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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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111 **1.1 Literature Review**112 **1.1.1 General Introduction**

113 Research in decision-making is not only concerned with understanding  
 114 monumental decisions done in a study or saving a life, but equally in more mun-  
 115 dane decisions such as understanding choosing what tea to drink in the morning,  
 116 what clothes to wear that day or whether a couple should have a divorce. Making  
 117 models of decisions can be difficult given uncertainty is involved along with risk  
 118 [citation]. For example, two adult men [or a man and a woman] that are intend-  
 119 ing to have sex need to make the decision of whether or not to use a condom.  
 120 Added uncertainty is involved with the decision-making process. One partner  
 121 may have multiple sexual partners while the other may have only had one, one  
 122 partner may have a sexually transmitted infection and might not feel the need  
 123 or feel comfortable with informing their partner of their status. Consequences of  
 124 not informing can have dire consequences on both partners.

125 In 2016, the year of most recent global data collection, there were 376  
 126 million necases of the four curable sexually transmitted infections, chlamydia,  
 127 gonorrheatrichomoniasis, and syphilis (World Health Organization, 2018). The  
 128 World HealtOrganization [WHO] further estimates that there are one million  
 129 new cases of a curablsexually transmitted infection each day. Due to multiple  
 130 factors, certain minoritpopulations are more at risk for contracting new sexually  
 131 transmitted infections, e., men who have sex with men and female sex workers  
 132 (World Health Organization, 2018). Some factors includcertain societal beliefs  
 133 men who have sex with men might engage in nonrelational sex “just trying to  
 134 figure things out...it’s just a hook up phase” (Elder et al., 2015) , ambiguous  
 135 laws concerning the legality of sex work interfering witsafe and available locations  
 136 for such activity, as well as. There may alsbe some difficulties in their willingness

137 in their activities be it forced by another sheer necessity. For countries like  
138 Scotland there have been a reduction in the amount of new cases of STIs like  
139 HIV amongst key populations, however new risks of antibiotic resistant gonorrhea,  
140 *Neisseria gonorrhoeae*, have shown a new prevalence in many countries (Ison &  
141 Alexander, 2011).

### 142 **1.1.2 Who is at risk?**

143 There is then the arduous task of how to research the topic of sexually  
144 transmitted infections and methods of then understanding what is occurring in  
145 the individual. There are neurobiological explanations such as certain brain for-  
146 mations occurring that cause individuals to have difficulty understanding the  
147 consequences of their actions (Moll et al., 2005; Schaich Borg et al., 2008; Tsoi  
148 et al., 2018). There are also more cognitive explanations as well that have shown  
149 promising results. For example in the cognitive sub-area of metacognition there  
150 is an understanding that there are certain cognitive mechanisms that aid in the  
151 individuals ability to regulate their own cognitive understanding of their deci-  
152 sions (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Yeung & Summerfield, 2012). This  
153 self-regulation then contributes to their ability to control whether they act on  
154 their baser needs or are able to understand the consequences of what they might  
155 or might not engage in (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Crandall et al., 2017).  
156 How individuals had reached the information on the effectiveness of certain be-  
157 havioral changes that reduce the chances of contracting an STI is also in question.  
158 For example, research shows that individuals that have a greater understanding  
159 of the impact and chances of contracting HIV, actually engage in risky sexual  
160 behaviors and therefore increase their chances of contracting the very infection  
161 they have more knowledge (D. B. Kirby et al., 2007). Skills based training showed  
162 more positive results on practicing safer sex practices. How an individual sees  
163 themselves as either a sexual person or person in general is also a factor in how

164 they later may meet an STI (Andersen et al., 1994, 1999; Elder et al., 2015;  
165 Gesink et al., 2016). Aggression, in the cognitive sense, also has an impact as  
166 well demonstrating a dominance over another person that may cause difficulties  
167 in their own ability to make decisions on their sexual health (Malamuth et al.,  
168 1996; Williams et al., 2017).

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

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

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.

## 1.2 Risky Sexual Behaviors and STIs

Sexual activity/ability to reproduce being one of the seven characteristics of life can cause health, financial, and/or social dangers (to all participants) through risk and neglect [citation]. The curability or manageability also plays 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 treatment cost is expensive the drain on multiple resources could be detrimental.

There is a large array of different sexually transmitted infections. Currently, there are eight common types of STIs, chlamydia, gonorrhea, trichomoniasis, genital warts, genital herpes, pubic lice, scabies, and syphilis (Carmona-Gutierrez et al., 2016), chlamydia being the most common. Treatment for these STIs can range from a simple course of antibiotics such as is the case with chlamydia or gonorrhea. Conversely, treatment for syphilis or human immunodeficiency virus [HIV], can be increasingly more involved, cause difficulty in daily life, and have higher costs [citation]. Globally, 37.9 million people are living with HIV [104,000 in the United Kingdom], with 1.7 million being under the age of 15 years old (Ison & Alexander, 2011). The treatment for HIV currently is through antiretroviral medication, which is often a combination of multiple medications to account for the high adaptability of the virus (Costa-Lourenço et al., 2017).

New difficulties appear from the most common treatment strategies. The main strategy being through targeted and high doses of antibiotics. Concern arises given the fluctuating nature of STI treatment and costs. As such, costs for treatments have seen a markable increase with some treatments costing [enter average amount]. An increasing number of antibiotic resistant gonorrhea is

247 occurring globally, with a recent discovery in Japan with a strain that is resistant  
248 to ceftriaxone, the most prescribed antibiotic [citations]. Two individuals in the  
249 United Kingdom recently [2019] separately tested positive with different strains  
250 resistant to not just ceftriaxone but also azithromycin [citations]. The confirmed  
251 cases may seem small however, 10% of men and half of women do not show visi-  
252 ble symptoms when infected with the bacteria. Medical treatment alone has not  
253 been the only strides made in STIs around the with strides in acceptances and  
254 less persecution for those that have HIV for example. However, while persecution  
255 and stereotyping has gone down in recent years, treatments and availability to  
256 those treatments have become increasingly more costly.

257 Sexually active individuals can become infected with an STI through various  
258 forms. The first and most prominent vector is through risky sexual behaviors,  
259 i.e., multiple sexual partners, unknown sexual history of partners/high-risk indi-  
260 viduals, and unprotected sex [citations]. The most common vector is through en-  
261 gaging in unprotected sex. Condoms are the most common and effective method  
262 of protection, with spermicides increasing their effectiveness [citation]. Once in-  
263 fected, the STIs may have detrimental health effects. For example, genital herpes  
264 may cause infertility in women and certain types of cancers [citations]. Infections  
265 can also be transmitted to infants during childbirth. If left untreated death is  
266 possible for example in the case of syphilis which results in an agonizing death  
267 [citations]. Condoms are still one of the most effective strategies to practice safe  
268 sex along with asking partners about their sexual histories.

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

275 colleagues investigated the age at first sexual intercourse and found that women  
276 that had their first sexual intercourse before 16 years-old were more likely to  
277 report having contracted an STI. In the United Kingdom, age at first heterosexual  
278 intercourse has decreased over the last 70 years (Mercer et al., 2013). Mercer and  
279 colleagues conducted a longitudinal analysis of age at first sexual intercourse by  
280 separating individuals into birth cohorts. Individuals age 65-74 years reported  
281 their age at first heterosexual intercourse at 18 years. Every ten years that number  
282 has steadily decreased by one with the most recent being 16 years old. Thirty  
283 percent of individuals between the ages of 16-24 report have had heterosexual  
284 intercourse before the age of sixteen.

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

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

307         The social effects of sexuality in general influence how people see them-  
308 selves. For gay men in particular there is not just the social stigma that some  
309 may have of homosexuality, within the gay community there are some that are  
310 expected to be promiscuous or appear to be promiscuous (Elder et al., 2015). In  
311 a study based on grounded theory, Elder and colleagues asked gay men all aspects  
312 of sexuality to discover and investigate their sexual schemas. A sexual schema  
313 is, “a generalization about the sexual aspects of oneself.” (Elder et al., 2015, pg.  
314 943). The effects of negative sexual self-schema are also seen in bisexual and  
315 straight men and women (Andersen et al., 1994; CYRANOWSKI et al., 1999;  
316 Elder et al., 2012, 2015). Having poor sexual self-schema can result in women  
317 having issues with sexual desire and an inability of reaching orgasm while in men  
318 can result in climaxing too early and erectile dysfunction (CYRANOWSKI et al.,  
319 1999; Kilimnik et al., 2018). Long lasting impairments can often lead to more  
320 psychological issues.

321         Individuals that have contracted an STI are also more likely to be ostrac-  
322 ized from their immediate community. For example, gay men who contracted  
323 HIV in the beginning of the AIDs crisis were often ostracized by society even  
324 when they were seeking treatment in the hospital. Nurses would often, for lack  
325 of knowledge of transmission of the virus, would often drop medication in front  
326 of the patient’s door and would rarely physically interact with them [citations].  
327 This ostracization further compounds the psychological and physical trauma that  
328 individuals with HIV already have. As more knowledge of how HIV is transmitted  
329 individuals can get more efficient and better treatment. However, ostracization  
330 often occurs [citations].



### 331 1.3 Moral Judgment and Decision-Making

332 Sam has frequent and unprotected sex with multiple partners, resulting  
333 in a sexually transmitted infection that causes visible sores on the mouth and  
334 hands. On the way to the chemist one day, Sam has an acute heart attack. By-  
335 standers rush to help, but see the sores on Sam's mouth and hands. How would  
336 the bystanders react? Would they resuscitate Sam? Would it be morally wrong  
337 for them not to risk contracting an unknown disease from Sam, even if it may cost  
338 Sam's life? Similar sorts of dilemmas are often used to study moral decision mak-  
339 ing of various sorts [citations]. the thought experiment of the trolley dilemma. In  
340 research by Haidt and colleagues, compared psychologically normal adults to psy-  
341 chopathic traits and performance on the Moral Foundations Questionnaire [MFQ;  
342 Graham et al. (2011)]. Findings included higher psychopathic tendencies were  
343 associated with lower likelihood of following justice based norms, weak relation-  
344 ship with disgust-based and in-group norms, and finally an increased willingness  
345 to violate any type of norms for money [Glenn et al., 2008]. The key factor in  
346 the Moral Foundations Questionnaire are these moral foundations of which there  
347 are five moral domains: harm versus care, fairness versus cheating, loyalty versus  
348 betrayal, authority versus subversion, and purity versus degradation [citations].  
349 Each of these moral domains have a good and bad component compared to the  
350 action type.

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

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

370         Politically held beliefs are often emotionally laden (G. Marcus, 2000). Ac-  
371 cordingly, moral foundations theory postulates that there is a good versus bad  
372 in the moral domains. When participants are asked to respond to statements  
373 that are only offensive but were not harming anyone, participants had issues sup-  
374 porting whether the statement was good or bad. For example, when participants  
375 were given a story of cleaning the toilet with the national flag, participants would  
376 respond that it is bad and said that they just knew that it was wrong [citation].  
377 Often when individuals violate the moral rules of “cleaning the toilet with the  
378 national flag” violators will be judged as immoral and sometimes punished for  
379 their actions [citations]. Intuitively the participants responded that the actions  
380 were morally were obviously morally wrong. Requiring little to no explanation  
381 as to whAn interesting facet of moral judgment is how individuals react to moral  
382 decisions when they are reminded of their own mortality (Greenberg et al., 1990;  
383 Rosenblatt et al., 1989). Reminding individuals of their mortality causes them,  
384 according to terror management theory, to want to push away from the thought  
385 of their eventual death. To do this people often cling to their deeply held cultural  
386 beliefs to remove their thoughts from reality (Greenberg et al., 1990). In the

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

400       When a person does a negative action, the reason for the action is often  
401 judged and assumed. An action is commonly seen as being intentional when  
402 the individual actively does the action directly. However, intentionality becomes  
403 problematic participants have already had negative evaluations of the individ-  
404 ual. In an experiment where participants were asked to judge the culpability of  
405 an airline passenger that was forced by high-jackers to kill another passenger,  
406 the high-jackers were the external force forcing the passenger to commit murder.  
407 However, when the participants were told that the passenger already wanted to  
408 kill that passenger before the hijacking was occurring, they were judged as more  
409 culpable. With or without the internal motivation of wanting to already kill the  
410 other passenger, the resulting death still occurs. When participants were given  
411 a, less vivid, story of a manager that was only mistreated a black employee and  
412 another story of a non-bigoted manager that was mistreating all of their employ-  
413 ees, participants judged the bigoted manager more negatively. Even though there  
414 were differences in those affected between the managers, participants already held

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

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

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

443 or guilt is dependent on whether they experience the former or the latter. There  
444 are often attempts to amend the situation when individuals have violated moral  
445 norms. Depending on the self-evaluative emotion that is being felt, people will  
446 make amends to try to change the situation or they may hide it (Tangney et al.,  
447 1996). Guilt is the former and shame is the latter. In most cases individuals that  
448 are feeling shame will attempt to ignore their moral violation where they will deny  
449 or evade the situation that is causing them shame. Conversely, people with guilt  
450 are often motivated by those negative feelings to fix the situation that caused  
451 them to feel the guilt. Guilt is often feeling negativity towards a specific action  
452 while feeling ashamed or shame is usually a reflection of the entire self [citations].  
453 Thus, in relation to how to repair the guilt inducing act, it would appear to be  
454 more manageable if the inducing situation was a singular event rather than a  
455 feeling of the entire self. Participants that were prompted to feel shame were less  
456 likely to express empathy for someone with a disability (Marschall, 1998 as cited  
457 in Tangney et al., 2006). When people feel a sense of shame, they self-evaluate  
458 and reflect on themselves. This hinders the empathy process that would require  
459 them to focus their attention on the emotions of another person.

460 Barnett and Mann investigated sexual offenders to understand how feelings  
461 of empathy are blocked for their victim at time of the offense (2013). In empathy  
462 research, emotions cannot only just be inferred by the situation but be “felt” to be  
463 classified as expressed empathy. Earlier research looking at empathy by sexual  
464 offenders has not shown them as being unempathetic. However, Barnett and  
465 Mann contend that sexual offenders may have a disruption in seeing distress in  
466 their victim. The offender may then believe and assert that their victim deserves  
467 the distress that they are experiencing and have a cascading effect where they  
468 may be powerful and enjoy the distress of the victim (Barnett & Mann, 2013).

## 469 1.4 Power

470 A common denominator in research on the dark personality and moral  
471 judgment is the influence of power. To define power, one would have to first  
472 define the actor and the recipient of the power. Therefore, there is either power-  
473 over, power-to, and power-with. Each aspect has their own different consequences  
474 [citation]. Power-over is when there is one individual, the one with power, which  
475 wields control over a subordinate individual [citation]. Power-to is when an in-  
476 dividual of privilege uses their status and power to control and enact a certain  
477 consequence [citation]. Finally, power-with is an interesting concept where a per-  
478 son of power uses their own power to lift or elevate someone without power to a  
479 power position [citation]. This is often seen in community projects where some-  
480 one in power goes into a troubled community and facilitates the situation so that  
481 those that have less power can have their voices be heard. Power also has var-  
482 ious sources each with their own complex consequences: institutional, cultural,  
483 gender, age, ethnicity, orientation, and gender-identity [citations]. Some sources  
484 of power compound on one another to increase the level of power over other sin-  
485 gular sources of power. For example, in many areas of the world a straight white  
486 cisgender man would hold the most power relative to other individuals.

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

496 Early discussions of power descended from Greek and Roman political

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

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

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

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

541         In psychology, it was originally conceived that power corrupted individ-  
542 uals exemplified by the Stanford prison experiment where “regular” individuals  
543 were instructed to play the prison guards of a simulated prison. Similar indi-  
544 viduals were instructed to portray the prisoners [citation]. Zimbardo, the lead  
545 researcher for the experiment, soon noted that the individuals that portrayed the  
546 prison guards became aggressive with the prisoners. They verbally and physically  
547 assault them. The experiment was halted to stop any more damage from occur-  
548 ring. News spread of the results of the experiment and power was seen as causing  
549 or influencing the “prison guards” to become aggressive and abuse towards the  
550 “prisoners.” However, the nature of the participants became into question [cita-  
551 tion]. Later researchers noted that there could have been a self-selection bias of  
552 the participants. The experiment was advertised such that the prison experiment



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

559         Throughout political history individuals that have reached powerful posi-  
560 tions on multiple occasions have given some powerful people the outlet to express  
561 their prejudiced and problematic beliefs [citation]. Fear of communist infiltration  
562 in the United States caused many fears and blacklisting was a frequent practice.  
563 Joseph McCarthy, a Wisconsin senator, would soon use his power as a legisla-  
564 tor/senator [citation]. McCarthy would call individuals to the front of the House  
565 Un-American Activities Committee because they were suspected of being spies  
566 for the Soviet Union. McCarthy and the committee used strong arm tactics and  
567 would often threaten individuals brought in front of the committee. Many in-  
568 dividuals brought forward often had their lives irrevocably changed [citation].  
569 Soon Senator Margaret Chase Smith and six others condemned McCarthy for his  
570 actions and tactics. McCarthy was soon censured, and the House Un-American  
571 Activities Committee was disbanded. The political issue of power being used  
572 as an outlet for prejudiced and authoritarianism became apparent recently after  
573 the 2016 United States Presidential Election [citation]. Donald Trump's political  
574 exploits would soon highlight his past and present use of power and his uneth-  
575 ical dealings. Often Donald Trump would use his power for personal gain and  
576 to express his prejudicial and racist beliefs. Examples range from in the 1990's  
577 Donald Trump advocated for the Central Park Five, five African-American men  
578 accused of raping and murdering a young White woman in Central Park, to be  
579 put to death [citation]. However, DNA evidence exonerated on the men of the  
580 crime [citation]. Recently, Donald Trump on the campaign trail accused Mexico

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

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

609       The behaviors of Ms. C and Mr. A are not the only examples of individu-  
610 als having power over another person or being subjected to the power over them.  
611 Power-over has occurred throughout human history and is ingrained in all cultures  
612 [citation]. Institutional power-over is quite common cross-culturally. Contracep-  
613 tion and control over one's own reproductive system is a prescient debate globally  
614 [citation]. In 1960 and 1963 Enovid was approved for use in the United States and  
615 United Kingdom respectively [citation]. Doses for contraception early on were of-  
616 ten high and news of multiple deaths was reported widely. Cases were brought  
617 forward to control the use of contraception. The Roman Catholic Church's stance  
618 on hormonal contraception shifted from permission to outlawing anything that  
619 would be believed as stopping the ability to propagate [citation]. Interestingly  
620 in 1989 researchers working for Pfizer in the United Kingdom were researching a  
621 new drug that would aid in treating heart conditions [citations]. The researchers  
622 soon discovered sildenafil also could treat erectile dysfunction. Ten years later,  
623 sildenafil, brand name Viagra, would be patented and approved for use for the  
624 primary treatment for erectile dysfunction [citation]. The same individuals that  
625 were trying to reduce the use of female contraception were not trying to do the  
626 same for Viagra. The Japanese government and officials had similar attempts  
627 to quell the use of female contraception while not doing the same for erectile  
628 dysfunction treatments [citation].

629 The Council on Foreign Relations [CFR] a non-profit that specializes in United  
630 States and international affairs, conducts an international index on women's work-  
631 place equality by rating each country on factors: accessing institutions, getting a  
632 job, going to court, protecting women from violence etc. [citation]. Scores range  
633 from 0 to 100 where 100 is near total equality in all areas. Of 189 countries on the  
634 list only 9 score over 90% in the ranking. One hundred and thirty-eight score be-  
635 low 75 with Yemen having the lowest score of 24.5. Including those that intersect  
636 with other minorities have even less power like women of color and trans individ-

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

643         Power imbalances can create a dissociative state where those with less  
644 power are seen as more of an object than a person (Gwinn et al., 2013; Haslam &  
645 Loughnan, 2014; Lammers & Stapel, 2011; Smith, 2016). While others with more  
646 power may see those with less as be less human, some individuals attribute the  
647 dehumanization to themselves as well and self-dehumanize (Bastian et al., 2013;  
648 Bastian et al., 2012; Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Kouchaki et al., 2018). Effects of  
649 prolonged dehumanization by those with more power often, unchecked and under  
650 constant pressure, can lead some individuals to believe what the powerholders  
651 say is true. The question remains, why do people in power begin to dehumanize  
652 those with less power? Commonly when an individual harms another usually  
653 there is some perspective taking by the harmer. However, to dehumanize the  
654 other person it lessens the sense of empathy that one would normally feel thus  
655 allowing for more damage and harm to be committed [citations]. “With great  
656 power comes great responsibility” often quoted by Uncle Ben in the Spider-Man  
657 comic books, yet has its possible historical foundations in the French National  
658 Convention in 1793, leads credence to the wane and flow of the effects of power  
659 (Nationale (Paris), 1793). Those in power make decisions for those for which they  
660 are leaders. As is the case with every decision there is a reaction to the decision.  
661 Sometimes those effects are negative and those with less power may be harmed in  
662 the process. Dehumanization of those in less power acts as a defense mechanism  
663 to continue making life changing decisions.

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

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

## 675 1.5 Cognition

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

685 The first step at acquiring new knowledge is interacting with the environ-  
686 ment. One explanation that has been garnering more cognitive and biological  
687 attention is from Dr. Nelson Cowan’s integrated working memory model (Cowan,  
688 1999). In the integrated working memory model there are four key areas in at-  
689 taining new information: [1] a brief sensory store, [2] a long term store, [3] the  
690 focus of attention, [4] and the central executive. Each key area has a separate  
691 function[s] that allows for new information to be “judged” against the existing

692 information. The information that is then held temporarily in a sensory store  
693 to where it is then sent to the long term store to be “directed” by the central  
694 executive which is a metacognitive process that controls and directs where atten-  
695 tion should be placed on the incoming information. There is then a controlled  
696 more conscious action or an automatic action based on the type of incoming in-  
697 formation. Information that is automatic usually is considered habituated to the  
698 memory system and is therefore not a novel stimulus. More focus is given to  
699 information/stimuli that is more novel. In the integrated working memory model  
700 information that is incoming in the brain is often “filtered” through a lens that  
701 is understandable to the individual, novel stimuli. From here the information is  
702 then encoded and stored in long-term memory for reactivation by new stimuli.

703         The integrated working memory model is similar in thought to how indi-  
704 viduals make decisions based on the laws and customs of a society. Johnathan  
705 is a normal member of his community. They participate in a common game in  
706 the park with some friends. Johnathan says an inappropriate joke to one of their  
707 friends. The others overhear and judge, automatically, the content of the joke to  
708 the governed norms of the community. Because this joke is outside the common  
709 norms of the community, the others see Johnathan as violating their moral code.  
710 Johnathan’s friends would then automatically analyze the joke against existing  
711 information and attend to the key features. Like how the central executive guides  
712 and directs attention to the new novel stimuli, the inappropriate joke. Interesting  
713 research has been done with morality and metacognition.

714         Common to research in metacognition and moral reasoning is theory of  
715 mind. A theory of mind is the ability for an individual to attribute or recognize  
716 the inner workings of the mind and differentiate those from the self and others  
717 [citation]. Research in theory of mind has contributed to our understanding of  
718 autism, schizophrenia, and traumatic brain injury (Byom & Mutlu, 2013). An  
719 individual with deficits of theory of mind would for example be unable to attribute

720 signs of happiness on other people, such as a smile or a frown [citation]. In the  
721 case of Johnathan, if they had a theory of mind deficits, they would be unable or  
722 have difficulty in noticing the dissatisfaction of their joke. Research using theory  
723 of mind to investigate social situations such as the example with Jonathan helps  
724 psychologists get a better understanding of how moral judgement works and is  
725 affected by deficits in the cognitive system.

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

734         The prior knowledge that individuals have can have a negative effect on  
735 their ability to gain and hold new information. Those with lower prior knowledge  
736 of a given technology often have difficulty in reconstructing the information of a  
737 new product compared to those that have less prior knowledge [Wood & Lynch,  
738 2002]. When people are presented with new information, a new technology, en-  
739 coding of the new information takes place. As that occurs, prior information of  
740 the technology is retrieved, and an inference is made on subsequent information  
741 by comparing the new and old information. This affects the ability to encode the  
742 new information “correctly” and can disrupt later retrieval of the former. Similar  
743 effects are seen when investigating motivational forces. Individuals with prior  
744 knowledge may also have an overconfidence of the information that they already  
745 have and are not as motivated to attend to the information they are learning.

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

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

762         An artifact of how issues such as HIV, Human Immunodeficiency Virus,  
763 discussed in the media and the community that it affects creates a cognitive  
764 problem with individuals judging the likelihood of catching the virus, especially  
765 women. In the media it is often discussed how men who have sex with men  
766 are the main individuals catching and spreading HIV. While HIV still affects the  
767 LGBTQ+ community, the discussion around susceptibility affects other individu-  
768 als outside of the LGBTQ+ community negatively as well. Women, for example,  
769 have a genetically higher susceptibility to the virus [citation]. That being so,  
770 often due to unintended ignorance to their chances are one of the leading groups  
771 contracting new cases of HIV [citation]. Downlow culture as well increases the  
772 chances of contracting the virus. Amongst some men that do not wish to ac-  
773 knowledge their own homosexuality will choose to forgo the condom, implies a  
774 premeditation, and do not necessarily believe they will contract the virus [cita-  
775 tion]. Both examples are contributed by the representation of HIV in the media



776 and the current zeitgeist.

777 Common in all decisions is the difficulty and uncomfortability between  
778 different decisions and opposing situations, is cognitive dissonance (Festinger,  
779 1957). An interesting cognitive dissonant series of thoughts that some males  
780 have is when choosing to wear a condom. Often, there will be the cognition of not  
781 wanting to contract an STI, but also believing that condoms are uncomfortable  
782 (MacPhail & Campbell, 2001). In addition to believing they are uncomfortable  
783 there is an interesting cultural belief amongst some young men that wearing a  
784 condom makes them less of a man (Pleck et al., 1993; Vincent et al., 2016). To  
785 some the main decisional factor in whether to wear a condom is not contracting an  
786 STI or getting pregnant [citation]. While, as noted with perceptions on condoms,  
787 often comfort and how others will see them is the main factor. Sexually active  
788 or those thinking to become sexually active often get their opinions on sexual  
789 activity and safety practices from their peers. Often, the opinions of peers are  
790 more influential than those of the parent[s]. Interestingly, some men believe that  
791 due to the cultural cognition around contraception, discussions and decisions of  
792 contraception is a female decision (Castro-Vázquez, 2000).

### 793 **1.5.1 Aggression and Cognition**

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

802 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 al., 2009; Laakasuo et al., 2017; Tybur et al., 2009). Important to the present discussion on sexual judgment, research by Laakasuo and colleagues suggest that disgust is only predictive of sexual disgust (2017). From CNT, Anderson and Bushman developed the General Aggression Model [GAM] is a theoretical outline that combines multiple smaller domain specific theories on aggression like CNT (2002). The GAM has processes: inputs, routes, and outcomes of a social situation. The inputs separate into a person and situation centered inputs. The individual then has an internal examination of the person or situation, cognitions like affective processes, availability heuristics, theory of mind evaluations, scripts and schemata [Barnett and Mann (2013); Kahneman and Tversky (1972); scripts and schemata citation]. Appraisal and a decision process are the last step in the GAM, where the individual evaluates the situation based on the inputs and routes. Anderson and Bushman contend that there are two types of outcomes, thoughtful and impulsive actions. Like the affective heuristic, the impulsive action is often fast and does not require as much deliberation. While the thoughtful action requires more time and evaluation of all the possible outcomes.

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

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

834 Often aggression and discrimination can be understood through the  
835 schematic model. Media and social representations of individuals, especially men  
836 of color, have often made assumptions and portrayed them as violent and crim-  
837 inals. Currently a majority of US adults in a recent Pew Research Center poll  
838 report that race relations are currently worse, Black Americans and people of  
839 color in general report more cases of discrimination, and a majority say Black  
840 Americans in particular are treated unfairly by the police (Pew Research Center,  
841 2019). Aggression or discrimination is often the result of associating one group  
842 with negative connotations. For example, in the case of those that believe Black  
843 Americans are criminals they have through cognitive associations have related  
844 the schematic concept of criminal with the features/schema of what they believe  
845 is a Black American. The discrimination and aggression then occur through the  
846 GAM processes with negative actions being the outcome.

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

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

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

872 The rejection of the sexual advances of the man often damage their sense  
873 of masculinity (Malamuth et al., 1996). Relating back to beliefs on condom  
874 use amongst men, even the request of wearing condom could be interpreted as  
875 damaging their sense of masculinity (Castro-Vázquez, 2000). If the woman, in  
876 a heterosexual relationship, brings the condom they are damaging the males  
877 masculinity but if the male brings the condom he could also be considered a  
878 thoughtful individual. While the woman would be seen as easy. This could  
879 then lead to bullying behavior and ostracization from the moral judgment of the  
880 community on the woman’s purity, see section moral judgment.

## 881 **1.6 Experiment One**

## 882 **1.7 Method**

### 883 **1.7.1 Participants**

884 Participants were a convenience sample of 92 (Mage = 26.14, SD = 8.69)  
885 individuals from Prolific Academic crowdsourcing platform (“www.prolific.co”).

886 Requirements for participation were: (1) be 18 years of age or older and (2) and  
887 as part of Prolific Academics policy, have a prolific rating of 90 or above. Par-  
888 ticipants received £4 or £8 an hour as compensation for completing the survey.  
889 Table 1 shows the demographic information for experiment one.

### 890 **1.7.2 Demographic Questionnaire**

891 Prior to the psychometric scales, participants are asked to share their  
892 demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, ethnic origin, and edu-  
893 cational attainment).

### 894 **1.7.3 Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Orientation**

895 The 18-item Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership scale [DoPL; Suessen-  
896 bach et al. (2019)], is used to measure dominance, prestige, and leadership orien-  
897 tation. Each question corresponds to one of the three domains. Each domain is  
898 scored across six unique items related to those domains (e.g., “I relish opportuni-  
899 ties in which I can lead others” for leadership) rated on a scale from 0 (Strongly  
900 disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Internal consistency reliability for the current  
901 sample is  $\alpha = 0.85$ .

### 902 **1.7.4 Spitefulness Scale**

903 The Spitefulness scale (D. K. Marcus et al., 2014) is a measure with seven-  
904 teen one-sentence vignettes to assess the spitefulness of participants. The original  
905 spitefulness scale has 31-items. In the original Marcus and colleagues’ paper, fif-  
906 teen were removed. For the present study, however, 4-items were removed because  
907 they did not meet the parameters for the study i.e., needed to be dyadic, more  
908 personal. Three reverse-scored items from the original thirty-one were added af-  
909 ter meeting the requirements. Example questions included, “It might be worth  
910 risking my reputation in order to spread gossip about someone I did not like,” and  
911 “Part of me enjoys seeing the people I do not like to fail even if their failure hurts

me in some way”. Items are scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 5 (“Strongly agree”). Higher spitefulness scores represent higher acceptance of spiteful attitudes. Internal consistency reliability for the current sample is  $\alpha = 0.84$ .

#### **1.7.5 *Sexuality Self-Esteem Subscale***

The Sexuality Self-Esteem subscale (SSES; Snell and Papini (1989)) is a subset of the Sexuality scale that measures the overall self-esteem of participants. Due to the nature of the study, the sexuality subscale was chosen from the overall 30-item scale. The 10-items chosen reflected questions on the sexual esteem of participants on a 5-point scale of +2 (Agree) and -2 (Disagree). For ease of online use the scale was changed to 1 (“Disagree”) and 5 (“Agree”), data analysis will follow the sexuality scale scoring procedure. Example questions are, “I am a good sexual partner,” and “I sometimes have doubts about my sexual competence.” Higher scores indicate a higher acceptance of high self-esteem statements. Internal consistency reliability for the current sample is  $\alpha = 0.95$ .

#### **1.7.6 *Sexual Jealousy Subscale***

The Sexual Jealousy subscale by Worley and Samp (2014) are 3-items from the 12-item Jealousy scale. The overall jealousy scale measures jealousy in friendships ranging from sexual to companionship. The 3-items are “I would worry about my partner being sexually unfaithful to me.”, “I would suspect there is something going on sexually between my partner and their friend.”, and “I would suspect sexual attraction between my partner and their friend.” The items are scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 5 (“Strongly agree”). Higher scores indicate a tendency to be more sexually jealous. Internal consistency reliability for the current sample is  $\alpha = 0.72$ .

### 937 **1.7.7 *Sexual Relationship Power Scale***

938 The Sexual Relationship Power Scale (SRPS; Pulerwitz et al. (2000)) is  
939 a 23-item scale that measures the overall power distribution in a sexually active  
940 relationship. The SRPS is split into the Relationship Control Factor/Subscale  
941 (RCF) and the Decision-Making Dominance Factor/Subscale (DMDF). The RCF  
942 measures the relationship between the partners on their agreement with state-  
943 ments such as, “If I asked my partner to use a condom, he[they] would get vi-  
944 olent.”, and “I feel trapped or stuck in our relationship.” Items from the RCF  
945 are scored on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (“Strongly agree”) to 4 (“Strongly  
946 disagree”). Lower scores indicate an imbalance in the relationship where the par-  
947 ticipant indicates they believe they have less control in the relationship. Internal  
948 consistency reliability for the current sample is  $\alpha = 0.87$ .

949 The DMDF measures the dominance level of sexual and social decisions in  
950 the relationship. Example questions include, “Who usually has more say about  
951 whether you have sex?”, and “Who usually has more say about when you talk  
952 about serious things?” Items on the DMDF are scored on a 3-item scale of 1  
953 (“Your Partner”), 2 (“Both of You Equally”), and 3 (“You”). Higher scores indi-  
954 cate more dominance by the participant in the relationship. Internal consistency  
955 reliability for the current sample is  $\alpha = 0.64$ .

### 956 **1.7.8 *Scenario Realism Question***

957 Following Worley and Samp in their 2014 paper on using vi-  
958 gnettes/scenarios in psychological studies, a question asking the participant how  
959 realistic or how much they can visualize the scenario is. The 1-item question is  
960 “This type of situation is realistic.” The item is scored on a 5-point scale with  
961 how much the the participant’s agreed with the above statement, 1 (“Strongly  
962 agree”) to 5 (“Strongly disagree”). Higher scores indicate disagreement with the  
963 statement and reflect the belief that the scenario is not realistic.

### 964 1.7.9 *Spiteful Vignettes*

965 After participants complete the above scales, they are presented with 10-  
966 hypothetical vignettes. Each vignette was written to reflect a dyadic or triadic  
967 relationship with androgynous names to control for gender. Five vignettes have  
968 a sexual component while five are sexually neutral. An example vignette is,

969 “Casey and Cole have been dating for 6 years. A year ago, they both  
970 moved into a new flat together just outside of the city. Casey had an  
971 affair with Cole’s best-friend. Casey had recently found out that they  
972 had an STI that they had gotten from Cole’s best-friend. Casey and  
973 Cole had sex and later Cole found out they had an STI.”

974 For each vignette, the participant is asked to rate each vignette on how  
975 justified they believe the primary individual, Casey in the above, is with their  
976 spiteful reaction. Scoring ranges from 1 (“Not justified at all”) to 5 (“Being  
977 very justified”). Higher scores overall indicate higher agreement with spiteful  
978 behaviors.

## 979 1.8 Procedure

980 Participants were recruited on Prolific Academic. Participants must be  
981 18-years of age or older, restriction by study design and Prolific Academic’s user  
982 policy. The published study is titled, “Moral Choice and Behavior”. The study  
983 description follows the participant information sheet including participant com-  
984 pensation. Participants were asked to accept their participation in the study.  
985 Participants were then automatically sent to the main survey (Qualtrics, Inc.).

986 Once participants accessed the main survey, they were presented with the  
987 consent form for which to accept they responded by selecting “Yes”. Participants  
988 were then asked to provide demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnic-  
989 ity, and educational attainment. Participants would then complete in order, the



990 spitefulness scale, the sexual relationship power scale, the sexual jealousy sub-  
991 scale, and sexuality self-esteem subscale. Next, participants were presented ten  
992 vignettes where they were instructed to rate on the level of justification for the  
993 action carried out in the vignette. After each vignette, participants would rate  
994 the realism of the scenario. Upon completion of the survey (median completion  
995 time 20 minutes SD = 10 Minutes 30 seconds), participants were shown a de-  
996 briefing message and shown the contact information of the Primary Investigator  
997 (Andrew Ithurburn). Participants were then compensated at £8/hr. via Prolific  
998 Academic.

## 999 1.9 Data Analysis

1000 Demographic characteristics were analyzed using a one-way analysis for  
1001 continuous variables (age) and Chi-squares tests for categorical variables (sex,  
1002 ethnicity, ethnic origin, and educational attainment). Means and standard de-  
1003 viations were calculated for the surveys along with correlational analyses (e.g.,  
1004 spitefulness, SESS, SRPS, SJS).

1005 Bayesian multilevel models were used to test differences between levels of  
1006 justifications of vignettes that are either sexually or non-sexually vindictive in  
1007 behavior.

## 1008 1.10 Results and Discussion

1009 Ninety-Two individuals participated in the present experiment. A major-  
1010 ity of the participants in experiment 1 identified as male ( $n = 62$ ). Table 1 shows  
1011 the demographic information for experiment 1. Table 2 presents the results of  
1012 a Bayesian correlational matrix of all measures. As evidenced in the Bayesian  
1013 correlational matrix, most surveys positively correlated with one another.

**Table 1***Participant Demographic Information (Experiment 1)*

Demographic Characteristic	
Age	
Mean (SD)	26.14 (8.69)
Median [Min, Max]	23 [18,60]
Gender	
Female	30 (32.6%)
Male	62 (67.4%)
Ethnic Origin	
Scottish	2 (2.2%)
English	10 (10.9%)
European	69 (75.0%)
Latin American	2 (2.2%)
Asian	5 (5.4%)
Arab	1 (1.1%)
Other	2 (2.2%)
Prefer not to answer	1 (1.1%)
Education	
Primary School	3 (3.3%)
GCSEs or Equivalent	8 (8.7%)
A-Levels or Equivalent	32 (34.8%)
University Undergraduate Program	31 (33.7%)
University Post-Graduate Program	17 (18.5%)
Prefer not to answer	1 (1.1%)
Ethnicity	
White	82 (89.1%)
Mixed or Multiple ethnic origins	4 (4.3%)
Asian or Asian Scottish or Asian British	5 (5.4%)
Other ethnic group	1 (1.1%)

**Table 2***Bayesian Correlation with 95% Credibility Intervals*

	Estimate	Upper CI	Lower CI
SSES * SRPS	-0.40	-0.45	-0.34
SSES * Spite	0.08	0.02	0.14
SRPS * Spite	-0.16	-0.23	-0.10
SSES * SJS	0.23	0.17	0.29
SRPS * SJS	-0.27	-0.33	-0.21
Spite * SJS	0.19	0.12	0.25
SSES * Dominance	-0.20	-0.26	-0.14
SRPS * Dominance	0.07	0.00	0.13
Spite * Dominance	0.50	0.45	0.54
SJS * Dominance	0.25	0.19	0.31
SSES * Prestige	-0.07	-0.13	0.00
SRPS * Prestige	0.27	0.21	0.33
Spite * Prestige	0.06	0.00	0.13
SJS * Prestige	-0.01	-0.08	0.05
Dominance * Prestige	0.19	0.12	0.25
SSES * Leadership	-0.29	-0.35	-0.23
SRPS * Leadership	0.30	0.24	0.36
Spite * Leadership	-0.03	-0.09	0.04
SJS * Leadership	-0.08	-0.15	-0.02
Dominance * Leadership	0.31	0.25	0.36
Prestige * Leadership	0.37	0.31	0.42

### 1.10.1 *Spitefulness*

For this analysis we used the Bayesian parameter estimation using R and brms (Bürkner, 2018; R Core Team, 2021). An annotated r script file, including all necessary information is available at <https://osf.io/jz6qb>. On average, individuals were not rated as being more spiteful, ( $M = 33.92$ ,  $SD = 9.32$ ,  $\text{Min-max} = [16 - 57]$ ). Justification as a function of the four indices was moderately explained by the model ( $R^2 = 0.54$ ). We conducted an exploratory Bayesian correlation analysis on the data, where we investigated correlations between 8 of the indices (e.g., Spite, Dominance, Prestige, Leadership, Sexual Jealousy, Sexual Self-Esteem, and Sexual Relationship Power Scale).

Selected notable non-null correlations were found between Spite and Sex-

ual Jealousy (95% CI: [0.12, 0.25]), Spite and Dominance (95% CI: [0.45, 0.54]),  
and Sexual Relationship Power and Dominance (95% CI: [0, 0.13]). Table 2  
contains a complete list of all Bayesian correlations.

## **1.11 Limitations and Future Directions**

## **1.12 Experiment 2**

## **1.13 Methods**

Materials remain the same in terms of the (1) Demographic Questionnaire,  
(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  
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: 212-2021/2]. The present study was pre-registered along with a copy of  
anonymized data and a copy of the R code is available at (<https://osf.io/s4j7y>).

## **1.14 Materials**

### **1.14.1 Brief-Pathological Narcissism Inventory**

The 28 item Brief Pathological Narcissism Inventory (B-PNI; Schoenleber  
et al., 2015) is a modified scale of the original 52-item Pathological Narcissism

1051 Inventory (PNI; Pincus et al., 2009). Like the PNI the B-PNI is a scale measuring  
1052 individuals' pathological narcissism. Items in the B-PNI retained all 7 patholog-  
1053 ical narcissism facets from the original PNI (e.g., exploitativeness, self-sacrificing  
1054 self-enhancement, grandiose fantasy, contingent self-esteem, hiding the self, de-  
1055 valuing, and entitlement rage). Each item is rated on a 5 point Likert scale  
1056 ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 5 (very much like me). Example items  
1057 include "I find it easy to manipulate people" and "I can read people like a book."

### 1058 **1.15 Procedure**

1059 Participants were recruited via a study landing page on Prolific's website  
1060 or via a direct e-mail to eligible participants (Prolific Academic, 2018). The study  
1061 landing page included a brief description of the study including any risks and ben-  
1062 efits along with expected compensation for successful completion. Participants  
1063 accepted participation in the experiment and were directed to the main survey  
1064 on pavlovia.org (an online JavaScript hosting website similar to Qualtrics) where  
1065 they were shown a brief message on study consent.

1066 Once participants consented to participate in the experiment they an-  
1067 swered a series of demographic questions. Once completed, participants com-  
1068 pleted the Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Scale and the Domain Specific  
1069 Risk-taking scale. An additional survey was added (the novel aspect of experi-  
1070 ment 2) where participants, in addition to the two previous surveys, were asked to  
1071 complete the brief-pathological narcissism inventory. The three scales were coun-  
1072 terbalanced to account for order effects. After completion of the main survey,  
1073 participants were shown a debriefing statement that briefly mentions the purpose  
1074 of the experiment along with the contact information of the main researcher (AI).  
1075 Participants were compensated £4.00 via Prolific Academic.

## 1076 **1.16 Data analysis**

1077 Demographic characteristics were analyzed using multiple regression for  
1078 continuous variables (age) and Chi-square tests for categorical variables (gender,  
1079 race, ethnicity, ethnic origin, and education). Means and standard deviations  
1080 were calculated for the relevant scales (i.e., DoPL and DOSPERT). All analyses  
1081 were done using (R Core Team, 2021) along with (Bürkner, 2017) package.

1082 The use of bayesian statistics has a multitude of benefits to statistical  
1083 analysis and research design. One important benefit is through the use of prior  
1084 data in future analyses. Termed as priors, is the use of prior distributions for  
1085 future analysis. This allows for the separation of how the data might have been  
1086 collected or what the intention was. In essence, the data is the data without the  
1087 interpretation of the scientist.

1088 All relevant analyses were conducted in a Bayesian framework using the  
1089 brms package (Bürkner, 2018) along with the cmdstanr packages notes (Gabry &  
1090 Cesnovar, 2021). In addition to the aforementioned packages, we used bayestestR,  
1091 rstan, and papaja for analysis along with the creation of this manuscript (Aust  
1092 & Barth, 2020; Makowski et al., 2019; Stan Development Team, 2020).

## 1093 **1.17 Results**

## 1094 **1.18 Preregistered Analyses**

### 1095 **1.18.1 Demographic and DoPL**

## 1096 **1.19 Domain-Specific Risk-Taking**

## 1097 **1.20 Interactions**

## 1098 **1.21 Discussion**

## 1099 **1.22 Limitations**

## 1100 **1.23 Future Implications**

**Table 3**

	Parameter	CI	CI_low	CI_high
8	b_Intercept	0.95	0.74	3.27
18	b_Spite_z	0.95	0.06	0.24
5	b_Dominance_z:ContentSexual	0.95	0.01	0.28

## 2 Introduction

Throughout political history, tyrants, and despots have influenced great power over large swaths of land and communities. One common thread amongst these individuals is how they wield their great power, often through dominant tactics such as threats and political subversion. Recent history has shown with individuals like Donald Trump, Kim Jong-Un, and Rodrigo Duterte who display authoritarian traits often wield their power through fear and threats of violence (Bernstein, 2020; “Glamorizing Dictators,” 2018; M. Kirby, 2021). How this power is wielded is often different for each individual. Some individuals such 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. Individuals like Angela Merkel used her position and leadership skills to be a world leaders in most negotiations. While individuals more well known for their status demonstrated their power through prestige motives. To better understand how individuals such as world leaders or opinion makers gain and wield their power over others. Research in this field is often difficult to research yet strides have been made to understand power, namely through research in moral judgment and decision-making such as power orientation.

### 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 individ-

1123 uals in power sought power or were bestowed upon them. Often these dominant  
1124 individuals will wield their power with force and potentially cause risk to them-  
1125 selves to hold onto that power.

### 1126 **2.1.1 Dominance**

1127 The dominance motive is one of the more researched methods and well-  
1128 depicted power motives. Individuals with a dominant orientation display the more  
1129 primal of human behavior. These individuals will seek power through direct meth-  
1130 ods such as asserting dominance, control over resources, or physically assaulting  
1131 someone (M. W. Johnson & Bruner, 2012; Winter, 1993). Early research in dom-  
1132 inance motives has shown that acts of dominance ranging from asserting physical  
1133 dominance over another to physical displays of violence has been shown in many  
1134 mammalian species, including humans (Petersen et al., 2018; Rosenthal et al.,  
1135 2012).

1136 Individuals high in dominance are often high in Machiavellianism, nar-  
1137 cissism, and often are prone to risky behavior (discussion further in the next  
1138 section). Continued research has hinted at a possible tendency for males to dis-  
1139 play these dominant seeking traits more than females (Bareket & Shnabel, 2020;  
1140 Sidanius et al., 2000). When high dominance individuals assert themselves they  
1141 are doing so to increase their sense of power (C. Anderson et al., 2012; Bierstedt,  
1142 1950). Asserting one's sense of dominance over another can be a dangerous task.  
1143 In the animal kingdom, it can often lead to injury. While, in humans asserting  
1144 dominance can take a multitude of actions such as leering behaviors, physical dis-  
1145 tance, or other non-verbal methods to display dominance (Petersen et al., 2018;  
1146 Witkower et al., 2020). Power from a dominant perspective is not always be-  
1147 stowed upon someone. Often, high dominance individuals will take control and  
1148 hold onto it.



## 1149 2.1.2 Prestige

1150 Contrary to the dominant motivation of using intimidation and aggression  
1151 to gain more power, a prestige motivation or prestige, in general, is bestowed  
1152 upon an individual from others in the community (Maner & Case, 2016;  
1153 Suessenbach et al., 2019). Different from the dominance motivation, a prestige  
1154 motivation is generally unique to the human species (Maner & Case, 2016).  
1155 Due in part to ancestral human groups being smaller hunter-gatherer societies,  
1156 individuals that displayed and used important behaviors beneficial to the larger  
1157 group were often valued and admired by the group. Therein, the social group  
1158 bestows the authority onto the individual. Generally, this type of behavior  
1159 can be passively achieved by the prestigious individual. However, this does  
1160 not remove the intent of the actor in that they too can see prestige from the  
1161 group, but the method of achieving that social status greatly differs from that of  
1162 dominance-seeking individuals.

1163

1164 Apart from dominance-motivated individuals that continually have to fight  
1165 for their right to have power over others, individuals that seek or were given power  
1166 through a prestige motivation are not generally challenged in the same sense as  
1167 dominant individuals. Displaying behaviors that the community would see as  
1168 beneficial would endear them into the community making the survival of the  
1169 community as a whole better (Maner & Case, 2016). Evolutionarily this would  
1170 increase the viability of the prestigious individual and their genes. Similar to  
1171 the dominance perspective, the prestige perspective overall increases the power  
1172 and future survivability of the individual. However, due to the natural difference  
1173 between prestige and dominance, dominance-seeking individuals are challenged  
1174 more often resulting in more danger to their position (M. W. Johnson & Bruner,  
1175 2012).

### 1176 2.1.3 Leadership

1177 With a shared goal a leader is someone that takes initiative and attracts  
1178 followers for that shared goal (Van Vugt, 2006). Leadership is an interesting  
1179 aspect of behavior in that it is almost exclusive to human interaction. Dis-  
1180 cussions by evolutionary psychologists point to the formation of early human  
1181 hunter-gatherer groups where the close interconnectedness created a breeding  
1182 ground for leadership roles. As early humans began to evolve it would become  
1183 advantageous for individuals to work together for a common goal (King et  
1184 al., 2009). Often, individuals with more knowledge of a given problem would  
1185 demonstrate leadership and take charge or be given power. Multiple explanations  
1186 of the evolution of leadership exist such as coordination strategies, safety, along  
1187 with evidence for growth in social intelligence in humans (King et al., 2009; Van  
1188 Vugt, 2006).

1189

1190 An interesting aspect of leadership motivation is the verification of the  
1191 qualities of the leader by the communities. Individuals that are often put into  
1192 leadership roles or take a leadership role often display the necessary goals, qual-  
1193 ities, and knowledge to accomplish the shared/stated goal. However, this is not  
1194 always the case especially for those charismatic leaders where they could stay  
1195 on as a leader longer than the stated goal requires (Vugt & Ronay, 2014). Tra-  
1196 ditionally, leadership was thought to be fluid in that those with the necessary  
1197 knowledge at the time would be judged and appointed as the leader. However,  
1198 these charismatic leaders use their charisma, uniqueness, nerve, and talent to hold  
1199 onto their status. ## Risk

1200 Every time people leave the relative safety of their home, every decision  
1201 they make they are taking some form of risk. Financial risk is often discussed  
1202 in the media usually concerning the stock market. However, the risk is not  
1203 just present in finances but also in social interactions such as social risk, sexual

1204 risk, health and safety risk, recreational, and ethical risks (Breakwell, 2007;  
1205 Kühberger & Tanner, 2009; Shearer et al., 2005; Weber et al., 2002). Each  
1206 individual is different in their likelihood and perception of participating in those  
1207 risks. Some will be more inclined to be more financially risky while others would  
1208 risk their health and safety.

1209

1210 Whether to engage in a risky situation is very complex depending on a  
1211 cost-benefit analysis (P. S. Johnson et al., 2015). Do the positives outweigh  
1212 the negatives? In practice, not all individuals will do a cost-benefit analysis of  
1213 a risky situation. Often, the timing of an event makes such an analysis dis-  
1214 advantageous. The benefits are often relative to the individual decision-maker.  
1215 Differences emerge in the general likelihood to engage in risky behavior such that  
1216 males tend to be more likely to engage in risky behaviors than their female coun-  
1217 terparts (Chen & John, 2021; Desiderato & Crawford, 1995). Women tended to  
1218 avoid risky situations except for social risks.

## 1219 **2.2 The present study**

1220 The present study sought to further our understanding of dominance, pres-  
1221 tige, and leadership motivations in human decision-making. Furthering this, we  
1222 seek to bridge the connection between risk-taking behaviors, from diverse do-  
1223 mains, and the dominance, prestige, and leadership orientations. Following the  
1224 literature, we predicted that participants that were high in dominance orientation  
1225 would be more likely to not only engage in risky behaviors but praise the ben-  
1226 efits of participating in those behaviors. Individuals with prestige or leadership  
1227 orientation.

### 1228 **# Experiment 1 ## Methods**

1229 Participants were a convenience sample of 111 individuals from Prolific  
1230 Academic’s crowdsourcing platform ([www.prolific.io](http://www.prolific.io)). Prolific Academic is an

1231 online crowdsourcing service that provides participants access to studies hosted  
1232 on third-party websites. Participants were required to be 18 years of age or  
1233 older and be able to read and understand English. Participants received £4.00,  
1234 which is above the current minimum wage pro-rata in the United Kingdom, as  
1235 compensation for completing the survey. The Psychology Research Ethics Com-  
1236 mittee at the University of Edinburgh approved all study procedures [ref: 212-  
1237 2021/1]. The present study was pre-registered along with a copy of anonymized  
1238 data along with a copy of the R code and supplemental materials are available  
1239 at (<https://osf.io/s4j7y>).

## 1240 **2.3 Materials**

### 1241 **2.3.1 Demographic Questionnaire**

1242 In a demographic questionnaire administered prior to the main survey,  
1243 participants were invited to respond to a series of questions about their self-  
1244 identified demographic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and ethnic  
1245 origin.

### 1246 **2.3.2 Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Orientation**

1247 The 18-item Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership scale, DoPL (Suessen-  
1248 bach et al., 2019), is used to measure dominance, prestige, and leadership orien-  
1249 tation. Each question corresponds to one of the three domains. Each domain is  
1250 scored across six unique items related to those domains (e.g., “I relish opportuni-  
1251 ties in which I can lead others” for leadership) rated on a scale from 0 (Strongly  
1252 disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Included in this scale are 15 masking questions  
1253 obtained from the unified motives scale [20] consistency reliability for the current  
1254 sample is  $\alpha = 0.86$ .

### 1255 **2.3.3 Domain Specific Risk-taking Scale**

1256 The 40-item Domain-Specific Risk-taking Scale, DOSPERT (Weber et al.,  
1257 2002) is a scale assessing individuals' likelihood of engaging in risky behaviors  
1258 within 5 domain-specific risky situations: financial ("Gambling a week's income  
1259 at a casino."), social ("Admitting that your tastes are different from those of your  
1260 friends"), recreational ("Trying out bungee jumping at least once"), health and  
1261 safety ("Engaging in unprotected sex"), and ethical ("Cheating on an exam")  
1262 situations. Each risky situation is then rated on a five-point Likert scale (1 being  
1263 very unlikely and 5 being very likely). Two additional five-point Likert scales  
1264 assess risk perception and expected benefits (1 being not at all risky and 5 being  
1265 extremely risky; 1 being no benefits at all and 5 being great benefits) respectively.  
1266 Example risky situations are "Admitting that your tastes are different from those  
1267 of a friend" and "Drinking heavily at a social function." Internal consistency  
1268 reliability for the current samples for the 3 sub-domains are  $\alpha = 0.85$ ,  $\alpha = 0.90$ ,  
1269  $\alpha = 0.92$  respectively.

### 1270 **2.4 Procedure**

1271 Participants were recruited via a study landing page on Prolific's web-  
1272 site or via a direct e-mail to eligible participants (Prolific Academic, 2018). The  
1273 study landing page included a brief description of the study including any risks  
1274 and benefits along with expected compensation for successful completion. Par-  
1275 ticipants accepted participation in the experiment and were directed to the main  
1276 survey (Qualtrics, Inc; Provo, UT) where they were shown a brief message on  
1277 study consent.

1278 Once participants consented to participate in the experiment they an-  
1279 swered a series of demographic questions. Once completed, participants com-  
1280 pleted the Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Scale and the Domain Specific  
1281 Risk-taking scale. The two scales were counterbalanced to account for order ef-

fects. After completion of the main survey, participants were shown a debriefing statement that briefly mentions the purpose of the experiment along with the contact information of the main researcher (AI). Participants were compensated £4.00 via Prolific Academic.

## 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).

## 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

**Table 4***Participant demographic information (Experiment 1)*

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%)

1308 information for the participants. The average completion time for participants  
1309 was 20M 58s ( $SD = 10M\ 43s$ ).

### 1310 **2.6.1 Preregistered Analyses**

1311 We first investigated DoPL orientation on general risk preference (Figure  
1312 1). General risk preference was anecdotally explained by dominance orientation,  
1313 participant gender, and participant age (see table 2).

### 1314 **2.6.2 Demographic and DoPL**

1315 All participants completed the dominance, leadership, and prestige  
1316 scale (Suessenbach et al., 2019). Empirically, men have generally been more

**Table 5**

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

dominance-oriented in their behavior (Rosenthal et al., 2012). Following the literature, men tended to be more dominance orientated than women. The marginal posterior distribution of each parameter is summarized in Table #. Interestingly, older individuals tended to be more dominance-oriented than younger individuals.

## 2.7 Domain-Specific Risk-Taking

As predicted individuals that identified as male were more likely

## 2.8 Interactions

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).



## 1333 2.9 Discussion

## 1334 2.10 Experiment 2

## 1335 2.11 Methods

1336 Materials remain the same in terms of the (1) Demographic Questionnaire,  
1337 (2) Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Questionnaire, and (3) DOSPERT  
1338 Questionnaire. However, we added the Brief-Pathological Narcissism Inventory to  
1339 assess possible interactions of dominance and narcissism in risky decision-making.  
1340 Materials and methods were approved by the University of ## Participants

1341 Following experiment 1, participants were a convenience sample of 111  
1342 individuals from Prolific Academic’s crowdsourcing platform ([www.prolific.io](http://www.prolific.io)).  
1343 Prolific Academic is an online crowdsourcing service that provides participants  
1344 access to studies hosted on third-party websites. Participants were required to be  
1345 18 years of age or older and be able to read and understand English. Participants  
1346 received £4.00, which is above the current minimum wage pro-rata in the United  
1347 Kingdom, as compensation for completing the survey. The Psychology Research  
1348 Ethics Committee at the University of Edinburgh approved all study procedures  
1349 [ref: 212-2021/2]. The present study was pre-registered along with a copy of  
1350 anonymized data and a copy of the R code is available at ([https://osf.io/](https://osf.io/s4j7y)  
1351 [s4j7y](https://osf.io/s4j7y)).

## 1352 2.12 Materials

### 1353 2.12.1 Brief-Pathological Narcissism Inventory

1354 The 28 item Brief Pathological Narcissism Inventory (B-PNI; Schoenleber  
1355 et al., 2015) is a modified scale of the original 52-item Pathological Narcissism  
1356 Inventory (PNI; Pincus et al., 2009). Like the PNI the B-PNI is a scale measuring  
1357 individuals’ pathological narcissism. Items in the B-PNI retained all 7 patholog-  
1358 ical narcissism facets from the original PNI (e.g., exploitativeness, self-sacrificing

self-enhancement, grandiose fantasy, contingent self-esteem, hiding the self, devaluing, and entitlement rage). Each item is rated on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 5 (very much like me). Example items include “I find it easy to manipulate people” and “I can read people like a book.”

### 2.13 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 answered a series of demographic questions. Once completed, participants completed the Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Scale and the Domain Specific Risk-taking scale. An additional survey was added (the novel aspect of experiment 2) where participants, in addition to the two previous surveys, were asked to complete the brief-pathological narcissism inventory. The three scales were counterbalanced to account for order effects. After completion of the main survey, participants were shown a debriefing statement that briefly mentions the purpose of the experiment along with the contact information of the main researcher (AI). Participants were compensated £4.00 via Prolific Academic.

### 2.14 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

1385 were calculated for the relevant scales (i.e., DoPL and DOSPERT). All analyses  
1386 were done using (R Core Team, 2021) along with (Bürkner, 2017) package.

1387       The use of bayesian statistics has a multitude of benefits to statistical  
1388 analysis and research design. One important benefit is through the use of prior  
1389 data in future analyses. Termed as priors, is the use of prior distributions for  
1390 future analysis. This allows for the separation of how the data might have been  
1391 collected or what the intention was. In essence, the data is the data without the  
1392 interpretation of the scientist.

1393       All relevant analyses were conducted in a Bayesian framework using the  
1394 brms package (Bürkner, 2018) along with the cmdstanr packages notes (Gabry &  
1395 Cesnovar, 2021). In addition to the aforementioned packages, we used bayestestR,  
1396 rstan, and papaja for analysis along with the creation of this manuscript (Aust  
1397 & Barth, 2020; Makowski et al., 2019; Stan Development Team, 2020).

## 1398 **2.15 Results**

## 1399 **2.16 Preregistered Analyses**

### 1400 **2.16.1 Demographic and DoPL**

## 1401 **2.17 Domain-Specific Risk-Taking**

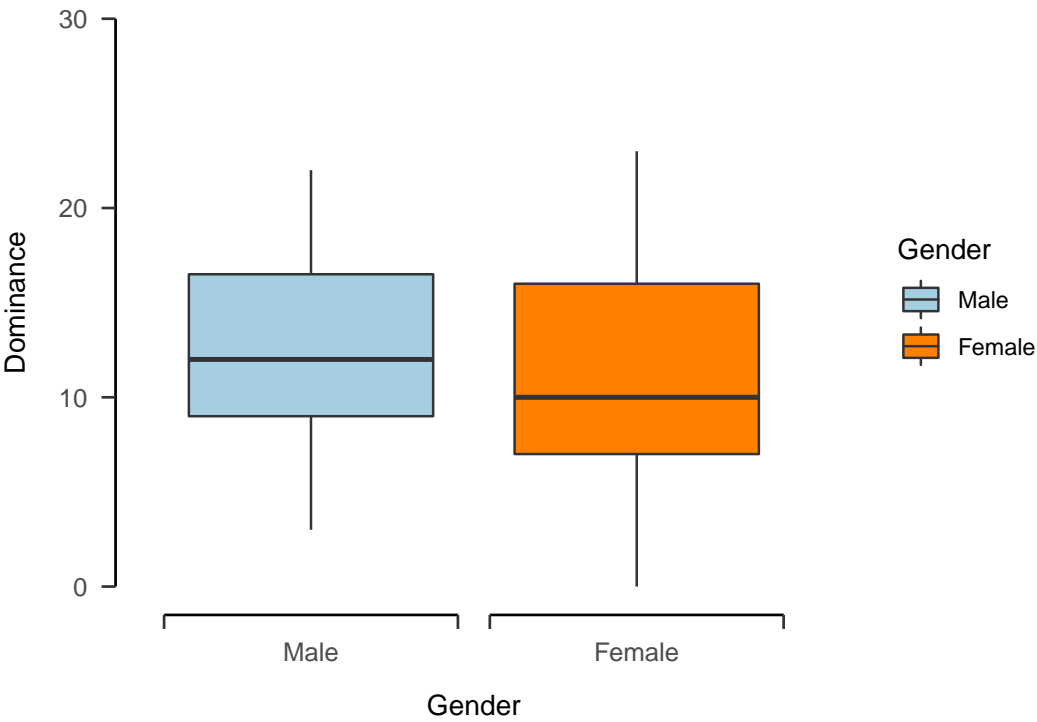
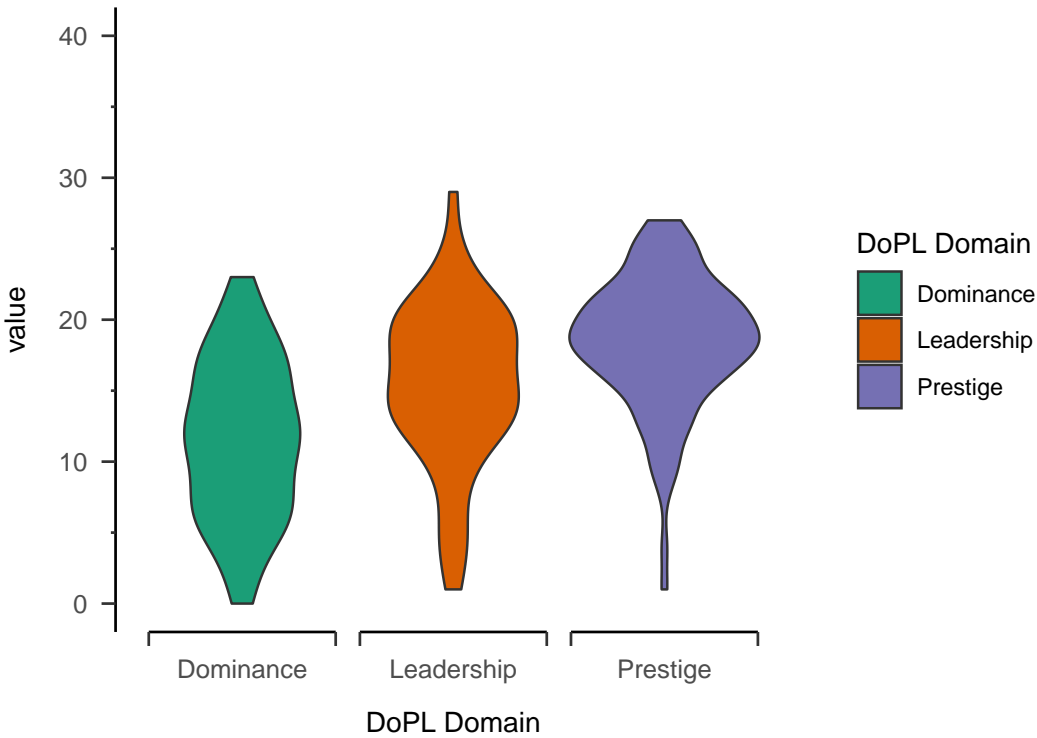
## 1402 **2.18 Interactions**

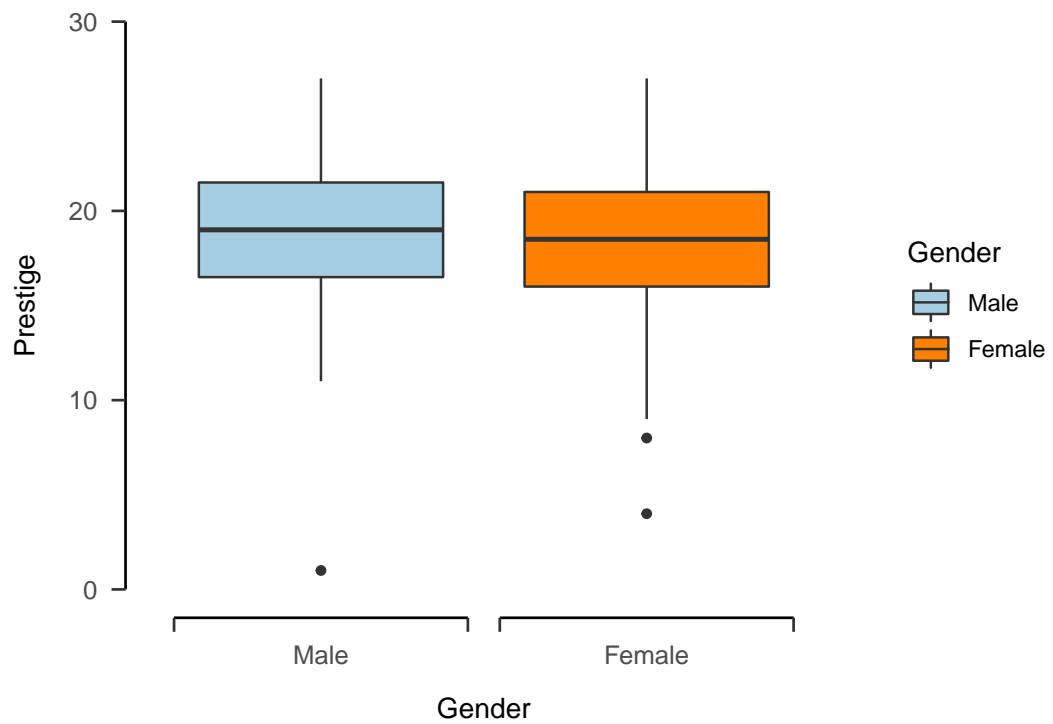
## 1403 **2.19 Discussion**

## 1404 **2.20 Limitations**

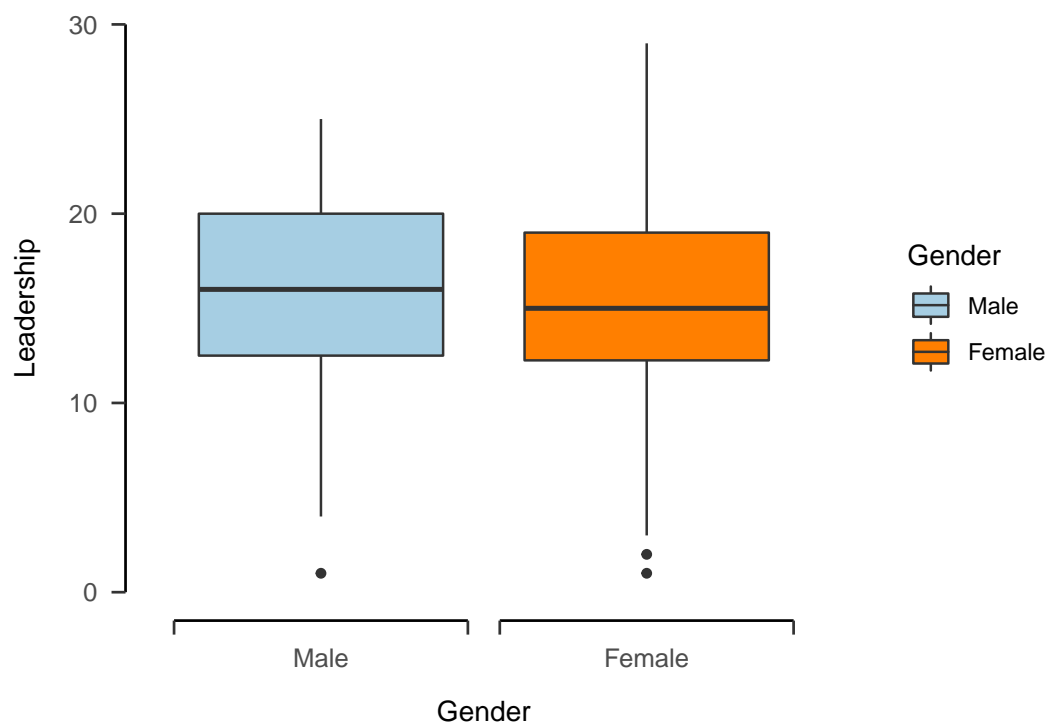
## 1405 **2.21 Future Implications**

3 Figures and Tables





1409



1410

**Table 6**

	Estimate	Est.Error	Q2.5	Q97.5
Intercept	3.62	1.13	1.41	5.86
dominanceSum	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 7**

Parameter	CI	CI_low	CI_high
b_ethicalPreference_Intercept	0.95	2.85	4.42
b_ethicalPreference_dominanceSum	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_socialPreference_dominanceSum	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_recreationalPreference_dominanceSum	0.95	0.66	1.74
b_recreationalPreference_Gender1	0.95	-1.83	-0.47
b_recreationalPreference_Age	0.95	0.06	0.87

## 4 Chapter 3:

### 4.1 Experiment 1:

### 4.2 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 connection 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-

1421 ing the five-factor model concept where the primary traits are extraversion and  
1422 agreeableness (Hyatt et al., 2018).

### 1423 **4.3 Narcissism**

1424 Narcissism is a personality trait that originally was seen as a method or  
1425 mechanism to shield the individual from feelings of low self-worth (Yakeley, 2018).  
1426 The understanding of what narcissism soon shifted with a focus on empirical un-  
1427 derstandings of the individual. Researchers such as Jeffrey Young, who expanded  
1428 on the work of Aaron Beck, theorized that the core beliefs of an individual along  
1429 with negative self-schemas influence the individual to seek out or act in ways in  
1430 line with a narcissitic personality (J. E. Young et al., 2006). Conceptualizations  
1431 of narcissism would soon entail it to be an understanding of grandiose sense of  
1432 self, fantastical beliefs of success and general superiority, along with a general  
1433 lack of empathy (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Okada, 2010; Yakeley,  
1434 2018)./ The earliest understandings of narcissism were through Sigmund Freud.  
1435 However, the term was first coined by Havelock Ellis who used the eponymous  
1436 Narcissus myth in the explanation of narcissism. Freud would then publish the  
1437 text *On Narcissism* to further our understanding of narcissism. Future under-  
1438 standings of narcissism would develop from a social cognitive framework of the  
1439 individual in relation to their environment. Such as Kernberg’s assessment that  
1440 narcissism stems from an aggressive and conflict filled childhood affecting the  
1441 child’s development and later aggression and envy towards others (Russell, 1985).

### 1442 **4.4 The present Experiments**

1443 Pathological narcissism at its core looks strikingly similar to self-esteem  
1444 and in-turn a grandiose sense of self. Investigations at risky situations have looked  
1445 at sexual self-esteem, exploratory experiment one. The present experiment seeks  
1446 to expand to investigate the relationship between pathological narcissism and see  
1447 which is a stronger predictor of risky sexual situations and riskiness in general.

## 1448 **4.5 Methods**

1449 Participants were a convenience sample of 111 individuals from Prolific  
1450 Academic’s crowdsourcing platform ([www.prolific.io](http://www.prolific.io)). Prolific Academic is an  
1451 online crowdsourcing service that provides participants access to studies hosted  
1452 on third-party websites. Participants were required to be 18 years of age or  
1453 older and be able to read and understand English. Participants received £4.00,  
1454 which is above the current minimum wage pro-rata in the United Kingdom, as  
1455 compensation for completing the survey. The Psychology Research Ethics Com-  
1456 mittee at the University of Edinburgh approved all study procedures [ref: 174-  
1457 2122/5]. The present study was pre-registered along with a copy of anonymized  
1458 data along with a copy of the R code and supplemental materials are available  
1459 at (<https://osf.io/s4j7y>).

## 1460 **4.6 Materials**

### 1461 **4.6.1 Demographic Questionnaire**

1462 In a demographic questionnaire administered prior to the main survey,  
1463 participants were invited to respond to a series of questions about their self-  
1464 identified demographic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and ethnic  
1465 origin.

### 1466 **4.6.2 Sexual Risk-taking Behavior Scale**

1467 4-item Sexual Risk-taking Behavior Scale (SRTB; Spiegel & Pollak, 2019),  
1468 is a scale measuring individuals on their risk-taking by requesting they respond to  
1469 a series of statements and their agreement on three different domains (i.e., Risk  
1470 perception, likelihood, and benefit perception). They are then given a series of  
1471 statements of sexual activities and the frequency that they have engaged in those  
1472 behaviors. Example items for the first three domains are “Sexual activity with  
1473 multiple participants” and “Sex under influence of substances (drugs/alcohol).”



1474 For the frequency section participants are asked to rate each sexual behavior on  
1475 a scale of never [1] to at least once a day [8].

### 1476 **4.6.3 Sociosexual Orientation Inventory**

1477 9-item Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (SOI-R; Penke & Asendorpf,  
1478 2008) is a 9 item scale asking participants a series of questions of how many  
1479 times participants have engaged in the questioned sexual behaviors. Example  
1480 items are “With how many different partners have you had sex with in the past  
1481 12 months?” and “With how many different partners have you had sexual inter-  
1482 course on one and only one occasion?” rated on a scale from 0 to 20 or more.

### 1483 **4.6.4 Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership**

1484 18-item Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership scale (DoPL; Sussenbach  
1485 et al., 2008), measures dominance, prestige, and leadership orientation. Each  
1486 question corresponds to one of the three domains. Each domain is scored across  
1487 6 unique items related to those domains (e.g., “I relish opportunities in which I  
1488 can lead others” for leadership) rated on a scale from 0 (Strongly disagree) to 5  
1489 (Strongly agree).

### 1490 **4.6.5 Pathological Narcissism**

1491 Brief Pathological Narcissism Inventory (B-PNI; Schoenleber et al., 2015):  
1492 Twenty-eight item inventory measuring individuals on 7 aspects of pathological  
1493 narcissism facet scales. Example items are “I feel important when others rely  
1494 on me” and “Sacrificing for others makes me the better person” rated on a scale  
1495 from 1 (not at all like me) to 5 (Very much like me).

## 1496 **4.7 Procedure**

1497 Participants were recruited via a study landing page on Prolific’s web-  
1498 site or via a direct e-mail to eligible participants (Prolific Academic, 2018). The

1499 study landing page included a brief description of the study including any risks  
1500 and benefits along with expected compensation for successful completion. Par-  
1501 ticipants accepted participation in the experiment and were directed to the main  
1502 survey (Qualtrics, Inc; Provo, UT) where they were shown a brief message on  
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1504       Once participants consented to participate in the experiment they an-  
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1506 pleted the Dominance, Prestige, and Leadership Scale and the Domain Specific  
1507 Risk-taking scale. The two scales were counterbalanced to account for order ef-  
1508 fects. After completion of the main survey, participants were shown a debriefing  
1509 statement that briefly mentions the purpose of the experiment along with the  
1510 contact information of the main researcher (AI). Participants were compensated  
1511 £4.00 via Prolific Academic.

## 1512 **4.8 Data analysis**

1513       Demographic characteristics were analyzed using multiple regression for  
1514 continuous variables (age) and Chi-square tests for categorical variables (gender,  
1515 race, ethnicity, ethnic origin, and education). Means and standard deviations  
1516 were calculated for the relevant scales (i.e., DoPL and DOSPERT). All analyses  
1517 were done using (R Core Team, 2021) along with (Bürkner, 2017) package.

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1519 analysis and research design. One important benefit is through the use of prior  
1520 data in future analyses. Termed as priors, is the use of prior distributions for  
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1524       All relevant analyses were conducted in a Bayesian framework using the  
1525 brms package (Bürkner, 2018) along with the cmdstanr packages notes (Gabry &

1526 Cesnovar, 2021). In addition to the aforementioned packages, we used bayestestR,  
1527 rstan, and papaja (Aust & Barth, 2020; Makowski et al., 2019; Stan Development  
1528 Team, 2020).

## 1529 **4.9 Results**

### 1530 ***4.9.1 Preregistered Analyses***

1531 We first investigated DoPL orientation on general risk preference (Figure  
1532 1). General risk preference was anecdotally explained by dominance orientation,  
1533 participant gender, and participant age (see table 2).

### 1534 ***4.9.2 Demographic and DoPL***

## 1535 **4.10 Domain-Specific Risk-Taking**

## 1536 **4.11 Interactions**

## 1537 **4.12 Discussion**

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