

NON-SADISTIC PLEASURE FROM PAIN? SEEKING EVIDENCE THAT SADISTIC
PLEASURE IS ABOUT CONVEYING MORALITY

by

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ABSTRACT

People higher (vs. lower) in everyday sadism tend to experience pleasure in response to others' suffering, which is presumed to be due to callousness, an appetitive motivation to harm others, and interpersonal dominance motivations; however, the present study predicts this process can also be due to the signaling of an im/moral identity. Participants ($N = 604$) completed indices of everyday sadism and then read about situations that involved the pain of a transgressing target and reported their experience of pleasure. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they were led to believe that moral/non-sadistic people experience greater displeasure in response to someone's pain than their less moral/sadistic counterparts or that moral/non-sadistic people experience greater pleasure in response to someone's pain than their less moral/sadistic counterparts. Regardless of the signaling condition, everyday sadism related positively to pleasure, and follow-up analyses produced similar effects after accounting for effects of experimenter demand, participant gender, and agreeableness. Results therefore failed to support the signaling perspective of sadistic pleasure.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my fiancé, Alec Cease, my parents, Nigel and Nicola Kinrade, my sister, Sophie Kinrade, my grandparents, Michael and Jacqueline Hardinge, and to my late grandparents, Clive and Jennifer Kinrade. I am grateful for your unconditional love and support, and I love you all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

N	Number of participants
=	Equal to
f^2	Cohen's f^2 effect size estimate
M	Mean
SD	Standard deviation
α	Cronbach's reliability index
ASP	Assessment of Sadistic Personality
SSIS	Short Sadistic Impulse Scale
MR	Multiple regression
p	Probability value
r	Pearson correlation
<	Less than
β	Beta coefficient
sr	Semi-partial correlation
F	Fisher's F ratio
R^2	Proportion of variance explained
ΔR^2	Change in proportion of variance explained
(R)	Reverse scored item
+	Positive relationship between two variables
-	Negative relationship between two variables

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INTRODUCTION

Experiencing pleasure from others' pain is considered abhorrent, evil, and undesirable under most circumstances, and imagining individuals that display such tendencies typically evokes images of serial killers and/or murderers. However, a growing body of research indicates that these tendencies are present at the subclinical level, in normal ("everyday") people (Buckels et al., 2013; Paulhus, 2014). Researchers have coined the term "everyday sadism" to refer to this personality construct, which is characterized by the enjoyment of others' pain and suffering (Buckels et al., 2013; Foulkes, 2019).

Previous work suggests that several features of everyday sadism may underlie the propensity to experience pleasure from others' pain (i.e., sadistic pleasure). Researchers have argued that callousness, or a deficit in empathy, is necessary for sadistic pleasure (Buckels et al., 2013; Buckels et al., 2019; Paulhus, 2014). Indeed, everyday sadism is negatively associated with empathy (O'Meara et al., 2011) and has been linked to deficits in affective empathy (Erickson & Sagarin, 2021; Sest & March, 2017) and cognitive empathy (Pajevic et al., 2018). Additionally, research has pointed to an intrinsic, appetitive motivation to harm others, in which the instigating of others' suffering triggers sadistic pleasure (Buckels et al., 2013; Foulkes, 2019; Paulhus, 2014; Taylor, 2009). For example, everyday sadism predicts unprovoked aggression and enjoyment of aggressive behavior (Chester et al., 2019), a willingness to work for the opportunity to harm innocent others (Buckels et al., 2013), and punishment of cooperative others at a cost to the self (Pfattheicher et al., 2017). Finally, previous work has indicated that the dominance and power that coincides with inflicting suffering motivates sadistic behaviors and

may also trigger sadistic pleasure (Foulkes, 2019; O'Meara et al., 2011; Pfattheicher et al., 2017; Taylor, 2009) and has found that everyday sadism is associated with interpersonal dominance (O'Meara et al., 2011).

The present work relies on the self-verification theoretical framework to propose a novel approach to conceptualizing the link between pleasure from others' pain and variations in everyday sadism. Self-verification theory postulates that people prefer to validate their self-beliefs, and thus are motivated to engage with socially symbolic expressions of those self-beliefs to confirm them (Swann, 2012). People seek out opportunities to verify their self-beliefs to increase feelings of identity coherence, reduce anxiety, and improve social functioning (Swann, 2012). A coherent identity is necessary for basic human functioning as it binds the physical body to the cultural matrix (Schlenker, 1980; Swann, 2012). Furthermore, identity coherence guides action and is required for prediction and control in social situations (Schlenker, 1980; Swann, 2012).

Through the lens of self-verification theory, being lower (vs. higher) in everyday sadism is an identity that must be maintained and defended, which involves seeking out and controlling socially-determined symbolic expressions of morality. Similar ideas have been expressed about traits or individual differences related to sadism. For example, people higher (vs. lower) in agreeableness manipulate socially-determined expressions of morality to convey an agreeable identity. In one study (Hart, Torigliano, & Kinrade, 2021), when participants were led to believe that agreeable (vs. less agreeable) people were more punitive, agreeableness related to enhanced punitive judgements; however, when participants were led to believe that agreeable (vs. less agreeable) people were less punitive, agreeableness related to reduced punitive judgments. Additionally, Hart, Richardson et al. (2021) demonstrated a similar phenomenon using an

amalgam of antagonistic personality constructs (i.e., everyday sadism, psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and antagonistic narcissism). When told that people lower (vs. higher) in antagonism see color turn more intense in a bogus color-gazing task, people relatively lower (vs. higher) in antagonism reported seeing the color turn more intense. Conversely, when told that people lower (vs. higher) in antagonism see color turn less intense, people relatively lower (vs. higher) in antagonism reported seeing the color turn less intense. This evidence suggests that people alter their responses to confirm their identity.

A self-verification theoretical perspective could provide insight as to why people higher (vs. lower) in everyday sadism report more pleasure in their response to others' suffering. It is possible that people lower in everyday sadism indicate greater displeasure to signal their commitment to care-based morality. Everyday sadism relates inversely to commitment to care-based morality (Erickson & Sagarin, 2021; Karandikar et al., 2019; Trémolière & Djeriouat, 2016), so sadistic expressions could reflect the management of a more or less caring/moral identity. When innocent others suffer, one's heightened displeasure is a conventional way people express a moral orientation (Haidt, 2003; Hoffman, 1990); for example, in most instances, audiences will infer that people who are more displeased in response to others' suffering are more caring and empathic people (Jordan & Rand, 2020). So, it is possible that people lower (vs. higher) in everyday sadism express less pleasure in response to other's suffering because this expression is perceived as a means of claiming a more caring and moral orientation (i.e., being non-sadistic). If this idea has merit, links between everyday sadism and pleasure judgments in response to others' suffering could be attenuated or possibly reversed if, hypothetically, greater pleasure was perceived as a means of claiming a moral orientation. No other accounts of sadistic pleasure, such as callousness, an appetitive motivation to harm others, and interpersonal

dominance motivations, make this prediction. In this way, the present idea compliments conceptions of sadistic pleasure in prior work by suggesting the role of a normative identity maintenance process (self-verification); unlike prior conceptions, the present work speculates that “sadistic pleasure” is *not* an inherent feature of sadism but is malleable as a function of what pleasure (in response to someone’s pain) conveys about one’s identity. Hence, the present work can speak rather clearly to the merits of this perspective joining the others as viable accounts of everyday sadism.

To address the present idea, participants completed measures of everyday sadism and read vignettes about situations that involved the pain of a transgressing target (adapted from Hart, Tortoriello, and Kinrade [2021] and Trémolière and Djeriouat [2016]). After reading each situation, participants indicated their feelings of pleasure from this person’s pain. This task included a between-subjects manipulation of “morality framing,” involving whether participants believed that displeasure or pleasure signaled morality. In line with methodology in Hart, Tortoriello, and Kinrade (2021), in the displeasure-is-moral condition, participants were told that, in previous studies, people that were highly moral reported more displeasure than less moral people (e.g., moral people do not like to see, even immoral, people in pain due to empathy); in the pleasure-is-moral condition, participants were told that, in previous studies, more moral people reported more pleasure than less moral people (e.g., moral people are concerned about justice and therefore take pleasure in immoral people getting their comeuppance). Other perspectives on sadism -- that do not focus on identity maintenance -- predict that everyday sadism will relate positively to pleasure regardless of morality framing (i.e., sadistic pleasure is inherent to sadism); however, the self-verification perspective predicts an interaction between self-reported everyday sadism and morality framing on pleasure ratings, such that people lower

(vs. higher) in everyday sadism will experience more pleasure when greater pleasure (vs. less pleasure) is consistent with morality and thus signals a non-everyday sadistic identity.

To examine the unique effects of everyday sadism, everyday sadism was also modeled with gender and agreeableness. Generally, men score higher than women on measures of everyday sadism (Buckels et al., 2013; Plouffe et al., 2019); however, being male does not necessitate being sadistic. Additionally, A measure of agreeableness was included to serve as a control variable. Agreeableness is a moral personality trait (McFerran et al., 2010) that is negatively related to everyday sadism (Meere & Egan, 2017) Although related, everyday sadism and low agreeableness are distinct in that everyday sadism specifically entails the enjoyment of others' suffering rather than merely callousness (e.g., not caring about others' suffering) that typifies low agreeableness (Lynam & Miller, 2019). The present hypothesis is that variance unique to everyday sadism, apart from agreeableness, will relate to tendencies to signal morality via the expression of pleasure from others' suffering. If the idea has merit, then everyday sadism should moderate effects of morality framing on pleasure after accounting for variance in agreeableness.

METHOD

Participants

A G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) analysis indicated that a sample size of $N = 265$ is required to detect a small to moderate interactive effect ($f^2 = .04$) involving everyday sadism and morality framing with a power of 0.90 and $\alpha = 0.05$. To obtain more stable estimates and account for data exclusions, we ran the study until the end of the semester and collected a larger sample of 640 undergraduate students from the psychology subject pool that participated in exchange for partial course credit. Ten participants were excluded for failing to complete the study measures, and 14 were excluded for demonstrating invariable responding across personality measures. Eleven participants were removed for failing two out of three attention check questions embedded within the personality measures designed to assess inattentive responding. Finally, one participant was excluded for indicating an age of less than 18, resulting in a final sample of $N = 604$ ($M_{age} = 18.71$, $SD_{age} = 1.08$; 64.4% female; 77.8% White). In this two group experiment, morality framing was manipulated as a between-subjects factor.

Procedure and Materials

Participants provided consent and completed an attention check question before being told that they will be completing two ostensibly different studies. For “Study 1”, participants completed a randomized presentation of personality measures. For “Study 2”, participants read three randomly presented hypothetical situations and rated how much pleasure they experienced from each situation. See Appendix for all study materials.

Assessment of Sadistic Personality (ASP; Plouffe et al., 2019)

Participants rated (dis)agreement with nine items (e.g., “*Being mean to others can be exciting*”) on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. Items were averaged to index everyday sadism ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.69$; $\alpha = .86$).

Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS; O’Meara et al., 2011)

Participants rated (dis)agreement with 10 items (e.g., “*I enjoy seeing people hurt*”) on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. Items were reverse coded when necessary and summed to index everyday sadism ($M = 15.44$, $SD = 6.23$; $\alpha = .88$).

International Personality Item Pool – Revised NEO Personality Inventory – Agreeableness Subscale (IPIP-NEO-Agreeableness; Maples et al., 2014)

Participants rated how accurately 24 statements described them (e.g., “*Trust others*”) on a 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*) scale. Items were reverse coded when necessary and averaged to measure agreeableness ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 0.53$; $\alpha = .86$).

Situation Responses

For the ostensible “Study 2”, the present study adopted a similar procedure to that in Hart, Tortoriello, and Kinrade (2021), which examined morality signaling in the context of agreeableness and punitive judgments. Participants were told that they will read about individuals who harm others and are subsequently harmed to about the same extent. Similar to Hart, Tortoriello, and Kinrade (2021), participants randomly assigned to the displeasure-is-moral condition were told that individuals who describe themselves as moral people typically experience displeasure when those who have harmed someone intentionally are also harmed; in this condition, moral individuals were framed as more empathetic, thus experiencing less pleasure than less moral individuals when a transgressor is harmed. Participants randomly assigned to the pleasure-is-moral condition were told that individuals who describe themselves as

moral people typically experience pleasure when a transgressor is harmed; in this condition, moral individuals were framed as caring about justice, thus experiencing more pleasure than less moral individuals when a transgressor is harmed. Prior to reading each situation, participants were told how moral participants typically respond to the transgressor being harmed (as in Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021; e.g., “*Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing pleasure in response to [malevolent protagonist from vignette] being harmed after he harms someone else.*” in the pleasure-is-moral condition). Participants then completed a comprehension check to ensure they understood how moral people typically respond before reading each situation (as in Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021).

The three hypothetical situations were used previously in Hart, Tortoriello, and Kinrade (2021; adapted from Trémolière and Djeriouat [2016]) and were adapted in minor ways to address the present identity signaling interpretation of everyday sadism and pleasure. Each situation involved a target that intentionally harms another person and is then subsequently harmed to about the same extent (e.g., “*Mike is taking a sculpture class. He is assigned to work with a partner to weld together pieces of metal. Mike intends to burn her partner's hand. Mike thinks that if he welds a piece of metal that his partner is holding, the heat will travel down the metal and burn his partner's hand. Mike welds the metal which burns his partner's hand. As his partner cries out in pain, he drops the piece of metal, which then burns Mike's leg.*”). After reading each situation, participants rated their experience of pleasure (e.g., “*While imagining the scenario... How much pleasure did you feel?*”; 1 = no pleasure at all; 9 = extreme pleasure), enjoyment (e.g., “*How much enjoyment did you feel?*”; 1 = no enjoyment at all; 9 = extreme enjoyment), and satisfaction (e.g., “*How much satisfaction did you feel?*”; 1 = no satisfaction at all; 9 = extreme satisfaction) while imagining each situation. Responses were averaged to index

pleasure ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 2.32$; $\alpha = .95$). To further strengthen the morality framing manipulation, each scale included labels for ostensible average ratings provided by past participants who were less moral and highly moral. For example, in the pleasure-is-moral condition, the ostensible average pleasure, enjoyment, and satisfaction ratings of highly moral people indicated higher values on the three items (i.e., higher pleasure) than ostensible average ratings of less moral people.

Debriefing and Demand-Check Questions

Participants then engaged in a funnel debriefing procedure that involved reporting demographic information and completing two free response demand-check questions (e.g., “*What do you think this study was testing?*”; “*Did you notice anything about the study that seemed strange?*”). I examined participants’ responses to each demand-check question to code for participants that were aware (i.e., participants that reported that the present work was examining responses to the hypothetical situation task or that the manipulation of morality framing was “strange”) and unaware.

RESULTS

Analytic Technique

First, to contextualize the findings, descriptive statistics for each everyday sadism measure and pleasure in each condition were examined. The main hypotheses involved use of multiple regression (MR). MR makes various assumptions (i.e., linearity, heteroscedasticity, normality or residuals, independence) about the data that, if violated, make the results suspect. These assumptions can be tested as a group (Darlington & Hayes, 2017); specifically, if a Bonferroni-corrected p -value of the largest t -residual is less than 0.05, then one can know that at least one assumption has been violated. In such a case, follow-up diagnostic tests can be performed to identify the nature of the violation and make adjustments to modeling. Here, for all the regression analyses we present, the Bonferroni-corrected p -value of the largest t -residual was 1.00, indicating no assumption violations.

We ran four multiple regressions to address our signaling perspective of everyday sadism. The two everyday sadism indices were highly related ($r = .77$); so, to create a more encompassing index of everyday sadism, the ASP and the SSIS were collapsed into a composite measure to test the main hypotheses concerning “everyday sadism.” That is, both measures were z-scored then averaged to create an everyday sadism composite, which is used in the regression analyses. First, the main regression analysis examined whether condition (pleasure-is-moral vs. displeasure-is-moral) moderated the effect of everyday sadism on pleasure. Second, to account for potential complicating effects in the main analysis, three follow-up regressions were conducted. One, to account for possible demand effects, two analyses were conducted in which

the main analysis was repeated after removing participants that indicated awareness of the study's purpose and indicated an aspect of the manipulation as "strange." If the main findings remain unchanged, conscious awareness of the study's purpose or manipulation are not required to produce the main findings. Two, to account for effects of gender, the main analysis was repeated (with the full sample) while including gender and the gender*condition interaction in modeling. If the main findings are replicated, the effects of everyday sadism (including its interactive effect with condition) on pleasure are not due to gender differences in everyday sadism. Three, to account for effects of agreeableness, the main analysis (with the full sample) was re-run with agreeableness and the agreeableness*condition interaction in modeling. If the main findings are replicated, the effects of everyday sadism (including its interactive effect with condition) on pleasure are not due to agreeableness confounding.

Preliminary Analyses

The descriptive statistics for everyday sadism and pleasure in each condition were anticipated from a non-clinical sample. As for everyday sadism scores, participants were generally low in everyday sadism, and only a small portion of the sample reported elevated levels of everyday sadism. For example, 31 participants (5.13% of the sample) scored above the scale midpoint of "3" on the ASP, and 14 participants (2.32% of the sample) scored above the scale midpoint of "30" on the SSIS. According to one-sample *t*-tests, the average ASP score was below the scale midpoint of "3" ($t(603) = -45.02, p < .001$), and the average SSIS score was below the scale midpoint of "30" ($t(603) = -57.48, p < .001$), indicating that participants were generally low in everyday sadism.

Nonetheless, pleasure ratings were more variable around the scale midpoint ("5"), particularly in the pleasure-is-moral condition. For example, in the pleasure-is-moral condition,

the mean pleasure rating was 4.52 ($SD = 2.44$); in the displeasure-is-moral condition, the mean pleasure rating was 3.22 ($SD = 1.99$). According to one-sample t -tests, the average pleasure rating was below the scale midpoint of “5” in the pleasure-is-moral ($t(304) = -3.43, p < .001$) and displeasure-is-moral ($t(298) = -15.40, p < .001$) conditions, indicating that participants experienced reduced pleasure (or displeasure) regardless of morality framing. In the pleasure-is-moral condition, 143 participants (47.83% of the sample in the pleasure-is-moral condition) indicated average ratings above the scale midpoint of “5” on pleasure, and in the displeasure-is-moral condition, 46 participants (15.08% of the sample in the displeasure-is-moral condition) indicated average ratings above the scale midpoint of “5” on pleasure. Hence, we were getting variability in pleasure ratings that suggested some people experienced pleasure and some experienced displeasure.

Main Analyses

To address the present idea, pleasure was submitted to a hierarchical regression with an interaction term. Everyday sadism (standardized, continuous) and condition (0 = displeasure-is-moral; 1 = pleasure-is-moral) were entered at Step 1, and the everyday sadism*condition interaction was entered at Step 2. Consistent with predictions, the analysis revealed a significant main effect of condition ($\beta = .28, p < .001; sr = .28$), indicating more pleasure in the pleasure-is-moral condition; however, the analysis also revealed an unexpected significant main effect of everyday sadism ($\beta = .26, p < .001; sr = .26$). Contrary to the present hypothesis, the everyday sadism*condition interaction at Step 2 was nonsignificant ($\beta = -.08, p = .154; sr = -.05$), although the effect was directionally consistent with predictions. Technically, simple-slope analyses are only appropriate in the presence of an interaction; however, because the interaction was in the anticipated direction, we performed simple-effect analyses anyway to glean more information on

the data pattern. Simple slopes analyses revealed that everyday sadism related positively to pleasure in the displeasure-is-moral condition ($\beta = .37, p < .001$) and the pleasure-is-moral condition ($\beta = .19, p < .001$). See Figure 1 for mean estimates of pleasure in each condition at high (+1 *SD* from the mean) everyday sadism and low (-1 *SD* from the mean) everyday sadism.

Complicating Effects

Demand.

59 participants (9.77% of the total sample) indicated awareness of the study's purpose or hypothesis. The main analyses were repeated after excluding these 59 participants ($N = 545$); everyday sadism and condition were entered at Step 1, and their interaction was entered at Step 2. Consistent with the main analyses, Step 1 revealed significant main effects of everyday sadism ($\beta = .26, p < .001; sr = .26$) and condition ($\beta = .30, p < .001; sr = .30$). The everyday sadism*condition interaction at Step 2 remained nonsignificant ($\beta = -.08, p = .125; sr = -.06$), and everyday sadism related positively to pleasure in the displeasure-is-moral ($\beta = .39, p < .001$) and pleasure-is-moral conditions ($\beta = .18, p < .001$).

Some participants may not indicate awareness, but still respond unnaturally to the manipulation if they found it odd (i.e., unbelievable or implausible). 52 participants (8.61% of the total sample) identified aspects of the manipulation framing when asked if there was anything about the study that was "strange." We repeated the main analyses once again while excluding these additional 52 participants ($N = 493$). As before, Step 1 revealed main effects of everyday sadism ($\beta = .24, p < .001; sr = .24$) and condition ($\beta = .34, p < .001; sr = .34$); the everyday sadism*condition interaction at Step 2 remained nonsignificant ($\beta = -.06, p = .282; sr = -.04$), and everyday sadism related positively to pleasure in the displeasure-is-moral ($\beta = .35, p < .001$) and pleasure-is-moral conditions ($\beta = .18, p < .001$).

Gender.

Analyses with gender were conducted with the total sample (see Table 1 for complete statistical output). A one-way ANOVA indicated that males ($M = 0.29$, $SD = 0.99$) had significantly greater everyday sadism scores to females ($M = -0.16$, $SD = 0.88$), $F(1, 602) = 28.12$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .05$. To test whether the relationship between everyday sadism and gender influenced the main analyses, we inserted everyday sadism, condition, and gender (0 = female; 1 = male) at Step 1, everyday sadism*condition, everyday sadism*gender, and condition*gender two-way interactions were entered at Step 2, and the everyday sadism*condition*gender three-way interaction was entered at Step 3. Step 1 revealed significant main effects of everyday sadism ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$; $sr = .23$), condition ($\beta = .28$, $p < .001$; $sr = .28$), and gender ($\beta = .08$, $p = .048$; $sr = .08$). No two- or three-way interactive effects were significant (for these effects, see Table 1). Thus, the relationship between sadism and gender is not responsible for the null sadism*condition effects on pleasure.

Agreeableness.

Everyday sadism and agreeableness were highly related ($r = -.72$). To account for this overlap, we recreated the main analyses while controlling for agreeableness. Everyday sadism (standardized, continuous), condition (0 = displeasure-is-moral; 1 = pleasure-is-moral), and agreeableness (standardized, continuous) were entered at Step 1, and the everyday sadism*condition and agreeableness*condition two-way interactions were entered at Step 2. No other two-way or three-way interactions were of theoretical interest, so they were not entered. The analysis revealed main effects of everyday sadism ($\beta = .17$, $p < .001$; $sr = .12$), condition ($\beta = .28$, $p < .001$; $sr = .28$), and agreeableness ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .001$; $sr = -.08$). The everyday sadism*condition ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .535$; $sr = -.02$) and agreeableness*condition ($\beta = .04$, $p = .615$;

$sr = .02$) interactions at Step 2 were nonsignificant. Thus, the confounding between sadism and agreeableness is not responsible for the null sadism*condition effects on pleasure.¹

¹ As an exploratory analysis, we investigated the moderating effect of agreeableness on relationship between morality framing and pleasure without including everyday sadism in modeling. To explore whether agreeableness is associated with signaling morality via pleasure, pleasure was submitted to a hierarchical regression with agreeableness (standardized, continuous) and condition (0 = displeasure-is-moral; 1 = pleasure-is-moral) inserted at Step 1 and the agreeableness*condition interaction inserted at Step 2. The analysis revealed main effects of agreeableness ($\beta = -.24, p < .001$) and condition ($\beta = .29, p < .001$) and a nonsignificant agreeableness*condition interaction ($\beta = .07, p = .167, sr = .05$).

DISCUSSION

The tendency for people higher (vs. lower) in everyday sadism to experience pleasure in response to others' suffering is presumed to be due to callousness, an appetitive motivation to harm others, and interpersonal dominance motivations (Buckels et al., 2013; Foulkes, 2019; O'Meara et al., 2011; Paulhus, 2014); however, previous work has also indicated that individuals engage with symbols of morality and antagonism to signal desired identities relevant to im/morality (Hart, Richardson et al., 2021; Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021). Although it is possible that pleasure is an inherent feature of sadism due to callousness, appetitive motives to harm others, and interpersonal dominance motives, it is also possible that individuals low (vs. high) in everyday sadism, by default, indicate higher amounts of displeasure in response to others' suffering as a means of signaling a moral identity. To test this theory, the present study examined whether individuals lower (vs. higher) in everyday sadism would indicate enhanced pleasure when greater pleasure (vs. less pleasure) was consistent with morality and signaled a non-everyday sadistic identity. Inconsistent with the theory, everyday sadism was positively associated with pleasure to approximately the same degree in both morality framing conditions. Hence, the results do not support the prediction that individuals lower (vs. higher) in everyday sadism use expressions of pleasure in response to others' suffering to communicate a moral identity.

It is possible, however, that the null interactive findings were due to aspects of the framing task. For example, perhaps the framing of the morality manipulation was not conducive to eliciting the tendency to signal an everyday sadistic identity. For example, Hart, Richardson et

al. (2021) observed signaling effects with an antagonism composite that included everyday sadism by framing the task in terms of signaling immoral/antagonistic features rather than moral/agreeable features (as we did here). Specifically, these researchers gave participants an opportunity to engage in behavior to signal being a type of person that tends to scare others, threaten people to exert influence and control, care very little about others' welfare, and rarely or never genuinely feel remorseful for hurting others (Hart, Richardson et al., 2021). Here, the framing task dealt with signaling a prosocial, moral identity. Considering the two studies, then, it is possible that everyday sadistic individuals are not less likely to engage in behavior to signal a prosocial identity but are more likely to engage in behavior to signal an antagonistic identity. This can occur if one's "goodness" and "badness" judgments are somewhat independent. For example, perhaps everyday sadistic and non-sadistic people regard themselves as generally "good" people, but everyday sadistic people tend to also regard themselves as more "bad" (i.e., they see the self as more morally "flawed"). Some evidence seems consistent with this possibility. For example, in the present study, the significant main effect of condition indicates that everyday sadistic and non-sadistic individuals were equally responsive to the morality framing to alter their pleasure judgments to seem more moral. Additionally, everyday sadism has been linked to morally courageous internet behaviors (e.g., sharing content that brings attention to moral and ethical issues, sharing online petitions to influence moral and ethical issues; Kinnunen et al., 2016), and everyday sadism relates positively to some types of helping behavior (e.g., Tortoriello & Hart, 2019). Such evidence could imply that people higher in everyday sadism may not disclaim being "good." That said, the evidence linking everyday sadism to antisocial outcomes is prevalent and implies that people higher in everyday sadism probably do not disclaim being "bad." Future work is needed to examine everyday sadism's association with

prosocial outcomes, broadly. Additionally, future research may manipulate whether the task is framed in terms of signaling immorality to see if the effects in the present study change.

That said, it would have at least been anticipated that the morality framing manipulation we used here would be moderated by agreeableness, which has been associated with claiming a more agreeable identity in prior work (Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021). For example, Hart, Tortoriello, and Kinrade (2021) found signaling effects of agreeableness by framing a task in terms of learning about whether one has agreeable tendencies (e.g., warm, caring, and sympathetic). Hence, the null agreeable*condition effect on behavior in our study is also concerning and may highlight some more general matter about moderating the condition effect in the context of this study (e.g., pleasure in response to a transgressor's pain).

Although the methodology may not have been ideal for testing the present idea, it is still possible that our idea is wrong. Perhaps signaling has nothing to do with the sadism-pleasure link. In this case, prior conceptions of everyday sadism that stress enjoyment of pain, callousness, and dominance motives could be the full story (Buckels et al., 2013; Buckels et al., 2019; Paulhus, 2014). Additional research is needed to uncover the underpinnings of sadistic pleasure, and perhaps future work should consider including measures of callousness and dominance motives to compare these multiple conceptions of everyday sadism in work examining the sadism-pleasure link.

The data revealed other interesting patterns that were not relevant to theory testing but deserve mention and potentially future investigation. For example, we observed a main effect of morality framing condition on pleasure, which indicates that participants reported greater pleasure (i.e., reduced displeasure) in the pleasure-is-moral (vs. displeasure-is-moral) condition.

This finding suggests that participants engaged with expressions of pleasure to signal a moral identity and is consistent with a general tendency to engage with symbols to signal morality, as seeming moral is generally a positive identity (Batson et al., 2002; Jordan et al., 2016; Jordan & Rand, 2020). People change their behavior to seem moral for external and internal audiences (Batson et al., 2002; Jordan et al., 2016; Jordan & Rand, 2020). In the presence of an external audience, individuals change their behavior to seem more moral, which garners reputational benefits (Jordan et al., 2016; Jordan & Rand, 2020). In the presence of an internal audience (i.e., the self), individuals change their behavior to convince the self of its own morality (Batson et al., 2002; Jordan & Rand, 2020), which is consistent with the present findings wherein participants signaled a moral identity without the presence of an external audience. Additionally, this finding is in line with prior work that has demonstrated that individuals use symbols to signal a prosocial identity (Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021; Johnson et al., 2018; Jordan & Rand, 2020). Broadly, the present findings provide novel evidence to a growing body of literature on signaling by demonstrating that individuals will engage with expressions of pleasure in response to others' suffering to signal a moral identity. Future work may seek to build on the present findings by considering additional symbols that may be used to signal moral/prosocial identities, such as helping behaviors and morally courageous internet behaviors.

Additionally, we obtained a main effect of gender on pleasure (+; controlling for everyday sadism), which indicates that males (vs. females) reported greater pleasure (i.e., reduced displeasure) in response to the targets' suffering (with everyday sadism held constant), although the effect was small ($sr = .08$). These effects are arguably consistent with the social role perspective on gender (Eagly et al., 2000; Eagly & Wood, 2012), which has been applied to explain gender differences across a variety of social behaviors, including aggression, helping,

and agentic vs. communal interpersonal behaviors (Eagly & Wood, 1991; Suh et al., 2004). According to the social role theory of gender, social expectations associated with gender influence observable differences in men and women's behavior (Eagly et al., 2000; Eagly & Wood, 2012). For example, generally, men are expected to behave agentially (e.g., be competitive, dominant, and assertive) whereas women are expected to behave communally (e.g., be caring, empathetic, and friendly; Eagly et al., 2000; Eagly & Wood, 2012). Expressing pleasure in response to other's suffering (i.e., everyday sadism) is thought to elicit feelings of dominance and power over others (Meere & Egan, 2017; O'Meara et al., 2011; Plouffe et al., 2017; Foulkes, 2019) which is more conducive to men's social role expectations of behaving dominantly than women's social role expectations of behaving empathetically.

We also found unique effects of everyday sadism (+) *and* agreeableness (-) on pleasure. This suggests both constructs have unique features that contributed to feeling pleasure from someone else's pain. Although related, everyday sadism and low agreeableness (i.e., antagonism) are unique in that everyday sadism involves the enjoyment of others' suffering whereas low agreeableness represents a general callousness that may manifest as an indifference towards others' suffering (Buckels et al., 2013; Lynam & Miller, 2019). Theoretically, pleasure in response to others' suffering can be influenced by the enjoyment of others' suffering or callousness, the former being everyday sadism and the latter low agreeableness. Therefore, the present findings provide novel support for the possibility that everyday sadism and agreeableness uniquely influence pleasure in response to others' suffering. Additionally, the findings are broadly consistent with prior work that has demonstrated that everyday sadism and agreeableness predict antisocial outcomes independently, suggesting they encompass different mechanisms that may drive antisociality (Fernández-del-Río et al., 2021; van Geel et al., 2017).

The present work has various weaknesses that prevent drawing secure conclusions. First, the sample consisted of college students, which limits the generalizability of the findings to other samples. Additionally, since the study lacked individuals with absolutely high everyday sadism scores (i.e., means of everyday sadism were well below the scale midpoints), we examined everyday sadism scores with a limited range, which could indicate that the observed interactive effect sizes are underestimated. Statistically speaking, limitations in the range of regressors reduces the size of effects; therefore, the lack of a full range of everyday sadism scores nearly guarantees that the effects are underestimated. The observed everyday sadism*condition interactive effect ($sr = -.05$ in the main analysis) is in line with other interactive effect sizes in social science (Schumpe & Lafrenière, 2016; Sest & March, 2017; Tortoriello & Hart, 2019), so it is possible that the interaction is real but just very small and the study was underpowered to find it. Second, the present study relied on self-report indices of everyday sadism and pleasure, which may be vulnerable to consistency-pressure response biases. For example, perhaps everyday sadistic individuals indicated responses to the self-report pleasure measure to seem more in line with their personality and responses to the self-report everyday sadism measures (e.g., experiencing greater pleasure from others' pain). In this case, consistency-pressure response biases may, in part, account for the main effect of everyday sadism on pleasure. To address this concern, future work might employ informant reports of everyday sadism in addition to self-report measures. Finally, due to ethical limitations inherent in examining everyday sadistic behaviors, participants read about situations that involved the suffering of a transgressing target. Sadistic pleasure may be more strongly elicited in situations involving real-life harm and in which the individual has the opportunity to inflict harm. Therefore, the main effect of everyday sadism on pleasure is likely underestimated. Future research might examine sadistic

pleasure using tasks more akin to reality, such as having participants view videos depicting apparent harm or giving participants the opportunity to ostensibly harm another individual.

In conclusion, the present work sought to understand a seemingly pathological phenomenon through the lens of a normative identity maintenance process. In contrast to prior work, the present work speculated that sadistic pleasure was a malleable aspect of everyday sadism that depended on what pleasure conveyed about one's identity. This idea was not supported by the results. Nonetheless, considering everyday sadism, and personality pathology broadly, as based in normative processes rather than deficiencies is essential to understanding how to limit behaviors that are harmful to others.

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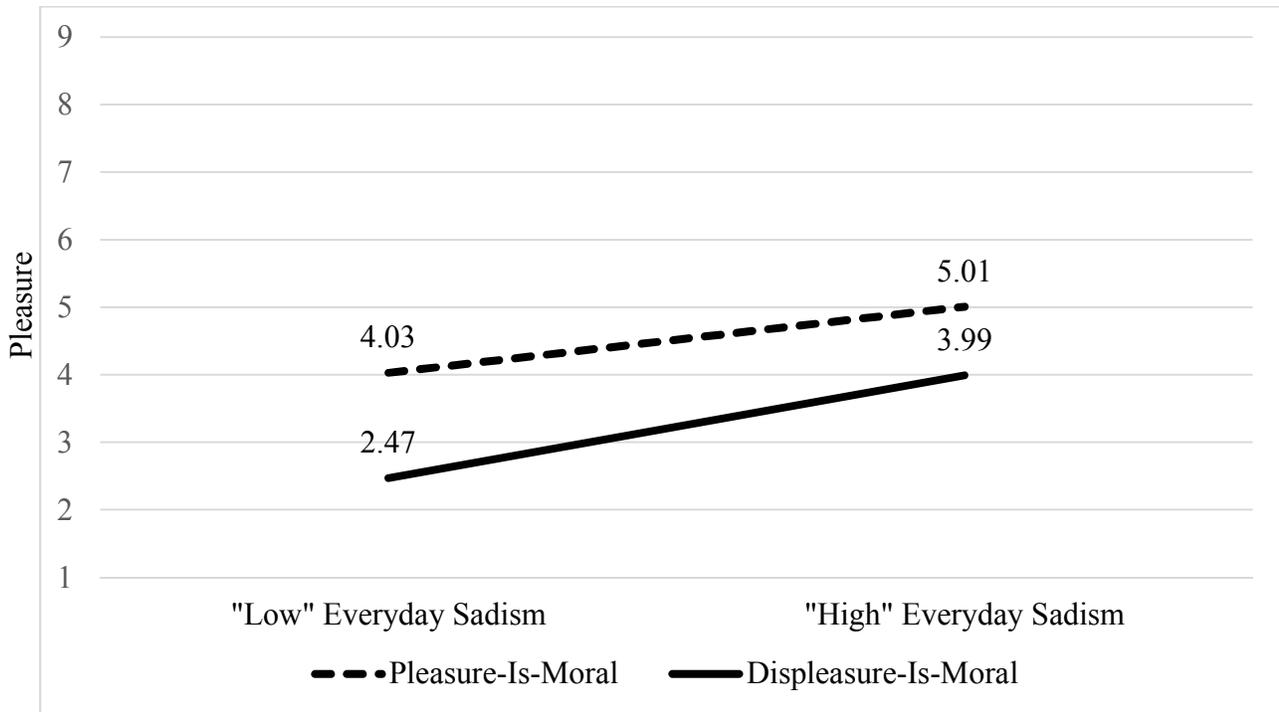
Table 1

Multiple Regression Results for Everyday Sadism, Condition, and Gender, and Their Interactions on Pleasure

	β (<i>sr</i>)	<i>p</i>	ΔR^2
Step 1			.15
Everyday Sadism	.24 (.23)	< .001	
Condition	.28 (.28)	< .001	
Gender	.08 (.08)	.048	
Step 2			.01
Everyday Sadism*Condition	-.07 (-.05)	.167	
Everyday Sadism*Gender	-.07 (-.05)	.170	
Gender*Condition	.01 (.00)	.935	
Step 3			.00
Everyday Sadism*Condition*Gender	-.06 (-.03)	.411	

Figure 1

Mean Estimates of Pleasure as a Function of Everyday Sadism and Morality Framing Condition



Note. Pleasure-is-moral = pleasure-is-moral condition; displeasure-is-moral = displeasure-is-moral condition. “Low” everyday sadism indicates scores + 1 *SD* from the mean, and “high” everyday sadism indicates scores – 1 *SD* from the mean.

APPENDIX

Study Introduction

Today, you will be completing two separate Studies:

1. For Study 1, you will answer a series of questions about your personality.
2. For Study 2, you will read about a variety of situations and respond to questions about each situation.

“Study 1” Information

Study 1 is designed to catalogue a profile of personalities. For this Study, you will answer a series of *anonymous* questions about your personality.

Assessment of Sadistic Personality (ASP; Plouffe et al., 2019)

1. I have made fun of people so that they know I am in control.
2. I never get tired of pushing people around.
3. I would hurt somebody if it meant that I would be in control.
4. When I mock someone, it is funny to see them get upset.
5. Being mean to others can be exciting.
6. I get pleasure from mocking people in front of their friends.
7. Watching people get into fights excites me.
8. I think about hurting people who irritate me.
9. I would not purposely hurt anybody, even if I didn't like them. (R)
10. I am paying attention; select “1 = strongly disagree” for this statement.¹

Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS; O'Meara et al., 2011)

1. Hurting people would be exciting.
2. I have hurt people because I could.
3. I wouldn't intentionally hurt anyone. (R)
4. I have hurt people for my own enjoyment.
5. I have humiliated others to keep them in line.
6. I would enjoy hurting someone physically, sexually or emotionally.
7. I enjoy seeing people hurt.
8. I have fantasies which involve hurting people.
9. Sometimes I get so angry I want to hurt people.

¹ This item is an attention check question and is not part of the sadism scale.

10. People would enjoy hurting others if they gave it a go.
11. I am paying attention; select “4 = agree” for this statement.²

**International Personality Item Pool – Revised NEO Personality Inventory – Agreeableness
Subscale (IPIP-NEO-Agreeableness; Maples et al., 2014)**

1. Trust others.
2. Use flattery to get ahead. (R)
3. Make people feel welcome.
4. Love a good fight. (R)
5. Sympathize with the homeless.
6. Believe that others have good intentions.
7. Know how to get around rules. (R)
8. Love to help others.
9. Yell at people. (R)
10. Think highly of myself. (R)
11. Feel sympathy for those who are worse off than myself.
12. Trust what people say.
13. Cheat to get ahead. (R)
14. Am concerned about others.
15. Insult people. (R)
16. Have a high opinion of myself. (R)
17. Suffer from others’ sorrows.
18. Distrust people. (R)
19. Take advantage of others. (R)
20. Turn my back on others. (R)
21. Get back at others. (R)
22. Make myself the center of attention. (R)
23. Am not interested in other people’s problems. (R)
24. Believe that I am better than others. (R)
25. I am paying attention; select “5 = Strongly Agree” for this statement.³

“Study 2” Information: Displeasure-Is-Moral Condition

Now you will complete Study 2.

Study 2 assesses responses to immoral behaviors that cause people pain and suffering. You will be presented with hypothetical situations about people that have hurt someone intentionally and subsequently are coincidentally harmed to about the same extent.

Individuals who describe themselves as moral people typically experience displeasure when those who have hurt someone intentionally are also harmed to about the same extent. This is because more moral individuals tend to be more empathic, so they tend to report, relative to less

² This item is an attention check question and is not part of the sadism scale.

³ This item is an attention check question and is not part of the sadism scale.

moral individuals, less pleasure when immoral people get harmed to about the same extent as they have harmed others.

Situations (adapted from Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021; Trémolière & Djeriouat, 2016) and Responses for Displeasure-Is-Moral Condition

Sculpture Glass Situation

You are about to read a story about Mike.

Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing displeasure in response to Mike being harmed after he harms someone else.

To make sure you understand this information, which best describes how moral people respond to Mike being harmed?

- They do NOT experience pleasure.
- They do not know how to respond.
- They experience pleasure.
- They experience confusion.

Mike is taking a sculpture class. He is assigned to work with a partner to weld together pieces of metal. Mike intends to burn her partner's hand. Mike thinks that if he welds a piece of metal that his partner is holding, the heat will travel down the metal and burn his partner's hand. Mike welds the metal which burns his partner's hand. As his partner cries out in pain, he drops the piece of metal, which then burns Mike's leg.

While imagining the scenario:

How much pleasure did you feel when you learned Mike burned his leg?

- 1 = No pleasure at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme pleasure

How much enjoyment did you feel when you learned Mike burned his leg?

- 1 = No enjoyment at all
- 2

- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 9 = Extreme enjoyment

How much satisfaction did you feel when you learned Mike burned his leg?

- 1 = No satisfaction at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme satisfaction

Dart Game Situation

You are about to read a story about Leo.

Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing displeasure in response to Leo being harmed after he harms someone else.

To make sure you understand this information, which best describes how moral people respond to Leo being harmed?

- They do not know how to respond.
- They experience pleasure.
- They experience confusion.
- They do NOT experience pleasure.

Leo is eating at a diner when a man challenges him to a game of darts. The man throws his darts well and gets a very high score. Leo intends to hit the man's hand with a dart and pierce it. Leo thinks that the man is about to reach toward the dart board to collect his darts, and Leo thinks that if he throws his dart, he will hit the man's hand and pierce it. Leo throws his dart, the man reaches out, and the dart hits his hand and pierces it. In a scuffle to provide aid to the bleeding man, a waitress drops a tray of glasses which sends shards of glass flying in different directions. Leo slips, and one of these shards pierces Leo in the hand.

While imagining the scenario:

How much pleasure did you feel when you learned Leo cut his hand?

- 1 = No pleasure at all
- 2
- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 9 = Extreme pleasure

How much enjoyment did you feel when you learned Leo cut his hand?

- 1 = No enjoyment at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme enjoyment

How much satisfaction did you feel when you learned Leo cut his hand?

- 1 = No satisfaction at all
- 2
- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 9 = Extreme satisfaction

Peanut Situation

You are about to read a story about Mark.

Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing displeasure in response to Mark being harmed after he harms someone else.

To make sure you understand this information, which best describes how moral people respond to Mark being harmed?

They do not know how to respond.
They do NOT experience pleasure.
They experience confusion.
They experience pleasure.

Mark's cousin is over for dinner. Mark knows that his cousin is allergic to peanuts and has intention to hurt him. He decides to add peanuts to the dish so as to poison his cousin. Mark grinds up the peanuts, adds them in, and serves his cousin. His cousin eats the dish, has an allergic reaction, and is hospitalized. Later that night, Mark is stung by several bees while taking out the trash, which triggers an allergic reaction that puts him in the hospital.

While imagining the scenario:

How much pleasure did you feel when you learned Mark had an allergic reaction?

- 1 = No pleasure at all
- 2
- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 9 = Extreme pleasure

How much enjoyment did you feel when you learned Mark had an allergic reaction?

- 1 = No enjoyment at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme enjoyment

How much satisfaction did you feel when you learned Mark had an allergic reaction?

- 1 = No satisfaction at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6

7 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
8
9 = Extreme satisfaction

“Study 2” Information: Pleasure-Is-Moral Condition

Now you will complete Study 2.

Study 2 assesses responses to immoral behaviors that cause people pain and suffering. You will be presented with hypothetical situations about people that have hurt someone intentionally and subsequently are coincidentally harmed to about the same extent.

Individuals who describe themselves as moral people typically experience pleasure when those who have hurt someone intentionally are also harmed to about the same extent. This is because more moral individuals tend to care about justice, so they tend to report, relative to less moral individuals, more pleasure when immoral people get harmed to about the same extent as they have harmed others.

Situations (adapted from Hart, Tortoriello, & Kinrade, 2021; Trémolière & Djeriouat, 2016) and Responses for Pleasure-Is-Moral Condition

Sculpture Glass Situation

You are about to read a story about Mike.

Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing pleasure in response to Mike being harmed after he harms someone else.

To make sure you understand this information, which best describes how moral people respond to Mike being harmed?

- They do NOT experience pleasure.
- They do not know how to respond.
- They experience pleasure.
- They experience confusion.

Mike is taking a sculpture class. He is assigned to work with a partner to weld together pieces of metal. Mike intends to burn her partner's hand. Mike thinks that if he welds a piece of metal that his partner is holding, the heat will travel down the metal and burn his partner's hand. Mike welds the metal which burns his partner's hand. As his partner cries out in pain, he drops the piece of metal, which then burns Mike's leg.

While imagining the scenario:

How much pleasure did you feel when you learned Mike burned his leg?

- 1 = No pleasure at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme pleasure

How much enjoyment did you feel when you learned Mike burned his leg?

- 1 = No enjoyment at all
- 2
- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 9 = Extreme enjoyment

How much satisfaction did you feel when you learned Mike burned his leg?

- 1 = No satisfaction at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme satisfaction

Dart Game Situation

You are about to read a story about Leo.

Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing pleasure in response to Leo being harmed after he harms someone else.

To make sure you understand this information, which best describes how moral people respond to Leo being harmed?

They do not know how to respond.
They experience pleasure.
They experience confusion.
They do NOT experience pleasure.

Leo is eating at a diner when a man challenges him to a game of darts. The man throws his darts well and gets a very high score. Leo intends to hit the man's hand with a dart and pierce it. Leo thinks that the man is about to reach toward the dart board to collect his darts, and Leo thinks that if he throws his dart, he will hit the man's hand and pierce it. Leo throws his dart, the man reaches out, and the dart hits his hand and pierces it. In a scuffle to provide aid to the bleeding man, a waitress drops a tray of glasses which sends shards of glass flying in different directions. Leo slips, and one of these shards pierces Leo in the hand.

While imagining the scenario:

How much pleasure did you feel when you learned Leo cut his hand?

- 1 = No pleasure at all
- 2
- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 9 = Extreme pleasure

How much enjoyment did you feel when you learned Leo cut his hand?

- 1 = No enjoyment at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme enjoyment

How much satisfaction did you feel when you learned Leo cut his hand?

- 1 = No satisfaction at all
- 2
- 3

- 4 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 9 = Extreme satisfaction

Peanut Situation

You are about to read a story about Mark.

Participants who describe themselves as moral people typically report experiencing pleasure in response to Mark being harmed after he harms someone else.

To make sure you understand this information, which best describes how moral people respond to Mark being harmed?

- They do not know how to respond.
- They do NOT experience pleasure.
- They experience confusion.
- They experience pleasure.

Mark’s cousin is over for dinner. Mark knows that his cousin is allergic to peanuts and has intention to hurt him. He decides to add peanuts to the dish so as to poison his cousin. Mark grinds up the peanuts, adds them in, and serves his cousin. His cousin eats the dish, has an allergic reaction, and is hospitalized. Later that night, Mark is stung by several bees while taking out the trash, which triggers an allergic reaction that puts him in the hospital.

While imagining the scenario:

How much pleasure did you feel when you learned Mark had an allergic reaction?

- 1 = No pleasure at all
- 2
- 3
- 4 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 9 = Extreme pleasure

How much enjoyment did you feel when you learned Mark had an allergic reaction?

- 1 = No enjoyment at all

- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme enjoyment

How much satisfaction did you feel when you learned Mark had an allergic reaction?

- 1 = No satisfaction at all
- 2
- 3 (average rating indicated by less moral people)
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (average rating indicated by highly moral people)
- 8
- 9 = Extreme satisfaction

IRB Approval Letter

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA[®] | Office of the Vice President for
Research & Economic Development
Office for Research Compliance

July 15, 2021

Charlotte Kinrade
Department of Psychology
College of Arts & Sciences
The University of Alabama
Box 870348

Re: IRB # 19-OR-184-R2 "Personality and Social Interaction"

Dear Ms. Kinrade:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your renewal application. Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. You have also been granted the requested waiver of one element of informed consent as well as a waiver of documentation of informed consent. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

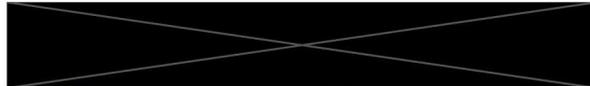
(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

The approval for your application will lapse on July 14, 2022. If your research will continue beyond this date, please submit a continuing review to the IRB as required by University policy before the lapse. Please note, any modifications made in research design, methodology, or procedures must be submitted to and approved by the IRB before implementation. Please submit a final report form when the study is complete.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved informed consent form to obtain consent from your participants.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



T. Myles, MSM, CIM, CIP
Director & Research Compliance Officer

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