness to advice. One such characteristic is the financial cost of advice. For instance, Gino (2008) found that judges use paid advice much more often than free advice. Additionally, judges used more expensive advice more often than less expensive advice. Individuals have also been found to be more receptive to advice when they solicit it themselves. Research on this topic has shown that solicited advice is perceived as helpful by the judge while unsolicited advice is perceived as criticism (Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006; Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997). In other words, if the judge seeks the advice they are more likely to take it than if the advisor comes to them without

solicitation. Knowing more about what causes an individual to seek advice may increase their receptiveness to advice. However, the research on advice seeking is limited and underdeveloped.

### **Advice Seeking**

Advice seeking is defined as a help seeking behavior and is sometimes referred to as feedback seeking (Brooks, Gino, & Schweitzer, 2015). However, Brooks et al. (2015) suggests that advice seeking, and feedback seeking are not interchangeable because they differ in the type of information they solicit. Advice seeking aims to gather information about a present or future situation while feedback seeking aims to gather information about past performance. Therefore, advice seeking is future oriented, while feedback seeking is past oriented (Brooks et al., 2015). Aside from feedback seeking, advice seeking is also different from other help seeking behaviors in three fundamental ways (Brooks et al., 2015). First, advice seeking is prescriptive in nature and implies that the advice seeker will comply with the prescribed advice. Second, in the advice seeking process, the judge has control over the final decision regardless of the advisor's opinion. Third, taking advice implies that the judge agrees with the advisor's values and beliefs, at least to some extent (Brooks et al., 2015).

Many instances of advice seeking function as social exchanges; which can be defined as an exchange between two people in which one person's actions are contingent upon the rewarding actions of the other person (Emerson, 1976). A person may decide to engage in a particular action to receive a reward from another individual (Cook & Rice, 2003). Many researchers refer to these contingent exchanges as Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Clark, 2016; Colquitt, Baer, Long, & Halvorsen-Ganepola, 2014; Cook & Rice,

2003). SET has been widely conceptualized by many prominent researchers but for the purposes of this study I will define it as a social exchange between individuals whether that is asking for input on a decision or completing one's work duties on time in exchange for a benefit that may come in the form of positive feelings, praise, pay, etc. The present study will be used to understand advice seeking and investigate the individual differences that may influence advice seeking. Individuals may use SET to determine whether the benefits of receiving the advice are worth the costs of seeking the advice.

Several factors are thought to affect advice seeking behaviors. Two of those factors are structural equivalence and prototypicality (Copeland, Reynolds, & Burton, 2008). More specifically, participants were found to seek advice from structural equivalents in their organization more often than those they perceived as inequivalent in status. Additionally, individuals sought advice from those they viewed as a prototypical group member more often than those who were perceived as less typical. Individuals sought advice from prototypical individuals even when they were members of different work groups. Analyses found that prototypicality was a better predictor of advice seeking behavior than shared group membership (Copeland et al., 2008). Levels of confidence and anxiety are also thought to affect advice seeking behavior. In their study, Gino, Brooks, & Schweitzer (2012) predicted that anxious individuals would be more likely to seek advice than emotionally neutral or non-anxious individuals. They also predicted that the relationship between anxiety and advice seeking behavior would be mediated by self-confidence. The authors found support for their hypotheses across a series of eight experiments. They claim that there is a robust relationship between anxiety and advice

seeking behavior. Those who are more anxious were found to seek advice more than those individuals in a neutral emotional state. The authors also suggest that anxiety lowers self-confidence which results in an increase in advice seeking behavior (Gino et al., 2012)

Other research on advice seeking focuses on how seeking advice can be used as a social exchange to create a certain outcome or interpersonal feeling. For example, Liljenquist (2010) discovered an interesting relationship between advice seeking warmth and perceptions of competence. While competence and warmth are typically viewed at odds with one another, Liljenquist suggests that by using several impression management strategies individuals can increase perceptions of warmth and competency. Advice seeking represents an effort to humbly ask for assistance as well as manipulate the advisor by flattering them with their praise and desire for advice (Liljenquist, 2010). Advice seeking may also put the judge in a positive light because it portrays their desire to improve themselves (Liljenquist, 2010). While seeking advice does show incompetence in one area, it also shows that the individual is cognizant of their weaknesses which enhances their personal image (Liljenquist, 2010). From these findings, one can see how a person might seek advice for strategic purposes. For instance, comparing the costs of being viewed as incompetent with the benefits of flattering the advisor and enhancing their own self-image, judges decide whether or not seeking advice is worthwhile. This cost benefits analysis is described in Blau's contemporary conceptualization of Social Exchange Theory (Blau, 1986; Colquitt et al., 2014). This leads to the following research question

*Research Question 1: To what extent do people seek advice?*

An additional factor that will affect the relationship between SET and advice seeking is personality. I predict that individuals who possess elevated levels of one of three maladaptive traits will be more likely to seek or not seek advice due to their analysis of the social exchange. These traits are narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy, referred to as the Dark Triad. In this paper I seek to show that the Dark Triad traits affect advice seeking behavior.

### **The Dark Triad**

According to research by Paulhus and Williams (2002) there are three personality traits that are particularly aversive but still allow for normal functioning. Those traits are Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy, which are referred to collectively as the Dark Triad (Paulhus, D.L., Williams, 2002). Machiavellianism was derived from Niccolo Machiavelli's book *The Prince* by psychological researchers Christie and Geis in 1970 (Christie & Geis, 1970). Briefly stated, Machiavellianism measures manipulative tendencies. Historically, narcissism was studied as a personality disorder. Raskin and Hall attempted to create a subclinical measure of the DSM disorder, Narcissistic Personality Disorder (Paulhus, D.L., Williams, 2002). The underlying basis of narcissism is an inflated view of oneself (Jonason et al., 2018). Lastly, psychopathy, broadly captures risk taking, impulsivity, and antisocial behaviors. Psychopathy was the most recent trait to be included in the subclinical literature (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). In the following sections, I will provide a brief description of each Dark Triad trait. I will use the labels Machiavellian, narcissist, and psychopath to symbolize those individuals who score high on *subclinical* scales of Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy. That

is, the labels refer to people who score high on these traits but would not necessarily be classified as having a personality disorder.

### **Machiavellianism**

Machiavellianism is characterized by three core beliefs (O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks, & McDaniel, 2012). The first is that manipulation is an effective and sound way of engaging with other individuals. Second, Machiavellians hold a belief that in general people are bad and cannot be trusted. And third, it is not possible to succeed or get ahead without taking some kind of ethical or moral shortcut (O'Boyle et al., 2012).

Machiavellians are also characterized as being distant, pragmatic, and icy (Rauthmann, 2012). Machiavellians do not necessarily engage in extreme antisocial behaviors often, but they are more likely to be dishonest, disloyal, and disowning than other individuals (D N Jones & Paulhus, 2009). According to Murtis, Merckelback, Otgaar, and Meijer (2017) the key feature of Machiavellianism is “a duplicitous interpersonal style, a cynical disregard for morality, and a focus on self-interest and personal gain” (p. 184). For example, someone exhibiting these traits would lie to others to get what they want and rationalize their dishonesty with the belief that all individuals operate only under self-interests and would also lie if put in the same situation.

According to SET theory, Machiavellians should view seeking advice as a benefit to them *if* it provides them with some sort of personal gain (Blau, 1986; Colquitt et al., 2014). This personal gain may come in the form of impression management. As mentioned previously, advice seeking can be used as an impression management tactic and can serve as a form of flattery for the advisor. Research on advice seeking supports this prediction. As discussed in the previous section, Liljenquist viewed advice seeking as

a manipulation tactic used for impression management. She suggests that advice seeking serves as a form of manipulation by flattering the advisor with praise and desire for advice (2010). Advice seeking also casts the judge in a positive light because it portrays the idea that they have a desire for self-improvement (Liljenquist, 2010). As such, due to Machiavellians' tendency to manipulate, Machiavellians should be more likely to seek advice for the sole purpose of flattering another individual and winning them over. Therefore, I hypothesize that Machiavellians will seek advice as a manipulation tactic when there is a potential for personal gain. When there is no potential for personal gain I predict that Machiavellians will bypass seeking advice.

*Hypothesis 1a: There will be no direct relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking.*

*Hypothesis 1b: I predict that relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking is moderated by the potential for personal gain, such that the relationship is positive when perceptions of the potential for personal gain are high.*

### **Narcissism**

When describing subclinical narcissism researchers use words like, egocentrism, overconfidence, vanity, entitlement and praise, and attention and authority seeking. Confidence and egocentrism are two of the defining characteristics of narcissism (Kausel, Culbertson, Leiva, Slaughter, & Jackson, 2015; O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). Additionally, grandiosity, entitlement, dominance, and perceptions of superiority characterize narcissism (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Narcissists tend to be extroverts who have a need for control, success, and admiration (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Some research has suggested that these tendencies make Narcissists good leaders, and they are

sometimes initially described as pleasant and adept by their coworkers (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). However, narcissists propensity to engage in risk taking and aggressive behaviors, to mistreat others, and ignore feedback eventually undermines the initial positive perceptions of them, which leads narcissists to be viewed as egotistical and argumentative (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). In relation to SET, I do not believe Narcissists will weigh the benefits of seeking advice as higher than the costs of being viewed as incompetent due to their inflated sense of ego and need to be idolized. This leads me to believe that Narcissists will see no value in seeking advice and will therefore refrain from seeking advice.

*Hypothesis 2: Narcissism will be negatively correlated with advice seeking.*

### **Psychopathy**

The defining feature of psychopathy is a lack of empathy and concern for others (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). This lack of empathy and concern means that psychopaths are unable to form interpersonal relationships and do not feel guilt when their actions harm others (Hare & Neumann, 2009). On the surface, psychopaths can appear to be charismatic and likeable and are seemingly similar to narcissists (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). As time moves on, their charm wears off, and they become more unlikeable. However, not all psychopaths are able to portray a positive image of themselves before their impulses take over (Rauthmann, 2012). According to Paulhus and Williams (2002), the fundamental characteristics of psychopathy are high levels of impulsivity and risk seeking paired with low levels of anxiety. Psychopath's impulsive tendencies lead them to make erratic decisions. A psychopath enjoys the risk of making a decision without any prior preparation or planning. This tendency suggests that



psychopaths will not seek advice because seeking advice is a form of planning or preparing to make a decision. Additionally, psychopaths have a willing disregard for obligations and others' emotions, which undermines the potential for interpersonal relationships (O'Boyle et al., 2012). This disregard for obligations and relationships makes psychopaths less likely to consider feedback about their performance, meet production standards, or fulfill job requirements (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Psychopaths are also unconcerned with reciprocity norms and less likely to find value in rewards like social admiration and acceptance (O'Boyle et al., 2012). From a Social Exchange perspective this suggests that psychopaths will not value seeking advice because they do not value any of the outcomes it provides (e.g. feedback, making others feel good, creating relationships). This means that the benefits of the advice cannot outweigh the cost of seeking the advice because to a psychopath, there is no benefit. Therefore, I predict that psychopaths will not seek advice.

*Hypothesis 3: Psychopathy will be negatively related to advice seeking.*

## CHAPTER II: Methods

### Participants

Participants will be recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk is an online research platform that provides researchers with access to a global on demand workforce 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Researchers looking to gather data for their study can post a request asking participants to complete a Human Intelligence Task (HIT) in exchange for a monetary payment. In this study, participants will be compensated US\$0.50.

Based on an *a priori* power analyses the total sample required to detect a small effect (.10) is 246. Therefore, 255 participants were recruited for this study. Participants for this study were working adults over the age of 18, who are legally permitted to work in the United States.

### Measures

#### **Dark triad.**

In order to measure narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism, participants will complete the Short Dark Triad (SD3) scale. The SD3 was created by Jones and Paulhus (2014) to fill the need for a brief yet valid and reliable Dark Triad measure (Daniel N. Jones & Paulhus, 2014). The SD3 contains 27 items, 9 items that address each Dark Triad trait. An example of an item used to test Machiavellianism on the scale is "I like to use clever manipulation to get my way." One of the Narcissism items reads, "I insist on getting the respect I deserve," and an example of a Psychopathy item is "People

often say I'm out of control" (Daniel N. Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Participants are asked to rate the set of 27 statements using a Likert scale of 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). Participants in the study will take the SD3 at the beginning of the study.

### **Advice Seeking Task**

According to a report published by the Ethics & Compliance Institution (2017), 47 percent of employees surveyed reported witnessing ethical misconduct at work. A large portion of that misconduct came in the form of abusive behavior or lying (Initiative, 2018). Additionally, in 2017 there was a 23% increase in the level of pressure employees feel to compromise organizational standards (Initiative, 2018). Research on the contract management workforce found that 45% of the workforce reported observing ethical misconduct and 23% reported feeling pressure to compromise standards or laws (Rendon, 2018). Furthermore, ethical dilemmas are present in organizations and researchers suggest that organizations have a system in place whereby employees can seek advice about ethical issues (Webley & Werner, 2008). Due to the prevalence of ethical misconduct in the workplace, a Situational Judgement Test (SJT) was developed as the stimulus for the present study. The SJT focuses on identifying ethical behavior to use as the situation about which participants could seek advice.

In order to induce feelings induce an feelings of an opportunity for personal gain, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions for the Situational Judgement Test; condition A or condition B. Both conditions were identical in all respects, except for a brief prompt following the background information. Participants in condition A were presented with the following prompt:

“The bank has put their troubles behind them. No employees lost their job due to the fraud. And the bank has since returned to normal operations.”

Participants assigned to condition B will be presented with the following prompt:

“Managing their brand image is now the top priority of the bank. Since several employees have been terminated due to fraud, employees who can contribute to improving consumer perception of the bank are likely to be considered for promotion.”

The company background information will contain basic information about the industry, size, and structure of the company. The information will also include a description of an unethical situation the company was involved in. To check for differences between condition A and B the participants were presented with a question immediately following the background information and prompt. This question served as a manipulation and attention check. The background information, instructions, prompt, and question are displayed in the appendix.

Each Situational Judgement Test item will contain three responses that vary in their degree of ethicality. Each item in the test will describe an ethical dilemma and will then ask the participant which of the following responses they are most likely to do. The participants will be asked to rank the responses 1 (most likely to do) to 3 (least likely to do). Once the participants score the item they will be asked if they would like to seek advice from an expert within the organization regarding the scenario. Participants will select either yes or no. If the participant selects yes they will be presented with the expert's advice, which will be a statement from an organizational expert regarding which response is recommended. To test for potential response behavior of participants a pilot study was conducted using the SJT questions. The SJT questions were presented to 16

undergraduate students in the form of a Qualtrics survey. The results of the pilot study were used to create the advice. The advice for half of the questions is the response that was most often ranked 1 by the participants in the pilot study. To ensure that participants do not pick up on this pattern and do not blindly rely on the advice, the advice for the last five questions presented to the participant will be randomly generated. Participants will then be presented with the following instructions “now that you have viewed the expert’s recommendations how will you rank order the following responses?” followed by the same SJT question. The order of each SJT item will be randomized. The participants will have the option to readjust their rank order of the responses or keep them the same. Participants who do not elect to seek advice will be forwarded the next item in the SJT. The total number of times a participant elects to view the advice will be counted and used to address my research question regarding the extent to which people seek advice. For purposes of this study *seeking advice* is operationalized as answering yes to the question “would you like to seek advice regarding the scenario?” Thus, participants’ responses were scored as 1(*yes*) or 0 (*no*). An overall score was then created by summing the number of times a participant responded with affirmation of whether they wanted to seek advice. The Situational Judgement Test items are displayed in Appendix A.

At the completion of the advice taking task, participants will be asked, “In general, did you decide to seek advice and if so did you use the advice?” and “what made you decide to seek or not seek advice?”. These questions will allow participants to type their responses.

**Perceptions of Personal Gain**

Perceptions of personal gain will be assessed using a 0% to 100% scale.

Participants will be asked how large the opportunity for personal gain is in after each of the test items. A score of 0% indicates that there is no opportunity for personal gain in the situation, meaning the participant believes they would not benefit in any way from taking the advice. A score of 100% indicates that there is a guaranteed opportunity for personal gain and the participant believes they can gain something substantial by taking the advice presented, such as obtaining a promotion. Perceptions of personal gains are being measured to test Hypothesis 1b.

**Control Variable**

Extraversion will serve as a control variable for this study. Previous research on advice taking has controlled for extraversion due to previous research on emotions and advice taking (Kausel et al., 2015; Mcnamara, 2018). Gino and Schweitzer (2008) found that positive emotions are related to advice taking. One of these positive emotions is warmth, which researchers have found to be robustly related to extraversion (de Haan, Prinzie, & Deković, 2009; McRae & Costa JR, 2003). Therefore, extraversion may make individuals more likely to take advice (Kausel et al., 2015).

Extraversion will be measured using Saucier's (1994) eight-item questionnaire (see Appendix B). Saucier's questionnaire is a short Big-Five measure that includes all of the Big-Five (agreeableness, neuroticism, extraversion, openness, and conscientiousness) and uses a nine-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*).

### CHAPTER III: Results

Prior to testing the hypotheses, I checked the reliability of the SD3, the 40-item big five mini markers test, advice seeking totals and the perceptions of personal gain used in the study. The SD3 consists of three subscales that assess Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy. All three subscales demonstrated adequate reliability,  $\alpha = .84, .77, .85$ , respectively. The 40-item mini marker consists of five subscales each assessing one of the Big Five personality traits. It was included in this study to control for extraversion. Reliability for the extraversion subscale was  $\alpha = .81$ . Advice seeking had a reliability coefficient  $\alpha = .81$ , and finally, the test of personal gain was shown to be adequately reliable,  $\alpha = .90$ .

Initial analyses consisted of assessing the validity of the manipulation check included in the study. An Independent Samples *t*-test was conducted to test for significant differences between the control ( $M = 3.85, SD = 1.41$ ) and prompt conditions ( $M = 4.13, SD = 0.97$ ). Results of the analyses showed that there was a significant difference ( $t(268) = -2.52, p = .03$ ) between the control and prompt conditions. Additionally, an Independent Samples *t*-test was conducted to test for significant differences in perceived opportunities for personal gain between the control ( $M = 46.65, SD = 20.73$ ) and prompt conditions ( $M = 44.99, SD = 22.70$ ). Result of the analyses showed that there was no significant difference ( $t(242) = 0.59, p = .41$ ) between the control and prompt conditions in perceived opportunities for personal gain. Taken together, this suggests that the manipulation did *not* have the intended effect of inducing perceived opportunities for personal gain.

In response to my research question (to what extent do people seek advice?), I found that participants in my study sought advice at very high levels. Participants in the study had an opportunity to seek advice a total of 10 times. If they answered “yes” to the advice seeking question, their answer was coded as a score of one, and if they answered “no” they received a zero. The mean for the advice seeking scale was 5.18 ( $SD = 3.86$ , 95%, CI [0.00,10.00]). This indicates a moderate level of advice seeking behavior. Figure 1 demonstrates a bi-modal trend which indicates that some . The modal response of advice seeking was 0.00. Approximately 19.7% of participants never sought advice. In contrast, the secondary modal response was 10.00. Approximately, 18.9% of participants always sought advice, indicating that the participant sought and received advice a total of ten times.

### **Test of Hypotheses**

The means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between the study’s variables are displayed in Table 1 in the Appendix. To further examine whether the Dark Triad traits have an effect on advice seeking behavior, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted. Since extraversion was included as a control variable in this study, condition and extraversion were entered in step 1. Extraversion was entered as step 1 to control for any effects on advice seeking. Condition was entered in step 1 to control for any effects the manipulation had on advice seeking. Machiavellianism, personal gain, psychopathy, and narcissism were entered in step 2. All three dark triad traits were entered in step two to determine if they had any relationship with advice seeking behavior. However, Machiavellianism and personal gain were mean centered to minimize



the effects of multicollinearity in the interaction analysis. The interaction term between personal gain and Machiavellianism was entered in step 3.

The results of the hierarchical regression are displayed in Table 2 (see Appendix E). The overall model for step 1 was not significant and explained less than 1% of the variance in advice seeking behavior,  $R^2 < .01$ ,  $F(2, 241) = .15$ ,  $p = .86$ . Additionally, neither extraversion ( $\beta = -.03$ ,  $t(243) = -.03$ ,  $p = .68$ ) nor condition ( $\beta = -.02$ ,  $t(243) = -.31$ ,  $p = .76$ .) significantly predicted advice seeking. In step 2, personal gain, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy were entered. The addition these variables in step 2 significantly improved the model,  $\Delta R^2 = .10$ ,  $F(4, 237) = 6.53$ ,  $p < .01$ . Combined these variables explained approximately 10% of the variance in advice seeking behavior and the overall model was significant,  $R^2 = .10$ ,  $F(2, 237) = 4.41$ ,  $p < .01$ . Additionally, there was a significant negative relationship between narcissism and advice seeking,  $\beta = -.17$ ,  $t(243) = -2.05$ ,  $p = .046$ . Therefore, *hypothesis 2* was supported. There was also a significant negative relationship between psychopathy and advice seeking,  $\beta = -.27$ ,  $t(243) = -3.34$ ,  $p < .01$ , providing support for *hypothesis 3*. A positive significant relationship was found for personal gain and advice seeking,  $\beta = .28$ ,  $t(243) = 3.90$ ,  $p < .01$ . However, the relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking was *not* significant,  $\beta = .07$ ,  $t(243) = .92$ ,  $p = .36$ . In step 3, the interaction variable was entered. The overall model explained approximately 10% of the variance in advice seeking and was significant,  $R^2 = .10$ ,  $F(7, 236) = 3.85$ ,  $p < .01$ . The addition of the interaction term to the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 < .01$ ,  $F(1, 236) = .59$ ,  $p = .44$ . Indeed, the interaction term did not significantly predict advice seeking,  $\beta = -.05$ ,  $t(243) = -.77$ ,  $p = .44$ . This indicates that Machiavellians were not more or less likely to

seek advice based on different levels of personal gain. *Hypothesis 1a* was supported while *Hypothesis 1b* was not.

## CHAPTER IV: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine the relationship between the dark triad traits and advice *seeking* behavior. By doing so this study aimed to add to the existing body of research on advice seeking behavior. Initial analyses were conducted to determine whether the manipulation check included in the study had the intended effect. The results suggest that there were no significant differences between the control and prompt conditions, which means the manipulation check did not have the intended effect of inducing perceived opportunities for personal gain. The prompt that was used in the prompt condition was created to induce feelings of potential for personal gain, but unfortunately, the prompt did not induce those feelings. The prompt was likely too subtle to induce feelings of personal gain and should have been more explicit in the description of decision background information. Future studies using similar prompts should make them more overt to participants.

My first hypothesis predicted that there would be no direct relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking behavior. The second part of this hypothesis stated that the relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking is moderated by the perceived potential for personal gain, such that the relationship is positive when perceptions of the potential for personal gain are high. As predicted, there was no significant relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking behavior. However, no positive relationship was discovered in situations where the potential for personal gain was high. This suggests that there is no relationship between advice seeking and Machiavellianism, and this is not moderated by potential for personal gain. In other

words, Machiavellians were not more or less likely to seek advice, regardless of whether they perceived opportunities for personal gain.

These results run counter to the argument that personal gain would serve as a kind of benefit, in relation to Social Exchange Theory (SET) for those individuals seeking advice. Machiavellians in particular would use advice seeking as a manipulation tactic for some sort of expected personal gain. The results show that Machiavellians do not weigh the cost of seeking advice with the benefit of the personal gains they may receive through admiration, or flattery by the advice giver. This may be due to the fact that the manipulation check did not induce feelings of personal gain as was intended when creating the study. This result may also be explained by Machiavellian's differing view of social exchange benefits. It is possible that Machiavellians do not view flattering another person as a benefit to themselves. The results also revealed that there may be a positive (albeit small and nonsignificant) relationship between advice seeking and Machiavellianism. This suggests that Machiavellians may seek advice as often as a person who does not possess this Dark Triad Trait. It is possible Machiavellians are influenced by the factors that have been shown to affect other advice seeking individuals, such as solicitation of the advice, expertise of the advisor, and their own level of anxiety (Brooks et al., 2015; Gino et al., 2012; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). Future research should examine whether other variables, such as solicitation and anxiety level, affect Machiavellians to the same degree as non-Machiavellians.

My second hypothesis predicted that Narcissism would be negatively related to advice seeking behavior. Results supported this hypothesis and found that those with higher level of Narcissism also had lower levels of advice seeking behavior. These

results suggest that narcissists' inflated sense of ego may make them less likely to seek advice. These results align with past research that found that narcissists were less likely to take advice (Kausel et al., 2015). If narcissists are not likely to take advice, it seems reasonable that they would also not be willing to seek advice from others. Considering narcissists' egocentric views, any advice others may be able to provide would be considered inferior to the narcissist's own personal judgement (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). Additionally, narcissists have an inflated sense of confidence that would further endorse that belief that their own judgement is superior to the judgements of others (Kausel et al., 2015; O'Boyle et al., 2012; Rauthmann, 2012). These findings extend the previous literature on the relationship between narcissism and advice taking by examining the impact of narcissism on advice *seeking*, which is currently absent for the literature.

Lastly, I hypothesized that psychopathy and advice seeking behavior would be negatively related. The results supported this hypothesis. While no previous research has investigated the relationship between psychopathy and advice seeking behavior, the existing body of research on decision making supports the findings in this study. Psychopaths are risk seeking, impulsive, and likely to make a decision too quickly (D N Jones & Paulhus, 2009;; Mcnamara, 2018; Muris, Merckelbach, Otgaar, & Meijer, 2017). It is reasonable to assume that a person with these tendencies would not go out of their way to seek advice from another person. This study supports previous research regarding the tendencies of individuals with high levels of psychopath. This study is a first step in examining the relationship between this trait and advice seeking behaviors; it may serve to spark interest in investigating psychopathy and other social exchanges.

A final major finding of this study is that, in general, the results showed that there are people who always seek advice and those who never seek advice. While the average number of times that participants sought advice was moderate, examining Figure 1 tells a different story. As is evident in Figure 1 most participants either never sought advice or always sought advice. The findings related to advice seeking have a few possible explanations. The first is that advice seeking behavior differs based on some individual difference variable that we did not measure because there are those people who always ask for advice and those who never ask for advice regardless of the opportunity for personal gain. The histogram in Figure 1 supports this idea as it is clearly visible that the largest numbers of participants either sought advice every time they had the chance or did not seek advice at all. Another explanation for this trend in advice seeking behavior is the context of the study. This study related specifically to ethical dilemmas, it is possible that this caused participants to seek advice more often than they normally would considering the stakes of the decision. It is also possible that the work-related tasks did not inspire participants to seek advice since the tasks were not specifically created for employees in a certain role. In opposition to this view, it is possible the tasks were too ambiguous or complex for participants to decide on their own, which may explain the robust percentage of participants that sought advice in every situation. A final interpretation of these results is that many participants simply clicked through the study without actually thinking about their responses. In congruence with the other findings of this study, the results related to advice seeking add a robust amount of information to the current literature on advice. Specifically, there was no general statistic that indicated how often people sought advice

in any situation. I believe this study provides a general idea of how often people seek advice and can be explored further in future literature.

### **Practical and theoretical Contributions**

The most substantial contribution this study makes is its addition to the existing body of research on advice seeking. The current body of research on advice seeking is extremely limited and while some research exists on the relationship between personality traits like anxiety and confidence, there is currently no research on the relationship between advice seeking and the Dark Triad traits (Gino et al., 2012). This research also adds an examination of advice seeking behavior in relation to ethical dilemmas to the existing literature. Additionally, the results of the study carry practical considerations for managers attempting to enhance the performance of their employees. A manager who is dealing with an employee who has elevated levels of narcissism or psychopathy may have great difficulty managing the performance of that employee. An employee with these traits may not be likely to ask for advice, which could be problematic, especially when they may need advice to enhance their performance. Managers may need to be proactive in identifying these employees and asking them if they would like advice regarding certain situations.

Lastly, it was discovered that in general, some participants did seek advice quite often. This is a significant finding because in my research I was unable to find a general measure of how often people sought advice. There were studies related to increased or decreased advice seeking in relation to other situational or personality related factors, but none that had a base rate measure of advice seeking (Brooks et al., 2015; Copeland et al., 2008; Gino et al., 2012; Liljenquist, 2010). It may be possible that this research exists and

I was unable to find it but in my review of the advice seeking literature I did not come across any general measure of advice seeking. This measure of how often people sought advice may be useful in further research on advice seeking behavior.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

One limitation of this study was the fact that it was conducted online in an unsupervised setting. While the answers to survey questions could not be found by internet search because they were created specifically for this study, it is possible that participants had help in answering the survey. They could have asked another person for help selecting the right answers or googled ethics related scenarios to aid them in answering the survey. Due to the nature of the Situational Judgement Test (SJT) used in this study it is also possible that participants answered the questions by ranking the responses in order of what they believed was socially acceptable rather than what they would actually do in that situation. An additional limitation related to the use of an SJT is that depending on how the answer key is developed the correct answers may differ vastly. It is possible that using another method to create an answer key would have produced entirely different answers to the questions created. For this reason, this study should be replicated using another type of decision task that has a more absolute answer key.

This study should also be replicated in an organizational setting. While the aim of this study was to assess a working population, due to the nature of the study, it is quite possible that the participants were dishonest about their work life. While MTurk samples have been shown to be more diverse than other internet samples, (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011) administering this survey in an organizational setting would ensure that participants were made up of working adults and provide more accurate results for



application in organizations. Another limiting factor of this study was that participants were given compensation for completing the study regardless of their performance. This may have caused participants to click through the study and finish it as quickly as possible because they were not worried about their performance. The median competition time for the study was approximately 19 minutes. When piloting the study, it took participants between 30 and 35 minutes to complete the study. The median completion time may suggest that a large number of participants did not take the time to accurately answer all questions. If this study was to be replicated again, I would suggest using some kind of performance contingent reward.

Another limitation of this study was that the manipulation check did not produce the intended results. This could be explained by several factors. It is possible that the prompt and control conditions were confusing to participants or the instructions regarding this section of the survey were not explicit enough. It is also possible that participants disregarded this portion of the survey or did not take the time to read the prompt completely as it was rather long. In future studies, a different approach to checking for participant's attention should be used. Alternatively, the manipulation may not have been strong enough. Therefore, future research should utilize a more overt manipulation.

Future research should also seek to investigate the relationship between Machiavellianism and advice seeking. Findings from this study indicated that Machiavellianism and advice seeking behavior were not related, even when personal gain was introduced as a moderating variable. It is worth examining if this finding would be consistent in a replication of this study. It is also worth examining how personal gains are operationally defined by Machiavellians. It is possible the personal gains used in this

study were not large enough or obvious enough to spark a change in advice seeking behavior. Differing the type of personal gain available could lead to increases or decreases in advice seeking behavior which could provide further insights about Machiavellians.

### **Conclusion**

This study found that narcissism and psychopathy were negatively related to advice seeking behavior. Machiavellians were not shown to have a relationship with advice seeking behavior, and this relationship was not moderated by personal gain. This research emphasizes that personality characteristics have a great deal of effect on advice seeking behavior. It also adds to growing body of research on advice seeking and provides practical implications for managers wishing to enhance employee performance.

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**APPENDICES**



## **APPENDIX A: SITUATIONAL JUDGEMENT TEST**

You witness one of your coworkers being yelled at on several different occasions by your supervisor. Your supervisor is insulting your coworker and using degrading and inappropriate language towards your coworker. You confront your coworker, and he asks you not to tell anyone because your supervisor threatened to fire him if anyone else finds out. You are up for promotion this year and your promotion relies partially on an evaluation by your supervisor. Which of the following are you most likely to do first?

1. Take the issue to your supervisor's manager (the department manager)
2. Try to convince your coworker to report the incident
3. Do as your coworker wishes and not say anything about the incident

You see one of your coworkers stealing supplies from the office. When you confront your coworker, she says that she is only taking the supplies to sell them, so she can afford groceries for her family. Which of the following are you most likely to do first?

1. Discuss the incident with your coworker and suggest that she inform your supervisor
2. Go to your supervisor to report the incident
3. Do nothing. It is not your problem.

You are trying to fill a vacant role at the bank and are down to the last two candidates. Candidate A is the highly qualified candidate however, you worked with Candidate A at your previous employer and find him unbearably annoying and rude. Candidate B is under qualified than candidate A but worked at the bank previously and was adored by all of the other employees including yourself. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Hire candidate A
2. Hire candidate B
3. Do not hire either candidate and search for other candidates without personal ties to the bank.

Your supervisor gives you \$200.00 to purchase lunch for everyone in the office. On your way to pick up lunch, you find a coupon for the restaurant. The coupon will reduce the price of the lunch by \$20.00, so it will only cost \$180.00. Your supervisor is a very frugal person and attempts to save money at any cost. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Use the coupon and give the \$20.00 to your supervisor
2. Use the coupon and keep the \$20.00 for yourself since it is your coupon
3. Keep the coupon for the next time you go to this restaurant

For the past few months you have been working on a report for the bank. Creating the report was very challenging for you and repeatedly went to one of your coworkers for assistance. You have finally finished the report and turned it in to your boss. Your

supervisor calls you into his office and praises you for the excellent job you did on the report. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Thank your supervisor for the praise but and thank your coworker for the help
2. Thank your supervisor for the praise
3. Thank your supervisor for the praise and suggest that he thank the coworker who helped you as well

Last month the branch manager at the bank promoted you to shift manager. Now one of your direct reports is the branch manager's son, Tim. You've never had any issues with Tim in the past as he has always completed his work and reported to work on time. However, over the past month you have noticed that Tim has been over an hour late to work 4 times. Bank policy states that when you are late more than twice a month you get placed on a probation. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Follow policy and place Tim on probation
2. Speak to Tim about his tardiness and give him a chance to change his behavior
3. Do not respond to Tim's tardiness since you were just recently promoted

One day at work a customer comes into the bank and requests you to make a transaction. The particular transaction would violate company policy if completed, so you inform the customer that you cannot complete her request. She becomes angry with you and starts yelling at you and saying she is going to take her business elsewhere and

encourage her friends and family to close their accounts at the bank. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Tell the customer you are sorry but must follow company policy and ask her if there is anything you can do to remedy the situation
2. Tell the customer you are just doing your job and there is nothing you can do to help her
3. Make the transaction to make the customer happy

Your supervisor has just informed you that some employees from the corporate office are coming to the branch next week to conduct training. There will be activities every day along with a test at the end of the week to gauge improvement from training. You have a friend at another branch of the bank who told you about the test and said those who scored the highest were given a bonus. Your friend says he can probably get you a copy of the test before the training. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Tell your friend you'd like a copy of the test
2. Thank your friend for the information
3. Tell your friend his behavior is unethical and you will be reporting it

One of your coworkers has a reputation around the office for conducting personal business at work. You have observed your coworker making dinner reservations, online shopping, making doctor's appointments and sending Facebook messages while at work. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Do nothing, it does not affect you

2. Talk to your coworker and encourage them to stay focused on work related tasks
3. Start doing it yourself

Part of your job at the bank requires you to advise customers about which accounts and services are best for them. One of the services the bank offers is identity theft protection. Any bank client can purchase identity theft protection for their account for \$10.00 a month. You believe identity theft protection is a beneficial investment for your clients due to its proven success with past clients.

Last week your boss announced an increased sales quota requiring bank employees to sell 15% more bank services to clients. In the weeks leading up to this announcement you experienced a lot of trouble selling bank services. Billing for bank services is all automated, so clients aren't notified when payment is due. The money is just withdrawn from their account. Which of the following are you most likely to do?

1. Talk to your supervisor about how you can improve your sales
2. Add identity theft protection to all of your customers' accounts even those who rejected the service
3. Add identity theft protection to all new customer's account without asking for their permission

## APPENDIX B: PERSONALITY MEASURES

### **The Short Dark Triad (SD3)** (Jones & Paulhus, 2014)

Instructions: Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements  
1 (Disagree strongly), 2 (Disagree), 3 (Neither agree nor disagree), 4 (Agree), 5 (Agree strongly)

#### Machiavellianism

1. It's not wise to tell your secrets.
2. I like to use clever manipulation to get my way.
3. Whatever it takes, you must get the important people on your side.
4. Avoid direct conflict with others because they may be useful in the future.
5. It's wise to keep a track of information that you can use against people later.
6. You should wait for the right time to get back at people.
7. There are things you should hide from other people to preserve your reputation.
8. Make sure your plans benefit yourself, not others.
9. Most people can be manipulated.

#### Narcissism

1. People see me as a natural leader.
2. I hate being the center of attention. (R)
3. Many group activities tend to be dull without me.
4. I know that I am special because everyone keeps telling me so.
5. I like to get acquainted with important people.

6. I feel embarrassed if someone compliments me. (R)
7. I have been compared to famous people.
8. I am an average person. (R)
9. I insist on getting the respect I deserve.

### Psychopathy

1. I like to get revenge on authorities.
2. I avoid dangerous situations. (R)
3. Payback needs to be quick and nasty.
4. People often say I'm out of control.
5. It's true that I can be mean to others.
6. People who mess with me always regret it.
7. I have never gotten into trouble with the law. (R)
8. I enjoy having sex with people I hardly know.
9. I'll say anything to get what I want.

### **Big-Five Personality Characteristics**

#### **40-Item Mini-Marker Set (Saucier, 1994)**

Instructions: How Accurately Can You Describe Yourself?

Please use this list of common human traits to describe yourself as accurately as possible. Describe yourself as you see yourself at the present time, not as you wish to be in the future. Describe yourself as you are generally or typically, as compared with other persons you know of the same sex and of roughly the same age.

Before each trait, please select a number indicating how accurately that trait describes you, using the following rating scale:

After each trait, please enter a number indicating how accurately that trait describes you, based on the following scale: 1 (Extremely Inaccurate), 2 (Very Inaccurate), 3 (Moderately Inaccurate), 4 (Slightly Inaccurate), 5 (Neutral), 6 (Slightly Accurate), 7 (Moderately Accurate), 8 (Very Accurate), 9 (Extremely Accurate)

Inaccurate				?	Accurate			
Extremel y	Ver y	Moderatel y	Slightl y		Slightl y	Moderatel y	Very	Extremely
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
___ Bashful		___ Energetic			___ Moody		___ Systematic	
___ Bold		___ Envious			___ Organized		___ Talkative	
___ Careless		___ Extraverted			___ Philosophical		___ Temperament	
___ Cold		___ Fretful			___ Practical		al	
___ Complex		___ Harsh			___ Quiet		___ Touchy	
___ Cooperative		___ Imaginative			___ Relaxed		___ Uncreative	
___ Creative		___ Inefficient			___ Rude		___ Unenvious	
___ Deep		___ Intellectual			___ Shy		___ Unintellectual	
___ Disorganize		___ Jealous			___ Sloppy		___ Unsympatheti	
d							c	
___ Efficient		___ Kind			___ Sympathetic		___ Warm	
							___ Withdrawn	



## **APPENDIX C: BACKGROUND INFORMATION, INSTRUCTIONS, AND PROMPT**

### **Background Information**

You work at a branch of a large national bank with over 1 million employees and a 200-year history of trusted and reliable service across the United States. In the past few months the bank has been subject to enormous amounts of bad press due to the misconduct of nearly 6,000 employees. These employees were worked at branches across the country that were facing shut down due to low revenue. Employees at these branches were put under strict demands by corporate to increase their daily quotas of new accounts and credit cards to bring in revenue or lose their jobs. Facing pressure from their supervisors and corporate these employees opened fraudulent accounts and lines of credit for in the names of many of their customers without the customer's knowledge or consent. Customers were charged millions of dollars in fees without their knowledge. Some employees even went as far as to forge customer's signatures and to create the fake accounts.

In response to these events the bank has promised to repay the millions of dollars that were wrongfully taken from customers and is attempting to regain the trust of millions of Americans through several different strategies. Corporate leadership has been restructured and a new mission for the company has been created that focuses on doing what is moral and just not just what is good for business. Business ethics training is now required twice a year for all employees and the bank has launched a new marketing campaign emphasizing the new mission of the company.

**Instructions**

Please rate the following responses on a scale of 1-3. 1 being what you are most likely to do to do and 3 being what you are least likely to do. There can be no ties and you must provide a ranking for every response.

**Prompts****Condition A**

The bank has put their troubles behind them. No employees lost their job due to the fraud. And the bank has since returned to normal operations.

**Condition B**

Managing their brand image is now the top priority of the bank. Since several employees have been terminated due to fraud, employees who can contribute to improving consumer perception of the bank are likely to be considered for promotion.

**APPENDIX D: MANIPULATION CHECK QUESTION**

According to the above decision which of the following is true (select all that apply)

- people lost their jobs due to the fraud
- no one lost their job due to the fraud
- brand image is a top priority
- the bank has returned to normal operations
- none of the above are true

## APPENDIX E: TABLES

*Table 1*

Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations for all variables ( $N = 244$ )

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	E	C	P	N	M	PG	AS
Extraversion (E)	5.28	1.44	1	.10	-.03	.40*	-.03	.05	-.03
Condition (C)	0.50	0.50	.10	1	-.13	.02	.01	-.04	-.02
Psychopathy (P)	2.31	0.81	-.03	-.13	1	.42*	.56*	.45*	-.17*
Narcissism (N)	2.85	0.65			.	1	.47*	.35*	-.14*
Machiavellianism (M)	3.11	0.77					1	.38*	-.05
Personal Gain (PG)	45.80	21.72						1	.13*
Advice Seeking (AS)	5.18	3.86							1

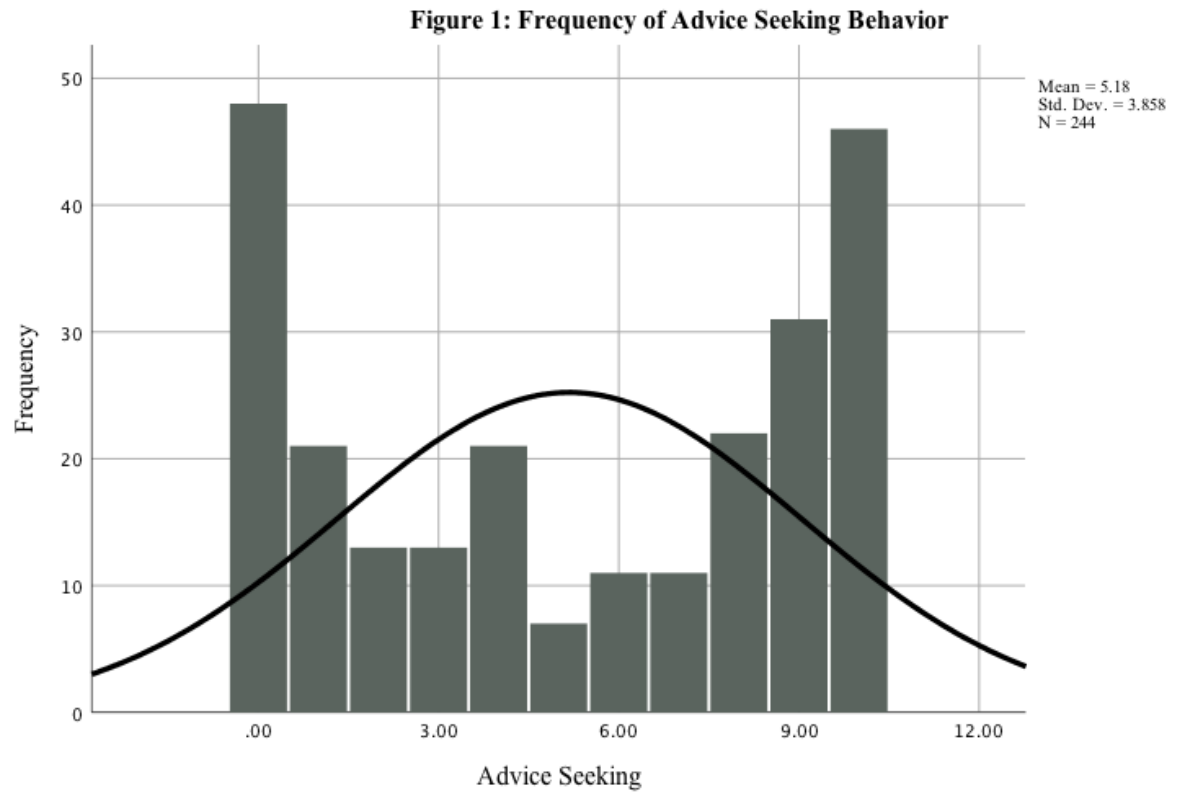
\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

*Table 2*

Hierarchical Regression

Variable	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1						
Extraversion	-.07	-.41	3.87	.04	.001	.001
Step 2						
Personal gain	.05	3.90	3.71	.32	.10	.10
Machiavellianism	.37	.92	3.71	.32	.10	.10
Psychopathy	-1.28	-3.34	3.71	.32	.10	.10
Narcissism	-.98	-2.01	3.71	.32	.10	.10
Step 3						
Personal gain	.05	3.87	3.71	.32	.10	.002
Machiavellianism	.34	.84	3.71	.32	.10	.002

## APPENDIX F: FIGURES



*Figure 1:* Histogram of frequency of advice seeking behavior.