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Boldness and Its Relation to Psychopathic Personality: Prototypicality Analyses Among Forensic Mental Health, Criminal Justice, and Layperson Raters

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Research on psychopathic personality has been dominated by a focus on criminality and social deviance, but some theoretical models argue that certain putatively adaptive features are important components of this construct. In 3 samples (forensic mental health practitioners, probation officers and a layperson community sample), we investigated adaptive traits as conceptualized in the Triarchic model of psychopathy (Patrick et al., 2009), specifically the relevance of boldness to construals of psychopathic personality. Participants completed prototypicality ratings of psychopathic traits, including 3 items created to tap components of boldness (*Socially bold, Adventurous, Emotionally stable*), and they also rated a series of attitudinal statements (e.g., perceived correlates of being psychopathic, moral judgments about psychopaths). The composite *Boldness* scale was rated as moderately to highly prototypical among forensic mental health practitioners and probation officers and positively associated with other theoretically relevant domains of psychopathy. Across samples, higher composite *Boldness* ratings predicted greater endorsement of adaptive traits (e.g., social skills) as characteristic of psychopathy. For the individual items, *Socially bold* was rated as highly prototypical and was associated with theoretically relevant correlates. *Adventurous* also was seen as prototypical, though to a lesser degree. Only forensic mental health practitioners endorsed *Emotionally stable* as characteristic of psychopathy. Our results provide partial support for the contention that the boldness concept is viewed as an important component of psychopathy, particularly among professionals who work directly with offender populations.

Keywords: boldness, psychopathy, mental health professionals, prototypicality analysis, triarchic model

Psychopathy is typically construed as a constellation of personality traits, including superficial charm, grandiosity, remorselessness, and deceptiveness, that occur in conjunction with chronic maladaptive behavior patterns, including irresponsibility, impulsivity, and various forms of antisocial and/or criminal acts (Patrick, 2006). Over the past 30 years, much of the research on psychopathic traits throughout Westernized countries has been conducted with the Psychopathy Checklist–Revised (PCL-R; Hare, 2003) and has focused on criminal and forensic populations.

Despite this extensive focus on criminality, dysfunction, and psychopathology, some historical (e.g., Cleckley, 1941) and more recent models (e.g., Patrick, Fowles, & Krueger, 2009; see also Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005; Lykken, 1995) have argued that psychopathy also includes certain characteristics (e.g., social prowess, lack of anxiety, fearlessness) that may not be overtly maladaptive and might in fact be associated with some positive outcomes. For example, in describing the backgrounds of psychopaths, Cleckley (1946) asserted:

> Not rarely the records will show that he has won the chancellor's prize at college for an essay on the Renaissance, or graduated from high school *summa cum laude*, or outstripped 20 rival salesmen over a period of six months, or married the most desirable girl in town, or, on a first venture into politics, got himself elected to the state legislature. (p. 22)

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The Triarchic Model

The contemporary theory that arguably places the greatest emphasis on the putative role of adaptive traits in formulations of psychopathy is the Triarchic model (Patrick et al., 2009). This conceptual model grew in part out of extensive research on a self-report measure of psychopathy, the Psychopathic Personality Inventory (PPI; Lilienfeld & Andrews, 1996), in both offender and community samples. The model encapsulates psychopathy into three distinguishable phenotypic domains: *Disinhibition* (reflecting aspects of impulsivity, externalizing problems, irresponsibility), *Meanness* (reflecting traits of callousness, aggression, manipulativeness, lack of empathy), and *Boldness* (reflecting social dominance, venturesomeness, emotional stability). Prototypically bold individuals would present as self-confident, self-assured, and persuasive, appearing comfortable in most social contexts. They would experience lower than average levels of fear or distress when faced with threatening or stressful situations and enjoy the challenge of participating in adventurous activities. Such individuals would be optimistic, hard to discourage, recover quickly from adversity, and exhibit a nonchalant attitude toward the possibility of future problems.

To date, much of the research related to boldness has operationalized this construct using the PPI [or its revision, the Psychopathic Personality Inventory–Revised (PPI-R); Lilienfeld & Widows, 2005]. The PPI contains eight lower order subscales that prior research (Benning, Patrick, Blonigen, Hicks, & Iacono, 2005; Benning, Patrick, Hicks, Blonigen, & Krueger, 2003) suggested could be organized into two higher order dimensions: Fearless Dominance and Impulsive Antisociality. The Fearless Dominance scale is composed of the PPI's Social Potency, Fearlessness, and Stress Immunity subscales, which tap constructs very similar to boldness from a triarchic perspective. Other recently developed self-report inventories, such as the Elemental Psychopathy Assessment (Lynam et al., 2011), include subscales intended to tap concepts similar to boldness as well.

The relevance of disinhibition and meanness to psychopathy is relatively uncontroversial, as most models of this syndrome (e.g., Frick & White, 2008; Hare, 2003; Lynam & Widiger, 2007) include components that are highly similar to these concepts even if they have been given a different descriptive label (Patrick et al., 2009; Skeem, Polaschek, Patrick, & Lilienfeld, 2011). For example, research suggests that the antisocial and criminal features that comprise Factor 2 of the PCL-R are clear markers of disinhibition and the affective–interpersonal features that comprise Factor 1 are strongly indicative of meanness (Venables, Hall, Yancey, & Patrick, 2015). The theoretical significance of boldness, however, has been a particularly contentious area of research and theorizing (Drislane, Patrick, & Arsal, 2014; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Marcus, Fulton, & Edens, 2013; Miller & Lynam, 2012; Neumann, Uzieblo, Crombez, & Hare, 2013). These criticisms for the most part have focused on the fact that (a) some prominent models of psychopathy (e.g., Hare, 2003) do not seem to incorporate aspects of boldness into their operationalization of the disorder and (b) boldness tends to be associated with various adaptive characteristics and does not seem to be strongly related to criminality.

In one of the most pointed critiques of the boldness construct, Miller and Lynam argued that features of adaptive functioning are generally incompatible with personality pathology and dysfunction. On the basis of findings in their meta-analysis of the correlates of the PPI, the authors also argued that self-reported boldness (operationalized by the PPI Fearless Dominance scale) demonstrated weak associations with constructs related to interpersonal antagonism and externalizing behavior, as well as low convergent validity with some psychopathy measures (e.g., the PCL-R). Other meta-analytic research (Marcus et al., 2013) also has pointed out weak relationships between Fearless Dominance and the affective–interpersonal factor of the PCL-R (r_w = .21), although Marcus et al. argued that such weak results were because Factor 1 of the PCL-R primarily represents aspects of meanness rather than boldness (cf. Venables, Hall, & Patrick, 2014).

In a reply to the criticisms of the boldness construct by Miller and Lynam (2012); Lilienfeld et al. (2012) highlighted the emphasis on seemingly adaptive features in the writings of seminal theorists (e.g., Cleckley) and argued that a nonbold psychopath "would make a spectacularly unsuccessful con artist" (p. 336). They also reviewed various maladaptive correlates related to self-reported boldness (e.g., narcissism, impulsivity, self- and clinician-reported aggression) and moderate correlations with other psychopathy measures not included in the Miller and Lynam meta-analysis. Similarly, Marcus et al. (2013) reported moderately strong associations between Fearless Dominance and various other psychopathy scales in their meta-analysis of the PPI. Additionally, more recent studies have demonstrated that elevated boldness leads to an increased risk of adverse outcomes specifically when occurring in combination with a high degree of externalizing features (Fulton, Marcus, & Zeigler-Hill, 2014; Smith, Edens, & McDermott, 2013). For example, in a study on PPI-R–assessed psychopathic traits in a group of forensic psychiatric inpatients (N = 200), measures of boldness and disinhibition interacted to predict predatory aggression much more strongly than the individual scales in isolation (Smith et al., 2013). Other research, however, has failed to demonstrate such statistical interactions in the prediction of theoretically important criterion measures (e.g., Smith, Edens, & Vaughn, 2011).

Although the Triarchic model is not tied to any particular method of operationalizing boldness, a major limitation of research on the conceptual relevance of this construct is that, to date, almost all published studies of boldness have relied on self-report measures (i.e., the Fearless Dominance scale from the PPI/PPI-R and the *Boldness* subscale of the recently developed Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM; Patrick, 2010). A growing number of studies are examining the nomological net surrounding self-reported boldness through the TriPM (e.g., Drislane, Patrick, & Arsal, 2014; Sellbom & Phillips, 2013; Stanley, Wygant, & Sellbom, 2013), but numerous other approaches can and should be used as part of the construct validation process. For example, from a content validity perspective (Cantor & Mischel, 1979; Kreis, Cooke, Michie, Hoff, & Logan, 2012), it would be informative to discern whether individuals who work directly with offender populations perceive the construct of boldness to be relevant to their construals of psychopathy. Some survey research in the United Kingdom (Furnham, Daoud, & Swami, 2009) and United States (Edens, Clark, Smith, Cox, & Kelley, 2013) has suggested that laypersons see characteristics of boldness (e.g., social skills, fearlessness, social dominance) as highly characteristic of psychopathy. Although informative, to our knowledge no research has been published using raters (e.g., forensic mental health and criminal justice professionals) who would have more direct experience

working with individuals who would be expected to exhibit higher levels of psychopathic traits.

Prototypicality Analyses

A relatively common method of examining the content validity of psychological concepts is through the use of *prototypicality* analyses. Prototypicality research designs involve the rating of items or components of a model with respect to their perceived degree of importance to the hypothetical construct under consideration (Cantor & Mischel, 1979; Horowitz & Turan, 2008). Prototypicality analyses have been conducted to investigate an array of psychological concepts, including anger (Russell & Fehr, 1994), morality (Walker & Hennig, 2004), and emotion knowledge (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987). Prototypicality analyses have proven to be a fruitful method for investigating various types of psycholegal and criminal justice topics among professionals (e.g., mental health professionals) and laypersons (e.g., jurors). For example, an early series of studies (Smith, 1991, 1993; Smith & Studebaker, 1996) examined juror prototypes of various crime categories (e.g., assault, burglary, murder) and their relation to legal decision making. In regard to more clinical-forensic constructs, Rogers, Salekin, Sewell, Goldstein, and Leonard (1998) investigated mental health professionals' prototypes of malingering in forensic and nonforensic contexts. In another sample of forensic mental health examiners, Salekin, Rogers, and Ustad (2001) examined what characteristics were construed as most salient to recommendations to waive juvenile offenders to adult criminal courts. More recently, Skeem and colleagues (Louden & Skeem, 2007; Skeem & Golding, 2001) examined prototypes of criminal responsibility among jurors, identifying three subgroups based on the specific characteristics they most strongly endorsed as relevant to insanity.

In particular, prototypicality analyses have been applied to conceptual models of psychopathy over the years (e.g., Miller et al., 2001; Salekin, Rogers, & Machin, 2001) and most recently have been used in several studies (Hoff, Rypdal, Mykletun, & Cooke, 2012; Kreis, Cooke, Michie, Hoff, & Logan, 2012; Smith, Edens, Clark, & Rulseh, 2014; Sörman et al., 2014) to investigate the content validity of a relatively new conceptual model of psychopathic traits, the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP; Cooke, Hart, Logan, & Michie, 2004, 2012). The CAPP model postulates that psychopathy exists along six major domains (*Attachment, Behavioral, Cognitive, Dominance, Emotional*, and *Self*) over a total of 33 items. Prototypicality studies of the CAPP have provided strong evidence of its content validity in that most of the 33 individual items and all of the six broadband scales have been rated as moderately or highly prototypical of psychopathy by expert raters (e.g., psychopathy researchers and mental health professionals) as well as by laypersons from multiple countries (Hoff et al., 2012; Kreis et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2014; Sörman et al., 2014). In addition to prototype research, a growing body of evidence suggests that the CAPP domains correlate highly with other measures of psychopathy, such as the Hare scales, and predict important criterion measures, such as criminal recidivism (Pedersen, Kunz, Rasmussen, & Elsass, 2010; Sandvik et al., 2012).

To our knowledge, direct comparisons of the CAPP and triarchic models have yet to be published. As suggested by its name, the CAPP model was intended by its developers to be a comprehensive assessment of psychopathic traits, informed by an extensive literature review and consultation with mental health experts (Cooke et al., 2012). As such, it may serve as a useful reference point when considering the relevance of boldness to this disorder. That said, examination of the items comprising the six domains of the CAPP, as well as the very high correlations between these domains and other psychopathy measures such as the PCL-R (Sandvik et al., 2012), suggests that the CAPP primarily reflects aspects of disinhibition and meanness rather than boldness, per se. At present, however, the degree of convergence across these two models remains unclear.

This Study

Although prototypicality analyses are informative in terms of the content validity of conceptual models of psychological phenomena, they have yet to be used to investigate the Triarchic model of psychopathy, particularly the controversial concept of boldness. Given the ongoing conceptual debate in the field concerning boldness and its relevance to psychopathy, the current research sought to investigate the content validity of boldness specifically using raters involved in the criminal justice system. To investigate this, we report on previously unpublished data concerning boldness from three samples. Two of these samples were the focus of prior publications (Smith et al., 2014; Sörman et al., 2014) that surveyed forensic mental health practitioners and jury venirepersons to perform prototypicality ratings of the CAPP model (Cooke et al., 2004, 2012). The additional sample not previously examined in any earlier publications consists of probation officers. All three groups completed a study protocol that encompassed an existing prototype rating form (Kreis, 2008) developed for the CAPP model, as well as three items developed specifically to tap the boldness construct: *Socially bold, Adventurous, Emotionally stable.* The groups in the prior two studies (Smith et al., 2014; Sörman et al., 2014) also completed a series of attitudinal items regarding perceived correlates of psychopathy (e.g., whether psychopathy was associated with adaptive characteristics, such as social skills and occupational success). The probation officers completed a somewhat truncated version of the same attitudinal rating items concerning perceptions of psychopathy.

The aims of this study were to investigate: (a) prototypicality ratings for the *Boldness* items, (b) the relationship between prototypicality ratings for these *Boldness* items and the CAPP model, and (c) the extent to which *Boldness* is perceived to be associated with adaptive traits (e.g., social skill, life success), moral judgments (e.g., perceptions that psychopaths are "evil"), and certain maladaptive outcomes (e.g., criminal behavior). We predicted that in each sample features of *Boldness* would be viewed as at least moderately prototypical, consistent with the view that most people associate these types of personality traits with being psychopathic (Edens et al., 2013; Furnham et al., 2009). We also predicted that *Boldness* prototypicality ratings would correlate at least modestly with prototypicality ratings for the CAPP model, particularly those domains that seem to share some common features with boldness (i.e., *Dominance, Self*). Finally, we anticipated that, to the extent that participants viewed *Boldness* as an important trait, they would also be more likely to perceive psychopaths as having certain quasi-adaptive characteristics (e.g., greater social skill) and more

positive outcomes, such as occupational success. Our investigation of associations between *Boldness* prototypicality ratings and attitudes regarding crime propensity and moral judgments were mainly exploratory, although based on earlier research (Edens et al., 2013) we anticipated that raters would view *Boldness* as associated with criminality and more negative moral judgments.

Method

Noted earlier, the present research examines previously unanalyzed data concerning the construct of boldness from two prototypicality studies conducted with forensic mental health practitioners (Sörman et al., 2014) and laypersons attending jury duty (Smith et al., 2014), as well as an additional sample of probation officers whose data have not been reported previously. More detail concerning the design of these studies and the results for the CAPP model is described in the earlier reports (Smith et al., 2014; Sörman et al., 2014). In this article, we focus specifically on variables related to boldness and theoretically relevant correlates.

Participants

Sample 1. Sörman et al. (2014) recruited 90 forensic mental health practitioners (i.e., forensic evaluators, forensic ward staff, clinical ward staff) from forensic assessment units and forensic psychiatric treatment wards throughout Sweden. Forensic evaluators and forensic ward staff were recruited from the Departments of Forensic Psychiatry in Stockholm and Gothenburg, National Board of Forensic Medicine. At these departments, court-ordered forensic psychiatric evaluations are conducted to investigate whether a defendant has committed a crime under the influence of a *severe mental disorder* (SMD; a medicolegal concept in the Swedish legal system). Forensic evaluators are senior consultant forensic psychiatrists, psychologists, and forensic social investigators who together in teams perform psychiatric evaluations, which include structured personality assessments. Forensic ward staff includes frontline staff, nurses, and occupational therapists working on wards where detainees reside during the evaluation period (which is generally completed within 4 weeks). Clinical ward staff are frontline staff and nurses working at forensic treatment units in Stockholm County Council, where offenders who have been classified as SMD are sentenced by the courts.[1] The final sample of 90 participants consisted of approximately 52% women, with a mean age of 43 years (SD = 12.06). A majority of the participants (59%) had worked as an independent forensic evaluator/ward staff for five years or longer.

Sample 2. Probation officers (N = 41) were recruited from a metropolitan county in the Southwestern United States. To ensure anonymity within the department, relatively minimal sociodemographic information was collected from these participants. Approximately 63% were female (5% missing data) and 56% reported being European American (37% African American). The average age was approximately 46 years (SD = 10.61). The mean number of years supervising criminal offenders in a probation setting was approximately 13 (SD = 8.9).

Sample 3. Jury venirepersons (N = 404) were recruited from a metropolitan county in the Southwestern United States (Smith et al., 2014). The sample consisted of approximately 59% women (information about gender was missing for one participant), with a mean age of 48 years (SD = 12.42 years). The majority self-identified as European American (69%), followed by African American (13%) and Hispanic (12%). The vast majority of participants had completed some form of higher level education, including some college (30.70%), a college degree (33.70%), or graduate education (20.50%). The remaining participants reported having completed (12.60%) or attempted (2.50%) a high school degree.

Measures

The three samples completed essentially identical research protocols, which encompassed demographic and occupational information, the standard prototype rating form developed for the CAPP model (Kreis, 2008), prototypicality items to tap the boldness concept, and a series of attitudinal items regarding perceived correlates of psychopathy (e.g., adaptive characteristics, crime proneness). The research protocol was originally developed (in English) by Smith et al. (2014) and translated into Swedish (Sörman et al., 2014). Item content was identical across sites except for (a) somewhat different questions eliciting demographic and occupational information, (b) minor differences in instructional sets concerning the target concept (described below), and (c) a few context-specific alterations to make certain attitudinal items (described below) more consistent with the Swedish legal system in Sample 1.

Prototypicality ratings of psychopathic traits. A number of items were administered that tapped participant perceptions of the extent to which certain traits were prototypical exemplars of psychopathy. Participants rated all of these items on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*low prototypicality*) to 7 (*high prototypicality*). Following convention in the prototypicality literature (see, e.g., Hoff et al., 2012; Kreis et al., 2012), we considered scales and items rated between four and five as *moderately* prototypical and those at five or above as *highly* prototypical.

Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality. The first 42 of the prototype items were derived directly from the Universal Protocol for Conducting Prototypicality Studies with the CAPP (Kreis, 2008). As previously mentioned, the CAPP was developed as a broad, personality-based framework that conceptualizes psychopathy into 33 symptoms across six domains: *Attachment, Behavioral, Cognitive, Dominance, Emotional, Self* (Cooke, 2008; Cooke et al., 2012). For example, the *Dominance* domain, which is typically rated as one of the most prototypical on the CAPP, is composed of the following individual traits: *Antagonistic, Domineering, Deceitful, Manipulative, Insincere*, and *Garrulous*. The *Self* domain, which also frequently is rated as highly prototypical of psychopathy, includes traits such as *Self-Centered, Self-aggrandizing, Sense of uniqueness*, and *Sense of invulnerability*. In addition to the 33 CAPP items, nine control or "foil" items are embedded in the protocol that are negatively associated with or unrelated to psychopathy (e.g., *Shy, Conscientious*).

[1] Sörman et al. (2014) reported extended analyses concerning the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality in relation to these three subgroups. For the sake of parsimony and brevity, we have restricted our analyses to the total sample in this report. Complete results for these subgroups are available from the first author on request.

This prototypicality protocol has been used to investigate the content validity of the CAPP model in several large-scale samples (Hoff et al., 2012, 2014; Kreis et al., 2012) that have surveyed mental health researchers and practitioners, correctional personnel, and laypersons across several countries. Results from these studies as well as earlier investigations with our own samples (Smith et al., 2014; Sörman et al., 2014) provide strong evidence for the content validity of the CAPP as a model of psychopathy in that most of the 33 individual items and all of the six broadband scales have been rated as moderately or highly prototypical of psychopathy, with the *Dominance* and *Self* domains uniformly being rated as the most prototypical components across each of these prior studies. At the individual item level, the traits most consistently attributed to a prototypical psychopath are *Self-centered, Manipulative, Lacks remorse, Self-Justifying*, and *Deceitful*.

Boldness. The remaining protypicality items rated by participants in this study were developed specifically for the present research. At the end of the standard CAPP protocol (Kreis, 2008), we added additional items intended to tap other constructs of theoretical interest. To create items consistent with the CAPP model, each item that was included contained a natural language descriptive label in addition to three adjectival descriptors intended to provide further clarification of the underlying personality trait. We developed three prototypicality items to operationalize the concept of boldness as construed in the Triarchic model of psychopathy. In terms of content validity, several experts in the field of psychopathy research—including those involved in the development of the Triarchic model (Christopher Patrick) and the development of the PPI/PPI-R (Scott Lilienfeld)—were consulted to identify potential natural language descriptors that would best encapsulate the boldness dimension. Ultimately, the research team selected three items by consensus (based on input from Drs. Patrick and Lilienfeld) for inclusion as part of this protocol. These consisted of *Socially bold* (dominant, socially assured, persuasive), *Adventurous* (courageous, thrill-seeking, tolerant of uncertainty), and *Emotionally stable* (self-confident, emotionally resilient, optimistic).

Additional prototypicality items. Given the interest in adaptive characteristics and their relation to psychopathy, as well as recent theorizing about "subclinical" or "successful" psychopaths and the likelihood that they would be particularly elevated in boldness (Hall & Benning, 2006; Lilienfeld et al., 2012), an additional exploratory prototype item was included in this protocol that was simply labeled "*Successful*." The three trait descriptors associated with this item were "productive, accomplished, industrious." In addition to the items mentioned above, a few additional prototypicality items were included in the protocol that are not the focus of this study.

Knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs about psychopathy. Following the prototypicality ratings, participants responded to a series of attitudinal statements about their perceptions of psychopathy that covered a variety of topics, including both maladaptive and adaptive features that might be associated with this syndrome, as well as moral judgments about psychopaths (e.g., that psychopaths are evil). These statements were developed by Smith et al. (2014) based on previous research (e.g., Furnham et al., 2009; Helfgott, 1997) investigating perceived correlates of psychopathy. The Likert scale for these statements was anchored at 1 (*strongly agree*) to 7 (*strongly disagree*). To simplify the interpretation of the relationship between these items and the *Boldness* items, following data collection they were reverse scored so that higher scores represent greater agreement with the items.

Participants in Samples 1 (forensic mental health practitioners) and 3 (jury venirepersons) completed an extended list of attitudinal questions that were then submitted to exploratory principal components analyses (varimax rotation) to identify broader dimensions underlying the specific questions (for more detail, see Table 3, p. 411, Sörman et al., 2014; and Table 3, p. 496, Smith et al., 2014).[2] Because of logistical and time constraints probation officers only completed a truncated list of these items, which precluded direct comparisons across all the specific factors identified in earlier analyses. For the purposes of this research on boldness, however, we were primarily interested in attitudinal items concerning perceived adaptive features of psychopathy, all of the items for which were included across all three protocols. This quasi-adaptive factor was labeled as such by Sörman et al. (2014) because these items included clearly positive characteristics (e.g., social skills) but also contained items that could be construed as adaptive for the individual but not beneficial for the rest of society (e.g., being more likely to avoid detection when engaged in criminal activities).[3]

In addition to quasi-adaptive features as a potential correlate of boldness, we conducted more exploratory analyses examining perceptions of "crime propensity" (i.e., two items examining the degree to which psychopaths are perceived to be prone to criminal behavior and prone to commit violent acts), "immutability" (i.e., two items examining the perceived stability of psychopathic traits over time), and "moral judgments" about psychopaths (i.e., two items examining whether they were evil and should be treated more harshly by the legal system). Table 1 lists the individual items and mean scores across all three data sets.

Procedure

The Smith et al. (2014) research protocol was translated for the Sörman et al. (2014) study by the Swedish coauthors, who are fluent in both languages. The Swedish version was then reviewed by several additional individuals fluent in English and Swedish, some with only layperson knowledge of psychopathy and some with professional experience with the disorder. In terms of data collection, study information (written and oral) was provided to all staff members at the different units. Participation was voluntary and confidential; no compensation was offered for participation. Completion of the protocol typically took between 20 and 30 min. The study was approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board of Stockholm.

For the probation officers, e-mails were sent to their work addresses notifying them of (and providing a link to) an electronic survey in which they could participate concerning perceptions of psychopathic personality. The email indicated that participation was voluntary and anonymous; no compensation was offered for

[2] One attitudinal item was slightly modified from the Smith et al. (2014) protocol to better fit with Swedish culture. In the item, "Being a psychopath can be helpful or advantageous in some jobs (such as attorney, stock broker, politician)," the term "attorney" was replaced with "high level manager."

[3] These items formed two separable (but correlated) factors in the Smith et al. (2014) sample, but for ease of interpretation we collapsed them into one scale for the purposes of this study.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Psychopathy Attitudinal Items Across Samples

Attitudinal scales and items	Forensic mental health practitioners ($N = 90$)	Probation officers ($N = 41$)	Jury sample ($N = 404$)
Quasi-adaptive features			
Psychopaths are more likely to be successful in life than the average person is	4.03 (1.86)	4.27 (1.92)	3.45 (1.46)
Psychopaths are more intelligent than the average criminal is	4.06 (1.74)	4.88 (1.78)	4.34 (1.67)
Psychopaths have better social skills than the average person	4.20 (1.76)	4.76 (1.66)	3.58 (1.57)
Psychopathic criminals are less likely to get caught than the average criminal is	3.88 (1.58)	4.38 (1.84)	4.11 (1.39)
Being a psychopath can be helpful or advantageous in some jobs (such as an attorney, stock broker, politician)	5.02 (1.91)	4.25 (2.07)	3.55 (1.77)
Crime propensity			
Psychopaths are more likely to commit crimes than the average criminal is	4.86 (1.66)	4.98 (1.84)	4.78 (1.82)
Psychopaths are more likely to be violent than the average criminal is	4.44 (1.72)	4.98 (1.78)	4.52 (1.82)
Immutability			
Psychopaths can never change; they will always be psychopathic	4.71 (1.68)	4.95 (1.67)	4.10 (1.66)
Criminal psychopaths can be rehabilitated	3.57 (1.54)	3.20 (1.98)	3.52 (1.55)
Moral judgments			
'Psychopath' is another word for describing a person who is basically evil	2.93 (1.86)	3.73 (2.09)	3.66 (1.85)
Psychopathic criminals should be treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than criminals who are not psychopaths	2.58 (1.81)	3.56 (1.85)	3.23 (1.70)

participation. Completion of the online protocol (via Qualtrix survey software) typically took between 15 and 20 min. The study was approved by the participating probation agency administrative staff and a university institutional review board.

For the community sample, one of the research team members was introduced in a group setting by a juror services representative to all individuals summoned for jury duty (an estimated 700 individuals) during the study period. The researcher explained the conditions for participating in the study (i.e., standard confidentiality procedures, instructions that participants may choose to decline participation or cease participating at any time). The paper-and-pencil survey was completed prior to voir dire during group juror orientation sessions. Data collection took approximately 15 to 20 min. No compensation was offered for participation. Because of the nature of the data collection process for both the probation officer and the jury pool sample, a waiver of documentation of consent was obtained from the institutional review boards supervising this research.

Regarding specific instructional sets, the Swedish forensic mental health practitioners were asked to rate how prototypical they thought the traits were of a male client whom they considered a prototypical psychopath. The probation officer sample and the jury venirepersons were more generally instructed to consider a person they thought was a typical example of a psychopath (real or fictional). As such, they were not necessarily providing ratings based on an individual with whom they had direct personal experience or involvement.

Results

Boldness Prototypicality Ratings

In terms of descriptive findings regarding participants' views of the prototypicality of *Boldness*, summary data for the three individual *Boldness* items are provided in Figure 1. On the basis of convention, the scores for *Socially bold* would be classified as highly prototypical (>5) for two of the three samples (forensic mental health practitioners and probation officers) and moderately prototypical among the jury venirepersons. Scores for *Adventurous*, however, were somewhat more variable, with forensic mental health practitioners viewing this as highly prototypical, probation officers rating this at the higher end of the moderately prototypical range, and jury venirepersons rating this item near the midpoint of the rating scale. Scores for *Emotionally stable* were quite variable, with forensic mental health practitioners rating this item at the lower end of the moderately prototypical range, but the probation officers and jury venirepersons viewing this trait as low in prototypicality.

Figure 1 also provides summary information across the three samples for the averaged prototypicality rating for all of the 33 CAPP items. Aggregated mean CAPP items were near 5 within each sample, being lowest overall among jury venirepersons. Paired sample t tests indicated that, in comparison to the average CAPP item, *Socially bold* was rated as more prototypical among the forensic mental health practitioners, $t(89) = 6.78$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.85$, 95% confidence interval (CI) = 0.73 to 1.06. There was a similar trend for the probation officers, in that they rated the *Socially bold* item as higher in prototypicality than the average CAPP item, but this difference only approached statistical significance, $t(39) = 1.59$, $p = .12$, and was of smaller magnitude overall ($d = 0.29$, 95% CI = 0.08 to 0.82). For the jury venirepersons, however, ratings of *Socially bold* were lower than the average CAPP item, $t(402) = -4.08$, $p < .01$, although the mean difference was relatively small in magnitude ($d = -0.24$, 95% CI = −0.07 to −0.34). In terms of relative rankings across all 36 items (33 CAPP and 3 *Boldness* items), *Socially bold* was ranked as the 12th most prototypical trait by the forensic mental health practitioners, as the 15th most prototypical by the probation officers, and as the 25th most prototypical by the jurors.

For the *Adventurous* item, neither the forensic mental health practitioners nor probation officers significantly differed in terms of their prototypicality ratings relative to their average CAPP item rating, $t(87) = -0.47$, *ns*, and $t(40) = 1.32$, *ns*, respectively. For the jury venirepersons, the average CAPP item was rated as significantly higher than the *Adventurous* item, $t(401) = -7.44$, $p < .01$, $d = -0.49$, 95% CI = −0.31 to −0.59. In terms of rank

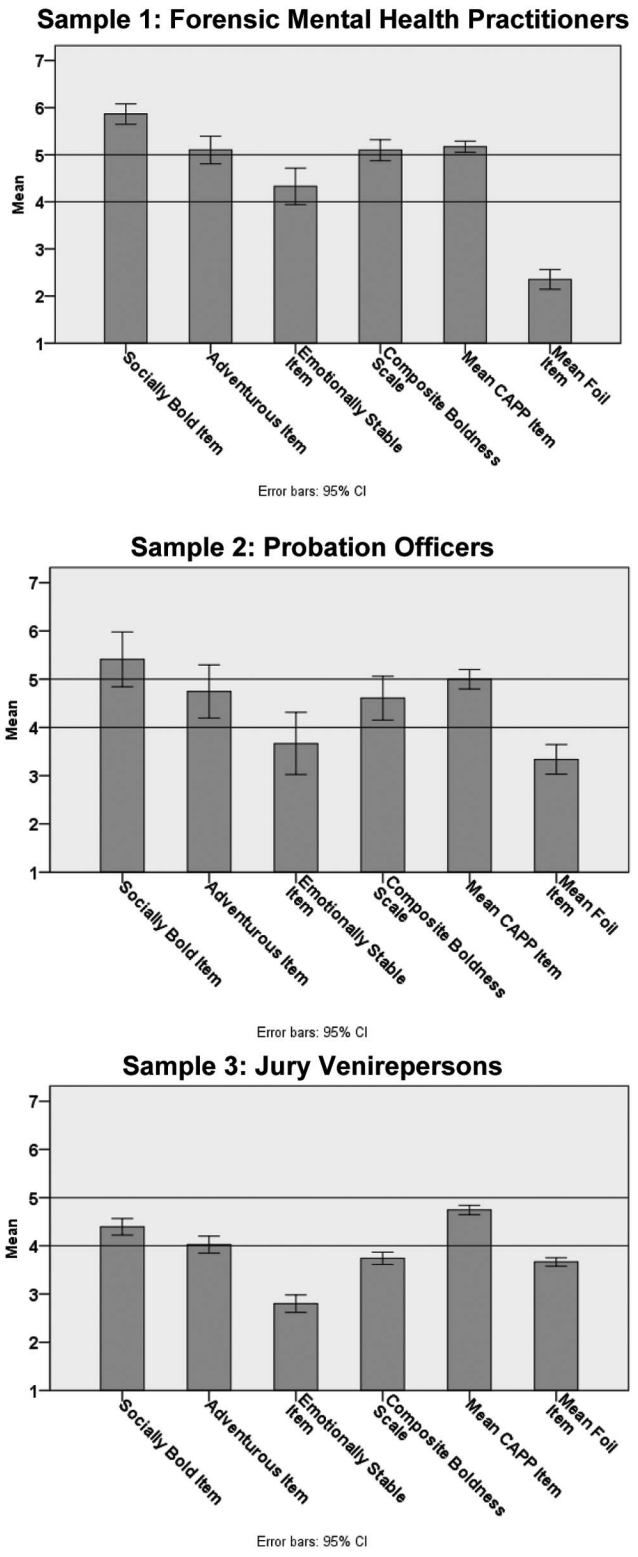

Figure 1. Prototypicality ratings for *Boldness* (individual items and Composite Scale), Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP) items, and foil items across three samples. CI = confidence interval.

ordering across all 36 items, *Adventurous* was ranked 22nd by the forensic mental health practitioners, 24th by the probation officers, and 28th by the jurors.

For the *Emotionally stable* item, although forensic mental health practitioners rated it in the moderately prototypical range in an absolute sense (>4), they also rated it as significantly lower in prototypicality than the average CAPP item, $t(89) = -4.20$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.64$, 95% CI = −0.26 to −0.76. Both the probation officers and the jury venirepersons rated *Emotionally stable* as significantly lower in prototypicality compared to the average CAPP item, $t(40) = -4.31$, $p < .01$, $d = -0.95$, 95% CI = −0.34 to −1.16, and $t(403) = -16.70$, $p < .01$, $d = -1.31$, 95% CI = −1.13 to −1.41. In terms of rank ordering, *Emotionally stable* was ranked 28th out of the 36 items by the forensic mental health practitioners, 31st by the probation officers, and 35th by the jurors.

For comparison purposes, Figure 1 also includes an aggregated mean variable for the nine foil items included in the CAPP protocol. As can be seen, raters in the forensic mental health practitioner and probation officer samples generally did not view these foil items on average as indicative of psychopathic traits, indicating that their endorsement of *Boldness* (at least in terms of the relatively high prototypicality scores for the *Socially bold* and *Adventurous* items) was not a result of a nonspecific tendency to endorse any personality trait as prototypical across our samples. For the jury venirepersons, however, the mean foil score was appreciably higher than was the *Emotionally stable* item, $t(402) = 9.65$, $p < .005$,[4] $d = 0.60$, 95% CI = 0.51 to 0.78.

Although mean ratings for the *Emotionally stable* item were quite low both in absolute and relative magnitude (compared with the average CAPP item) in Samples 2 and 3, there was some evidence in our data to suggest that participants did in fact view this particular trait as part of a broader concept of boldness. First, across all three samples mean interitem correlations for the three items were in a range (.30, .41, and .30 for Samples 1–3, respectively) that would suggest that a reasonably coherent construct is being tapped (Clark & Watson, 1995). Second, principal components analyses performed within each sample indicated that one common dimension seemed to explain the majority of variance in the three items as well, with the underlying factor explaining 54%, 61%, and 53% of the variance in prototypicality ratings across Samples 1–3, respectively.[5] As such, we computed a composite *Boldness* scale (created by averaging the ratings for the three individual items) and report results for this summary variable (in addition to the three individual items) in subsequent analyses examining the correlates of *Boldness*. For descriptive purposes, the mean rating for this composite *Boldness* scale is included in Figure 1 as well.

[4] As previously noted by Smith et al. (2014), the average score for the foils in the jury venireperson sample was somewhat higher in part because of a relatively strong endorsement of "*Strange*" as a trait indicative of psychopathy. Jurors also provided relatively high ratings for some psychotic-spectrum items (that are not the focus of this report), suggesting that at least some laypersons may conflate the terms "psychopathic" and "psychotic."

[5] More detail concerning these analyses is available from the second author.

Table 2
Pearson Correlations Between the Composite Boldness Scale and Individual Items and Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality Domains (95% Confidence Interval) Across Three Samples (Each Sample Shown Separately Below)

Sample 1: Forensic mental health practitioners

	CAPP domain					
Scale or item	Attachment	Behavioral	Cognitive	Dominance	Emotional	Self
Boldness Scale	.17 [−.04, .36]	−.03 [−.24, .18]	.01 [−.20, .22]	.32** [.12, .49]	.04 [−.17, .25]	.28** [.08, .46]
Socially Bold	.21* [.003, .40]	.03 [−.18, .24]	.11 [−.10, .31]	.45** [.27, .60]	.10 [−.11, .30]	.51** [.34, .65]
Adventurous	.17 [−.04, .37]	.14 [−.07, .34]	−.06 [−.27, .15]	.30** [.10, .48]	.16 [−.05, .36]	.17 [−.04, .37]
Emotionally Stable	.06 [−.15, .26]	−.16 [−.36, .05]	.00 [−.21, .21]	.09 [−.12, .29]	−.10 [−.30, .11]	.07 [−.14, .27]

Note. *N*s range from 88 to 90 due to some missing data points.
* $p \leq 05$. ** $p \leq 01$.

Sample 2: Probation officers

	CAPP domain					
Scale or item	Attachment	Behavioral	Cognitive	Dominance	Emotional	Self
Boldness Scale	.14 [−.18, .43]	.09 [−.22, .39]	−.07 [−.37, .24]	.54** [.28, .73]	.28 [−.03, .54]	.40** [.11, .63]
Socially Bold	.07 [−.24, .37]	.01 [−.30, .32]	−.13 [−.42, .19]	.56** [.30, .74]	.25 [−.07, .52]	.53** [.26, .72]
Adventurous	.29 [−.02, .55]	.39* [.09, .62]	.36* [.06, .60]	.51** [.24, .71]	.42** [.13, .64]	.45** [.17, .67]
Emotionally Stable	.01 [−.30, .32]	−.14 [−.43, .18]	−.34* [−.59, −.04]	.22 [−.09, .49]	.03 [−.28, .34]	.03 [−.28, .34]

Note. $N = 41$.
* $p \leq 05$. ** $p \leq 01$.

Sample 3: Jury venirepersons

	CAPP domain					
Scale or item	Attachment	Behavioral	Cognitive	Dominance	Emotional	Self
Boldness Scale	−.05 [−.15, .05]	.07 [−.03, .17]	−.04 [−.14, .06]	.06 [−.04, .16]	.06 [−.04, .16]	.17** [.07, .26]
Socially Bold	.16** [.06, .25]	.26** [.17, .35]	.14** [.04, .23]	.30** [.21, .39]	.25** [.16, .34]	.36** [.27, .44]
Adventurous	.06 [−.04, .16]	.16** [.06, .25]	.03 [−.07, .13]	.11* [.01, .21]	.08 [−.02, .18]	.18** [.08, .27]
Emotionally Stable	−.32** [−.41, −.23]	−.26** [−.35, −.17]	−.27** [−.36, −.18]	−.27** [−.36, −.18]	−.19** [−.28, −.09]	−.16** [−.25, −.06]

Note. *N*s range from 401 to 404 due to some missing data points.
* $p \leq 05$. ** $p \leq 01$.

Correlates of Boldness

Next, we computed Pearson correlations between the composite *Boldness* scale and its three individual items and the six CAPP domains (see Table 2). For the forensic mental health practitioners, correlations were modest to moderate in magnitude for *Dominance* and *Self* but otherwise low and nonsignificant for the remaining CAPP scales.[6] As can be seen in the table, the associations with the CAPP scales for the most part were driven by the *Socially bold* item, which was the strongest correlate of the *Dominance* and *Self* scales. For the probation officers, a somewhat similar pattern emerged, with the highest correlations for the composite *Boldness* scale again being with the *Dominance* and *Self* scales. Both the *Socially bold* and *Adventurous* items demonstrated relatively large positive relationships with the *Dominance* and *Self* scales, with *Adventurous* correlating to a moderate degree with other CAPP domains as well. For the jury venirepersons, the composite *Boldness* scale was weakly related to all aspects of the CAPP, demon-

[6] It is worth noting that the magnitude of the relationship that could be obtained with dominance and self ratings was somewhat constrained by the skewed nature of the prototype ratings on these scales (−0.99 and −1.30), given that they were rated as highly prototypical of psychopathy.

strating a modest significant correlation only with the *Self* scale. The *Socially bold* and *Emotionally stable* items, in stark contrast, demonstrated relatively robust positive and negative correlations, respectively, with the six CAPP domains.

The relationship between the composite *Boldness* scale and individual items and the remaining correlates in our samples are summarized in Table 3. In regards to "successful" psychopathy, among the forensic mental health practitioners the mean (*SD*) rating for the single *Successful* item was 4.33 (1.62), indicating a moderate level of perceived prototypicality overall. The probation officers rated this item even higher, with a mean of 4.72 (1.88). Among the jury venirepersons, however, the mean rating for *Successful* was near the midpoint of the scale (3.92, $SD = 1.70$). In terms of correlations between this item and the composite *Boldness* scale and its three component items, the values reported in Table 3 for the most part support our hypothesis that viewing *Boldness* as prototypical of psychopathy correlates with perceptions of psychopaths as being relatively more productive, accomplished, and industrious. A consistent pattern of positive associations emerged across samples, particularly for the composite *Boldness* scale and the *Emotionally stable* item.

Table 3 also summarizes the relationship between the *Boldness* scale and the attitudinal scales. Across all three samples, higher composite *Boldness* ratings were significantly associated with perceptions of psychopaths as having more quasi-adaptive characteristics, as predicted. This effect was weakest (though still significant) among jury venirepersons. In terms of the more exploratory analyses regarding the remaining scales, there were some moderate significant trends for *Boldness* to be associated with perceptions of immutability for the forensic mental health practitioners and probation officers, though this effect was not evident among jury venirepersons. Across all three samples, correlations with the two

Table 3
Correlations Between Composite Boldness Scale, Individual Items, and External Correlates (95% Confidence Interval) Across Three Samples (Each Sample Shown Separately Below)

Sample 1: Forensic mental health practitioners

Scale or item	Successful prototype	Quasi-adaptive features	Crime propensity	Immutability	Moral judgments
Boldness Scale	.39** [.20, .55]	.36** [.17, .53]	−.07 [−.27, .14]	.21* [.003, .40]	.24* [.04, .43]
Socially Bold	.29** [.09, .47]	.26* [.06, .44]	−.03 [−.24, .18]	.30** [.10, .48]	.17 [−.04, .36]
Adventurous	.13 [−.08, .33]	.15 [−.06, .35]	−.01 [−.22, .20]	.04 [−.17, .25]	.19 [−.02, .38]
Emotionally Stable	.41** [.22, .57]	.36** [.16, .53]	−.10 [−.30, .11]	.16 [−.05, .36]	.18 [−.03, .37]

Note. *N*s range from 88 to 90 due to some missing data points.
* $p \leq 05$. ** $p \leq 01$.

Sample 2: Probation officers

Scale or item	Successful prototype	Quasi-adaptive features	Crime propensity	Immutability	Moral judgments
Boldness Scale	.37* [.07, .61]	.36* [.06, .60]	.09 [−.22, .39]	.30* [−.01, .56]	.13 [−.19, .42]
Socially Bold	.30 [−.01, .56]	.30 [−.01, .56]	.17 [−.15, .45]	.37* [.07, .61]	.08 [−.23, .38]
Adventurous	.10 [−.21, .40]	.44** [.15, .66]	.25 [−.06, .52]	.10 [−.21, .40]	.26 [−.05, .53]
Emotionally Stable	.43** [.14, .65]	.13 [−.19, .42]	−.18 [−.46, .14]	.26 [−.05, .53]	.02 [−.29, .33]

Note. $N = 41$.
* $p \leq 05$. ** $p \leq 01$.

Sample 3: Jury venirepersons

Scale or item	Successful prototype	Quasi-adaptive features	Crime propensity	Immutability	Moral judgments
Boldness Scale	.40** [.31, .48]	.14* [.04, .23]	.02 [−.08, .12]	−.03 [−.13, .07]	.02 [−.08, .12]
Socially Bold	.28** [.19, .37]	.06 [−.04, .16]	.05 [−.05, .15]	.07 [−.03, .17]	.07 [−.03, .17]
Adventurous	.20** [.10, .29]	.05 [−.05, .15]	.06 [−.04, .16]	−.06 [−.16, .04]	−.05 [−.15, .05]
Emotionally Stable	.40** [.31, .48]	.19** [.09, .28]	−.05 [−.15, .05]	−.08 [−.18, .02]	.03 [−.07, .13]

Note. *N*s range from 401 to 404 due to some missing data points.
* $p \leq 05$. ** $p \leq 01$.

scales measuring propensities to engage in criminal behavior and moral judgments about psychopathy were generally modest (i.e., $r < .2$) and mostly nonsignificant, although there was a significant association between ratings on the composite *Boldness* scale and negative moral judgments about psychopaths among the forensic mental health practitioners.

Discussion

Evidence concerning psychopathy is frequently used to influence trial outcomes throughout North America (Blais & Forth, 2014; DeMatteo et al., 2014; Viljoen, MacDougall, Gagnon, & Douglas, 2010). More generally, psychopathy assessments are used throughout Westernized countries to inform various decisions about individuals in the legal system (e.g., correctional placement and supervision, parole, treatment participation; Edens, Petrila, & Kelley, in press; Skeem et al., 2011). As such, investigating how individuals involved in the legal system perceive this disorder is important, given their direct involvement with offenders who display varying degrees of psychopathic traits. Using multiple samples involved in the criminal justice system, the present investigation sought to address the relevance of boldness using a relatively novel methodological approach: prototypicality analyses.

Is boldness an important component in construals of psychopathy? Among forensic mental health practitioners and probation officers, who would be expected to have considerable experience working with persons who demonstrate varying levels of psychopathic traits, *Socially bold* and *Adventurous* items were rated as moderately to highly prototypical of psychopathy. In fact, these ratings were in a range similar to or higher than the average CAPP item. These findings seem to clearly support the content validity of such traits and bolster the argument that they represent important aspects of how forensic mental health and criminal justice professionals conceptualize this disorder. Jury venirepersons also rated *Socially bold* as moderately prototypical, though the *Adventurous* item ratings were near the midpoint of the scale, indicating an essentially neutral attitude about this concept.

In contrast to the generally positive prototypicality data for the *Socially bold* and *Adventurous* items, results for the *Emotionally stable* item were less clear. Forensic mental health practitioners, whose daily job functions include the assessment, treatment, and/or management or forensic detainees with serious psychiatric disorders, viewed this item as moderately prototypical of psychopathy, whereas probation officers (and jury venirepersons) clearly did not. One plausible interpretation of these results is that the emotional stability component of boldness is an especially salient indicator of psychopathy among practitioners in a forensic mental health setting specifically because typical detainees may suffer from severe symptoms such as gross disorganization, fragmented thought processes, emotional outbursts, or social withdrawal. Therefore, clients who display optimism, self-confidence or emotional resiliency might particularly stand out in an environment in which a majority of clients demonstrate a very different pattern of personality and interpersonal characteristics. Recall that in Cleckley's (1941) seminal clinical profile for psychopathy several characteristics (e.g., absence of nervousness, absence of delusions, good intelligence) seemed to differentiate psychopathic patients from those with whom he worked who were suffering from serious mental disorder. In contrast to forensic mental health practitioners, probation officers in our study supervise criminal offenders in the community who would be much less likely to experience severe mental health problems. As such, a concept such as emotional stability might be considerably less salient to probation officer prototypes of psychopathy, similar to jury venirepersons who would be less likely to see these traits as diagnostic of an aberrant personality pattern.

Along these same lines, our use of the term "emotionally stable" may have been a relatively poor choice for operationalizing the underlying construct of interest. Such a phrase may have brought to mind attributions of normalcy that generally run counter to sensationalistic and dramatic personality characteristics typically associated with psychopathy, particularly among laypersons (Edens et al., 2013). Supporting this interpretation to some extent, Smith et al. (2014) previously reported that the CAPP foil item "*Strange*" was rated as relatively prototypical in the jury pool–community sample. Being emotionally stable in situations in which it is in fact appropriate to be distraught or afraid is not actually normal, per se, though it may be generally viewed as advantageous or even "heroic" (Lykken, 1995). Had we chosen descriptors more indicative of atypical affective dispositions (e.g., "Abnormally calm in emotionally provocative situations;" "Abnormally cheerful about life despite facing severe legal sanctions") perhaps our participants might have viewed such characteristics as more representative of a psychopathic personality constellation. Future prototype studies should investigate other common language indicators of low stress reactivity and the ability to "remain calm and focused in situations involving pressure or threat" (Patrick et al., 2009; p. 926).

In terms of external correlates of *Boldness*, there were some consistent trends across our three samples that provide further evidence of the content validity of this construct relative to psychopathy. Raters who viewed characteristics of *Boldness* as prototypical tended to rate the *Dominance* and *Self* domains of the CAPP as highly prototypical as well, with the magnitude of these effects being strongest among probation officers and forensic mental health practitioners. That being said, the magnitude of these effects was not so high as to suggest that the same underlying concepts were being measured by these ratings. Even though the CAPP model was developed to include all the "primary symptoms" of psychopathic personality disorder (Cooke et al., 2012, p. 247), as noted in the Introduction, inspection of the items from a Triarchic model perspective suggests that it is saturated primarily with disinhibition and meanness more so than boldness, in line with many other contemporary models of psychopathy (Drislane et al., 2014). Given that the CAPP conceptual model was rationally (rather than statistically) derived in terms of aligning individual items with specific dimensions, it is conceivable that boldness is embedded within the CAPP but less so at the current domain level. Items from the *Self* (e.g., *Sense of invulnerability*), *Dominance* (e.g., *Domineering*) and *Emotional* (e.g., *Lacks anxiety*) domains seem to share conceptual space with boldness and should be investigated further in subsequent research.

In regard to associations between *Boldness* ratings and external correlates, a few additional findings were of note. Across the three samples, the boldness construct was associated with positive outcomes and characteristics (social skill, intelligence, general success in life). Despite taking a markedly different approach to

address this association, these findings are generally consistent with known correlates of self-reported boldness as operationalized by the PPI/PPI-R Fearless Dominance scale as well as the Boldness subscale of the TriPM (Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Miller & Lynam, 2012). Moreover, the associations between *Boldness* and adaptive correlates in our samples was at least partly driven by the *Emotionally stable* item, which further supports the notion that this item, although perhaps poorly worded, was tapping an important concept relative to psychopathy.

Regarding maladaptive correlates of the boldness construct, it is interesting to note that no aspects of *Boldness* were seen as relevant to a greater propensity to engage in crime. There was some evidence that this construct was associated with perceived greater immutability of psychopathic traits among both forensic mental health practitioners and probation officers. In terms of moral judgments, only the forensic mental health practitioners tended to associate higher *Boldness* with more negative views about psychopaths (in terms of being evil and deserving of greater punishment). This might indicate that individuals working in a forensic psychiatric setting perceive at least some aspects of the potential social attainments resulting from psychopathy to be essentially undeserved or ill-gotten (e.g., through socially exploitative behavior, perhaps directed at more vulnerable detainees). The association with moral judgments is also consistent with earlier analog research in layperson sample (Edens et al., 2013) in which perceptions of a criminal defendant's boldness were related to how evil he was judged to be. In the other two samples however, there was no evidence to suggest that higher ratings of *Boldness* were associated with more negative moral judgments about psychopathy.

The discrepancies across the three samples concerning moral judgments might be explained by the slight differences in instructional sets. Neither probation officers nor jurors were instructed to consider a specific individual they knew when conducting their ratings. In contrast, forensic mental health practitioners were given instructions to consider a specific client. Prior research with layperson jurors who participated in a trial simulation in which they rated a specific criminal defendant obtained a significant association between perceived psychopathic traits and perceptions of the defendant also being evil (Edens et al., 2013). As such, it may be that moral judgments about psychopathy are more likely to occur when participants are considering the personality (and behavior) of a particular individual but less so when considering an abstract conception of psychopathy more generally. This position is consistent with recent research on construal theory (Gong & Medin, 2012) in which moral judgments were more severe when people contemplated detailed behaviors in comparison to thinking of abstract concepts.

It is also conceivable that some of the differences across samples were the result of cultural factors, given that the forensic mental health practitioners were from Sweden whereas the other two samples were recruited from the United States. Cross-cultural research on the CAPP model has suggested that it has good generalizability (Hoff et al., 2014) in that the rank ordering of the 33 traits is relatively consistent across different countries. Cut scores used for identifying psychopaths on the PCL-R are generally lower (e.g., >25) in European countries than they are in the United States and Canada (Hare, 2003), although the implications of these findings for our results are not immediately clear.

Although space constraints preclude an exhaustive discussion of the potential relevance of the Triarchic model in general and of boldness in particular in assessing and treating individuals in clinical and forensic settings, a few points are worth highlighting. First, although our results suggest that individuals who work with offenders construe aspects of boldness as relevant to this disorder, the implications of this finding for the assessment of psychopathic traits is not entirely clear. Additionally, although there is some evidence to suggest that boldness may aid in the prediction of important outcomes (e.g., institutional violence; Smith et al., 2013), at present this body of literature is not sufficiently developed to warrant the use of measures of boldness to inform decision-making in clinical and forensic settings. Second, from a treatment perspective, if boldness does represent the phenotypic expression of a heightened threshold for activation with the brain's defensive motivational system, then a variety of novel interventions (e.g., fMRI biofeedback) may eventually demonstrate some utility in improving self-regulation of this system (see Patrick, Drislane, & Strickland, 2012, for a recent review of treatment implications of the Triarchic model). Here again, however, considerably more basic and applied research is needed before any firm conclusions can be drawn about interventions targeting boldness and their implications for modifying the expression of psychopathic traits.

In conclusion, we believe the results of this study for the most part support the content validity of boldness as an important component of psychopathic personality, particularly traits associated with being *Socially bold* (dominant, socially assured, persuasive) and *Adventurous* (courageous, thrill-seeking, tolerant of uncertainty). Our findings also suggest that raters who view *Boldness* as prototypical of psychopathy perceive it to be associated with certain quasi-adaptive outcomes and also relatively immutable over time. We hope this line of inquiry fosters further use of non-self-report methodologies when investigating the relevance of boldness in other research on psychopathic personality, as well as additional research on how individuals involved in the legal system conceptualize important mental health concepts such as psychopathy.

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