Symptoms of Psychopathy, Machiavellianism, 
and the Ability to Deceive

Sarah Vogt

Hanover College
Abstract

This study examines the relationship between the ability to deceive and two personality variables: symptoms of psychopathy and Machiavellianism. Participants ($N = 21$) viewed 11 pleasant and stressful video clips and attempted to maintain a pleasant/neutral facial expression. Their facial expressions were videotaped and coded for level of nonverbal leakage. Nonverbal leakage scores from the stressful clips were correlated with scores on questionnaire measures of Machiavellianism (Christie, 1970) and symptoms of psychopathy (developed by the author). Ability to deceive was significantly negatively correlated with two symptoms of psychopathy: lack of guilt ($r = -.48, p < .01$) and willingness to deceive and manipulate ($r = -.49, p < .01$). Results suggest that a person’s lack of guilt and willingness to deceive and manipulate in everyday life may contribute to that person’s increased ability to deceive.
Symptoms of Psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and the Ability to Deceive

For most people, lying is a part of everyday life. In one sample of college students, lying occurred in one-third of all social interactions (DePaulo, Kashy, & Kirkendol, 1996). Previous research on lying (or studies on deception, more generally) has tended to focus more closely on how to detect it (e.g., Ekman & Friesen, 1974; Frank & Ekman, 1997). Because deceptive ability varies from person to person, it is of interest to me what can be interpreted as causes or predispositions to varying degrees of deceptiveness. In particular, questions arise as to what personality characteristics lend to such deceptive ability, if any, and whether those possessing a greater deceptive ability have unique attitudes toward everyday life. In an attempt to answer these questions, I examine whether the ability to deceive is related to personality in the present study.

Research on Deception

There has been extensive research on deception as well as how to measure the ability to deceive. Ekman and Friesen (1974) found that people who attempt to suppress anxiety when lying in one channel (e.g., their voice) end up “leaking” the suppressed emotion in another channel, such as the face or body. These “leaks” are defined as “nonverbal leakage”—signals that betray lying through one’s face or body instead of words alone. Nonverbal leakage is an important clue of deception because most people are relatively unaware of these emotional leaks.

Ekman and Friesen (1974) developed a method for studying nonverbal leakage that does not require a contrived lying situation. In their study, beginning female nurses were instructed to conceal their negative affect while watching an unpleasant clip (a hand amputation). Their instructions required participants to convince the interviewer that they were seeing a pleasant rather than a stressful film. Two cameras were set up to record both the face and body of each
participant, and participants were only aware of audio recording. Participants displayed more anxiety during the unpleasant clip measured by the level of nonverbal leakage in both the face and the body. Although the body gave away more clues than the face, clues of nonverbal leakage were still evident in the face. Ekman and Friesen’s (1974) method of displaying video clips and recording facial reactions was designed to parallel the suppression of emotions (usually anxiety or fear of being caught) that participants perform when lying in everyday life. Having participants tell a lie when they really have no reason to fear being caught would not offer an effective parallel because of the lack of genuine emotion likely to be displayed through nonverbal leakage. As well, if the participants are aware that the researcher knows they are lying, they may feel extremely and obviously superficial trying to lie in the first place.

**Personality Variables Likely to be Related to the Ability toDeceive**

*Symptoms of psychopathy.* Robert Hare (1999) developed the *Psychopathy Checklist* (PCL-R) to measure several key symptoms of psychopathy. He divides symptoms into two categories: interpersonal symptoms and symptoms of social deviance (see Table 1).

Interpersonal symptoms, for example, lack of empathy and deceit and manipulation, affect one’s personal relationships with others, whereas social deviance, consisting of symptoms such as impulsivity and lack of responsibility, relate more to the propensity for antisocial behavior. Hare (1999) argues that psychopaths are generally compulsive liars and manipulators. These individuals, out of habit, will lie and manipulate others. Psychopathy is likely related to deception through a number of its symptoms.

Table 1.

**Symptoms of Psychopathy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpersonal Symptoms</th>
<th>Symptoms of Social Deviance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


Egocentricity. A tendency to show a narcissistic and inflated self-worth.  

Lack of remorse or guilt. Having a loss of guilty conscience for one’s actions.  

Superficiality. Tend to be labeled “fake” or “phony.”  

Lack of Empathy. Tend to show no concern for the feelings of others.  

Deceit and Manipulation. Tendency to lie and trick others.  

Impulsivity. Acting based on a need for immediate satisfaction with no concern for consequences.  

Need for excitement. Urge to live “on the edge.”  

Lack of Responsibility. Indifferent to commitment and job performance.  

Early Behavior Problems. Persistent lying or cruelty to animals.  

Adult Antisocial Behavior. Tendency to view the expectations of life as unreasonable.

Perhaps most important to deception is the tendency to lie to and trick others, which, accompanied by an enjoyment of manipulating others (DePaulo, Kashy, & Kirkendol, 1996), might result in a lifetime of practice deceiving others. According to Hare (1999), manipulation and lying are natural talents for a psychopath. When caught in a lie, “they are seldom perplexed or embarrassed—they simply change their stories or attempt to reword the facts so that they appear to be consistent with the lie. The results are a series of contradictory statements and a thoroughly confused listener” (Hare, 1999, p. 46). Hare (1999) recounts many anecdotes of successful manipulation by psychopaths. Genene Jones was convicted of murdering two infants and was also a suspect in more than a dozen other murders. Because she was a nurse, she had the ability to administer “life-threatening drugs to neonates in an intensive care unit in order to put herself in the role of hero by bringing them back from the ‘brink of death’” (Hare, 1999, p. 47). On one occasion when she was confronted with an inconsistency, Jones reports thinking,
“My mouth got me into this...and my mouth’s going to get me out of it” (Hare, 1999, p. 47). In general, Hare (1999) concluded that Jones “showed a remarkable ability to manipulate the truth to suit her own purposes” (Hare, 1999, p. 47).

Many psychopaths also have pride because of their capacity to lie and manipulate others so easily. For example, one woman, scoring high on Hare’s measure of psychopathy, was asked if she lied easily. She laughed, saying “I’m the best. I’m really good at it, I think because I sometimes admit to something bad about myself. They’d think, well, if she’s admitting to that she must be telling the truth about the rest” (Hare, 1999, p. 47). Through this example, it is clear that psychopaths not only lie easily, but they also have the capacity to convince others that their lies are true.

Besides practice, there are other reasons why symptoms of psychopathy would make someone better at deceiving others. Someone who lacked empathy, remorse, or guilt, would not feel the injury they caused by lying or would not feel bad about having caused it. Likewise, superficiality might lead to an increased ability to deceive because, on its face, superficiality involves holding one’s true self inside. In summary, several symptoms of psychopathy (lack of empathy, superficiality, lack of remorse or guilt, and willingness to manipulate and deceive) would contribute to increased skill at deception.

Machiavellianism. According to Geis and Moon (1981), people who hold a Machiavellian perspective are expected to be smooth liars. Machiavelli may not have promoted lying per se, but he did encourage appearing “virtuous” in public while carrying out whatever is required in order to achieve a certain goal or end, no matter how immoral the means. If a lie would happen to serve one’s purpose instead of telling the truth, the lie would be preferred in order to meet that goal or purpose. Geis and Moon (1981) found that participants scoring high
on Christie’s (1970) measure of Machiavellianism (called “high Machs”) were more believed than low Machs when lying about a theft. Geis and Moon (1981) designed their study to create a realistic situation in which participants were able to make a decision whether to lie or not lie. Participants were placed in groups with three same-sex confederates: one partner and an opposing team of two other confederates. Each team chose whether to cooperate or compete in a prisoner’s dilemma game involving a gain or loss of money depending on the choice of the other team. When the opposing team left the room to discuss their decision, the confederate partner took money out of the opposing team’s pile and put it in their pile, encouraging the participant to deny the theft if caught. When confronted with the theft, the participant had the choice to lie or tell the truth. Videotapes of the participants’ faces were judged by other participants on the ability of the participants to deceive the other team when they were confronted about the theft. Results indicated that high Machs were more willing and able deceivers than low Machs.

*Hypothesis*

Given the previous research suggesting a close association between deception and the personality variables Machiavellianism and symptoms of psychopathy, I expect there to be a negative correlation between nonverbal leakage participants elicit while watching unpleasant video clips and measures of these two personality variables: symptoms of psychopathy and Machiavellianism. To test this hypothesis, participants will view eleven total pleasant and stressful video clips and will attempt to maintain a pleasant/neutral facial expression throughout the sequence. Their facial expressions will be videotaped and coded for level of nonverbal leakage and will be later compared to their answers from the Symptoms of Psychopathy and Mach IV scales.

*Method*
Participants

There were 21 participants (67% female) aged 18 to 31 who were either current students or graduates of a small Midwestern liberal arts college. The mean age of the participants was 24.5 years of age. All participants were Caucasian U.S. residents and were recruited through an online network posting.

Questionnaire Measures of Personality

Symptoms of psychopathy scale. It was not a goal in this experiment to label some participants as “psychopaths.” Instead, this study focused on individual symptoms of psychopathy to determine which are most correlated with ability to deceive. In order to measure each symptom of psychopathy, a “Symptoms of Psychopathy Scale” was developed by the researcher. This 48-item scale consisted of both Likert-scale responses (ranging from 1 = Never True of Me to 6 = Always True of Me) and scenario-based questions asking the participant to rate his or her personal attitude or response to the question or scenario. The questions measuring each of ten symptoms were randomized to reduce the likelihood that participants would discover what personality characteristics were being studied. Each psychopathic symptom was measured by 3 to 6 items and the responses to each of these were averaged to form a measure of each of the ten psychopathic symptoms. See Appendix for a full list of the items used to measure each symptom.

Christie’s (1970) Mach IV Scale. In order to measure the degree to which each participant held a Machiavellian orientation, Christie’s (1970) Mach IV Scale was used. The scale consists of twenty Likert items to which participants responded using a 1 (Strongly Agree) to 6 (Strongly Disagree) scale. An example of a (reverse-scored) statement from this scale
would be “There is no excuse for lying to someone else.” See Appendix for the items used in this scale.

*Videos Used to Measure the Ability to Deceive*

Similar to the Ekman and Friesen (1974) study, video clips were used in the present study and participant’s reactions were assessed using levels of nonverbal leakage displayed during the unpleasant clips. There were eleven total video clips and they were 2.5 minutes each on average. These clips alternated between unpleasant and pleasant/neutral clips. The unpleasant clips were taken from contemporary horror films [*Saw* (2004), *Saw III* (2006), *Red Dragon* (2002), *Exorcism of Emily Rose* (2005), *Final Destination 3* (2006), *The Da Vinci Code* (2006)] while the pleasant or neutral clips were taken from other contemporary, non-stressful films [*Simon Birch* (1998), *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), *Capote* (2005), *Something’s Gotta Give* (2003), and *Sideways* (2004)].

*Procedure*

Before participants completed the study, they filled out an informed consent form agreeing to participate in an experiment that would assess whether certain personality characteristics were related to the ability to deceive. The informed consent form told participants that they would be videotaped and warned them that some of the video clips they would be watching were disturbing scenes from contemporary horror films. After signing this form, half of the participants watched the sequence of video clips first and then filled out the questionnaire while the other half filled out the questionnaire first and watched the sequence of video clips second. This was done in order to eliminate order effects. Participants were instructed to maintain their facial expression as if watching all pleasant or neutral clips. The face of each participant was videotaped to record any departure from a neutral or positive reaction while
watching the sequence of video clips. Lastly, all participants received a debriefing form explaining the goals of the present study and then filled out a form either giving or not giving permission to use still photos or video clips for presentations or in academic journals or media coverage.

Measuring Deception

Videotapes of participants’ faces were edited to produce clips that were synchronized to each of the video clips that participants watched. The experimenter viewed these clips in random order for each participant. A code system was used to preserve anonymity of the participants such that the researcher was blind as to which participant’s videotaped face went with the corresponding questionnaire.

Upon viewing each participant’s randomized videotape, the researcher recorded the degree of nonverbal leakage for each of the 11 randomized clips of participants’ faces. Each clip was given a score of a 0, 1, or 2 depending on the degree to which the participant was able to conceal nonverbal leakage during the clip. Since all participants were instructed to maintain a neutral or positive reaction during all clips, any deviation from a neutral or positive reaction was scored as either a 1 or a 2 depending on the intensity of the nonverbal leakage. If the participant was virtually expressionless (considered to be a neutral or positive reaction), he or she was given a score of 0 for that particular clip. A score of 0 was normally given if it was believed by the researcher that the participant was watching a pleasant or neutral video clip. A score of 1 was given if it was believed by the researcher that the participant was attempting to conceal nonverbal leakage, displaying only a slight deviation from a neutral or positive reaction (for example, evidence of rapid eye movements or a maintained wide-eyed reaction throughout the clip). A score of 2 was more likely to be given if the researcher observed a significant deviation
from a neutral or positive reaction. An example of such a reaction would be covering the eyes or showing some other sign of fear, disgust, or surprise.

Results

Validity in Detecting Deception

Nonverbal leakage scores across the five pleasant clips were averaged together and nonverbal leakage scores across the six unpleasant clips were averaged together. In order to determine whether expressions generated by the participants differed significantly across the two types of clips, a dependent $t$-test was run between ratings for pleasant and unpleasant films. The ability to detect deception was found to be very accurate at $t(20) = 8.07, p = 2.17 \times 10^{-7}$.

Symptoms of Psychopathy

When each participant’s average nonverbal leakage score during unpleasant clips was correlated with his or her average score for each symptom of psychopathy based on the questionnaire, a significant negative correlation was found between nonverbal leakage during unpleasant clips and lack of guilt, $r(21) = -0.48, p = .03$ (see Figure 1). Similarly, there was a significant negative correlation found between nonverbal leakage during unpleasant clips and deceit and manipulation, $r(21) = -0.49, p = .023$ (see Figure 2). All other symptoms of psychopathy were not significantly correlated with nonverbal leakage at $p < .05$ (see Table 2).

Machiavellianism

When the average participant scores for the Mach Scale IV were correlated with the average participant nonverbal leakage scores during the unpleasant clips, no significant relationship was found. Additionally, there was no significant correlation with nonverbal leakage during unpleasant clips for deceit items within the Mach IV Scale when these items were subgrouped and analyzed (see Table 2).
Figure 1. The effect of lack of guilt in everyday life on nonverbal leakage during unpleasant clips.

Figure 2. The effect of a deceitful and manipulative lifestyle on nonverbal leakage during unpleasant clips.
Table 2.

*Correlations between personality variables and average nonverbal leakage scores during unpleasant clips*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symptoms of Psychopathy</th>
<th>Correlation with Nonverbal Leakage ($r$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Guilt</td>
<td>-.48*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceit and Manipulation</td>
<td>-.49*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egocentricity</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superficiality</td>
<td>-.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impulsivity</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Empathy</td>
<td>-.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Excitement</td>
<td>-.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Responsibility</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Behavior Problems</td>
<td>-.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Antisocial Behavior</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machiavellianism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceit Items</td>
<td>-.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. * $p < .05.$

Discussion

Everyone has lied at some point, but what distinguishes the good liars from the bad liars? Results from the present study suggest that what distinguishes these two groups of people is that the group of good liars may have certain individual personality characteristics as well as attitudes toward life that distinguish them from poor liars. In particular, the present study suggests that
those who generally do not feel guilty when they have done wrong may be better at lying. This could be for a number of reasons, but most likely because a feeling of guilt is likely to lead to a display of some sort of emotion when attempting to lie. Assuming that the individual knows the action is wrong, if there is no guilty feeling for the wrongdoing, why should there be any display of emotion when lying about this wrongdoing?

Similarly, results from the present study suggest that one who has a willingness to deceive and manipulate others in everyday life may be a better deceiver overall. One explanation for such a claim is that these individuals may practice deception on a regular basis and thus have more opportunities to develop their skills of deception. With this deceptive ability practiced, it is clear why some participants in this study had little trouble controlling their level of nonverbal leakage. After studying deception in both the body and the face, Ekman (1993), later recognizing the importance of facial expression and emotion when lying, continued this research on emotion and expression and whether the two terms can be used interchangeably. In particular, Ekman (1993) found that even if people experience an emotion, they may show no change in facial activity, suggesting that deception can occur if one wills him or herself to control his or her production of nonverbal leakage.

While there were some personality characteristics significantly related to the ability to deceive based on the present study, there were other personality characteristics (namely, Machiavellianism) found to have no correlation with the ability to deceive. This suggests one of two things. First, although it refutes past research (Geis & Moon, 1981), it could certainly be that those who admit Machiavellian attitudes are not the better deceivers overall. A second explanation could be that the scale used was not, in fact, a sound measure of Machiavellianism, especially when an attempt is made to isolate any particular subgroup within the Mach IV (in this
Deception and Personality

This explanation is supported by McHoskey, Worzel, and Szyarto (1998) who claim that the Mach IV has “now outlived its usefulness for many applications...thus, it is not possible to decompose the Mach IV into reliable subscales that would allow for a more precise examination of its facets” (McHoskey, Worzel, & Szyarto, 1998, p. 207). However, although the average scores for the Mach IV and other symptoms of psychopathy did not correlate with nonverbal leakage, these values do, in fact, follow a negative trend. Even though these values are not significant at $p < .05$, the negative trend still suggests that those scoring higher on these scales have a greater deceptive ability.

Results from the present study support Ekman and Friesen’s (1974) findings that deceptive ability can be measured by one’s level of nonverbal leakage when trying to conceal negative affect while watching an unpleasant video clip. While some might argue that such a method may not be indicative of deception among extreme psychopaths since psychopaths may not be upset by the unpleasant clip (thus, eliminating any feelings of anxiety or fear that the participant is instructed to try to conceal), the percentage of individuals is likely very small who would be utterly insensitive to the extremely evocative scenes of disgust and fear in contemporary horror films. Although one may argue that this is an inefficient method to use when measuring psychopaths, it proved to be an efficient measure of deception ability in the present study because everyone generated higher average nonverbal leakage scores in the unpleasant than the pleasant clips, meaning the sample showed less emotion overall during the pleasant clips. Because all participants were instructed to maintain a positive/neutral facial expression and in general they did not, one can conclude that some form of deception did occur in the present study for all participants.
The present study also implies a great deal about not only the ability to lie, but also the ability to detect lying in others. In a study by Ekman and O’Sullivan (1991), the ability to detect lying was determined for a total of 509 individuals including members of the Secret Service, Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Security Agency, Drug Enforcement Agency, various police officers and judges, psychiatrists, college students, and working adults. Results indicated that only those who were in the Secret Service detected lies better than chance when viewing a video of someone telling the truth or lying about their feelings. More generally, when occupation was ignored, findings indicated that those who were the most accurate paid more attention to different clues. If training would be provided to those individuals (especially in law enforcement) who paid attention to the wrong cues, it may very well be that our justice system has the potential to become more efficient, especially with regard to criminal investigations.

Limitations

The sample of participants in the present study was predominantly female, which would limit generalizability of results in any study. Since it has been determined that the number of institutionalized psychopaths are predominantly male (Lykken, 1995), a study with a number of females twice the number of males might have skewed the results. Similarly, an entirely Caucasian and American population hinders any generalizability to the world population.

Another limitation in the present study lies with the problem of self-report. Individuals, no matter how well anonymity is preserved, generally want to portray themselves in a good light either to make themselves feel better or to make the researcher believe they are generally good people. In this case, had there been some way to measure symptoms of psychopathy and
Machiavellianism without using self-report measures, more accurate levels for each symptom of psychopathy as well as Machiavellianism might have been generated,

_Suggestions for Future Research_

It is with hope that future research will focus on other ways to apply this methodology to the other samples of individuals, especially within the inmate population, in order to establish differences and similarities among personalities of different kinds of liars in this sample. Similarly, a comparison between symptoms of psychopathy and Machiavellianism for both inmates and those in the average population would be helpful in determining similarities and differences among these groups of people. More importantly, however, it might prove to be helpful to assess differences in deceptive ability between these two groups. For example, it might be possible that those in the average population have even more of a deceptive ability than those in the inmate population since some individuals in the average population might be criminals themselves and might also be so incredibly deceptive that they have never been caught.

As well, it might prove to be helpful to develop and use a valid scale to measure symptoms of psychopathy. If a valid, reliable scale is used with this particular methodology, it might be possible to generate more accurate and reliable results. Additionally, the more reliable and valid the scale is, the more likely it is to be accurate in determining the individual to be a true psychopath rather than just truly manipulative or truly impulsive.

Lastly, although past research has focused some attention on nonverbal leakage in the body (Ekman and Friesen, 1974), it might prove to be helpful to use this methodology in conjunction with a measurement of deceptive ability through use of the body and the face. In doing so, it is foreseeable that relationships between these personality variables and deceptive ability might be drawn more accurately and conclusively.
References


Appendix

Symptoms of Psychopathy Scale Items

Egocentricity

1. I am confident that my opinions and feelings are right when I debate with others.

2. I love to be the center of attention.

3. I look out for number one (myself).

4. When I have a problem, I feel that the person I choose to talk to should drop what he or she is doing to listen to me.

5. If you were to be cast in a play and could choose to play any part, you would most likely choose to be:
   a. The person behind the scenes.
   b. On stage, but playing a minor role with few lines, if any.
   c. The lead role.
   d. Other: ___________________________________________________

Lack of Guilt

1. When I know I have done wrong, I feel really bad inside.

2. You crack a mean joke about a friend while sitting with your group of friends. Suddenly, you look up and see that the person you made fun of is standing right there and heard everything. At this point, you:
   a. Feel really bad and wish you could take back the comment.
   b. Feel bad because the person had heard it, but you do not feel bad for making the comment.
   c. You do not feel guilty or bad at all.
d. Other: ______________________________.

3. I feel guilty when I break the law (not including speeding).

4. When you get in trouble, you generally have a reasonable explanation for your wrongdoing.

5. When you get in trouble, you feel that you are often falsely accused of wrongdoing.

Superficiality

1. Depending on who I am with, I change my behavior to adapt to the person or group.

2. I consider my charm one of my best qualities. It can get me out of anything.

3. I say or do things that I think will please people, even if it may not really be a true representation of what I want to do or say.

4. I’ve often been accused of being ‘fake.’

5. I can make people like me even though they probably would not if I were to be myself.

Lack of Empathy

1. When someone is confiding in me with his or her problems, I am usually able to empathize or feel compassion for that person.

2. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.

3. I have an easy time identifying with others.

4. I am usually able to imagine what it would be like to be in someone else’s shoes.

Deceit and Manipulation

1. I can get myself out of trouble easily and feel okay about it.

2. It is okay to lie to people.
3. Your boss confronts you about something she or he heard about you. What she or he heard may cost you your job. However, there is no way that your boss can prove it. In response, you:
   a. Tell the truth because you feel you need to be honest.
   b. Tell the truth, but tell it in a way that makes it look not as bad.
   c. Lie about it. After all, your boss cannot prove it.
   d. Other: ______________________________________________________

4. You have cheated on your significant other. She or he finds out through an anonymous source. You know that she or he has no proof. When she or he confronts you, you:
   a. Tell her or him the truth.
   b. Make your significant other believe that it was the other person’s fault, not yours.
   c. Lie and act like you do not know what she or he is talking about.
   d. Other: _______________________________________________________

5. It is okay to use people to get what I want.

**Impulsivity**

1. I lose my temper easily.
2. I tend to act without thinking about the consequences.
3. I have a hard time controlling myself when I am angry.

**Need for Excitement**

1. I like the comfortable familiarity of everyday friends.
2. I have no patience for dull or boring people.
3. I dislike people who say or do things just to shock and upset others.
4. I get very restless if I have to stay around home for any length of time.
5. I avoid activities that are dangerous.

Lack of Responsibility

1. I enjoy giving time and money to community projects.
2. I am successful because I work hard.
3. I strive to be a moral role model.
4. I believe I am good at organizing tasks and activities.
5. I believe that I comply with current rules and expectations more often than not.
6. I feel that I am patient and very capable of delaying my gratification.

Early Behavior Problems

1. My parents had a hard time disciplining my actions.
2. One could characterize me as a “problem child.”
3. When I was young, I felt the need to rebel against authority (parents, teachers, law enforcement).
4. I have gotten into trouble with the law as a child.
5. I was consistently getting into trouble as a child.

Adult Antisocial Behavior

1. I find it thrilling to go against the “norm”.
2. In general, I feel that what I do is acceptable, even if it means violating the rights of others.
3. Often, my arguments escalate into physical fighting.
4. I am friendly toward almost everyone I meet.
5. I have been in trouble with the law on a fairly regular basis (beyond minor tickets).
Mach IV Items

1. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

2. When you ask someone to do something for you, it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than giving reasons which carry more weight.

3. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.

4. It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.

5. Honesty is the best policy in all cases.

6. It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak and it will come out when they are given a chance.

7. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

8. One should take action only when sure it is morally right.

9. It is wise to flatter important people.

10. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than important and dishonest.

11. Barnum was very wrong when he said there’s a sucker born every minute.

12. People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death.

13. It is possible to be good in all respects.

14. Most people are basically good and kind.

15. There is no excuse for lying to someone else.

16. Most men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their property.

17. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

18. Generally speaking, men won’t work hard unless they’re forced to do so.
19. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are
   stupid enough to get caught.

20. Most men are brave.