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# The psychology of risk and power: Power desires and sexual choices

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Doctor of Philosophy

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16 Contents

17	1	Cha	apter 1:	5
18		1.1	Literature Review	5
19			1.1.1 General Introduction	5
20			1.1.2 Who is at risk?	6
21		1.2	Risky Sexual Behaviors and STIs	9
22		1.3	Moral Judgment and Decision-Making	13
23		1.4	Power	18
24		1.5	Cognition	25
25			1.5.1 Aggression and Cognition	29
26	2	Intr	oduction	33
27		2.1	Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership orientation	33
28			2.1.1 <i>Dominance</i>	34
29			2.1.2 <i>Prestige</i>	34
30			2.1.3 <i>Leadership</i>	35
31		2.2	The present study	37
32		2.3	Materials	38
33			2.3.1 Demographic Questionnaire	38
34			2.3.2 Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Orientation	38
35			2.3.3 Domain Specific Risk-taking Scale	38
36		2.4	Procedure	39
37		2.5	Data analysis	40
38		2.6	Results	40
39			2.6.1 Preregistered Analyses	41
40			2.6.2 Demographic and DoPL	41
41		2.7	Domain-Specific Risk-Taking	42
42		2.8	Interactions	42

43		2.9	Discussion	42	
44	3	Exp	periment 2		
45		3.1	Methods	42	
46		3.2	Materials	43	
47			3.2.1 Brief-Pathological Narcissism Inventory	43	
48		3.3	Procedure	44	
49		3.4	Data analysis	44	
50		3.5	Results	45	
51		3.6	Preregistered Analyses	45	
52			3.6.1 Demographic and DoPL	45	
53		3.7	Domain-Specific Risk-Taking	45	
54		3.8	Interactions	45	
55		3.9	Discussion	45	
56		3.10	Limitations	45	
57		3.11	Future Implications	45	
58	4	Figu	ires and Tables	46	
59	5	Cha	Chapter 3:		
60		5.1	Experiment 1:	48	
61		5.2	Experiment 1 Review	48	
62		5.3	Narcissism	49	
63		5.4	The present Experiments	49	
64	6	References			

# 1 Chapter 1:

#### 56 1.1 Literature Review

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#### $_{67}$ 1.1.1 General Introduction

Research in decision-making is not only concerned with understanding 68 monumental decisions done in a study or saving a life, but equally in more mun-69 dane decisions such as understanding choosing what tea to drink in the morning, 70 what clothes to wear that day or whether a couple should have a divorce. Making 71 models of decisions can be difficult given uncertainty is involved along with risk 72 [citation]. For example, two adult men [or a man and a woman] that are intending to have sex need to make the decision of whether or not to use a condom. Added uncertainty is involved with the decision-making process. One partner 75 may have multiple sexual partners while the other may have only had one, one 76 partner may have a sexually transmitted infection and might not feel the need 77 or feel comfortable with informing their partner of their status. Consequences of 78 not informing can have dire consequences on both partners. 79

In 2016, the year of most recent global data collection, there were 376 80 million necases of the four curable sexually transmitted infections, chlamydia, 81 gonorrheatrichomoniasis, and syphilis (World Health Organization, 2018). The 82 World HealtOrganization [WHO] further estimates that there are one million 83 new cases of a curable sexually transmitted infection each day. Due to multiple 84 factors, certain minority opulations are more at risk for contracting new sexually transmitted infections, e., men who have sex with men and female sex workers 86 (World Health Organization, 2018). Some factors includertain societal beliefs 87 men who have sex with men might engage in nonrelational sex "just trying to 88 figure things out...it's just a hook up phase" (Elder et al., 2015), ambiguous 89 laws concerning the legality of sex work interfering witsafe and available locations 90 for such activity, as well as. There may also some difficulties in their willingness in their activities be it forced by anotheor sheer necessity. For countries like Scotland there have been a reduction ithe amount of new cases of STIs like HIV amongst key populations, however new risks oantibiotic resistant gonorrhea, Neisseria gonorrhoaeae, have shown a new prevalence in many countries (Ison & Alexander, 2011).

#### $_{77}$ 1.1.2 Who is at risk?

There is then the arduous task of how to research the topic of sexually 98 transmitted infections and methods of then understanding what is occurring in the individual. There are neurobiological explanations such as certain brain for-100 mations occurring that cause individuals to have difficulty understanding the 101 consequences of their actions (Moll et al., 2005; Schaich Borg et al., 2008; Tsoi 102 et al., 2018). There are also more cognitive explanations as well that have shown 103 promising results. For example in the cognitive sub-area of metacognition there 104 is an understanding that there are certain cognitive mechanisms that aid in the 105 individuals ability to regulate their own cognitive understanding of their deci-106 sions (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Yeung & Summerfield, 2012). This 107 self-regulation then contributes to their ability to control whether they act on 108 their baser needs or are able to understand the consequences of what they might 109 or might not engage in (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Crandall et al., 2017). 110 How individuals had reached the information on the effectiveness of certain be-111 havioral changes that reduce the chances of contracting an STI is also in question. 112 For example, research shows that individuals that have a greater understanding 113 of the impact and chances of contracting HIV, actually engage in risky sexual 114 behaviors and therefore increase their chances of contracting the very infection 115 they have more knowledge (D. B. Kirby et al., 2007). Skills based training showed 116 more positive results on practicing safer sex practices. How an individual sees 117 themselves as either a sexual person or person in general is also a factor in how 118

they later may meet an STI (Andersen et al., 1994, 1999; Elder et al., 2015; Gesink et al., 2016). Aggression, in the cognitive sense, also has an impact as well demonstrating a dominance over another person that may cause difficulties in their own ability to make decisions on their sexual health (Malamuth et al., 1996; Williams et al., 2017).

Aggression is one method of exerting control over another individual. 124 Overall, the exertion of control itself denotes a power disparity between parties which varies in effects, methods, and domains. [citation]. For example, most re-126 search has looked at power-over or one person controlling the behavior of another person. This area of research connects the cognitive explanation to behavioral 128 outcomes. Research in power also includes looking at minority populations and 129 aspects of power over to help explain the increased prevalence of certain STIs 130 by discussing and researching certain power dynamics [citations]. The institu-131 tional support of those power dynamics often reflect power based on age, gender, 132 political orientation, sexual orientation and gender identity (C. A. Anderson & 133 Bushman, 2002; Chiappori & Molina, 2019; Volpe et al., 2013; Winter, 1988). 134 Investigations of the power structure of a family unit has shown to have some 135 interesting consequences on sexual health depending on the type of parenting 136 style and parental attachment [Bugental and Shennum (2002); Chiappori and 137 Molina (2019); Kim and Miller (2020); citations. A new area of research coming 138 out of power and cognition is the phenomenon where an individual will harm 139 themselves in some way to also inflict harm on another. This type of behavior 140 has been researched extensively in the animal kingdom and is known as spiteful 141 behavior in that one brings down their own wellbeing to spite the other person. 142 There would be interesting avenues to research how spiteful thinking may affect 143 an individual in how they choose one course of action over another. ### Cur-144 rent Methodology An interesting aspect of the power dynamics and cognition is 145 the moral aspect of decision-making. Often, sexually transmitted infections and 146

risky sexual behavior are used as examples to discuss moral issues. Methods at 147 understanding these situations and other moral issues are through dilemmas or 148 vignettes where individuals are presented with a short scenario and given the 149 opportunity to choose one outcome over another (Ellemers et al., 2019). A trade-150 mark example is the trolley car experiment where there is a runaway trolley car 151 that is going towards five people (Greene, 2001). The decision is thus, allow the 152 trolley to careen towards the five people or you could divert the trolley by pushing 153 and sacrificing a large man for the sake of the other five. This type of dilemma 154 poses an interesting method of understanding how and what the decision maker would choose. The researcher can then change the dilemma on its severity and 156 complexity. There could also be a change in situation and the types of individuals 157 that are at risk. Individual choice tasks investigating risky sexual behaviors and 158 STIs could be furthered with investigating the moral decision-making aspect of 159 those issues. Current STI research has focused on methods of ways of curbing why 160 individuals act a certain way when presented with a risky sexual situation (D. B. 161 Kirby et al., 2007). Current methods have shown mixed results. In many coun-162 tries, how people are taught about risk and sex can vary wildly (Unesco, 2015). 163 For example, some countries may have one standard that is a mix of religious 164 and scientific findings of STIs. While others may not even have a formal sexual 165 education program. Some aspects of sexual activity are not even discussed, for 166 example non-heterosexual sex is not always present in education (Ellis & High, 167 2004). This becomes problematic in that men who have sex with men tend to be 168 more at risk to contracting an STI than their peers who engage in heterosexual 169 intercourse. There has also been a lot of research in STI rates. Evidence by 170 governments and international health organizations constantly partnering with 171 universities and healthcare providers to collect new incidences of STIs. There 172 might be one way of researching the topic however, it might not look at all the 173 aspects. Some may be more focused on the outcome while ignoring the causes 174

or hypothesized causes of the outcome. Continued research into the understanding of decision-making is important in that understanding the general helps later understanding of the specific.

# 78 1.2 Risky Sexual Behaviors and STIs

Sexual activity/ability to reproduce being one of the seven characteristics 179 of life can cause health, financial, and/or social dangers (to all participants) 180 through risk and neglect [citation]. The curability or manageability also plays 181 a factor in how an STI will affect an individual or community. For example, if the treatment is simple and cheap the effect could be minimal. However, if the 183 treatment cost is expensive the drain on multiple resources could be detrimental. 184 There is a large array of different sexually transmitted infections. Cur-185 rently, there are eight common types of STIs, chlamydia, gonorrhea, trichomo-186 niasis, genital warts, genital herpes, pubic lice, scabies, and syphilis (Carmona-187 Gutierrez et al., 2016), chlamydia being the most common. Treatment for these 188 STIs can range from a simple course of antibiotics such as is the case with chlamy-189 dia or gonorrhea. Conversely, treatment for syphilis or human immunodeficiency 190 virus [HIV], can be increasingly more involved, cause difficulty in daily life, and 191 have higher costs [citation]. Globally, 37.9 million people are living with HIV 192 [104,000 in the United Kingdom], with 1.7 million being under the age of 15 193 years old (Ison & Alexander, 2011). The treatment for HIV currently is through 194 antiretroviral medication, which is often a combination of multiple medications 195 to account for the high adaptability of the virus (Costa-Lourenço et al., 2017). 196 New difficulties appear from the most common treatment strategies. The 197 main strategy being through targeted and high doses of antibiotics. Concern 198 arises given the fluctuating nature of STI treatment and costs. As such, costs 199 for treatments have seen a markable increase with some treatments costing en-200

ter average amount. An increasing number of antibiotic resistant gonorrhea is

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occurring globally, with a recent discovery in Japan with a strain that is resistant 202 to ceftriaxone, the most prescribed antibiotic [citations]. Two individuals in the 203 United Kingdom recently [2019] separately tested positive with different strains 204 resistant to not just ceftriaxone but also azithromycin [citations]. The confirmed 205 cases may seem small however, 10% of men and half of women do not show visi-206 ble symptoms when infected with the bacteria. Medical treatment alone has not 207 been the only strides made in STIs around the with strides in acceptances and 208 less persecution for those that have HIV for example. However, while persecution 209 and stereotyping has gone down in recent years, treatments and availability to 210 those treatments have become increasingly more costly. 211 Sexually active individuals can become infected with an STI through various 212 forms. The first and most prominent vector is through risky sexual behaviors, 213 i.e., multiple sexual partners, unknown sexual history of partners/high-risk indi-214 viduals, and unprotected sex [citations]. The most common vector is through en-215 gaging in unprotected sex. Condoms are the most common and effective method of protection, with spermicides increasing their effectiveness [citation]. Once in-217 fected, the STIs may have detrimental health effects. For example, genital herpes 218 may cause infertility in women and certain types of cancers [citations]. Infections 219 can also be transmitted to infants during childbirth. If left untreated death is 220 possible for example in the case of syphilis which results in an agonizing death 221 [citations]. Condoms are still one of the most effective strategies to practice safe 222 sex along with asking partners about their sexual histories.

Even though condoms are the most effective prophylactic, there is still a 224 chance that an individual may contract an STI. Other risky sexual behaviors can 225 increase an individual's susceptibility such as having multiple sexual partners. 226 The age of first sexual intercourse is one of the leading factors that has been 227 associated with increased sexual risk taking and later transmission of STI (de 228 Sanjose et al., 2008; Dickson et al., 1998; Tuoyire et al., 2018). Dickson and 229

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colleagues investigated the age at first sexual intercourse and found that women 230 that had their first sexual intercourse before 16 years-old were more likely to 231 report having contracted an STI. In the United Kingdom, age at first heterosexual 232 intercourse has decreased over the last 70 years (Mercer et al., 2013). Mercer and 233 colleagues conducted a longitudinal analysis of age at first sexual intercourse by 234 separating individuals into birth cohorts. Individuals age 65-74 years reported 235 their age at first heterosexual intercourse at 18 years. Every ten years that number 236 has steadily decreased by one with the most recent being 16 years old. Thirty 237 percent of individuals between the ages of 16-24 report have had heterosexual 238 intercourse before the age of sixteen. 239

Individuals 18-24 years of age are not just having intercourse at earlier 240 ages, they are the group with the highest susceptibility of contracting an STI, 241 amounting for #### of new incidences [citation]. College students/aged in-242 dividuals have also increased alcohol consumption which contributes to lowered 243 inhibitions and increased risky sexual behavior. Because many are developing sexually including some living away from home for the first time, they are more 245 likely to engage in sexual experimentation such as multiple sex partners and in 246 some cases may not use protection such as a condom. Lack of communication has 247 also been shown to influence the likeliness of contracting an STI. Desiderato and 248 Crawford investigated risky sexual behaviors in college students and found that 249 failing to report the number of previous sexual partners and their STI status was 250 common in both men and women (1995). The social stigma of having contracted 251 or being suspected of contracting an STI is one of the most common barriers that 252 inhibits open communication between sexually active individuals (Cunningham 253 et al., 2009). Stigma concerning a positive STI diagnosis can affect not just the 254 physical health of an individual but the psychological health as well. In a series 255 of five experiments, Young and colleagues investigated how the belief of having 256 an STI has an individual's likelihood of getting tested/treatment (2007). They

discovered two key points on stigma, others perceive those that have an STI as
being less moral and others believe that others will see them as being immoral.
This threat of appearing to be immoral may cause the individual to feel as though
the mere perception of having an STI is shameful (Cunningham et al., 2009).

The social effects of sexuality in general influence how people see them-262 selves. For gay men in particular there is not just the social stigma that some 263 may have of homosexuality, within the gay community there are some that are 264 expected to be promiscuous or appear to be promiscuous (Elder et al., 2015). In a study based on grounded theory, Elder and colleagues asked gay men all aspects 266 of sexuality to discover and investigate their sexual schemas. A sexual schema 267 is, "a generalization about the sexual aspects of oneself." (Elder et al., 2015, pg. 268 943). The effects of negative sexual self-schema are also seen in bisexual and straight men and women (Andersen et al., 1994; CYRANOWSKI et al., 1999; 270 Elder et al., 2012, 2015). Having poor sexual self-schema can result in women having issues with sexual desire and an inability of reaching orgasm while in men 272 can result in climaxing too early and erectile dysfunction (CYRANOWSKI et al., 273 1999; Kilimnik et al., 2018). Long lasting impairments can often lead to more 274 psychological issues. 275

Individuals that have contracted an STI are also more likely to be ostra-276 cized from their immediate community. For example, gay men who contracted 277 HIV in the beginning of the AIDs crisis were often ostracized by society even 278 when they were seeking treatment in the hospital. Nurses would often, for lack 279 of knowledge of transmission of the virus, would often drop medication in front 280 of the patient's door and would rarely physically interact with them [citations]. 281 This ostracization further compounds the psychological and physical trauma that 282 individuals with HIV already have. As more knowledge of how HIV is transmitted 283 individuals can get more efficient and better treatment. However, ostracization 284 often occurs [citations]. 285

# 286 1.3 Moral Judgment and Decision-Making

Sam has frequent and unprotected sex with multiple partners, resulting 287 in a sexually transmitted infection that causes visible sores on the mouth and 288 hands. On the way to the chemist one day, Sam has an acute heart attack. Bystanders rush to help, but see the sores on Sam's mouth and hands. How would 290 the bystanders react? Would they resuscitate Sam? Would it be morally wrong 291 for them not to risk contracting an unknown disease from Sam, even if it may cost 292 Sam's life? Similar sorts of dilemmas are often used to study moral decision making of various sorts [citations], the thought experiment of the trolley dilemma. In 294 research by Haidt and colleagues, compared psychologically normal adults to psy-295 chopathic traits and performance on the Moral Foundations Questionnaire [MFQ; 296 Graham et al. (2011). Findings included higher psychopathic tendencies were 297 associated with lower likelihood of following justice based norms, weak relation-298 ship with disgust-based and in-group norms, and finally an increased willingness 299 to violate any type of norms for money [Glenn et al., 2008]. The key factor in 300 the Moral Foundations Questionnaire are these moral foundations of which there 301 are five moral domains: harm versus care, fairness versus cheating, loyalty versus 302 betrayal, authority versus subversion, and purity versus degradation [citations]. 303 Each of these moral domains have a good and bad component compared to the 304 action type. 305

The MFQ has been extensively used in research on moral decision-making, 306 with common subjects being on political thought [citation]. In the early studies of 307 moral foundations theory, Haidt investigated the moral foundational differences 308 between individuals that lean either politically liberal or conservative. Of the five 309 moral domains, differences appeared in the likelihood of how either conservatism 310 or liberalism affects the likelihood of individuals to endorse each domain. For 311 example, liberalism suggests protecting the individual from harm by the society, 312 especially if they are a member of a minority group. Conversely, conservatism, 313

namely religious conservatism suggests a propensity for sanctity and purity, along 314 with respecting authority and following the societal moral codes [citations]. Emo-315 tional valence is often the best predictors of moral judgments [citation]. The more 316 emotional valence the faster the response time the decision-maker decides and the 317 more staunchly held they are to their decision. Interestingly, participants would 318 be unable to express or support the decisions that they made. Often, partici-319 pants would downplay their decisions by laughing or stuttering (Haidt, 2001). 320 Additionally, as their emotional valence of the decision is higher, people are con-321 sistently holding on to their judgments regardless if they were able to support their judgements when asked or not. It then makes sense why some individuals 323 are more politically intransigent given their deeply held moral codes.

Politically held beliefs are often emotionally laden (Marcus, 2000). Ac-325 cordingly, moral foundations theory postulates that there is a good versus bad 326 in the moral domains. When participants are asked to respond to statements 327 that are only offensive but were not harming anyone, participants had issues sup-328 porting whether the statement was good or bad. For example, when participants 329 were given a story of cleaning the toilet with the national flag, participants would 330 respond that it is bad and said that they just knew that it was wrong [citation]. 331 Often when individuals violate the moral rules of "cleaning the toilet with the 332 national flag" violators will be judged as immoral and sometimes punished for 333 their actions [citations]. Intuitively the participants responded that the actions 334 were morally were obviously morally wrong. Requiring little to no explanation 335 as to whAn interesting facet of moral judgment is how individuals react to moral 336 decisions when they are reminded of their own mortality (Greenberg et al., 1990; 337 Rosenblatt et al., 1989). Reminding individuals of their mortality causes them, 338 according to terror management theory, to want to push away from the thought 339 of their eventual death. To do this people often cling to their deeply held cultural 340 beliefs to remove their thoughts from reality (Greenberg et al., 1990). In the 341

first of a series of experiments Rosenblatt and colleagues found that participants that were reminded of their mortality judged prostitutes more harshly, more so 343 if the participants already had negative opinions on prostitution. This was also 344 seen conversely with heroes that follow the cultural norms. Those participants 345 advocated for a larger reward for those individuals (Rosenblatt et al., 1989). The 346 already held opinions were further investigated to where Christians were asked 347 to report their impressions of Christian and Jewish individuals after mortality 348 became salient. Those that were a member of the in-group, Christian, were more 349 likely to be regarded as more positive than their out-group counterparts, Jewish 350 individuals (Greenberg et al., 1990). In-group bias is an oft studied concept in 351 psychological research. Mortality salience and moral violations tend to increase the strength of the in-group bias and then moral judgement and condemnation 353 [citation]. 354

When a person does a negative action, the reason for the action is often 355 judged and assumed. An action is commonly seen as being intentional when 356 the individual actively does the action directly. However, intentionality becomes 357 problematic participants have already had negative evaluations of the individ-358 ual. In an experiment where participants were asked to judge the culpability of 359 an airline passenger that was forced by high-jackers to kill another passenger, 360 the high-jackers were the external force forcing the passenger to commit murder. 361 However, when the participants were told that the passenger already wanted to 362 kill that passenger before the hijacking was occurring, they were judged as more 363 culpable. With or without the internal motivation of wanting to already kill the 364 other passenger, the resulting death still occurs. When participants were given 365 a, less vivid, story of a manager that was only mistreated a black employee and 366 another story of a non-bigoted manager that was mistreating all of their employ-367 ees, participants judged the bigoted manager more negatively. Even though there 368 were differences in those affected between the managers, participants already held

a negative opinion for those that hold bigoted views, and thus judged the bigoted manager more severely [citation].

Research in attributional blame continued with an experiment investigating passengers on a sinking boat (Uhlmann et al., 2013). Participants were given a story where there were several individuals on a sinking lifeboat. There were too many people in the boat and the only course of action given was that some of the passengers had to be thrown overboard. In the utilitarian perspective, used for this example, the morally correct judgment was a few must be sacrificed for the safety of the larger group [citation]. However, the participants often judged the surviving passengers as acting selfishly. Thus, they were seeing the passengers as immoral.

When individuals commit a moral violation, as would be the case for the 381 surviving passengers, it is not only important to investigate how others would 382 judge and react but also how the individual reacts to their own action (Tangney 383 et al., 2006). Emotional reactions occur when someone does a behavioral action, 384 or they expect a behavioral action to follow. An interesting aspect of emotional 385 reactions are emotional reactions tied to moral judgment. When an individual 386 violates a moral norm, they often feel a personal feeling of shame or guilt which 387 are two of the most commonly studied of these self-evaluative emotions (Tangney 388 et al., 2006). There is an inherent difference between these two emotions, shame is 389 inferred as being negative feelings of oneself that has a public display, while guilt 390 is similar sans the public display (Tangney et al., 1996). Individuals who violate 391 the community's customs on purity often feel a sense of shame. While guilt is 392 commonly felt with a violation of community [citations]. People with STIs are 393 often left feeling shame from their suspected purity violation and thus are often 394 stigmatized for their behavior and punished in some form by the community. 395 This can lead, as discussed in the previous section, to increasing their sense of 396 isolation and negative self-worth. How the moral violators react to their shame

or guilt is dependent on whether they experience the former or the latter. There are often attempts to amend the situation when individuals have violated moral 399 norms. Depending on the self-evaluative emotion that is being felt, people will 400 make amends to try to change the situation or they may hide it (Tangney et al., 401 1996). Guilt is the former and shame is the latter. In most cases individuals that 402 are feeling shame will attempt to ignore their moral violation where they will deny 403 or evade the situation that is causing them shame. Conversely, people with guilt 404 are often motivated by those negative feelings to fix the situation that caused 405 them to feel the guilt. Guilt is often feeling negativity towards a specific action 406 while feeling ashamed or shame is usually a reflection of the entire self [citations]. 407 Thus, in relation to how to repair the guilt inducing act, it would appear to be more manageable if the inducing situation was a singular event rather than a 409 feeling of the entire self. Participants that were prompted to feel shame were less 410 likely to express empathy for someone with a disability (Marschall, 1998 as cited 411 in Tangney et al., 2006). When people feel a sense of shame, they self-evaluate and reflect on themselves. This hinders the empathy process that would require 413 them to focus their attention on the emotions of another person.

Barnett and Mann investigated sexual offenders to understand how feelings 415 of empathy are blocked for their victim at time of the offense (2013). In empathy 416 research, emotions cannot only just be inferred by the situation but be "felt" to be classified as expressed empathy. Earlier research looking at empathy by sexual 418 offenders has not shown them as being unempathetic. However, Barnett and 419 Mann contend that sexual offenders may have a disruption in seeing distress in 420 their victim. The offender may then believe and assert that their victim deserves 421 the distress that they are experiencing and have a cascading effect where they 422 may be powerful and enjoy the distress of the victim (Barnett & Mann, 2013).

#### 424 **1.4** Power

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A common denominator in research on the dark personality and moral 425 judgment is the influence of power. To define power, one would have to first 426 define the actor and the recipient of the power. Therefore, there is either power-427 over, power-to, and power-with. Each aspect has their own different consequences 428 [citation]. Power-over is when there is one individual, the one with power, which 429 wields control over a subordinate individual [citation]. Power-to is when an in-430 dividual of privilege uses their status and power to control and enact a certain 431 consequence [citation]. Finally, power-with is an interesting concept where a per-432 son of power uses their own power to lift or elevate someone without power to a 433 power position [citation]. This is often seen in community projects where some-434 one in power goes into a troubled community and facilitates the situation so that 435 those that have less power can have their voices be heard. Power also has var-436 ious sources each with their own complex consequences: institutional, cultural, 437 gender, age, ethnicity, orientation, and gender-identity [citations]. Some sources 438 of power compound on one another to increase the level of power over other sin-439 gular sources of power. For example, in many areas of the world a straight white 440 cisgender man would hold the most power relative to other individuals. 441

Power influences relationships be it romantic or familial, work, academics, including each of their derivatives. The three variations of power have various influences on each of the areas of life. Power is neither good nor bad, it is how the power is used that makes it either good or bad [citation]. Power and power structures are often in the media. Often when there is a military coup in a far-off country, individuals discuss power-over. When a humanitarian goes into an impoverished community to help their voices heard, power-with is discussed. As with the previous example, when a legislator uses their influence to pass a law, that legislator uses power-to.

Early discussions of power descended from Greek and Roman political

philosophy (Aristotle, 1984). Greek Philosopher, Plato's brothers Glaucon and 452 Adeimantus discuss the viability or requirement of citizens being just and lawful if 453 they are able to escape conviction because of some social power or fortune (Aris-454 totle, 1984). Aristotle continued the discussion by posing the questions, "There is 455 also doubt as to what is to be the supreme power in the state: Is it the multitude? 456 Or the wealthy? Or the good?..." (Aristotle, 1984). Power discussions such as 457 that by Aristotle point to what is the source of someone's power. Does the power 458 come from the majority? Does it come from money? Does it come from those 459 that are just? Each source of power has different effects on those that are gov-460 erned by those with that power. Polybius of Greece discussed how a constitution 461 should be created and power should be delineated. Polybius power should be split between multiple groups, each with a different form of power and distinct 463 genre to wield that power [citation]. Power continued to be discussed well beyond 464 the Greek philosophers and continued by political researchers and philosophers. 465 Discussions of power soon developed into research on how it influences at the community level. 467

Sociologists, following many of the philosophical thought experiments pre-468 vious and current to the time, began to research power. Sociologists soon devel-469 oped the area of research in social power, where political power was a subset. 470 According to Bierstadt, power is always successful, whenever it fails then it is no 471 longer power [1950]. Sociologists asserted that power be conceived of as a force, 472 something that is applied to control a situation. Power can also be conceived of as more passive authority. There are three sources of power: number of people, 474 social organization, and resources. From that individuals that are the class or 475 group or have the most resources that are in need are those that will have the 476 most power. Resources need not be physical objects they can also be more psychological such as skills or knowledge. From history there are many examples 478 where power becomes toxic and the leader becomes the oppressor. Be it Mao

Ze Dong, Stalin, Lenin, or Hitler. The question then becomes what causes the powerful to become oppressors? In some cases, those that are in power are trying to do good for the community, restrictive from the example.

Recently, issues and abuses of power have become much of the forefront 483 of news due to the explosion caused by the me-too movement [citation]. The me-484 too movement was first coined by activist and sexual harassment survivor Tarana 485 Burke. A decade after she disclosed her sexual assault, the me-too movement and 486 the abuse of power dominated the new cycle with accusations against film pro-487 ducer Harvey Weinstein [citation]. Weinstein was known for doing philanthropic 488 initiatives during his career by using his influence and money to aid the certain initiatives that he had chosen. However, soon news of his sexual assault accu-490 sations and threats became news. Soon multiple women came forward accusing Weinstein of assaulting them as well and using his power over them to intimidate 492 and silence them [citation]. This exemplifies how resources and position aid in 493 individuals become powerful. Weinstein had the resources and the authority to 494 abuse his power with many of his peers knowing what he was doing [citation]. 495

In psychology, it was originally conceived that power corrupted individ-496 uals exemplified by the Stanford prison experiment where "regular" individuals 497 were instructed to play the prison guards of a simulated prison. Similar indi-498 viduals were instructed to portray the prisoners [citation]. Zimbardo, the lead 499 researcher for the experiment, soon noted that the individuals that portrayed the 500 prison guards became aggressive with the prisoners. They verbally and physically 501 assault them. The experiment was halted to stop any more damage from occur-502 ring. News spread of the results of the experiment and power was seen as causing 503 or influencing the "prison guards" to become aggressive and abuse towards the 504 "prisoners." However, the nature of the participants became into question [cita-505 tion]. Later researchers noted that there could have been a self-selection bias of 506 the participants. The experiment was advertised such that the prison experiment 507

was known to the participant. This would then cause individuals to self-select into the group which could possibly skew the results given that the participants may have had authoritarian tendencies and the experiment and added power may have given the opportunity for the participants to express their authoritarian tendencies already present [citation]. Similar explanations have occurred in politics.

Throughout political history individuals that have reached powerful posi-514 tions on multiple occasions have given some powerful people the outlet to express 515 their prejudiced and problematic beliefs [citation]. Fear of communist infiltration 516 in the United States caused many fears and blacklisting was a frequent practice. 517 Joseph McCarthy, a Wisconsin senator, would soon use his power as a legisla-518 tor/senator [citation]. McCarthy would call individuals to the front of the House 519 Un-American Activities Committee because they were suspected of being spies 520 for the Soviet Union. McCarthy and the committee used strong arm tactics and 521 would often threaten individuals brought in front of the committee. Many in-522 dividuals brought forward often had their lives irrevocably changed [citation]. 523 Soon Senator Margaret Chase Smith and six others condemned McCarthy for his 524 actions and tactics. McCarthy was soon censured, and the House Un-American 525 Activities Committee was disbanded. The political issue of power being used 526 as an outlet for prejudiced and authoritarianism became apparent recently after 527 the 2016 United States Presidential Election [citation]. Donald Trump's political 528 exploits would soon highlight his past and present use of power and his uneth-529 ical dealings. Often Donald Trump would use his power for personal gain and 530 to express his prejudicial and racist beliefs. Examples range from in the 1990's 531 Donald Trump advocated for the Central Park Five, five African-American men 532 accused of raping and murdering a young White woman in Central Park, to be put to death [citation]. However, DNA evidence exonerated on the men of the 534 crime [citation]. Recently, Donald Trump on the campaign trail accused Mexico 535

of sending individuals across the border that were rapists and drug dealers. How-536 ever, there was no physical proof of the case and became a common trope used by 537 Donald Trump supporters. Because of the misuse of power and authority, there 538 have been increased hate crimes towards Mexican Americans and African Amer-539 icans [citation]. The Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that records 540 the number of hate groups currently active in the United States has documented 541 a clear increase in the number of active hate groups after the 2016 election [cita-542 tion. The supporters feel a sense of validation for their own beliefs and opinions 543 which they feel allows them some power in and of itself. This then poses an interesting question in power research in psychology. What are the correlates of 545 the power complex? What are the consequences of power? How does a power imbalance affect relationships? The list of questions is vast and varied. 547

Power imbalances in relationships can have negative effects spanning the 548 entirety of an individual's life, be it emotionally, physically, psychologically, and 549 socially [citation]. Dr. Helene Papanek, director of the Alfred Adler institute, a 550 sub-clinic of the Alfred Adler Mental Hygiene Clinic, discussed at a meeting of 551 the Association of Humanistic Psychology, multiple cases of controlling and power 552 disturbances in personal relationships. A relational example was presented where 553 a father, Mr. A had complete control over his wife and daughter. Controlling 554 when they should be home and where they should go. Mr. A even controlled 555 the frequency and positions of sex (Papanek, 1972). Power-over someone can 556 also manifest feelings of low self-worth and destructive behaviors. For example, Ms. C was a young mother of a child born out of wedlock. She was abandoned 558 by her parents and the father of her child. She was constantly controlled by 559 her mother and their disdain for her child out of wedlock. Soon she developed 560 panic attacks but also a sense of superiority over others as a defense mechanism. 561 Dr. Papanek noted that Ms. C developed and lived a life of spiteful behaviors one 562 after the other. 563

The behaviors of Ms. C and Mr. A are not the only examples of individu-564 als having power over another person or being subjected to the power over them. 565 Power-over has occurred throughout human history and is ingrained in all cultures 566 [citation]. Institutional power-over is quite common cross-culturally. Contracep-567 tion and control over one's own reproductive system is a prescient debate globally 568 [citation]. In 1960 and 1963 Enovid was approved for use in the United States and 569 United Kingdom respectively [citation]. Doses for contraception early on were of-570 ten high and news of multiple deaths was reported widely. Cases were brought 571 forward to control the use of contraception. The Roman Catholic Church's stance on hormonal contraception shifted from permission to outlawing anything that 573 would be believed as stopping the ability to propagate [citation]. Interestingly in 1989 researchers working for Pfizer in the United Kingdom were researching a 575 new drug that would aid in treating heart conditions [citations]. The researchers 576 soon discovered sildenafil also could treat erectile dysfunction. Ten years later, 577 sildenafil, brand name Viagra, would be patented and approved for use for the primary treatment for erectile dysfunction [citation]. The same individuals that 579 were trying to reduce the use of female contraception were not trying to do the 580 same for Viagra. The Japanese government and officials had similar attempts 581 to quell the use of female contraception while not doing the same for erectile 582 dysfunction treatments [citation]. 583 The Council on Foreign Relations [CFR] a non-profit that specializes in United 584 States and international affairs, conducts an international index on women's work-585 place equality by rating each country on factors: accessing institutions, getting a 586 job, going to court, protecting women from violence etc. [citation]. Scores range 587 from 0 to 100 where 100 is near total equality in all areas. Of 189 countries on the 588 list only 9 score over 90% in the ranking. One hundred and thirty-eight score be-589 low 75 with Yemen having the lowest score of 24.5. Including those that intersect 590 with other minorities have even less power like women of color and trans individ-591

uals [citation]. Women having less power than their male counterparts can have multiple negative outcomes such as continued and sustained sexual aggression, low self-esteem, financial insecurity, lack of freedom of movement, lack of freedom of thought, and in some extreme cases even death [citations]. Cultural relativism creates a difficulty in cultures that have opposing views on the rights and how to navigate that can in and of itself reflect institutional power imbalances.

Power imbalances can create a dissociative state where those with less 598 power are seen as more of an object than a person (Gwinn et al., 2013; Haslam & 599 Loughnan, 2014; Lammers & Stapel, 2011; Smith, 2016). While others with more 600 power may see those with less as be less human, some individuals attribute the 601 dehumanization to themselves as well and self-dehumanize (Bastian et al., 2013; 602 Bastian et al., 2012; Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Kouchaki et al., 2018). Effects of prolonged dehumanization by those with more power often, unchecked and under 604 constant pressure, can lead some individuals to believe what the powerholders say is true. The question remains, why do people in power begin to dehumanize 606 those with less power? Commonly when an individual harms another usually 607 there is some perspective taking by the harmer. However, to dehumanize the 608 other person it lessens the sense of empathy that one would normally feel thus 609 allowing for more damage and harm to be committed [citations]. "With great 610 power comes great responsibility" often quoted by Uncle Ben in the Spider-Man 611 comic books, yet has its possible historical foundations in the French National 612 Convention in 1793, leads credence to the wane and flow of the effects of power 613 (Nationale (Paris), 1793). Those in power make decisions for those for which they 614 are leaders. As is the case with every decision there is a reaction to the decision. 615 Sometimes those effects are negative and those with less power may be harmed in 616 the process. Dehumanization of those in less power acts as a defense mechanism 617 to continue making life changing decisions. 618

Often dehumanization is left to more extreme occasions such as war,

619

infrahumanization, where ascriptions of nonhuman qualities are more subtle 620 and not as extreme (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Research in dehumaniza-621 tion/infrahumanization by Gwinn and colleagues used game theory and univer-622 sity students to simulate power differentials (2013). In their research they found 623 that once individuals began to gain power, they would ascribe fewer humanlike 624 personality traits than those with less power ascribing traits to the powerful. 625 Interestingly, there is a reciprocal relationship between self-dehumanization and 626 immoral behavior (Kouchaki et al., 2018). When individuals would commit an 627 immoral behavior, they would afterwards often feel less human, which in turn has 628 them act more immoral. 629

# 630 1.5 Cognition

When deciding, the decisions are not subject to a vacuum. Every decision 631 that is made is contingent on the prior understanding and knowledge of the 632 situation and the possible outcomes of those decisions. The woman choosing one 633 tie over another or the little boy choosing one doll to play with is contingent on 634 the knowledge that they both separately have gained in their lives so far. It could 635 be said that the time at which an infant is first learning about the world is when 636 individual decisions are made by instinct without gained knowledge. When the 637 infant ages and acquires more memories from the environment, it will begin to 638 use those memories in making future decisions. 639

The first step at acquiring new knowledge is interacting with the environment. One explanation that has been garnering more cognitive and biological attention is from Dr. Nelson Cowan's integrated working memory model (Cowan, 1999). In the integrated working memory model there are four key areas in attaining new information: [1] a brief sensory store, [2] a long term store, [3] the focus of attention, [4] and the central executive. Each key area has a separate function[s] that allows for new information to be "judged" against the existing

information. The information that is then held temporarily in a sensory store to where it is then sent to the long term store to be "directed" by the central 648 executive which is a metacognitive process that controls and directs where atten-649 tion should be placed on the incoming information. There is then a controlled 650 more conscious action or an automatic action based on the type of incoming in-651 formation. Information that is automatic usually is considered habituated to the 652 memory system and is therefore not a novel stimulus. More focus is given to 653 information/stimuli that is more novel. In the integrated working memory model 654 information that is incoming in the brain is often "filtered" through a lens that 655 is understandable to the individual, novel stimuli. From here the information is 656 then encoded and stored in long-term memory for reactivation by new stimuli.

The integrated working memory model is similar in thought to how indi-658 viduals make decisions based on the laws and customs of a society. Johnathan 659 is a normal member of his community. They participate in a common game in 660 the park with some friends. Johnathan says an inappropriate joke to one of their 661 friends. The others overhear and judge, automatically, the content of the joke to 662 the governed norms of the community. Because this joke is outside the common 663 norms of the community, the others see Johnathan as violating their moral code. 664 Johnathan's friends would then automatically analyze the joke against existing 665 information and attend to the key features. Like how the central executive guides 666 and directs attention to the new novel stimuli, the inappropriate joke. Interesting 667 research has been done with morality and metacognition. 668

Common to research in metacognition and moral reasoning is theory of mind. A theory of mind is the ability for an individual to attribute or recognize the inner workings of the mind and differentiate those from the self and others [citation]. Research in theory of mind has contributed to our understanding of autism, schizophrenia, and traumatic brain injury (Byom & Mutlu, 2013). An individual with deficits of theory of mind would for example be unable to attribute signs of happiness on other people, such as a smile or a frown [citation]. In the
case of Johnathan, if they had a theory of mind deficits, they would be unable or
have difficulty in noticing the dissatisfaction of their joke. Research using theory
of mind to investigate social situations such as the example with Jonathan helps
psychologists get a better understanding of how moral judgement works and is
affected by deficits in the cognitive system.

As discussed thus far, cognitively, each component contributes and affects
the individual in a multitude of ways. As previously discussed in the section
on risky sexual behaviors, how the individual sees themselves and how they believe others see them is exceptionally important to their overall cognitive health.
These sexual schemas that each of us create about ourselves is influenced by daily
interactions and prior history, whether sexual. Outside of how the sexual schema
individuals create about themselves affects their later sexual health, it can change
how they see and interact with the world around them.

The prior knowledge that individuals have can have a negative effect on 689 their ability to gain and hold new information. Those with lower prior knowledge 690 of a given technology often have difficulty in reconstructing the information of a 691 new product compared to those that have less prior knowledge [Wood & Lynch, 692 2002. When people are presented with new information, a new technology, en-693 coding of the new information takes place. As that occurs, prior information of 694 the technology is retrieved, and an inference is made on subsequent information 695 by comparing the new and old information. This affects the ability to encode the 696 new information "correctly" and can disrupt later retrieval of the former. Similar 697 effects are seen when investigating motivational forces. Individuals with prior 698 knowledge may also have an overconfidence of the information that they already 699 have and are not as motivated to attend to the information they are learning. 700

Extending the research on prior knowledge and new technology, prior knowledge and complacency has also been seen with contracting an STI, a virus,

or chances of getting pregnant [citations]. The decisional factors that occur cog-703 nitively to choose safe sex practices is complex and subject to frequent change. 704 Many people that are confronted with decisions, such as the mundane choice of 705 what shoes to wear, base their decisions from using a variety of cognitive methods. 706 Often, the choice to wear a condom or other safe sex practices is through a risk 707 heuristic of contracting or transmitting a sexually transmitted infection. With 708 decisions based on issues of purity, such as sex, one heuristic that is commonly 709 employed is the affect heuristic. The affect heuristic in judgements of risk is where 710 the thought or priming of a specific word triggers a quick emotional response to that stimuli word (Finucane et al., 2000). When presented with words that are 712 physically harmful such as cigarettes or pesticides, participants rated the words as too risky and reported negative feelings concerning those stimulus words. Af-714 fective considerations of high-risk situations are often put into perspective with 715 individuals in risky situations. 716

An artifact of how issues such as HIV, Human Immunodeficiency Virus, 717 discussed in the media and the community that it affects creates a cognitive 718 problem with individuals judging the likelihood of catching the virus, especially 719 women. In the media it is often discussed how men who have sex with men 720 are the main individuals catching and spreading HIV. While HIV still affects the 721 LGBTQ+ community, the discussion around susceptibility affects other individu-722 als outside of the LGBTQ+ community negatively as well. Women, for example, 723 have a genetically higher susceptibility to the virus [citation]. That being so, 724 often due to unintended ignorance to their chances are one of the leading groups 725 contracting new cases of HIV [citation]. Downlow culture as well increases the 726 chances of contracting the virus. Amongst some men that do not wish to ac-727 knowledge their own homosexuality will choose to forgo the condom, implies a 728 premeditation, and do not necessarily believe they will contract the virus [cita-729 tion. Both examples are contributed by the representation of HIV in the media 730

and the current zeitgeist.

Common in all decisions is the difficulty and uncomfortability between 732 different decisions and opposing situations, is cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 733 1957). An interesting cognitive dissonant series of thoughts that some males have is when choosing to wear a condom. Often, there will be the cognition of not 735 wanting to contract an STI, but also believing that condoms are uncomfortable 736 (MacPhail & Campbell, 2001). In addition to believing they are uncomfortable 737 there is an interesting cultural belief amongst some young men that wearing a condom makes them less of a man (Pleck et al., 1993; Vincent et al., 2016). To 739 some the main decisional factor in whether to wear a condom is not contracting an 740 STI or getting pregnant [citation]. While, as noted with perceptions on condoms, 741 often comfort and how others will see them is the main factor. Sexually active 742 or those thinking to become sexually active often get their opinions on sexual 743 activity and safety practices from their peers. Often, the opinions of peers are 744 more influential than those of the parent[s]. Interestingly, some men believe that 745 due to the cultural cognition around contraception, discussions and decisions of 746 contraception is a female decision (Castro-Vázquez, 2000). 747

# $^{48}$ 1.5.1 Aggression and Cognition

757

Connected to spitefulness, moral judgment, and cognition is human ag-749 gression. Traditionally, aggression is differentiated between the outcome or moti-750 vation of the incident. Aggression as it is operationally defined is behavior that is 751 committed by the actor to another with the intent to harm the other (C. A. An-752 derson & Bushman, 2002). This is then further differentiated to violence where 753 violence is the intent to cause severe harm such as death. From aggression re-754 search and moral judgment, cognitive neoassociation theory [CNT] was beginning 755 to become tantamount in research on aggressive behavior. 756

In CNT, similar to the study of disgust association where some research

suggests that inducing the disgust response to smell causes individuals to become more conservative against breaking moral norms (Eskine et al., 2011; Horberg et 759 al., 2009; Laakasuo et al., 2017; Tybur et al., 2009). Important to the present 760 discussion on sexual judgment, research by Laakasuo and colleagues suggest that 761 disgust is only predictive of sexual disgust (2017). From CNT, Anderson and 762 Bushman developed the General Aggression Model [GAM] is a theoretical out-763 line that combines multiple smaller domain specific theories on aggression like 764 CNT (2002). The GAM has processes: inputs, routes, and outcomes of a social 765 situation. The inputs separate into a person and situation centered inputs. The 766 individual then has an internal examination of the person or situation, cognitions 767 like affective processes, availability heuristics, theory of mind evaluations, scripts and schemata [Barnett and Mann (2013); Kahneman and Tversky (1972); scripts 769 and schemata citation. Appraisal and a decision process are the last step in 770 the GAM, where the individual evaluates the situation based on the inputs and 771 routes. Anderson and Bushman contend that there are two types of outcomes, thoughtful and impulsive actions. Like the affective heuristic, the impulsive ac-773 tion is often fast and does not require as much deliberation. While the thoughtful 774 action requires more time and evaluation of all the possible outcomes. 775

Scripts and schemata are key components of the GAM. Schema, more 776 broadly than sexual schema, are cognitive compositions or structures that repre-777 sent objects or ideas interconnected by their features (DiMaggio, 1997). Multiple 778 representations of schema and stereotypical event sequences are labelled as scripts (Abelson, 1981). A classic example of a cognitive script is events surrounding 780 reading the menu at a restaurant (Abelson, 1981). An individual is at a restau-781 rant and needs to order from the menu. However, they lost their reading glasses. 782 As Abelson contends, the reader must infer what is needed in reading a menu, 783 what occurs at a restaurant, and so on. The automatic process of schematic 784 activation begins with certain key features of an object or event being noticed 785

by the individual. For example, recognizing a tree one of the first features that are noticed that distinguishes a tree are the leaves. From the leaves, the bark is activated, and so on making up the concept of a tree.

Often aggression and discrimination can be understood through the 789 schematic model. Media and social representations of individuals, especially men 790 of color, have often made assumptions and portrayed them as violent and crim-791 inals. Currently a majority of US adults in a recent Pew Research Center poll 792 report that race relations are currently worse, Black Americans and people of color in general report more cases of discrimination, and a majority say Black 794 Americans in particular are treated unfairly by the police (Pew Research Center, 795 2019). Aggression or discrimination is often the result of associating one group 796 with negative connotations. For example, in the case of those that believe Black Americans are criminals they have through cognitive associations have related 798 the schematic concept of criminal with the features/schema of what they believe is a Black American. The discrimination and aggression then occur through the 800 GAM processes with negative actions being the outcome. 801

Pertinent after the advent of the me-too movement, see section 3, issues of 802 how these power over views of women, especially women of color and trans women 803 of color, become learned and develop in sexual aggression. Sexual aggression in 804 and of itself is a subgroup of aggression where the intent to harm is sexual in 805 nature (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Malamuth et al., 1995). Many of 806 the targets of sexual aggression are women of color and trans women of color 807 citations. In the reported cases men are often the perpetrators of the crimes 808 (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002). The aggression itself appears to be domain 809 specific to one gender, women. Often, acts of sexual aggression are verbal in 810 nature, such as asking repeatedly for sex or threatening to break up with them 811 (Testa et al., 2015). When individuals gain power they may aggress more over 812 those that have less power, which may pay head to the continued sexual aggression 813

and sexual violence against women of color and trans women of color for whom
have historically low levels of power [citations].

Recent research by Garnett and Mann investigate the cognitive and em-816 pathetical processes of those that commit a sexual aggression or sexual violence, 817 labelled as sexual offending (2013). Common to research on sexual offenses, re-818 search contends that those that do offend do so with a lack of empathy towards 819 their victims (Marshall et al., 1993). As noted in the previous section on moral 820 judgment, see section 3, empathetic processing by these offenders are more com-821 plex than the simple inability to "feel" or identify the emotions of others. There 822 is a recurring theme amongst offenders of women being deceitful and sexually en-823 titled (Barnett & Mann, 2013; Gannon, 2009). The offenders often feel slighted when a woman denies their sexual advances which then tends to lead to some 825 sexual aggression (Gannon, 2009; Williams et al., 2017). 826

The rejection of the sexual advances of the man often damage their sense 827 of masculinity (Malamuth et al., 1996). Relating back to beliefs on condom 828 use amongst men, even the request of wearing condom could be interpreted as 829 damaging their sense of masculinity (Castro-Vázquez, 2000). If the woman, in 830 a heterosexual relationship, brings the condom they are damaging the males 831 masculinity but if the male brings the condom he could also be considered a 832 thoughtful individual. While the woman would be seen as easy. 833 then lead to bullying behavior and ostracization from the moral judgment of the 834 community on the woman's purity, see section moral judgment. 835

#### 2 Introduction

836

Throughout political history, tyrants, and despots have influenced great 837 power over large swaths of land and communities. One common thread amongst 838 these individuals is how they wield their great power, often through dominant tactics such as threats and political subversion. Recent history has shown with 840 individuals like Donald Trump, Kim Jong-Un, and Rodrigo Duterte who display authoritarian traits often wield their power through fear and threats of violence 842 (Bernstein, 2020; "Glamorizing Dictators," 2018; M. Kirby, 2021). How this power is wielded is often different for each individual. Some individuals such 844 as Duterte and Bolsonaro wielded their power more dramatically than the likes of Trump. Individuals wielding power need not be tyrants such as the former. 846 Individuals like Angela Merkel used her position and leadership skills to be a world leader in most negotiations. While individuals more well known for their status 848 demonstrated their power through prestige motives. To better understand how 849 individuals such as world leaders or opinion makers gain and wield their power 850 over others. Research in this field is often difficult to research yet strides have 851 been made to understand power, namely through research in moral judgment and 852 decision-making such as power orientation. 853

# 2.1 Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership orientation

Research in power desire motives has focused on three subdomains: dominance, leadership, and prestige (Suessenbach et al., 2019). Each of these three
different power motives is explained as to different ways or methods that individuals in power sought power or were bestowed upon them. Often these dominant
individuals will wield their power with force and potentially cause risk to themselves to hold onto that power.

### 2.1.1 Dominance

861

The dominance motive is one of the more researched methods and well-862 depicted power motives. Individuals with a dominant orientation display the more 863 primal of human behavior. These individuals will seek power through direct meth-864 ods such as asserting dominance, control over resources, or physically assaulting 865 someone (M. W. Johnson & Bruner, 2012; Winter, 1993). Early research in dom-866 inance motives has shown that acts of dominance ranging from asserting physical 867 dominance over another to physical displays of violence has been shown in many 868 mammalian species, including humans (Petersen et al., 2018; Rosenthal et al., 2012). 870

Individuals high in dominance are often high in Machiavellianism, nar-871 cissism, and often are prone to risky behavior (discussion further in the next 872 section). Continued research has hinted at a possible tendency for males to dis-873 play these dominant seeking traits more than females (Bareket & Shnabel, 2020; 874 Sidanius et al., 2000). When high dominance individuals assert themselves they 875 are doing so to increase their sense of power (C. Anderson et al., 2012; Bierstedt, 876 1950). Asserting one's sense of dominance over another can be a dangerous task. 877 In the animal kingdom, it can often lead to injury. While, in humans asserting 878 dominance can take a multitude of actions such as leering behaviors, physical dis-879 tance, or other non-verbal methods to display dominance (Petersen et al., 2018; Witkower et al., 2020). Power from a dominant perspective is not always be-881 stowed upon someone. Often, high dominance individuals will take control and 882 hold onto it. 883

# 884 **2.1.2** Prestige

Contrary to the dominant motivation of using intimidation and aggression to gain more power, a prestige motivation or prestige, in general, is bestowed upon an individual from others in the community (Maner & Case, 2016;

Suessenbach et al., 2019). Different from the dominance motivation, a prestige 888 motivation is generally unique to the human species (Maner & Case, 2016). 889 Due in part to ancestral human groups being smaller hunter-gatherer societies, 890 individuals that displayed and used important behaviors beneficial to the larger 891 group were often valued and admired by the group. Therein, the social group 892 bestows the authority onto the individual. Generally, this type of behavior 893 can be passively achieved by the prestigious individual. However, this does 894 not remove the intent of the actor in that they too can see prestige from the 895 group, but the method of achieving that social status greatly differs from that of dominance-seeking individuals. 897

898

Apart from dominance-motivated individuals that continually have to fight 899 for their right to have power over others, individuals that seek or were given power 900 through a prestige motivation are not generally challenged in the same sense as 901 dominant individuals. Displaying behaviors that the community would see as 902 beneficial would endear them into the community making the survival of the 903 community as a whole better (Maner & Case, 2016). Evolutionarily this would 904 increase the viability of the prestigious individual and their genes. Similar to 905 the dominance perspective, the prestige perspective overall increases the power 906 and future survivability of the individual. However, due to the natural difference 907 between prestige and dominance, dominance-seeking individuals are challenged 908 more often resulting in more danger to their position (M. W. Johnson & Bruner, 909 2012). 910

#### 911 **2.1.3** Leadership

With a shared goal a leader is someone that takes initiative and attracts followers for that shared goal (Van Vugt, 2006). Leadership is an interesting aspect of behavior in that it is almost exclusive to human interaction. Dis-

cussions by evolutionary psychologists point to the formation of early human 915 hunter-gatherer groups where the close interconnectedness created a breeding 916 ground for leadership roles. As early humans began to evolve it would become 917 advantageous for individuals to work together for a common goal (King et 918 al., 2009). Often, individuals with more knowledge of a given problem would 919 demonstrate leadership and take charge or be given power. Multiple explanations 920 of the evolution of leadership exist such as coordination strategies, safety, along 921 with evidence for growth in social intelligence in humans (King et al., 2009; Van 922 Vugt, 2006). 923

924

An interesting aspect of leadership motivation is the verification of the 925 qualities of the leader by the communities. Individuals that are often put into leadership roles or take a leadership role often display the necessary goals, qual-927 ities, and knowledge to accomplish the shared/stated goal. However, this is not always the case especially for those charismatic leaders where they could stay 929 on as a leader longer than the stated goal requires (Vugt & Ronay, 2014). Tra-930 ditionally, leadership was thought to be fluid in that those with the necessary 931 knowledge at the time would be judged and appointed as the leader. However, 932 these charismatic leaders use their charisma, uniqueness, nerve, and talent to hold 933 onto their status. ## Risk 934

Every time people leave the relative safety of their home, every decision 935 they make they are taking some form of risk. Financial risk is often discussed 936 in the media usually concerning the stock market. However, the risk is not 937 just present in finances but also in social interactions such as social risk, sexual 938 risk, health and safety risk, recreational, and ethical risks (Breakwell, 2007; 939 Kühberger & Tanner, 2009; Shearer et al., 2005; Weber et al., 2002). Each 940 individual is different in their likelihood and perception of participating in those 941 risks. Some will be more inclined to be more financially risky while others would 942

risk their health and safety.

944

Whether to engage in a risky situation is very complex depending on a 945 cost-benefit analysis (P. S. Johnson et al., 2015). Do the positives outweigh 946 the negatives? In practice, not all individuals will do a cost-benefit analysis of 947 a risky situation. Often, the timing of an event makes such an analysis dis-948 advantageous. The benefits are often relative to the individual decision-maker. 949 Differences emerge in the general likelihood to engage in risky behavior such that males tend to be more likely to engage in risky behaviors than their female coun-951 terparts (Chen & John, 2021; Desiderato & Crawford, 1995). Women tended to avoid risky situations except for social risks. 953

## 2.2 The present study

The present study sought to further our understanding of dominance, pres-955 tige, and leadership motivations in human decision-making. Furthering this, we 956 seek to bridge the connection between risk-taking behaviors, from diverse do-957 mains, and the dominance, prestige, and leadership orientations. Following the 958 literature, we predicted that participants that were high in dominance orientation 959 would be more likely to not only engage in risky behaviors but praise the ben-960 efits of participating in those behaviors. Individuals with prestige or leadership 961 orientation. 962

963 # Experiment 1 ## Methods

Participants were a convenience sample of 111 individuals from Prolific
Academic's crowdsourcing platform (www.prolific.io). Prolific Academic is an
online crowdsourcing service that provides participants access to studies hosted
on third-party websites. Participants were required to be 18 years of age or
older and be able to read and understand English. Participants received £4.00,
which is above the current minimum wage pro-rata in the United Kingdom, as

compensation for completing the survey. The Psychology Research Ethics Committee at the University of Edinburgh approved all study procedures [ref: 212-2021/1]. The present study was pre-registered along with a copy of anonymized data along with a copy of the R code and supplemental materials are available at (https://osf.io/s4j7y).

#### 975 2.3 Materials

## 76 2.3.1 Demographic Questionnaire

In a demographic questionnaire administered prior to the main survey, participants were invited to respond to a series of questions about their selfidentified demographic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and ethnic origin.

#### <sup>981</sup> 2.3.2 Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Orientation

The 18-item Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership scale, DoPL (Suessenbach et al., 2019), is used to measure dominance, prestige, and leadership orientation. Each question corresponds to one of the three domains. Each domain is scored across six unique items related to those domains (e.g., "I relish opportunities in which I can lead others" for leadership) rated on a scale from 0 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Inlucded in this scale are 15 masking questions obtained from the unified motives scale [@] consistency reliability for the current sample is  $\alpha = 0.86$ .

#### 990 2.3.3 Domain Specific Risk-taking Scale

The 40-item Domain-Specific Risk-taking Scale, DOSPERT (Weber et al., 2002) is a scale assessing individuals' likelihood of engaging in risky behaviors within 5 domain-specific risky situations: financial ("Gambling a week's income at a casino."), social ("Admitting that your tastes are different from those of your friends"), recreational ("Trying out bungee jumping at least once"), health and

safety ("Engaging in unprotected sex"), and ethical ("Cheating on an exam") situations. Each risky situation is then rated on a five-point Likert scale (1 being 997 very unlikely and 5 being very likely). Two additional five-point Likert scales 998 assess risk perception and expected benefits (1 being not at all risky and 5 being 999 extremely risky; 1 being no benefits at all and 5 being great benefits) respectively. 1000 Example risky situations are "Admitting that your tastes are different from those 1001 of a friend" and "Drinking heavily at a social function." Internal consistency 1002 reliability for the current samples for the 3 sub-domains are  $\alpha = 0.85$ ,  $\alpha = 0.90$ , 1003  $\alpha = 0.92$  respectively. 1004

#### 1005 2.4 Procedure

Participants were recruited via a study landing page on Prolific's website or via a direct e-mail to eligible participants (Prolific Academic, 2018). The
study landing page included a brief description of the study including any risks
and benefits along with expected compensation for successful completion. Participants accepted participation in the experiment and were directed to the main
survey (Qualtrics, Inc; Provo, UT) where they were shown a brief message on
study consent.

Once participants consented to participate in the experiment they an-1013 swered a series of demographic questions. Once completed, participants com-1014 pleted the Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Scale and the Domain Specific 1015 Risk-taking scale. The two scales were counterbalanced to account for order ef-1016 fects. After completion of the main survey, participants were shown a debriefing 1017 statement that briefly mentions the purpose of the experiment along with the 1018 contact information of the main researcher (AI). Participants were compensated 1019 £4.00 via Prolific Academic. 1020

### 1021 2.5 Data analysis

Demographic characteristics were analyzed using multiple regression for continuous variables (age) and Chi-square tests for categorical variables (gender, race, ethnicity, ethnic origin, and education). Means and standard deviations were calculated for the relevant scales (i.e., DoPL and DOSPERT). All analyses were done using (R Core Team, 2021) along with (Bürkner, 2017) package.

The use of bayesian statistics has a multitude of benefits to statistical analysis and research design. One important benefit is through the use of prior data in future analyses. Termed as priors, is the use of prior distributions for future analysis. This allows for the separation of how the data might have been collected or what the intention was. In essence, the data is the data without the interpretation of the scientist.

All relevant analyses were conducted in a Bayesian framework using the brms package (Bürkner, 2018) along with the cmdstanr packages notes (Gabry & Cesnovar, 2021). In addition to the aforementioned packages, we used bayestestR, rstan, and papaja (Aust & Barth, 2020; Makowski et al., 2019; Stan Development Team, 2020).

#### 1038 2.6 Results

One hundred and eleven individuals completed the main survey. Of these individuals, 111 completed all sections without incomplete data and were therefore retained in most data analyses. In later analyses to account for outliers two
participants had to be excluded from the dataset. Table 1 shows the demographic information for the participants. The average completion time for participants
was 20M 58s (SD = 10M 43s).

Table 1

Participant demographic information (Experiment 1)

<u>-1/</u>	
Variables	*n* = 111
Age	
Mean (SD)	26.84(9.21)
Median [Min, Max]	24 [18,61]
Gender	
Female	54~(48.6%)
Gender Non-Binary	2(1.8%)
Male	55~(49.5%)
Education	
Primary School	4 (3.6%)
GCSes or Equivalent	8 (7.2%)
A-Levels or Equivalent	32~(28.8%)
University Post-Graduate Program	$21\ (18.9\%)$
University Undergraduate Program	44 (39.6%)
Doctoral Degree	1 (0.9%)
Prefer not to answer	1 (0.9%)
Ethnicity	
African	8 (7.2%)
Asian	6 (5.4%)
English	10 (9.0%)
European	77~(69.4%)
Latin American	2(1.8%)
Scottish	2(1.8%)
Other	6 (5.4%)

## 2.6.1 Preregistered Analyses

We first investigated DoPL orientation on general risk preference (Figure 1047 1). General risk preference was anecdotally explained by dominance orientation, participant gender, and participant age (see table 2).

## 1049 2.6.2 Demographic and DoPL

All participants completed the dominance, leadership, and prestige scale (Suessenbach et al., 2019). Empirically, men have generally been more dominance-oriented in their behavior (Rosenthal et al., 2012). Following the literature, men tended to be more dominance orientated than women. The marginal

Table 2

Parameter	CI	CI_low	CI_high
b_Intercept	0.95	1.37	5.81
$b\_dominanceSum$	0.95	1.07	4.91
$b\_leadershipSum$	0.95	-3.88	-0.02
$b\_Gender1$	0.95	-4.95	-1.09
b_Age	0.95	-4.80	-0.96

posterior distribution of each parameter is summarized in Table #. Interestingly, older individuals tended to be more dominance-oriented than younger individuals.

## 56 2.7 Domain-Specific Risk-Taking

As predicted individuals that identified as male were more likely

#### 1058 2.8 Interactions

1057

When investigating dominance, prestige, and leadership motivations with domain-specific risk-taking findings supported the common expectations in the literature. Table 5 shows the interactions with like CI values. Dominance overall explained the relationship of DoPL orientation and preference, specifically for ethical, financial, social, health and safety, and recreational preference. Participant age and gender also appeared to affect recreational preference.

Following these findings, we investigated the effect of DoPL on general risk preference and found that dominance overall affected risk preference along with gender and age of the participant (Table 5).

#### 68 2.9 Discussion

### 3 Experiment 2

#### 1070 **3.1** Methods

1069

Materials remain the same in terms of the (1) Demographic Questionnaire, 1072 (2) Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Questionnaire, and (3) DOSPERT Questionnaire. However, we added the Brief-Pathological Narcissism Inventory to assess possible interactions of dominance and narcissism in risky decision-making. Materials and methods were approved by the University of ## Participants

Following experiment 1, participants were a convenience sample of 111 1076 individuals from Prolific Academic's crowdsourcing platform (www.prolific.io). 1077 Prolific Academic is an online crowdsourcing service that provides participants 1078 access to studies hosted on third-party websites. Participants were required to be 1079 18 years of age or older and be able to read and understand English. Participants 1080 received £4.00, which is above the current minimum wage pro-rata in the United 1081 Kingdom, as compensation for completing the survey. The Psychology Research 1082 Ethics Committee at the University of Edinburgh approved all study procedures 1083 [ref: 212-2021/2]. The present study was pre-registered along with a copy of 1084 anonymized data and a copy of the R code is available at (https://osf.io/ 1085 s4j7y). 1086

## 1087 3.2 Materials

### 3.2.1 Brief-Pathological Narcissism Inventory

The 28 item Brief Pathological Narcissism Inventory (B-PNI; Schoenleber 1089 et al., 2015) is a modified scale of the original 52-item Pathological Narcissism 1090 Inventory (PNI; Pincus et al., 2009). Like the PNI the B-PNI is a scale measuring 1091 individuals' pathological narcissism. Items in the B-PNI retained all 7 patholog-1092 ical narcissism facets from the original PNI (e.g., exploitativeness, self-sacrificing 1093 self-enhancement, grandiose fantasy, contingent self-esteem, hiding the self, de-1094 valuing, and entitlement rage). Each item is rated on a 5 point Likert scale 1095 ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 5 (very much like me). Example items 1096 include "I find it easy to manipulate people" and "I can read people like a book." 1097

#### 1098 3.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited via a study landing page on Prolific's website or via a direct e-mail to eligible participants (Prolific Academic, 2018). The study landing page included a brief description of the study including any risks and benefits along with expected compensation for successful completion. Participants accepted participation in the experiment and were directed to the main survey on pavlovia.org (an online JavaScript hosting website similar to Qualtrics) where they were shown a brief message on study consent.

Once participants consented to participate in the experiment they an-1106 swered a series of demographic questions. Once completed, participants com-1107 pleted the Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Scale and the Domain Specific 1108 Risk-taking scale. An additional survey was added (the novel aspect of experi-1109 ment 2) where participants, in addition to the two previous surveys, were asked to 1110 complete the brief-pathological narcissism inventory. The three scales were coun-1111 terbalanced to account for order effects. After completion of the main survey, 1112 participants were shown a debriefing statement that briefly mentions the purpose 1113 of the experiment along with the contact information of the main researcher (AI). Participants were compensated £4.00 via Prolific Academic.

#### 1116 3.4 Data analysis

Demographic characteristics were analyzed using multiple regression for continuous variables (age) and Chi-square tests for categorical variables (gender, race, ethnicity, ethnic origin, and education). Means and standard deviations were calculated for the relevant scales (i.e., DoPL and DOSPERT). All analyses were done using (R Core Team, 2021) along with (Bürkner, 2017) package.

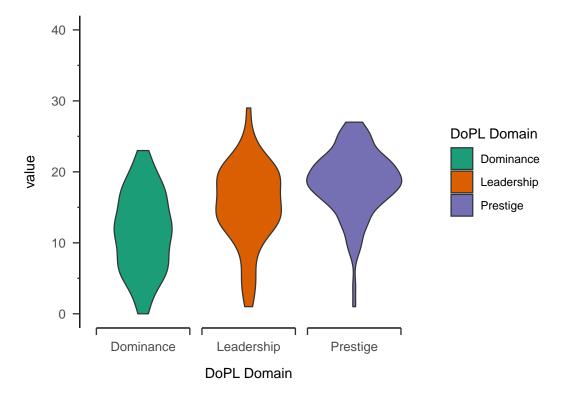
The use of bayesian statistics has a multitude of benefits to statistical analysis and research design. One important benefit is through the use of prior data in future analyses. Termed as priors, is the use of prior distributions for

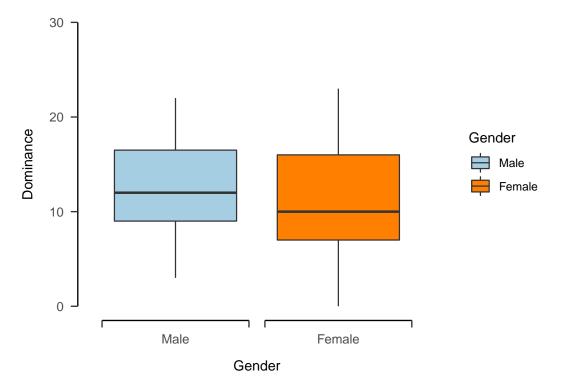
future analysis. This allows for the separation of how the data might have been collected or what the intention was. In essence, the data is the data without the interpretation of the scientist.

All relevant analyses were conducted in a Bayesian framework using the brms package (Bürkner, 2018) along with the cmdstanr packages notes (Gabry & Cesnovar, 2021). In addition to the aforementioned packages, we used bayestestR, rstan, and papaja for analysis along with the creation of this manuscript (Aust & Barth, 2020; Makowski et al., 2019; Stan Development Team, 2020).

#### 1133 3.5 Results

- 3.6 Preregistered Analyses
- 1135 3.6.1 Demographic and DoPL
- 1136 3.7 Domain-Specific Risk-Taking
- 1137 3.8 Interactions
- 1138 3.9 Discussion
- 1139 3.10 Limitations
- 1140 3.11 Future Implications





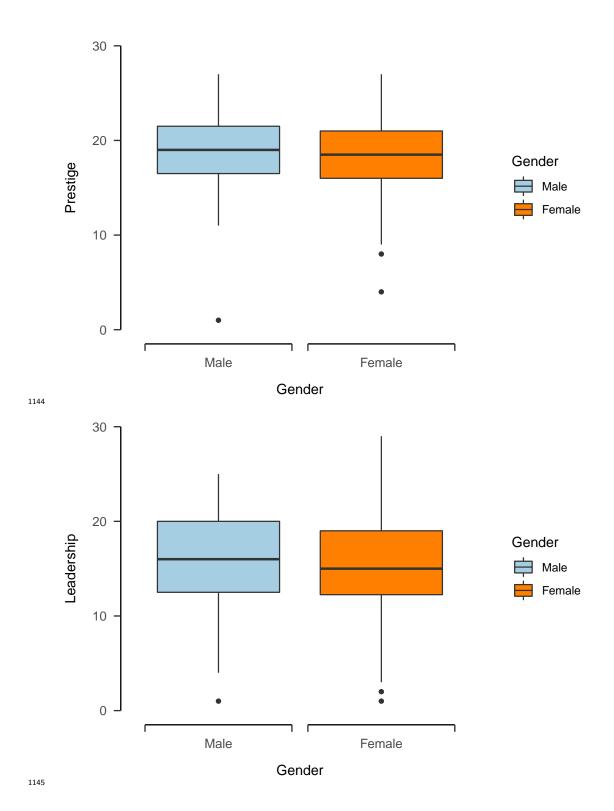


Table 3

	Estimate	Est.Error	Q2.5	Q97.5
Intercept	3.62	1.13	1.41	5.86
${\bf dominance Sum}$	3.00	0.99	1.08	4.93
prestigeSum	0.09	0.99	-1.84	2.02
leadershipSum	-1.91	0.98	-3.85	0.02
Gender1	-3.02	0.99	-4.95	-1.08
Age	-2.86	0.99	-4.78	-0.93

Table 4

Parameter	CI	CI_low	CI_high
b_ethicalPreference_Intercept	0.95	2.85	4.42
$b\_ethical Preference\_dominance Sum$	0.95	0.61	1.71
b_financialPreference_Intercept	0.95	7.50	9.67
b_financialPreference_dominanceSum	0.95	0.14	1.59
b_socialPreference_Intercept	0.95	8.34	11.67
$b\_social Preference\_dominance Sum$	0.95	0.60	2.87
$b\_healthAndSafetyPreference\_Intercept$	0.95	4.65	6.59
$b\_healthAndSafetyPreference\_dominanceSum$	0.95	0.41	1.77
b_recreationalPreference_Intercept	0.95	0.95	2.48
$b\_recreational Preference\_dominance Sum$	0.95	0.66	1.74
b_recreationalPreference_Gender1	0.95	-1.83	-0.47
b_recreationalPreference_Age	0.95	0.06	0.87

## 5 Chapter 3:

## 1146

## 147 5.1 Experiment 1:

## 1148 5.2 Experiment 1 Review

In an extension of the previous research, we sought other areas of possible interest in what could be affecting individuals likelihood to engage in either immoral or risky behaviors. So far we have shown a conenction with power motives such as Dominance, Prestige, and leadership (DoPL); along with investigating the connection between DoPL and the domain-specific risk-taking scale. An intriguing area that has not been extensively researched is narcissism. Personality research is often the viewpoint at which narcissism is investigated such as us-

ing the five-factor model concept where the primary traits are extraversion and agreeableness (Hyatt et al., 2018).

#### $_{\scriptscriptstyle{1158}}$ 5.3 Narcissism

Narcissism is a personality trait that originally was seen as a method or 1159 mechanism to shield the individual from feelings of low self-worth (Yakeley, 2018). 1160 The understanding of what narcissism soon shifted with a focus on empirical un-1161 derstandings of the individual. Researchers such as Jeffrey Young, who expanded 1162 on the work of Aaron Beck, theorized that the core beliefs of an individual along 1163 with negative self-schemas influence the individual to seek out or act in ways in 1164 line with a narcissitic personality (J. E. Young et al., 2006). Conceptualizations 1165 of narcissism would soon entail it to be an understanding of grandiose sense of 1166 self, fantastical beliefs of success and general superiority, along with a general 1167 lack of empathy (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Okada, 2010; Yakeley, 1168 2018). The earliest understandings of narcissism were through Sigmund Freud. 1169 However, the term was first coined by Havelock Ellis who used the eponymous 1170 Narcissus myth in the explanation of narcissism. Freud would then publish the 1171 text On Narcissism to further our understanding of narcissism. Future under-1172 standings of narcissism would develop from a social congitive framework of the 1173 indvidual in relation to their environment. Such as Kernberg's assestment that narcissism stems from an aggressive and conflict filled childhood affecting the 1175 childs development and later aggression and envy towards others (Russell, 1985).

#### 1177 5.4 The present Experiments

Pathological narcissism at it's core looks strikingly similar to self-esteem and in-turn a grandiose sense of self. Investigations at risky situations have looked at sexual self-esteem, exploratory experiment one. The present experiment seeks to expand to investigate the relationship between pathological narcissism and see which is a stronger predictor of risky sexual situations and riskiness in general.

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