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## The Dark Triad and Non-Normative Collective Action in the Save KPK Movement in Indonesia: The Mediation Effect of Contempt

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### ABSTRACT

This study aimed to examine the role of group-based contempt and the Dark Triad of personality traits (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) in the intention to participate in non-normative collective action in the Save KPK (Save the Indonesian Corruption Eradication Commission) movement. The data was collected via the distribution of an online questionnaire and on-campus recruitment of university students. A total of 409 students were involved as the participants through a purposive sampling strategy. The multiple regression tests found that only the variables group-based contempt and psychopathy significantly could predict non-normative collective action, albeit partially; the other Dark Triad variables (Machiavellianism and narcissism), in this case, were found to be insignificant. A path analysis model showed that Machiavellianism and psychopathy could significantly predict non-normative collective action under the mediation of group-based contempt. Narcissism was found to have

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no significance. This study results, by considering the Dark Triad and emotional factors, help people understand why and how individuals or groups of students commit violence.

#### KEYWORDS

non-normative collective action, group-based contempt, Dark Triad, Indonesia

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## Introduction

Demonstrations or protests can be carried out either peacefully or violently (Shadiqi et al., 2018). Non-normative collective action refers to behaviors that harm others and their rights (Wright et al., 1990). This study would focus on cases of violent collective action that occurred in Indonesia in relation to the Save KPK movement. In order to eliminate corruption, *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* [Corruption Eradication Commission, KPK] was established in 2002 by the government of the Republic of Indonesia based on Indonesian Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission (Sosiawan, 2019). As a state institution, it has executive power in performing its functions and authorities and is independent and free from the influence of any power (Sosiawan, 2019).

Ironically, many efforts were made, especially by the two main state institutions, namely *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* [People's Legislative Council] and the Indonesian National Police, to thwart the KPK (Pruwanto, 2021). In 2009, the term "Cicak vs Buaya" ("Lizard vs Crocodile") emerged among the public, describing the fierce feud between the KPK and the Indonesian Police. Such case triggered a civil society movement in Sumatra Barat to support the KPK against those attempting to weaken it (Pruwanto, 2021). Another conflict between the KPK and the police occurred in 2012 when Police Commissioner Novel Baswedan, a former KPK officer, was arrested in 2012 after committing a crime in Bengkulu in 2004 (Margianto, 2012). This case raised social tension within society during that period (Juditha, 2014). Additionally, it also encouraged society to support the KPK by occupying the KPK's building and

establishing social media forums to freely give their opinion about “the criminalization of the KPK,” namely, the weakening of the KPK by arresting its officers based on fabricated criminal cases (Juditha, 2014). Through this initiation, the Save KPK movement in 2014 was created as a form of societal support for the KPK. The main supporters of the Save KPK movement were students who joined workers and civil society activists (Gelombang demo mahasiswa, 2019). Then, in 2015, another conflict occurred. One of the KPK officers was named as suspect by the Police Criminal Investigation Unit of the Republic of Indonesia. This case gained public attention because of the violation of the Operational Procedure Standards committed in the arresting process (Prasetia, 2021). The conflict occurred again in 2019.

Sometimes, the Save KPK movement in Indonesia was done violently. In 2019, in Sumatra Utara, Indonesia, some students destructed and burned police cars and other vehicles (Noris, 2019). In the same year, in Bandung, 92 Indonesian students were injured due to clashes with the police (Dinillah, 2019). The most recent one occurred in 2021, in Kalimantan Selatan, a physical contact between Indonesian students and the police sparked a riot and left four people injured (Hadi, 2021). In 2022, no similar events to weaken the KPK were noted. Juditha (2014) stated that corruption is the most crucial issue or case to eradicate in Indonesia. Since the KPK was formed to perform such eradication, the Indonesian people are always trying to support it and protect it from being weakened by other institutions or parties. They express their support in any way, either through peaceful or violent actions.

Collective actions are divided into two categories, namely normative (peacefully without violence) and non-normative (non-peacefully with violence) (Tausch et al., 2011; Thomas & Louis, 2014; Wright, 2009). Non-normative actions include demonstrations and protests accompanied by violence such as terrorism, riots, and group fights (Shadiqi, 2021). Most of the actions in the Save KPK movements were non-normative, such as those that just happened in 2019 and 2021. On the other hand, some actions were done normatively. A collective action that was initially done peacefully can turn into anarchy when mediation does not work, bringing the protesting individuals or groups to commit violence (Hogg & Abrams, 2007). Many factors can predict collective action, such as emotion, which was one of the focuses of this study. Apart from emotion, interesting factors to observe was personality traits. For this reason, this study specifically examined the role of the Dark Triad of personality traits that is more related to acts of violence. This study would show the respective role of Machiavellianism, narcissism, psychopathy, and group-based contempt in non-normative collective action in the Save KPK movement. The literature review section would show the clarification of arguments, reasons for choosing the variables, and the hypothesis statements.

### ***Group-based Contempt and Non-normative Collective Action***

Emotions in predicting collective action can be divided into two types, namely self-based and group-based emotions (Shadiqi et al., 2018). The theory of group-based emotion originates in Intergroup Emotion Theory (IET) (Mackie et al., 2000). This study focused on group-based contempt, which is a series of emotional experiences of a

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person or group to demean another person or group as a process of social grouping. This emotion makes a person or group not want to understand others (Becker et al., 2011; Fischer & Roseman, 2007). Therefore, group-based contempt can predict the occurrence of non-normative action (Becker et al., 2011; Shadiqi et al., 2018; Tausch et al., 2011). Shadiqi et al. (2018) conducted research on Muslim students in Indonesia to prove that emotions, such as group-based negative (contempt) emotions, can predict non-normative collective action. Shadiqi et al. (2018) also conducted research on collective action in Indonesia by collecting data through online surveys and self-reports and found that group-based contempt could significantly predict non-normative collective action on the issue of Palestinian solidarity action. Tel (2012) who conducted an online survey in the Netherlands and Germany obtained inconsistent results: no significant relationship between contempt and acts of violence in the context of injustice and structural disadvantages experienced by Kurds living in European countries. The inconsistencies found interested us to re-examine the effect of group-based contempt. Our hypothesis with respect to this was as follows:

**Hypothesis 1:** Group-based contempt plays a role in non-normative collective action.

### ***The Dark Triad of Personality on Non-normative Collective Action***

The term “Dark Triad” was originally coined by Paulhus and Williams (2002). It refers to three social hostility personalities that seem similar to social “bad characters” with tendency of self-promotion, emotional coldness, two-facedness, and aggression. Comprehensively, Machiavellianism means amoral manipulative manner, narcissism means self-glorification, and psychopathy can be interpreted as a personality of an individual with no empathy, impulsive, and willingly taking risks to achieve personal goals (Glenn & Sellbom, 2015). In addition, as time went by, Jones and Paulhus (2014) developed those three components to be The Short Dark Triad (SD3).

#### *Machiavellianism*

The concept of Machiavellianism was first explained by Christie and Geis (1970) and named after Italian diplomat Niccolò Machiavelli whose treatise talked about a political approach that later was known as the orientation of “aim justifies all means.” Machiavellianism has different features, yet strategic manipulation, lack of conventional morality, and cynical view toward the world are the most specific characters (Christie & Geis, 1970). One of the Dark Triad of personality traits, Machiavellianism, can be identified through three facets: (a) Machiavellians are characterized by their manipulation skills in their interaction with others, (b) they have a negative view of other people, and (c) they have moral outlook that puts expediency above principle (O’Boyle et al., 2012). In an online study by Pailing et al. (2014) involving 159 adults, Machiavellianism functioned as a predictor of self-reported violence. Duspara and Greitemeyer (2017) who performed an online survey in Austria by inviting participants through social media found that extreme political action with Machiavellianism had a negative association with the issues of political orientation and extremism during the presidential election, with low level correlation coefficient.

### *Narcissism*

The concept of narcissism varies among writers and originally refers in Greek Mythology to Narcissus, a young hunter who was obsessed with his beauty and majesty until he arrogantly underestimated concern and love from others (Muris et al., 2017). A person with a narcissistic personality often exaggerates achievements, blocks criticism, refuses to cooperate, and only seeks interpersonal and romantic relationships with individuals who admire them (O'Boyle et al., 2012). According to Kernberg (1989), Morf and Rhodewalt (2001), the second type of the Dark Triad, narcissism, is an excessive self-assessment that is characterized by fantasizing about success, admiration, and the desire to get noticed and loved by others. Pavlović and Wertag (2021), who performed an online survey in Croatia, explained that narcissism was a strong predictor of support for extremism mediated by proviolence in men but is insignificant in women. A meta-analysis by Jahnke et al. (2021) found no significant effect of narcissism on political violence among adolescents and young adults. Individuals who have a high level of narcissism will choose to be involved in politics but for self-improvement only (Rogoza et al., 2022).

### *Psychopathy*

In 1941, psychopathy was introduced by Cleckley as a clinical construction that later indicated the purpose as a subclinical personality (Ray & Ray, 1982). The last Dark Triad of personality traits, psychopathy, is a much broader construct and is often described as a "constellation" of interpersonal, affective, and behavioral traits (Glenn & Sellbom, 2015). It is characterized by a lack of concern for oneself and others, as well as social regulatory mechanisms, impulsivity, and a lack of shame when harming others (O'Boyle et al., 2012). As the two other elements of the Dark Triad, it also reflects antagonistic behavior toward others (Trahair et al., 2020). It can be a strong predictor of extremism, terrorism, and radicalism (Chabrol et al., 2020; Pavlović & Franc, 2021). Among the three dark personality traits, psychopathy was found to be strongly associated with non-normative collective action in online studies in Poland (Study 1) and Britain (Study 2) (Rogoza et al., 2022) because it is the darkest or most violent trait of personality.

Gøtzsche-Astrup (2021) performed an online study in the U.S. and found that the Dark Triad of personality traits could strongly predict the intention to engage in political violence. The inconsistent findings of previous studies did not fully explain the role of the Dark Triad in non-normative collective action in particular. This created strong motivation in this study to re-examine the relationship of the Dark Triad of personality traits with non-normative collective action. The hypotheses proposed were:

**Hypothesis 2:** Machiavellianism is positively related to non-normative collective action.

**Hypothesis 3:** Narcissism is positively related to non-normative collective action.

**Hypothesis 4:** Psychopathy is positively related to non-normative collective action.

The self-reported study by Horan et al. (2015) showed the involvement of contempt within the Dark Triad of personality traits in the communication during a conflict. Moreover, Pavlović and Franc (2021) explained that emotions can interact with the dark triad. Roşca et al. (2021) who conducted a survey in Romania showed that emotions could mediate the relationship between dark personality traits and risk-taking behavior at work. In this study, we combined four predicting variables in multiple linear regression and path analysis models for the mediating effect of group-based contempt among Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy on non-normative collective action in the Save KPK movement.

The following hypotheses were proposed:

**Hypothesis 5:** There is a simultaneous role of group-based contempt, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy in non-normative collective action.

**Hypothesis 6:** There is a role of Machiavellianism in non-normative collective action mediated by group-based contempt.

**Hypothesis 7:** There is a role of narcissism in non-normative collective action mediated by group-based contempt.

**Hypothesis 8:** There is a role of psychopathy in non-normative collective action mediated by group-based contempt.

The main research question in this study was: How are the dynamic of correlation between group-based contempt and the Dark Triad of personality traits (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) and the mediating effect of group-based contempt in predicting intention of non-normative collective action in the Save KPK movement-related issues? Thus, this research aimed to explain the involvement of group-based contempt and the Dark Triad of personality traits (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) in predicting intention of non-normative collective action in the Save KPK movement-related issues.

## Method

This study used a quantitative approach through a cross-sectional survey that was conducted using questionnaires distributed online and on-campus to collect the main data. The online data collection was carried out using SurveyMonkey, which was distributed through social media platforms to the Indonesian college students. We added the main data with the paper-and-pencil administered questionnaires, which were distributed to the students of Department of Psychology of Faculty of Medicine of Universitas Lambung Mangkurat. Ethical approval was obtained from the Faculty of Medicine of Universitas Lambung Mangkurat [667-668-669/KEPK-FK ULM/EC/IV/2022].

### Participants

The purposive sampling technique was used for selecting the participants. In this study, we involved students as the research sample because many actions in the Save KPK movement were carried out by Indonesian students. The pilot study took place on June 4–5, 2022, where data from 55 college students were

collected to determine the quality of the measurements. The data of 409 students as the participants were collected from June 6 to 12, 2021. From both online and paper-and-pencil-based questionnaires, we could collect the sample from 17 of 38 provinces and 70 of 3,107 universities in Indonesia. Initially, the sample number was 905; however, 496 of them were then excluded from the analysis because of their incomplete data fulfillment, outliers, duplicate cases, missing values, and their non-careful answers (through attention check questions). In detail, the sample comprised 327 and 82 online and offline respondents, respectively. The mean age was 20.11 years ( $SD = 1.336$ ), ranging from 17 to 28 years. By gender, they were 83 (20.3%) male and 326 (79.7%) female.

### **Measurement**

In this study, a cross-cultural adaptation process for the Dark Triad scale was carried out referring to Beaton et al. (2000). Meanwhile, the other two instruments (non-normative collective action and group-based contempt) already had the Indonesian version, thus requiring no adaptation process. Content validity was also conducted using face and logical validity by the research team, and there was a legibility test stage with a small representative sample ( $n = 10$ ). This measurement included an attention check question to see the concentration and seriousness of the participants in answering the questionnaire. At the beginning of the survey, after the participants read the information and agreed to informed consent, we added 1 narrative paragraph about the information on the Save KPK movement, aiming to make all participants understand the research context.

#### *Non-normative Collective Action*

The non-normative collective action scale was used to measure the intention of violence in the context of the Save KPK movement. This study used the scale proposed by Tausch et al. (2001) that consists of 6 items adapted to Indonesian by Shadiqi et al. (2018). This scale had satisfactory reliability with a Likert-scale response ( $\alpha = .741$ , 7 points, 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The examples of the items included "Burning used tires", "Blocking highway", "Throwing stones or bottles when protesting", "Attacking police officers", "Attacking the party deemed responsible", "Doing vandalism and burning symbols of the parties who created problems with the KPK".

#### *Group-Based Contempt*

The group-based contempt scale in this study was intended to measure individual emotions and refers to contempt against any other group. This measurement was developed by Tausch et al. (2011) and Becker et al. (2011) and then adapted by Shadiqi et al. (2018) into Indonesian language and culture with a reliability value of  $\alpha = .854$ . This instrument consisted of 12 items with a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). An example of the items was "As part of a group, I hate those who try to destruct the KPK institution".

### *Machiavellianism*

The Machiavellianism scale was used to reveal an individual's tendency to manipulate others for personal benefits. This scale used The Short Dark Triad of Personality Scale (SD3) by Jones and Paulhus (2014). The response scale used in this instrument had a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, to 5 = *strongly agree*). This scale had a reliability value of .615, the remaining 4 and 5 items were eliminated. An example of the items was "I manipulate cleverly so that I get what I want".

### *Narcissism*

The narcissism scale was used to assess an individual's behavioral tendency in pursuit of satisfaction for pride or selfish admiration for their attributes. This instrument used SD3 by Jones and Paulhus (2014) that had a reliability value .669, and the remaining 6 and 3 items were dropped. The response measurement had a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, to 5 = *strongly agree*). An example of the items was "I insist on getting the respect I deserve".

### *Psychopathy*

The psychopathy scale was used to reveal an individual's tendency to respond impulsively, lack remorse when making mistakes, and tend to harm others. This scale used SD3 by Jones and Paulhus (2014). The response scale used in this instrument had a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, to 5 = *strongly agree*). Furthermore, the scale had a Cronbach's reliability value of .534. The remaining 4 items were used for this study and 5 items were dropped. An example of the items was "I like to take revenge on those in power".

### **Data Analysis**

The data were analyzed using the statistical software IBM SPSS and an add-on module AMOS. After all the instruments were tested for reliability, the variable scores were calculated from the average. The statistical analysis started with the assumption tests (residual normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and heteroscedasticity), followed by descriptive and Pearson correlation tests. In addition, hypothesis testing was carried out using multiple linear regression and path model analysis tests. To evaluate the significance level of the hypothesis analysis, we used the *p*-value score and the confidence interval for  $\beta$ . The path model analysis used 5,000 bootstrap samples.

## **Results**

### **Preliminary Analysis**

Initially, a z-test was applied for normality test using skewness and kurtosis. It was found that the data were normally distributed. In other assumption tests, the data met the criteria for the linearity test between the predicting and mediating variables and the criteria. All the predicting variables were not found to have multicollinearity. Other assumption tests also did not find any indication of heteroscedasticity problems.

**Table 1**  
*Pearson Correlation and Descriptive Statistics*

	$\alpha$	Scale	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
Non-Normative Collective Action	.741	1–7	1.885	.708	—	.309***	.211***	.060	.314***
Group-Based Contempt	.854	1–7	3.366	.816		—	.264***	-.008	.261***
Machiavellianism	.615	1–5	2.674	.641			—	.049	.466***
Narcissism	.669	1–5	2.783	.529				—	0,097
Psychopathy	.534	1–5	2.306	.538					—

Note: \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Before testing the hypotheses, a bivariate correlation test was conducted to determine the initial description of the relationships between the variables (see Table 1). The results showed a significant relationship between group-based contempt ( $r = .309, p < .001$ ), Machiavellianism ( $r = .211, p < .001$ ), and psychopathy ( $r = .314, p < .001$ ) with non-normative collective action. Furthermore, it was found that there was a significant relationship between Machiavellianism ( $r = .264, p < .001$ ) and psychopathy ( $r = .261, p < .001$ ) with group-based contempt. Other results showed different findings, such as that narcissism was not significantly related to group-based contempt ( $r = -.008, p = .869$ ) and non-normative collective action ( $r = .060, p = .227$ ). Likewise, Table 1 shows that the average score for intensity of non-normative collective action in our research sample tended to be low. In the meantime, the average score of other variables tended to be moderate.

### **Hypothesis Testing**

Hypothesis testing in this study used two analytical techniques, including multiple linear regression analysis and path analysis model. The results of the multiple linear regression test (see Table 2) partially showed that (H1) group-based contempt significantly predicted non-normative collective action ( $B = .207, \beta = .239, SE = .042, t = 4.966, p < .01$ ); Hypothesis 1, therefore, was accepted. Psychopathy significantly predicted non-normative collective action ( $B = .302, \beta = .230, SE = .069, t = 4.371, p < .01$ ); hence, (H4), was accepted. Furthermore, the analysis results said that group-based contempt, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy (simultaneously) significantly predicted non-normative collective action ( $F(4,404) = 18.709, p < .001$ ); Hypothesis 5, therefore, was accepted. The results of other partial multiple linear regression analysis showed that (H2) Machiavellianism ( $B = .043, \beta = .039, SE = .058, t = .749, p = .455$ ) and (H3) narcissism ( $B = .050, \beta = .038, SE = .062, t = .819, p = .413$ ) partially did not significantly predict non-normative collective action; Hypotheses 2 and 3, therefore, were rejected.

**Table 2**  
Multiple Linear Regression Test Results

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	p	95% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	SE	$\beta$			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	.235	.246		.957	.339	-.248	.718
Group-based Contempt	.207	.042	.239	4.966	.000	.125	.289
Machiavellianism	.043	.058	.039	.749	.455	-.070	.157
Narcissism	.050	.062	.038	.819	.413	-.071	.171
Psychopathy	.302	.069	.230	4.371	.000	.166	.438

$R = .395, R^2 = .156, Adjusted R^2 = .148, F(4, 404) = 18.709, p < .001$

In the path analysis model, based on Figure 1, the model fits well on the criteria  $X^2/df = .627, CFI = 1.000; TLI = 1.018, RMSEA = .000, NFI = .994$ . Additionally, Machiavellianism ( $B = .231, \beta = .182, SE = .068, t = 3.411, p < .01$ ) and psychopathy ( $B = .273, \beta = .180, SE = .081, t = 3.373, p < .01$ ) significantly predicted group-based contempt. Machiavellianism and narcissism did not have a direct effect on non-normative collective action. The path model analysis confirmed Hypothesis 1 that group-based contempt significantly predicted non-normative collective action ( $B = .211, \beta = .243, SE = .041, t = 5.154, p < .001$ ). Based on these results, it was found that H6 said that the indirect effect of group-based contempt significantly mediated the relationship between Machiavellianism and non-normative collective action (*indirect effect* = .049, *BootSE* = .020, *CI 95% of B* = [.015, .093],  $p < .01$ ); Hypothesis 6, therefore, was accepted. Also, H8 expressed that group-based contempt significantly mediated the relationship between psychopathy and non-normative collective action (*indirect effect* = .058, *BootSE* = .019, *CI 95% of B* = [.022, .097],  $p < .01$ ); therefore, Hypothesis 8 was accepted. The group-based contempt mediating effect was not significant on the relationship between narcissism and non-normative collective action (*indirect effect* = -.011, *BootSE* = .016, *CI 95% of B* = [-.043, .019],  $p = .468$ ); so, Hypothesis 7 was rejected.

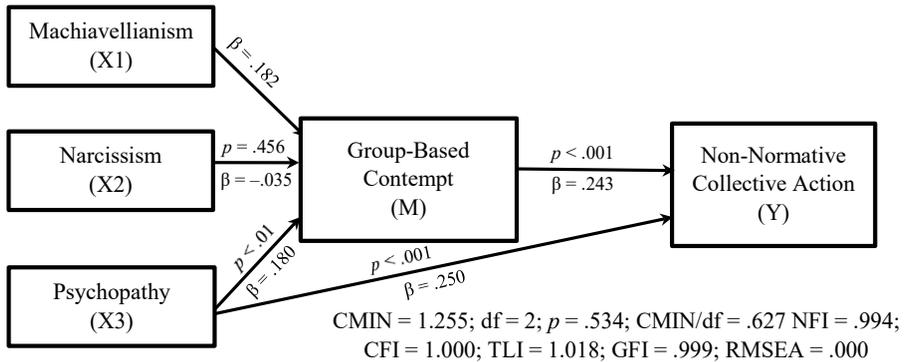
**Table 3**  
Mediation Analysis Results of Intention to Do Non-Normative Collective Action (Y)

	Path Coefficients ( $\beta$ )				Indirect Effect	
	Path a (X→M)	Path b (M→Y)	Path c (Total eff.)	Path c' (Direct eff.)	Estimates ( $\beta$ )	Confidence Interval 95% of $\beta$ (Bootstrapping)
Path 1						
Machiavellianism (X1)	.182**		.044	.000		
Contempt (M)		.243***				
X1→M→Y					.049**	.015, .093

	Path Coefficients ( $\beta$ )				Indirect Effect	
	Path a (X→M)	Path b (M→Y)	Path c (Total eff.)	Path c' (Direct eff.)	Estimates ( $\beta$ )	Confidence Interval 95% of $\beta$ (Bootstrapping)
<b>Path 2</b>						
Narcissism (X2)	-.035		-.008	.000		
Contempt (M)		.243***				
X2→M→Y					-.011	-.043, .019
<b>Path 3</b>						
Psychopathy (X3)	0.180**		.294***	.250***		
Contempt (M)		.243***				
X3→M→Y					.058**	.022, .097

Note: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

**Figure 1**  
Path Analysis Results



**Discussion**

The multiple linear regression test found a significant association between group-based contempt and non-normative collective action (Hypothesis 1 was accepted). It means that someone who scores high in group-based contempt tends to engage in non-normative collective action. This finding was in line with those found by Becker et al. (2011), Tausch et al. (2011), and Shadiqi et al. (2018) who emphasized that groups involving group-based contempt can trigger non-normative collective action. In the study by Koomen and van der Pligt (2016), contempt was more closely related to a lack of desire to reconcile. Also, Becker et al. (2011) explained that groups that do contempt tend to be involved in radical actions. Both studies explained how contempt against outside groups can lead people to engage in violence.

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The results showed that Machiavellianism does not have a direct role in non-normative collective action (Hypothesis 2 was rejected). Our results aligned with what Rogoza et al. (2022) found: Machiavellianism is not significantly related to non-normative collective action. Individuals who tend to be Machiavellian prefer not to engage in non-normative collective action because they do not believe that doing so will provide them with real benefits (Rogoza et al., 2022). Dahling et al. (2009) also found that a Machiavellian does not have trust in other people but has a strong desire for having power to manipulate things immorally to achieve personal goals. Machiavellians can maintain their reputations by avoiding conflicts that harm them and focusing on what is beneficial to them and useful in the future (Jones & Paulhus, 2009). Machiavellianism only plays a cognitive role or, in other words, does not directly contribute to violent action (Chabrol et al., 2020). Previous studies also expressed that students who tend to be Machiavellian choose not to be involved in violence in actions related to the Save KPK movement. However, Machiavellianism is only involved in manipulating others to commit violence in demonstrations.

Furthermore, the results showed that narcissism does not have a significant role in non-normative collective action (Hypothesis 3 was rejected). According to Baldwin et al. (2018), collective action emerges as a result of a group decision in solving a common problem, thus contrary to the characteristics of the narcissistic personality, namely feeling excessively impressed with oneself and not considering others (Rizal & Handayani, 2021). Furthermore, the meta-analysis made by Jahnke et al. (2021) found no significant effect of narcissism on ideology-based political violence in adolescents and young adults. Narcissism, indeed, plays a role in non-normative collective action in politics. However, it is supported by ego-boosting (Rogoza et al., 2022). In this study, students with a narcissistic personality tended to take collective action not because of a common goal but, rather, for their interests. This is one of the reasons why narcissism has no significant role in non-normative collective action.

There have been very few studies on the relationship between psychopathy and non-normative collective action. The studies by Chabrol et al. (2020), Pavlović and Franc (2021), and Duspara and Greitemeyer (2017) that discussed non-normative collective action explained that psychopathy is one of the strong predictors for political acts of extremism, terrorism, and radicalism. Our study (with the accepted Hypothesis 4) found that individuals with psychopathy tended to act impulsively and had no shame and regret when harming others. In this study, psychopathy was found to have a strong influence both through mediation and direct effects. Individuals with high psychopathy scores seemed to lack social regulation and tend to be impulsive when they wanted to harm others (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Besta et al. (2021) also found that those with high psychopathy scores tended to group with people with norms that justify violence. That way, individuals who commit group-based contempt and have high psychopathic scores will be more likely to create chaos when taking collective action. Rogoza et al. (2022) and Besta et al. (2021) also explained that individuals who are severely psychopathic are more willing to engage in collective action and provide empirical confirmation that they do it to express their anti-social worldview. Moreover, it is the darkest personality trait and the most sadistic among Machiavellianism and narcissism.

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The multiple regression analysis simultaneously, we found that group-based contempt and the Dark Triad (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) have a significant role in collective violence action (Hypothesis 5 was accepted). This finding was supported by Gøtzsche-Astrup's (2021) research that found that the Dark Triad—Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy—could predict political violence. Shadiqi et al. (2018) also explained that group-based contempt can predict non-normative collective action. To put it another way, when an individual has high scores in group-based contempt and the three elements of the Dark Triad simultaneously, then they have an enormous tendency to conduct collective violence action. However, no empirical explanation is found about that group-based contempt and the three elements of the Dark Triad can simultaneously predict collective violence action; most of research only explained their roles partially. For this reason, this research added another alternative of findings that demonstrated the collective role of group-based contempt and the Dark Triad (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) in non-normative collective action in the Save KPK movement-related issues.

The path analysis model showed that group-based contempt could mediate the relationship between Machiavellianism (Hypothesis 6 was accepted) and psychopathy (Hypothesis 8 was accepted) with non-normative collective action. On the other hand, group-based contempt did not (Hypothesis 7 was rejected) mediate the relationship between narcissism and non-normative collective action. In line with the study by Schriber et al. (2017), contempt can be associated with Machiavellianism and psychopathy as well. This is why individuals with Machiavellianism or psychopathy do not feel remorse when they cause harm to others such as insulting other people. This finding was supported by Pavlović and Franc (2021) who found that individuals with high scores in dark personalities can experience a mixture of emotions like anger, condescension, and disgust, which can encourage them to commit violence to achieve their goals.

Furthermore, narcissism (Hypothesis 7 was rejected) cannot predict non-normative collective action through group-based contempt mediation. Individuals with narcissism are self-focused and oriented, in contrast those with group-based contempt and non-normative collective action that always move in groups. Campbell et al. (2010), Kernberg (1989), and Morf and Rhodewalt (2001) expressed that individuals with narcissism are categorized as self-focused, having an egocentric admiration toward themselves, and having the desire to be cared and loved by others, which negatively affect their relationships with others. Rogoza et al. (2022) also suggested that narcissism actually plays a role in political non-normative collective action (violence), yet mediated by ego-boosting. In contrast, our research used group-based contempt to mediate narcissism toward non-normative collective action. In other words, group-based contempt cannot drive an individual with narcissism to conduct violation while ego-boosting can support them to do so.

Since this study focused only on students and the majority gender was female, further research needs to expand the scope to a wider population. This study, also, was limited to correlational explanations. Subsequent research, therefore, needs to consider several approaches, such as longitudinal and experimental studies. This research also had weakness in its measurement quality (SD3) because Cronbach's alpha was

below .70. Hasanati and Istiqomah's (2019) research in Indonesia found several factor loading items from low SD3 measurement results, which made it possible for SD3 measurements to be sensitive and made respondents faking good when answering the scale-based questions. The structure of the SD3 measurement model needed to be evaluated further using factor analysis. Siddiqi et al. (2020) offered a two-factor model of SD3 by combining Machiavellianism and psychopathy in one factor and narcissism in another. Future researchers need to carefully observe the application of measurement and evaluate the instruments used (e.g. analysis factor). We conducted the cross-cultural adaptation process in measuring SD3 in Bahasa Indonesia through the instrument adaptation procedure introduced by Beaton et al. (2000). We also recommended that other researchers adapting cross-cultural instruments select other alternatives for instrument adaptation procedures, such as the International Test Commission (ITC).

## Conclusion

Partial multiple regression analysis found that only group-based contempt and psychopathy significantly predicted non-normative collective action; narcissism and Machiavellianism did not do so significantly. However, collectively, group-based contempt and the Dark Triad (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) could predict collective violence action. Furthermore, the results of the path analysis model found that Machiavellianism and psychopathy were significantly related to non-normative collective action under the mediation of group-based contempt. The implication of this research is that the government needs to undertake counseling (Anidar & Ikhwan, 2017) and psychoeducation programs (Pilet, 2002) for university students or colleges regarding emotional management, namely shifting to a more positive emotion, and personality development by changing personal habits and having a sustainable performance to decrease violent action (Langer & Laurence, 2010). In addition, future surveys should use different data collection techniques and contemporary methods and broaden the scope of the study.

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