

黑暗三联征：一种复杂的黑暗人格

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摘要

关于黑暗三联征的研究越来越多, 黑暗三联征三种人格特质之间的关系以及与其他人格变量之间的关系愈加混乱。在厘清它们之间关系的基础上, 对攻击行为、反生产行为、成瘾行为、浪漫关系中的行为以及文化差异等方面做了进一步的澄清, 并强调黑暗特质的功能性价值的重要性。未来研究可以在更客观的测量方式、黑暗特质“利大于弊”转变的调节因素以及进一步的电生理证据等方面做更进一步的探索, 同时也启示教育工作者对黑暗特质的儿童及青少年采取有效的干预措施。

关键词

黑暗三联征, 自恋, 马基雅维利主义, 精神病态

Dark Triad: A Complex Dark Personality

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Abstract

With more and more research on the dark triad, the relationship between the three personality traits of the dark triad and the relationship with other personality variables is becoming more and more confusing. On the basis of clarifying the relationship between them, the paper further clarifies the aggressive behavior, counter-productive behavior, addictive behavior, romantic behavior and cultural differences, and emphasizes the importance of the functional value of dark traits. Future studies can further explore more objective measurements, the factors that regulate the “good over harm” transition of dark traits, and further electrophysiological evidence, and also inspire educators to take effective intervention measures for children and adolescents with dark traits.

Keywords

Dark Triad, Narcissism, Machiavellianism, Psychopathy

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1. 引言

人格和社会心理学家普遍认为人格特质能够预测人的心理与行为。黑暗三联征是预测犯罪行为尤其是暴力犯罪的重要因素[1]。黑暗三联征(Dark Triad)是由 Paulhus 和 William 提出,由自恋(Narcissism)、马基雅维利主义(Machiavellianism)和精神病态(Psychopathy)这三种人格特质组成[2]。其中,自恋的一般特征表现为夸大自我,富有权力感,以及渴望社会优越感和来自他人的钦佩[3]。马基雅维利主义最常见的是为了实现对自己有利的目标,表现为对他人的冷漠、精于算计和操纵他人[4]。精神病态表现为自私、冲动和低共情[5]。

自从黑暗三联征这一概念被提出后,研究者对其进行了大量的研究,关于黑暗三联征热度逐年攀升。虽然“黑暗三联征”的这三种人格特质在不同程度上都有消极的行为倾向,但是他们都有各自的特点。他们之间的关系难免有些混杂,现在有必要对这一领域进行澄清总结。本研究结合了近些年国内外关于黑暗三联征的文献,重新梳理了相关文献,主要从以下几个方面来总结:变量之间的关系、与其他人格特质之间的关系、产生的影响、文化差异、功能性价值以及现有研究存在的不足和对未来研究的展望,以期对未来研究提供一些参考。

1.1. 黑暗三联征

黑暗三联征是指不受社会欢迎的三种人格特质:自恋、马基雅维利主义和精神病态。尽管这些特征在社会上被认为是不受欢迎的,但是它们仍然在正常的亚临床范围内,并没有达到临床标准,在心理学研究中常被当作一种人格特征[6]。这些特征之间有一些重叠的特征,普遍认为“对抗”是连接自恋、马基雅维利主义和精神病态的共同核心[2] [7] [8]。此外,在这三个特征上有一种共同的剥削行为,能够以目标为中心地操纵他人。

自恋是复杂的和多方面的。高度自恋的个体在贬低他人的同时,有一种高度的权利感、独特性感和自我重要性[9]。自恋可以分为两个方面,包括傲慢的自恋和脆弱的自恋,傲慢的自恋表现为侵略性和主导性,而脆弱的自恋表现为一种防御性的浮夸来掩盖自身的不足[10]。研究发现,当高度自恋的个体受到威胁时,往往会指责和贬低他人,同时否认自己的弱点[11],他们会重新评估负面情况以保持自信[12]。

马基雅维利主义最初是以一名意大利政治家的名字命名的,它的主要特征是为了达到目的不择手段,愤世嫉俗无视道德。后来在心理学研究中,马基雅维利主义反映了一种冷漠的、精于算计的、操纵他人、欺骗等等手段来实现有利于自己的目标。高马基雅维利主义的个体往往被视为具有战略眼光,能够推迟满足感,以获得未来更大更好的回报,道德承诺较低,并能以冷酷和愤世嫉俗的价值观参与长期的战略规划[13] [14]。

精神病态被视为黑暗三合会中最恶毒的[15],他的特点是道德水平低、易冲动以及低共情[16] [17]。这类群体本质上是具有掠夺性的,通过使用侵略和恐吓来实现以自我为中心的目标,从而违反了社会规

范。可以从他们倾向于社交厌恶行为中观察到[18] [19], 他们在人际关系中冷漠、很难感同身受, 几乎没有表现出控制冲动或悔恨[18]。

导致黑暗人格的原因是什么? 这个问题一直围绕着是遗传因素还是环境因素展开。有一项研究对 278 对成年双胞胎做了问卷调查, 结果发现自恋和精神病态有比较大的遗传成分, 而马基雅维利主义受共同环境因素影响比较多[6]。

1.2. 黑暗三联征变量之间的关系

越来越多的学者将这三种不同的人格因素放在一起研究, 说明他们之间肯定有某种关联。在 Paulhus 和 Williams 提出黑暗三联征的时候已经注意到, 这三个变量之间可能有比较大的重叠, 然后记录了自恋、马基雅维利主义和精神病态之间相当大的相关。他们之间关系重叠的证据来源于两种类型的数据。首先是一些因素分析研究, 其中亚临床精神病和自恋加载了同样的因子[20] [21]。其次, 当精神病和自恋与自我报告、观察者报告和行为测量相关时, 许多研究显示了类似的模式[22] [23] [24]。

Furnham 等人[14]的一项元分析结果显示精神病态和马基雅维利主义之间的相关性最高, 自恋和马基雅维利主义之间的相关性最低, 并且它们之间都是正相关。Muris 等人[25]检索了 91 篇研究论文, 包含 42,359 个样本进行了元分析, 结果发现相比于自恋和精神病态之间或者自恋和马基雅维利主义之间, 马基雅维利主义和精神病态之间的关系是更加独特的。也就是说, 马基雅维利主义与精神病态之间关系的效应量远高于自恋和精神病态以及自恋和马基雅维利主义之间关系的效应量。由此可见, 马基雅维利主义和精神病态是更加的相似。虽然大部分研究结果都表明这三种黑暗特质存在某种程度的关联, 但是这种关联并不是一直稳定的[6]。

1.3. 黑暗三联征的性别差异

男性犯罪事件好像比女性犯罪事件更加常见, 这是否预示着男性的黑暗三联征特质要高于女性。在现有研究中, 无论是将三种特质分开研究, 还是将他们视为一个整体来研究, 男性的黑暗特质得分普遍要高于女性。

Grijalva 等人[26]进行了一项元分析结果显示, 男性比女性更自恋, 这一差异主要是由这一特征的更多的社会厌恶特征引起的, 如剥削性、权利感和自我优越感。对马基雅维利主义和精神病态关于性别差异的研究并不是多, 但是近些有不少文章对于黑暗三联征进行了整体分析。其中 Muris 等人[25]研究发现相比于女性, 男性的这些黑暗特征得分是更高的, 其中精神病态的得分差异最大。

2. 黑暗三联征与其他正常人格特质之间的关系

2.1. 黑暗三联征与大五人格

大五人格经常被人们认为是人性“光明”的一面, 这似乎与黑暗三联征“黑暗”的一面恰恰相反, 所以黑暗三联征与大五人格之间的关系备受研究者的关注。大五人格包括开放性、责任心、宜人性、外倾性和神经质, 基本上包含了人类的所有特质。而自恋、马基雅维利主义和精神病态的特质基本上与大五人格特质恰恰相反。Muris 等人[25]将黑暗三联征和大五人格并且纳入了 HEXACO 模型进行了元分析, 结果正如预期的那样, 低水平的诚实——谦逊和黑暗三联征的共同成分基本相同。自恋, 马基雅维利主义和精神病态与低水平的积极属性有关, 这并不奇怪, 因为每个黑暗的特征用术语来描述都与这些积极特征恰恰相反。不仅如此, 研究发现通过干预大五人格可以有效的降低黑暗三联征水平[27]。

2.2. 黑暗三联征和情商

高情商与学业上的成功[28]社交上的成功[29]以及婚姻和恋爱上的成功[30]有关联。高黑暗特质的人

与工作上的成功、成功追求短期性伴侣以及成功获得领导职位有关[31]。此外,高社会情商的个体有潜在的消极一面,比如会操纵他人的情绪[32],这与马基雅维利主义的特征有相似之处。这些表现让研究者们对黑暗三联征与情商之间的关系产生了极大的兴趣,难道高黑暗特质的人的情商都很高吗?

结果并不是这样的,三种黑暗特质与情商之间的关系并不是唯一的。一项元分析结果发现情商与马基雅维利主义和精神病态呈负相关,与自恋无关[33],而之前有研究报告称情商与自恋呈正相关[34]。另一项元分析检索了48项研究,除1例外,所有研究均报告了黑暗三联征和情商之间的总体负相关,但是这项研究也表明这些关联比预期的要复杂,并不支持使用一刀切式的结果[35]。在一项社会情绪智力的调查中发现自恋和社会情商呈正相关,马基雅维利主义和社会情商呈负相关[36]。由此可见,情商与黑暗三联征之间的关系比较复杂,未来还需要进一步的理清他们之间的关系。

2.3. 黑暗三联征和共情

男性的黑暗三联征高于女性[26],而女性的共情得分也显著高于男性[37],虽然这些并不能证明黑暗三联征的性别差异是由于共情的性别差异导致的,但是从某种方面来说,如果一个高共情的人,他们可能会在情感上与“受害者”建立联系,自然而然这会使他们难以对“受害者”做出“伤害行为”。Jonason等人研究发现黑暗三联征与共情呈负相关,共情中介了黑暗三联征的性别差异,但是两者的影响机制并不相同,其中共情与女性的自恋呈负相关,而男性的精神病态与共情呈负相关[38]。此外,考虑到共情有情感共情和认知共情两个维度,研究发现黑暗三联征的三种特质都与情感共情缺陷有关,与认知共情的缺陷没有关联[39]。

3. 黑暗三联征的负面心理行为结果

黑暗三联征与道德态度负相关[40],道德态度往往能够预测一些社会心理行为结果。元分析发现自恋、马基雅维利主义和精神病态与负面心理社会结果显著相关,与人际交往困难、攻击犯罪事件、性相关问题、反社会策略以及不稳定行为有着不同程度的相关,并且精神病态在其中占据主导地位[25]。本章主要在攻击行为、反生产行为以及成瘾行为这些方面展开叙述。

3.1. 黑暗三联征与攻击行为

黑暗三联征与攻击行为密切相关。朱亚琳和金灿灿[41]元分析发现黑暗三联征与攻击行为的关系均是中等程度的正相关,并且黑暗三联征与攻击行为之间的关系受到文化背景、性别、攻击类型等多种因素的影响。虽然三种黑暗特质都与攻击特质有关联,但是每种特质都与自己的独特的特性。Jones和Neria[8]研究发现黑暗三联征三种特质能够分别预测不同的攻击特质,其中精神病态能够正向预测身体攻击,马基雅维利主义正向预测敌意,而自恋负向预测敌意。

随着网络信息时代的发展,一种新型的攻击形式——网络攻击备受关注。有研究发现青少年的马基雅维利主义和精神病态能够正向预测网络攻击行为,这一关系受到自我控制的调节[42]。此外一项关于中国青少年在新冠肺炎期间网络攻击行为的研究发现,三种黑暗特质均能够通过道德脱离影响网络攻击行为[43]。与之不同的是,在俄罗斯的样本中发现只有男性的精神病态能够积极预测有害的网络行为或言语(比如在facebook发布侮辱性或威胁性的评论等)[44]。而在一项关于在使用社交媒体动机的研究结果发现,男性和女性的高自恋能够预测他们更倾向于反社会地使用社交媒体的动机,只有女性的高精神病态更倾向于反社会地使用社交媒体[45]。

关系攻击作为攻击行为的一种类型,包括通过社会操纵手段破坏或威胁损害一个人的社会地位、声誉或人际关系[46]。关系攻击的隐蔽性特点更适应在社会规范约束的环境。研究发现脆弱的自恋和精神病

态能够积极预测关系攻击, 夸大的自恋能够消极预测关系攻击[47]。不仅如此, 一项以大学生和业余司机为被试的调查发现黑暗三联征能够显著预测驾驶攻击行为, 其中精神病态占主要因素[48] [49]。

3.2. 黑暗三联征与反生产行为

越来越多的研究关注到黑暗三联征与组织领域之间的关系。已有研究发现黑暗三联征与工作成功[14]、反生产行为[50]、工作倦怠和工作动机[51]有关联。研究发现高度自恋预示着工作倦怠的两个组成部分: 情绪衰竭和愤世嫉俗[52]。在其他研究中, 自恋与大学生的学校倦怠呈正相关[53], 马基雅维利主义与低工作满意度[54]有关。高黑暗三联征特质的人不太适合需要长期人际关系工作, 但是由于他们具有剥削性、自私性和操纵性, 所以通常在涉及短期的职位上会取得成功。但是有研究认为黑暗三联征与工作表现的关系并非是线性而是曲线关系, 当黑暗三联征在低水平时, 黑暗三联征与工作表现呈正相关, 但是当黑暗三联征过高时, 这种关系将会减弱[55]。

3.3. 黑暗三联征与成瘾行为

马基雅维利主义与成瘾行为的研究比较少, 其次是自恋, 而精神病态与成瘾行为的研究非常多。首先, 无论是浮夸性自恋还是脆弱性自恋, 研究中均发现它们与不同程度的药物和酒精成瘾有关[56] [57], 并且发现患有物质使用障碍的个体表现出了很高的脆弱性自恋[58]。自恋的人会贬低他人导致糟糕的人际关系, 糟糕的人际关系可能是酒精成瘾的预测因素之一[59]。除了与物质成瘾之外, 浮夸的自恋还与社交媒体成瘾[60]、强迫性手机使用[61]、赌博行为[62]有关。有大量研究证明精神病态与成瘾行为有关联, 但是与自恋不同的是, 精神病态导致的成瘾行为与寻求刺激和自我控制降低有关联[63]。马基雅维利主义很少发现与成瘾行为有关联, 元分析数据表明, 在非临床和临床人群中, 自恋和精神病态与物质和非物质相关的成瘾行为有关, 而马基雅维利主义没有关联[64]。

4. 浪漫关系中的黑暗三联征

黑暗三联征在择偶偏好与浪漫关系的领域中受到了很大的关注。研究发现黑暗三联征与快速生命史策略有关, 并且快速生命史思维能够中介男性精神病态特质对亲密伴侣之间的暴力行为的正向影响[65]。在黑暗三联征中加入了虐待狂称之为黑暗四联症, 在一项关于黑暗四联症与亲密伴侣暴力行为的研究中发现, 只有精神病态能够预测身体和心理上的亲密暴力行为, 并且道德脱离中介了精神病态与心理上的亲密暴力行为之间的关系[66]。但是这些横断面的研究证据, 并不能够证明黑暗三联征与浪漫关系中暴力行为具有因果关系。一项四波追踪数据结果证明了黑暗三联征与心理上的亲密伴侣暴力是相互影响的关系, 具体而言, 马基雅维利主义和自恋能够增加在浪漫关系中心理上亲密伴侣暴力的风险, 而心理上的亲密伴侣暴力能够加深施暴者的马基雅维利主义和精神病态的倾向。

在恋爱关系中高黑暗三联征与背叛行为有关, 黑暗三联征特征可以预测先前的背叛经历、背叛意图以及对伴侣背叛的易感性, 尤其是自恋和继发性精神病态[67]。另一项研究发现只有精神病态和马基雅维利主义能够预测背叛态度, 精神病态单独预测背叛行为[68]。黑暗三联征还和女性使用性欺骗的情况有关[69], 自恋能够预测明目张胆的撒谎, 马基雅维利主义能够预言明目张胆的谎言和避免冲突。而原发性 and 继发性精神病态能够预测了自私的欺骗。此外, 一项在以色列的社会背景下的研究发现黑暗三联征特质与性骚扰都有着不同程度的正相关, 对于自恋和精神病态在男性和女性的性骚扰都有正相关, 而马基雅维利主义仅能够预测男性的性骚扰[70]。

对于择偶偏好, 高黑暗三联征个体在择偶中更倾向于选择短期伴侣[71], 在选择短期伴侣关系时具有黑暗特质的男性更受女性欢迎[72]。研究发现黑暗三联征特质能够部分中介由性别差异导致的对短期伴侣

关系的追求, 具体而言, 男性相比于女性的黑暗特质更高, 进而会导致不同程度的对短期伴侣关系的追求[73], 这可能与女性在短期伴侣关系中要承担更大的责任有关。

5. 黑暗三联征的功能性价值

然而, 在一些功能性价值上, 黑暗特征也显示出一些优点。黑暗特质个体可能更容易会展示出优越性和权力, 因此表现出这种行为的人可能会更容易被他们的领导注意到, 从而拥有更好的职业发展[74]。这些高黑暗三联征的个体更能够成功地从周围环境中收集关键资源, 并且在做决定时更善于把情绪放在一边[75]。Spurk、Keller 和 Hirschi [76]在一个大样本的行业员工中测试了黑暗三联征对主客观职业成功的影响。结果发现虽然精神病态与所有结果呈负相关, 但是自恋与工资呈正相关, 马基雅维利主义与领导地位和职业满意度也呈正相关。

如果将三种黑暗特质单独来讲, 首先对于自恋, 自恋的人需要得到别人的钦佩, 所以他们会不停的自我提升, 保持自己的优越感。这种对被崇拜和被认可的自恋需求可能会促使他们比旁人要表现出更高的投入。这得到了 Andreassen 等人[74]的支持, 他们发现自恋者更愿意从事他们的工作。不仅如此, 还有证据表明自恋的人感知压力水平比较低, 能够在精神病理学领域预测积极的结果[77]。

对于马基雅维利主义, 高马基雅维利主义的人会对权力、地位和金钱有强烈需求, 可能会推动他们对客观职业结果的渴望, 比如领导职位或高收入这些都反映了权力和地位。所以高马基雅维利主义的人很可能会使用操纵策略的能力, 以及采取一些不道德行为来获得竞争优势, 这有助于他们提高客观的职业成果。此外, 他们更有可能揭发他们的同事, 使自己处于一个更好的位置[78]。这种行为可能有助于实现客观的职业成功, 因此可能解释为什么马基雅维利人更经常担任领导职位。这一结果也被 Lange 等人证实, 他们发现马基雅维利主义与职场地位是呈正相关的[79]。

对于精神病态, 虽然它是黑暗三联征中最黑暗的一个, 但是它也并非全是负面。有研究发现高精神病态的个体表现出更高的创业倾向[80], 并且表现出更好的创造力[81]。

6. 研究展望

首先, 目前黑暗三联征相关研究大多是自我报告的形式进行研究, 可是黑暗三联征特质本身具有欺骗、善于掩盖自己的特性, 他们在进行自我报告时更容易隐藏自己的黑暗特质, 自我报告的真实性和客观性大大降低。在未来的研究中, 更加客观的指标有待研发使用, 比如通过他评或者能够利用生理指标等等来测量会更加客观可靠。黑暗三联征与共情、情商、攻击行为等具有不同程度的相关, 可以结合脑电等电生理指标为其提供更有说服力的证据。

其次, 黑暗三联征并非完全不可取, 其中具有某些功能性优势, 但是他们在什么场景下能呈现出“利己但不损他人”的表现呢? 是否可以就此深入研究, 以便发挥其优势, 将其应用于职场或家庭等人际交往领域。

最后, 由于青少年身心发育尚不成熟, 黑暗三联征的黑暗属性可能会驱使青少年越来越偏离正常, 可能会进一步导致更严重的后果, 比如校园欺凌[82]、自杀意向[83]等等, 并且还可能会预测成年期的黑暗特质。因此, 希望未来能够在黑暗三联征的破坏性行为与自我提高的边界条件方面有更深入的探究, 从而能够为教育工作者提供干预方案和理论上的指导。

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