2023

The Externalization of the Triarchic Psychopathy Model's Boldness in Successful Female Psychopathy

Michelle F. Linski
Walden University

Walden University

College of Psychology and Community Services

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Michelle Linski

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee
Dr. Bethany Walters, Committee Chairperson, Psychology Faculty
Dr. Julie Lindahl, Committee Member, Psychology Faculty

Chief Academic Officer and Provost
Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University
2023

Abstract

The Externalization of the Triarchic Psychopathy Model's Boldness in Successful Female Psychopathy

by

Michelle Linski

MS, Southern New Hampshire University, 2018

BA, American Military University, 2016

Doctoral Study Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Forensic Psychology

Walden University

September 2023

Abstract

The study of successful female psychopathy is one that is under researched in the field of psychopathy. Current research focuses on the criminal male psychopath which has also led to a deficit of research on boldness, a construct of psychopathy found within the triarchic psychopathy model (TriPM). It is crucial that these gaps be addressed because these individuals still can harm those around them. The more researchers understand about the roles of gender and boldness and how they work together, the more equipped they will be when piecing together the psychopathy puzzle. The current study was grounded in Bem's gender schema theory, and an explanatory mixed methods design was used to best examine the interaction of gender and the expression of boldness. Forty women total participated in the first phase of this study, the TriPM self-assessment, and a total of 10 participants completed the second phase of the study. The results showed that women who have high rates of boldness express that construct in a way that is non-adherent to typical female gender norms. A significant variable that influenced that finding was the presence of optimism and resiliency as their motivation. In unsuccessful psychopathic samples, their motivation was rooted in hedonistic and self-indulgent goals, meaning that motivation may be a key variable when identifying successful psychopathic women. The positive social change of this study is multi-pronged and may help in the development of programs that benefit both victims and perpetrators by improving quality of life and treatment capabilities. It will also address the overall lack of research into women's mental health issues.

The Externalization of the Triarchic Psychopathy Model's Boldness in Successful Female Psychopathy

by

Michelle Linski

MS, Southern New Hampshire University, 2018

BA, American Military University, 2016

Doctoral Study Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Forensic Psychology

Walden University

September 2023

Dedication

First and foremost, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the women who took time out of their busy lives to participate in this study. Every single one of you is amazing in your own right, and it was my privilege to listen to your lived experiences and be able to incorporate them into my research. The time for women's representation and meaningful equity within research of all fields has long since passed. It is truly a remarkable feeling to be a female researcher who has the ability and privilege to facilitate these discussions, no matter how small, that will undoubtedly become something great in the generations that follow.

Additionally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my three children: Anastazja, Chandler, and Noelle. Without you, I may have been able to complete this dissertation more quickly, but I know that with you, the journey was much more fulfilling and enjoyable. Thank you for making me laugh and reminding me that there was always time to take a break. I hope that one day my accomplishments create a platform for you to shine brighter and create a future for yourselves that is more successful than even I could have ever imagined for myself. I also hope that your success allows you to make the world a better place for those less privileged than yourselves, and for those who have yet to come into this world. If you want change, you must become it.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance of my amazing chair, Dr. Bethany Walters. Thank you for supporting me through this process and always making time to give me feedback and encouragement. I know that there were times when I was persistent and unrelenting, but you handled me with grace and patience. I would also like to thank my co-chair, Dr. Julie Lindahl who came in halfway through my journey and put the time and effort into catching up and becoming familiar with my study. I appreciate both of you and your dedication to my intellectual growth.

I would also like to thank my husband and kids for supporting me through not only this degree, but the ones that came before it too. This has been a long journey for our family, and you have all helped me through it greatly. Thank you for putting up with me through-out the process.

I would also like to thank Alexah for being my best friend and for always being there when I needed it as well as her husband, Cash, for letting me take up so much of her time, and thanks to the rest of my friends, there are far too many to mention here. You are all great!

Finally, I would like to thank A.L. for taking the time to listen to me read aloud different parts of my dissertation as I wrote them to see if they made sense to you even though you knew nothing about the subject matter. Your unwavering belief that I knew what I was doing even when I didn't, gave me the confidence I needed at all the right times, thank you so much.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Criminal and successful psychopathy in both men and women is far from fully understood. For instance, 11-25% of male inmates meet the standard for psychopathy; however, this does not reflect the total number of violent offenders within the prison system or the total number of psychopaths within society (Woody, 2019). This lends itself to the fact that some psychopaths may be capable of avoiding a violent and criminal lifestyle, and rather include a more successful adaptation to society's standards. However, female psychopathy is not reflected in either one of the successful or criminal subtypes. Psychopathy has been under researched within the female community and this is even more evident when available research is narrowed down to the expression of boldness and its relevancy within the psychopathy construct (Crowe et al., 2020; Verena & Vitale, 2018).

This study was conducted in order to build upon this gap in the research and to better define the role of boldness in the expression of female psychopathy. This study has the potential of providing answers to questions that have long been unanswered when it comes to understanding the unknown mechanisms behind female psychopathy. The more the field recognizes how female psychopaths' express boldness, the more they may assist in the development of new tools and programs to educate on the harm that these individuals cause, ultimately achieving a positive social impact.

This chapter will provide a brief background on psychopathy and the overall

problem this study addressed. From there, research questions are reviewed along with the theoretical framework and nature of the study. Additionally, major definitions are provided as well as the assumptions and limitations of the study.

Background

Psychopathy is a term that is often used through-out media, music, and day-to-day conversations of an average layperson (Logan, 2011). The term has become so overused that many individuals use the term to describe anyone who has committed a crime or anyone who has wronged them in the past. The term has also become interchangeable with sociopathy and in the case of the media, is more often used to describe men (Logan, 2011. In reality, psychopathy is a complex disorder that affects both men and women globally. Hervey Cleckley was one of the founding researchers in the field of psychopathy and his work set the stage for many other researchers to follow in his path (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). Robert Hare built upon Cleckley's work and was able to refine traits to successfully identify criminal psychopathy in male offenders with the creation of the Psychopathy Checklist (PCL) and the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R; Hare et al., 2018). Eventually, Christopher Patrick was able to use Cleckley's work to assist in the development of his assessment for psychopathy, the triarchic model of psychopathy (TriPM; Patrick et al., 2009). These researchers, along with many others, have been able to develop a large resource of literature that defines psychopathy, pulling it away from stereotypical image that the media has portrayed for years. While advancements in this field have been made, there is still much that is left unknown within the field.

There is not only a controversy in the field over the construct of successful female psychopathy and its relation to boldness, but a gap in the limited empirical evidence on this subject. This study was designed to find additional information that can provide a better understanding into how successful women express boldness, a key component of psychopathy. There is an overall lack of understanding with female psychopathy trait expression that creates an increased hardship for professionals to identify psychopathy in women when compared to men (Gillespie et al., 2015). Women are more likely to be diagnosed with borderline personality disorder (BPD) and histrionic personality disorder (HPD) and demonstrate narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) traits than men because it is not fully understood how women express and experience psychopathic symptoms (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016; Vossen et al., 2017). Additionally, boldness highlights adaptive characteristics such as the ability to remain calm in stressful situations, confidence in oneself, and adaptiveness in social situations (Collision et al., 2020). These gendered trait differences are not completely misunderstood; previous research found that genetic and environmental influences are not a significant factor when it comes to the trait expression differences (Tuvblad et al., 2019).

The available research on both issues, successful female psychopathy and boldness, point to gender social norms as a key variable that influences how expression differs between men and women. This study seeks to build upon that current research and by addressing this gap in the literature, a better understanding of how that expression occurs can be understood paving the way for a more personalized description of what

successful female psychopathy looks like and what role boldness plays in the expression of psychopathic symptoms for these women.

Problem Statement

There are two primary gaps this study addressed, and they are gaps in knowledge related to successful female psychopathy and the expression of boldness. Both topics have a lack of research and are considered controversial within the field. Most of the research that focuses on psychopathy is male centered with brief mentions of female psychopathy (Gottfried et al., 2019; Verona & Vitale, 2018). Out of all the literature on female psychopathy, a majority of it is focused on the criminal subtype with few studies looking specifically at the successful subtype (Drislane et al., 2014; Drislane & Patrick, 2016). This lack of research is not because these women are less capable of committing heinous acts of violence or complex schemes of manipulation, but rather the deviation of trait expressions. Psychopathic women express both criminal and successful traits but do so differently than males (Verona & Vitale, 2018).

Controversy surrounding boldness is more of a recent issue in the field because boldness is an adaptive trait and the trait structure for psychopathy was primarily developed using antisocial behavioral expressions, and these concepts contrast with one another (Gatner et al., 2016; Patrick et al., 2009). These gaps in the field of psychopathy need to be addressed to better identify how boldness is expressed differently in women than it is in men and how that influences their pattern of behaviors. By understanding this expression difference, researchers can create a more reliable trait description that can

better identify these behaviors as they are happening and potentially extend this research into prevention, intervention, and aftercare capabilities of differing agencies for victims.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to understand how women who displayed high rates of the TriPM's construct of boldness express it. This research used an explanatory mixed methods design. More specifically, the study used the TriPM, a self-assessment measure, to screen and select a small group of women who scored high on boldness to interview that utilized in-depth, semi-structured interview questions. The information derived from this research may enable a more advanced understanding of how high levels of boldness are expressed in non-criminal women.

Research Questions

There are currently two gaps in the literature that center around successful female psychopathy and boldness. The explanatory mixed method study that was conducted addressed both of these gaps with the research questions below. The quantitative portion of the study identified boldness levels in females, while the qualitative portion will looked at the externalization of boldness and how gender affected those externalizations.

RQ1: What are the lived experiences of non-criminal women who score high in boldness?

RQ2: How do non-criminal women express the psychopathic construct of boldness?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation that was used for this study is Sandra Bem's (1981) Gender Schema Theory (GST). GST describes the cognitive and social process behind sex-typing which happens very early on in a child's life that dictates behavioral traits that fall in line with the child's identified gender at birth (Bem, 1981). The gendered behavioral traits are dictated by society and what society determines as normal for both men and women (Starr & Zurbriggen, 2017). Some of these behavioral traits being emotional or passive for women and externalizing aggression and dominance for men (Bem, 1981; Starr & Zurbriggen, 2017).

GST has previously been used in psychopathy research for several decades and primarily focused on the overlapping trait expressions that created controversy between psychopathy and HPD in women (Hamburger et al., 1996; Miller et al., 2014). This theory relates back to the research questions and study by providing a solid foundation for why women and men express emotions and traits differently. For instance, GST explains that women are more passive than men when it comes to expressing traits and this information can be applied to the data as it is analyzed providing for a more reliable and valid conclusion (Bem, 1981). A more detailed explanation of GST can be found in Chapter 2 of this study.

Hamburger et al. (1996) used GST as a way of differentiating psychopathy in women from other more commonly associated disorders such as ASPD and HPD. In addition, GST was used by Perri and Litchenwald (2010) to identify sex-typed

differences between men and women when looking at the externalization of aggression of psychopathy. GST has been used several times through-out previous and current research to examine gender-based differences in psychopathy. This study will look at how successful female psychopaths externalize the behavioral traits differently than their male counterparts.

Nature of the Study

The nature of the study was an explanatory mixed method of adult females who identify with characteristics of non-criminal psychopathy and are over the age of 18. There was a quantitative component that used the TriPM self-report measure to prescreen participants to ensure they score high on boldness. For the participants who scored high in boldness, there was a phenomenological look at their lived experiences. The responses to the boldness specific questions were analyzed and compared to the phenomenological interview responses. Since the purpose of this study was to look at non-criminal females who score high on boldness, this research design allowed for the exploration of those lived experiences as well as provided the capability to identify any significant relationships with their TriPM responses. Significant relationships were identified from the data by first identifying similar themes within all the participants descriptions of their lived experiences related to gender trait expression and then comparing those responses to the characteristics of boldness and how they expressed those characteristics.

Definitions

The following definitions will be used in this study:

Antisocial: This describes externalized attitudes or behaviors of individuals that go against cultural norms, specifically for this study, Western norms. Some examples include not following state or federal laws, lying to friends or family members, and being overly confrontational (March & Marrington, 2021). Antisocial as this pertains to attitudes and behaviors does not simply refer to people who just dislike being around other people, it is a persistent set of behaviors that often result in a negative consequence. In addition, antisocial in the context of this paper cannot be interchanged with antisocial personality disorder (ASPD; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020).

Boldness: Boldness encompasses several different traits that reflect the individual's lack of fear and anxiety towards situations that would otherwise make another psychologically healthy individual nervous or fearful (Patrick et al., 2009). Boldness is one of the three constructs in the TriPM and is the most controversial because it includes positive characteristics that help the individual avoid punishment and maintain their normal appearance within their day to day lives (Patrick et al., 2009).

Criminal: Individuals who have had encounters with law enforcement that resulted in criminal charges being filed and indicted and who often have expressed psychopathic traits are often referred to as criminals.

Disinhibition: Behavior or traits, typically impulsive, that reflect shedding of cultural inhibitions are typically referred to as disinhibited. Often, disinhibited behaviors

include those that will result in negative consequences or punishments either from the individual's peers or law enforcement (Patrick et al., 2009). These behaviors do not have to be criminal in nature and can range from pathological lying to aggressively and violently acting out. Typically, disinhibition-based behaviors push against what is generally accepted by society (Patrick et al., 2009). Disinhibition is one of the three constructs included in the TriPM.

Female: For the purposes of this study, the term female will apply to those who were biologically born as female and grew up within homes where traditional female gender roles were established and expected of them.

Male: For the purposes of this study, the term male will apply to those who were biologically born as male and grew up within homes where traditional male gender roles were established and expected of them.

Meanness: This is a term previously aligned with conceptualizations of psychopathy and includes callousness and a lack of empathy towards others (Patrick et al., 2009). This factor makes it easy for individuals to pursue outcomes and goals that would benefit their own personal gain without regard for the feelings and personal safety of others (Patrick et al., 2009). Meanness is one of the three constructs that makes up the TriPM.

Psychopathy: Psychopathy is a multidimensional personality disorder that affects both men and women (Hare et al., 2018). There are two subtypes of psychopathy that include criminal and successful (Patrick et al., 2009). Psychopathy has developed many

definitions and traits over the years, but for the purposes of this study, psychopathy will be considered a spectrum disorder. Individuals can have either subtype of psychopathy and may or may not express the same traits. Most psychopathic individuals share a cluster of core traits that include callousness, manipulation, and charisma (Drislane et al., 2014; Falkenbach et al., 2017). Psychopathy is not included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – 5th ed. (DSM-5; APA, 2013). See definition for ASPD.

Successful psychopathy: Individuals who express psychopathic traits but do not have a criminal record are considered to be successful psychopaths.

Assumptions

There were two assumptions made in this study. The first was that all of the participants who respond to the advertisement met the personality traits listed as a requirement. For instance, manipulation for personal gain is a trait characteristic of both psychopathy subtypes, so if there is a participant who lied in order to participate for that reason, it may not have as much of an impact on the final results of the study when compared to studies conducted in other fields and on other topics. Secondly, it is assumed that the participants answered honestly for both the TriPM assessment and the semi-structured interview questions.

Scope and Delimitations

The overall scope of this study focused on the lived experiences of successful women who scored high on the boldness portion of the TriPM. Women who were

selected to participate in this study were without specific adherence to cultural background, race, or ethnicity. The study focused on adult women who were 18 years of age and older. Socioeconomic and marital factors were not critical components of selection. The study took place virtually, due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, and participants were recruited online. All interviews took place over video conference to help ensure safety of all parties involved.

There were two primary focuses of this study, successful female psychopathy and the expression of boldness. To ensure relevant information was collected on both of these issues, an explanatory mixed methods research design was created. The qualitative portion of this study addressed the question of how boldness is expressed by women who have high rates of boldness and the quantitative portion of the study established a baseline of participants who actively expressed boldness within their everyday lives. These two approaches to the study limited threats to internal validity and maintained reliability in the results. The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches helped reduce threats to internal validity by filtering only specific variables through each stage in the data analysis process (e.g., high boldness rates and the lived experience of boldness). That filtration removed a majority of other external variables that could be used as an explanation to the findings and increased confidence in the final results of the study.

There was a two-phase process to ensure the right participants were being recruited for the study which created the structure for the explanatory mixed methods design that will be implemented. Participants first completed the TriPM self-assessment

to determine their initial levels of boldness and those who scored high on boldness were invited to participate in the semi-structured interviews, which was the second phase of the research process. Since the recruitment for this study did not include a large enough sample, the quantitative portion of this study did not generate results that were generalizable over a single population. Additionally, since the interview questions were in-depth and specific to the individual with only a select few being chosen for this portion of the study, the transferability of those results would not be applicable either. If there wer themes and/or commonalities that did exist between a majority of the participants, it could have been enough to provoke further research to see if there truly was evidence that would allow for those themes to transfer across the female population.

Limitations

There were several limitations, challenges, and barriers that were present within this study. They included being able to recruit enough participants to obtain data saturation, ensuring cultural diversity within the population sample, and disclosures of illegal activities, violent crimes, and/or victimizations. In order for participants to take part in the phenomenological interview, they must have scored high enough on the boldness portion of the TriPM. A definite concern was that there would not be enough participants who met that score and fulfilled data saturation requirements. In order to preemptively counter that barrier, multiple platforms and sources of recruitment were utilized so the data for this study did not rely on one recruitment channel. This brought in several qualifying participants.

Similarly, the cultural diversity of the participants who chose to take part in the study could not be controlled and because of that, it was not guaranteed that the sample group would effectively represent information that transcends cultural norms. Equally important is the limitation that multiple participants had potentially come from different cultural backgrounds which greatly hindered any ability to generalize the results. This limitation coupled with the in-depth nature of the phenomenological interviews established the inability to generalize the results across the non-criminal, female psychopathy subtype.

Significance

The objective of this research is to supplement the current gap in psychopathy literature that looks at non-criminal psychopathic females and boldness. Boldness is often associated with positive traits of adaptation which has created controversy around its' place within a psychopathy assessment (Donnellan & Burt, 2016). Additionally, current research identifies that boldness may be a significant factor when differentiating between psychopathy and ASPD for women (Wall et al., 2015). Therefore, it is extremely beneficial to further the field's understanding of how boldness presents itself in real world situations within women.

This research is significant because it adds to the validation of boldness as a respectable component of psychopathy as well as aids in the development of research currently happening within the field of female psychopathy. Likewise, the application capabilities of this research are far reaching and can bolster the reliability of the TriPM's

boldness scale as well assist in the development of future assessments that look at successful female psychopathy. The results of this research also enable future efforts in the identification and subtyping of psychopathy by more clearly understanding the expression of their traits which assists in the creation of and contribution to the development of victim needs and specialized treatment programs.

Summary

For years, society has depicted psychopaths as charismatic men who often prey upon beautiful women. As research progresses in the field, two major distinctions have occurred. The first is that not all psychopaths are men and the second is that not all psychopaths are criminals. Cleckley (1941) began the foundational research that was necessary to examine and further elaborate on successful psychopathy. Once research progressed into this subtype of psychopathy, boldness was developed serving as the major divide between criminal and successful psychopathy (Patrick et al., 2009). Research continued in the field of psychopathy revealing major considerations regarding women. For instance, ASPD and HPD were common diagnoses for women who demonstrated psychopathic characteristics (Miller, 2014). Additionally, HPD was found to have identifying traits founded in the stereotypical behaviors of women (Hartung & Lefler, 2020).

Identifying these gaps and issues within the field is critical for ongoing research to further develop the constructs of successful and female psychopathy. The purpose of this study was to explore those gaps and present further evidence for researchers to not

only understand the differences between how boldness presents differently between males and females, but to also provide additional evidence that validates boldness as a key construct of psychopathy. Chapter 2 includes an in-depth literature review of both past and current studies along with the theoretical framework and search strategies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

For decades, psychopathy has been portrayed in media through podcasts, true crime documentaries, and television shows creating an image that all psychopaths are blood thirsty serial killers. Many in society associate psychopathy with those characters who are attractive and charming men that typically select women as their victims (Perri & Lichtenwald, 2010). Psychopaths come in many forms and not all psychopaths commit crimes that resemble the heinous acts of Ted Bundy or Kenneth Bianchi (the hillside strangler); research has identified a successful component to psychopathy that allows the individual to avoid the criminal justice system (Babiak & Hare, 2019; Hickey et al., 2018). Psychopathy is a unique disorder because there is no single model that has been identified by researchers in the field as wholly reliable or valid. Many professionals agree that there is a common grouping of features that outline a broad scope of psychopathy that creates a person who is superficially well liked and believed (Babiak et al., 2010; Palmen et al., 2018).

The field remains divided on what trait attributes are a necessary component of psychopathy. There are those researchers who follow Hervey Cleckley's (1945) conceptualization of psychopathy as a well-hidden disorder that does not require a criminal component, while followers of Robert Hare's concept necessitates that a criminal component is necessary for psychopathy to be present (Blackburn, 1988). These opposing views have continued through-out today making it near impossible to finalize a single construct for clinical purposes. Regardless, whether professionals believe a

criminal component is necessary or not, one fact is clear, and that is that psychopathy is a complex personality disorder that will require additional research in order to fully develop and encompass the many attributes that make up the disorder.

Even though there has been empirical growth with assessing female psychopathy, there are still complex overlaps with mental health diagnoses. Women are likely to be diagnosed with BPD, and HPD and they demonstrate trait characteristics of NPD more so than men because the expression of female psychopathy is still unknown making it an impossibility to assess and diagnose (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016; Hamburger et al., 1996; Vossen et al., 2017). While there is still a great deal of research needed, previous research has found that genetic and environmental influences are not a significant factor when it comes to trait expression differences (Tuvblad et al., 2019). It is at this point that the quantitative aspect of gendered trait structure in psychopathy has brought about qualitative questions that are still unknown.

Additional research is needed to understand how these trait expressions differ. More specifically, it is important to understand the qualitative perspective of how women express psychopathic traits within the TriPM's boldness construct. The field has established that there is not a direct relationship between genetics or environment, so perhaps gendered constructs in society may play a role in trait expression development. There have been very few studies that look at how gendered norms influence female psychopathy tactics from a successful perspective. A qualitative approach that examines in-depth gender construct influences with rich descriptions may provide additional pieces

of information that have been missing.

The purpose of this study was to understand how women who display successful psychopathic traits express the TriPM's boldness construct. The proposed research used a mixed methods approach. More specifically, the study used the TriPM, a self-assessment measure, to select a small group of women who score high on Boldness to interview using an in-depth, semi-structured interview. The information derived from this research enables a more advanced understanding of how high levels of boldness are expressed in non-criminal women. This study also serves as a springboard for future research into the development of an assessment that can accurately and reliably identify female psychopathy.

In this chapter I give a synopsis of my literature review search strategy, and then I introduce GST, which is used to explore how the expression of boldness differs for women because of the gendered specific norms and behaviors that children learn at a young age. Next, I provided an exploration of foundational literature on the history and development of psychopathy assessments as well as a comparison of the PCL-R and TriPM. At that point, I turned the focus on the characteristic manifestations of boldness in successful female psychopathy using reoccurring themes identified in the literature. To conclude, I provided a discussion that integrates supportive literature on GST and psychopathy to develop a gender-based theory that has the potential to explain why women express boldness differently than men.

Literature Search Strategy

I exclusively used electronic search engines when conducting my search for literature. The primary search engines that I used were Google Scholar, Wiley, ProQuest, Science Direct, Sage, APA PsycNET, Elsevier, and EBSCOhost. I also utilized the Southern New Hampshire University and Walden University databases. In addition the following key terms were used individually as well as in combination: *psychopathy, psychopathology female psychopathy, successful female psychopathy, fearless dominance, boldness, boldness psychopathy, successful psychopathy, TriPM, TriPM boldness, PCL-R, PP-I, four-factor model, two-factor model, psychopathy subtyping, gender schema theory, female, gender, sex, DSM-5, ASPD, NPD, BPD, HPD, trait expression boldness, gendered trait expression, gender differences in psychopathy, triarchic model, gender roles,* and *externalizing psychopathic behavior*. When I conducted my literature search to build a foundational knowledge set, I did not put any restrictions on the year within the advanced search. However, when I was completing the more exhaustive search on the key variables, I limited the publication year to a 5-year period. Since this research spanned over several years, that 5-year timeline moved up each year, but the articles obtained from previous years were not excluded within this research. To ensure an exhaustive review, I began to look outside of publications that focused primarily on boldness and female psychopathy and looked at studies where boldness was a secondary objective and synthesized those sources with the other sources I found in a similar manner. I began searching for literature in 2016 and continued that

research through-out the entire dissertation process.

Theoretical Foundation

Sandra Bem originated GST in 1981 to explain how and why individuals adapt their "self" with the gender norms they are introduced to. GST was used through-out the application of this research. GST uses both cognitive and social psychology to look at how children, from a distinctly young age, become gendered with their respective gender constructs. The process of becoming gendered means that the child has adapted their behaviors and thoughts to mimic that of what society has established as the feminine or masculine norm; this specifically applies to the Western standards of what is considered a female or male gender norm (Starr & Zurbriggen, 2017). This schema is an all-encompassing process that dictates how males and females act or react in everyday situations.

Using GST as the framework for this study helped build a foundational knowledge set as to why women experience and express boldness differently. More importantly, it provided answers on how women experience and fulfill their needs through the adaptive features of boldness and how those behaviors differ from men. The framework of this research was selected based upon the already established gendered differences within psychopathic subtypes and because the adaptive features of boldness develop differently between genders (Anestis et al., 2018; Buchman-Schmitt et al., 2017; Moore et al., 2020). GST may explain the gendered differences of boldness within successful psychopathy.

GST is a learned phenomenon which allows for diversity between the sex-typing (a conscious process of categorizing children into either male or female roles based on their assigned gender at birth) of children and it creates a spectrum of potential internalized and externalized gendered behaviors for each individual child within each gender (Bem, 1983). GST lays the framework of accepted and unaccepted behaviors for each gender with accepted behaviors being normalized by society. For instance, girls are typically quiet, shy, and emotional while boys are physically aggressive and avoid externalizing emotions that may make them look like they are weak or vulnerable (Bem, 1981). If a child successfully learns their specific gendered behavior and externalizes those behaviors within society, it creates a sense of normalcy between their self and others. Furthermore, those behaviors will serve as their primary resource in situations where they need to adapt and overcome. Gendered behaviors penetrate deeper than superficial personality characteristics. They serve as the primary mechanism that will gauge the appropriateness of newly learned behaviors meaning that their gendered behaviors are not static and will continuously evolve through-out their lifetime, but that initial core of their sex-typing will remain as a constant standard (Bem, 1981). Similarly, gender is an all-relevant aspect of Western society with most if not all inanimate and animate objects having some sort of gender relevance and/or association and this can be seen with colors (e.g., pink/blue), clothing, professions, etc. Bem (1981) goes on to further explain that externalization of adaptive or maladaptive behaviors is deeply rooted in the sex-typing process. With that information in mind, it can then be assumed that

women who are considered successful psychopaths would inherently fall back onto their learned gendered behaviors in order to adapt to an unpleasant situation or to excel in a positive environment. This would make the relationship between GST and boldness the key to understanding gendered differences in the expression of boldness.

GST has been applied to psychopathy over the course of several years. Hamburger et al. (1996) looked at the relationships between psychopathy and HPD and ASPD and found that each axis II disorder was a strong predictor of psychopathy ($p = 0.5$) and each relationship was moderated by biological gender, males with ASPD and females with HPD. The authors also noted that there were identifiable sex-typed behaviors evident in the respective axis II disorders that further pushed the divide between the two genders such as aggression and violent behavior with men and ASPD and overly emotional and dramatic traits for women and HPD (Hamburger et al., 1996; Miller et al., 2014). This is further substantiated by Perri and Lichtenwald (2010), who discussed excessive shallowness and seduction as crossover traits between female psychopathy and HPD. Preston et al. (2018) debated that male gender norms play a significant role in the externalization of aggression with the diagnosis of men with ASPD and that gender norms may have strong ties to psychopathy. The structure of traits for HPD have been debated by researchers Hartung and Lefler (2020) and Mullins-Sweatt et al. (2012) as biased because they mimic stereotypical gender norms of females. This information brings into question the reliability of an ASPD or HPD diagnosis in either men or women when psychopathy is present. There have been men and women

diagnosed with ASPD or HPD that are not psychopathic, but in situations where psychopathy is present, gendered trait expressions may be what is primarily identified and not the illness as a whole.

Barnett and Sharp (2017) utilized GST when they looked at how socially accepted gender norms can account for major gender differences in narcissism, and they found that women were more likely to display traits of self-absorption while in public while men were most likely to maintain privacy when displaying the same traits. This follows the typical male gender norm as they do not overtly show interest in their appearance as that can be viewed as metrosexual and unmasculine, while women are expected to upkeep their appearance with make-up and other beauty regimes (Collisson et al., 2020; Green & McClelland, 2019). These results were duplicated in multiple studies that looked at narcissism, psychopathy, and gender norms (Colins et al., 2017; Jonason & Davis, 2018; Lyons et al., 2020). For instance, psychopathic women who watched pornography and had high narcissistic traits were significantly more likely to play the part of a seductive and alluring temptress that uses sexual coercion, emotional manipulation, and other seductive behaviors to perpetrate against men (Hughes et al., 2019). While sexual deviance does not have a place within accepted female gender norms (Bem, 1981), it does have a place in popular media and these women are fictitious realizations of the stereotypical woman which men desire and they are satisfying the societal norm of a female psychopath (Pauli et al., 2018; Perri & Lichtenwald 2010).

GST plays an omnidirectional role when it comes to understanding the female

psychopathy because not only does the theory provide guidelines for women on how to behave and what is expected of them, but it also provides them with a toolkit on how to exploit potential victims. Collisson et al. (2019) validated this concept by conducting a study on women who used men on first dates for a free meal. They found that those women habitually sought out male partners who demonstrated traditional male gender norms to ensure their meal will be paid for and intentionally cut off all communication ties with them once they get what they wanted, effectively "ghosting" them (Collisson et al., 2019). When psychopathic women adhere to their gender norms, they are most likely to attract a male who shares those traditional gender norms which creates a never-ending cycle of perpetration and victimization (Collisson et al., 2019). Likewise, Honey (2017) discussed the use of sex-typed behaviors in female psychopaths as instruments in their ongoing venture of achieving their self-serving goals; for instance, female psychopaths would have a difficult time maintaining the aggressive and physical lifestyle of a male psychopath because society would reject them which would reveal who they really are so they must fall back on emotional manipulation and adherence to their gender norms in order to obtain their end goal without being caught.

GST provides an adaptive playbook for female psychopaths to adhere to which is a key feature of boldness. Women who adhere to their gender roles while displaying aspects of boldness, such as confidence in stressful situations and social adaptiveness, are able to place themselves in better situations professionally and maintain a longer period of satisfaction than women who externalize behaviors outside of their gender norm

(Landay et al., 2019; Patrick et al., 2009; Persson et al., 2019). The current literature on GST and female psychopathy is limited primarily because successful female psychopathy is currently under researched within the field. Nevertheless, the literature that is present clearly identifies a relationship between gender role adherence and the adaptive features of boldness within the TriPM. This study continued that research and looked at how women express boldness within their gender construct.

Literature Review Related to Key Variables and Concepts

Overview of Psychopathy

Defining psychopathy within the professional field has largely been met with differing viewpoints and skepticism; however, the layperson's definition has saturated most of modern society (Skeem et al., 2011). Psychopathy from the public's viewpoint overwhelming identifies those individuals who commit the most abhorrent crimes such as serial murder and demonstrate a severe lack remorse and empathy (Smith et al., 2014). Psychopathy has been so well popularized with the public that there have been online quizzes created by popular media outlets such as Buzzfeed that will provide a diagnosis for people during a 15-minute break at work (Chivers, 2016). This level of certainty has yet to be established within the professional realm; however, most researchers can agree that psychopathy is a complex construct that is inclusive of multiple personality traits that create the core of psychopathy such as lack of remorse, antisocial behaviors, and grandiosity (Cleckley, 1976; Hare et al., 2000; Patrick et al., 2009). There are several public misconceptions and conflicting research that prevents a single definition of the

disorder from being developed and agreed upon.

The lack of a specific and central definition for psychopathy has hindered attempts of getting a standardized criterion within the Diagnostic and Statistical Manuel of Mental Disorders (DSM; APA, 2013). One closely related personality disorder, ASPD, shares many of the same personality characteristics as psychopathy, and those include egocentric motivation, lack of remorse, manipulation, criminality, and an inability to maintain lawful and prosocial behaviors (Wygant et al., 2016; Wygant et al., 2020). These overlapping characteristics have made it easier for some to interchange the two disorders, but there are several notable differences. There are specific psychopathy identifiers within the DSM-5 ASPD construct, but those identifiers do not encompass all of the conceptual models of psychopathy that have been developed (Latzman et al., 2020). The overlap of these two disorders has shown that approximately 15% of psychopaths have a comorbid diagnosis of ASPD, demonstrating that while there are common characteristics, they are not interchangeable (Johnson, 2019). In addition to ASPD, sociopathy is often used interchangeably with psychopathy. Sociopathy is similar to psychopathy in that it is often characterized by ASPD traits listed in the DSM-5, but sociopaths are unlikely to take part in violent or harmful behaviors and approximately 30% of those with sociopathy share a dual diagnosis of ASPD (Johnson, 2019). ASPD, sociopathy, and psychopathy create a unique Venn diagram of symptoms, but each disorder stands separately from one another.

Psychopathy is not a linear disorder where the individuals affected experience the

same symptom expression. Psychopathy is a fluid disorder which creates a spectrum of symptoms where one individual may experience higher rates of anti-social behaviors while another may experience increased levels of boldness (Miller et al., 2019). The DSM-5 embodied this concept in section three which includes a variety of personality traits taken from six different personality disorders, BPD, Obsessive-Compulsive Personality Disorder (OCD), Avoidant Personality Disorder (APD), Schizotypal Personality Disorder (SPD), ASPD, and NPD, to create a more fluid form of trait identification (APA, 2013; Wygant & Sellbom, 2020). This new section is referred to as the Alternative Model of Personality Disorders (AMPD) and it has enabled professionals in the field to conduct research based on specific traits rather than a specific diagnosis; for instance, Strickland et al (2013) found that the AMPD predicted boldness at high levels with risk taking (disinhibition) showing a positive correlation (r=.57) and anxiousness (negative affect) showing a negative correlation (r= -.55) using a community sample. Similarly, Somma et al (2020) used the AMPD in comparison with the Dark Triad traits (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) within a community sample to determine the likelihood of an individual to take part in moral disengagement. These studies demonstrate the spectrum of psychopathy as well as the flexibility of the AMPD when it comes to using varying participants (incarcerated versus community sample) with varying levels of boldness, disinhibition, and meanness.

Additional misconceptions and assumptions regarding psychopathy are that women are fundamentally less likely to be psychopaths (Logan, 2011). This concept is

being confronted as research into female psychopathy begins to develop. The rates in which women are being incarcerated have seen increases over the last decade contradicting the previously held notion that women are unable to be as criminally diverse as men (Kalemi et al., 2019). For instance, up to one percent of the business population (successful psychopaths) demonstrate enough trait patterns to meet a diagnosis of psychopathy with a majority of that percentage being men and the same inequality exists with approximately 25% of the prison population (Goulter et al., 2019; Wynn et al., 2012). Even though there is current research on the criminality of psychopathic women, it does not consider those who do not have a criminal record which leaves room for the incorrect generalization of psychopathy to merge across subtypes. More research into female psychopathy is needed to fully develop a conceptualization that is valid and reliable.

In contrast to misconceptions of gender and psychopathy is the argument on whether psychopaths are born or made. The nature versus nurture debate exists within multiple fields of study but is intimately connected within the field of psychopathy. Nature implies psychopaths are born and nurture considers environmental influences that a person experiences as they grow (McLeod, 2007). Intense study into this debate has shown a great deal of research that supports a combination of both factors being relevant to the development of psychopathy. Fragkaki et al. (2019) and Raine et al. (2014) found neurological and cardiovascular relationships with psychopathy while Cox et al. (2018) and Alzeer et al. (2019) found relationships between caregiver and child interactions as

significant factors in the development of psychopathy.

As societal misconceptions mount, psychopathy in the professional field has been identified and defined as a spectrum disorder with varying personality trait constructs that range from the criminal to the successful with differences in symptom expression between males and females (Cleckley, 1976; Lilienfeld et al., 2015). Moreover, prior research suggests attachment-related avoidance mediates the relationship between secondary psychopathy and impaired relationship outcomes (Unrau & Morry, 2019). This information lends itself to the concept that not all psychopaths are completely void of attachments and that a dysfunctional attachment may exist within the spectrum of psychopathy. This statement contradicts most of the early research into the disorder, but it also provides evidence that psychopathy is an evolutionary disorder that has the ability to adapt depending on the social environment (Brazil & Forth, 2020). This research validates subtypes of psychopathy outside of the already established criminal conceptualization. Successful psychopaths are adept manipulators, and they use that skill to cause covert harm to others with a degraded sense of sympathy and empathy (Cleckley, 1955). In order to fully develop the spectrum identity of psychopathy, it is crucial that researchers seek to understand the qualitative nature of the disorder. The field must step outside the binary concept that one is or is not a psychopath and move forward to have the why answered behind the magnitude of quantitative research that has generated the relationships and correlations that are discussed today (Sellbom & Drislane, 2020). These ideas further validate the need for this study.

History of Research

Psychopathy research has spanned multiple decades and continents considering cultural norms, criminality, and other external variables that influence the disorder. The actual term of psychopathy was not developed until the late 1800's by Julius Ludwig August Koch (Skeem et al., 2011). There were many other professionals who followed Koch into the field but there are three primary researchers that have created landmark developments within the conceptualization of psychopathy, and they are Hervey Cleckley, Robert Hare, and Christopher Patrick. There have been several other notable researchers in the field, but it is these three individuals who have created such dynamic and differing conceptualizations from the same source of data that Cleckley had originated.

Controversies in Psychopathy

Research continues to move forward in the field of psychopathy in many different areas consisting of culture, gender, age, and race. It is no surprise that differing views and controversies have developed alongside this research. Two primary controversies in the field related to this study are whether antisocial behavior is a core feature of psychopathy and whether or not psychopaths can have adaptive traits, such as boldness. Gatner et al (2016) found that boldness did not have a relationship with antisocial traits found in meanness and disinhibition and even though it is understood that each facet of the TriPM does not wholly identify or exclude a psychopathy diagnosis they concluded that the adaptive features of boldness make it an unnecessary component of psychopathy

identification unless maladaptive features are included into boldness. Controversially, Sellbom and Phillips (2013) found that boldness was more likely to be associated with narcissism and a lack of behavioral inhibition than meanness and disinhibition. This division has propelled multiple constructs of psychopathy to be developed with each construct focusing on specific profiles of psychopathy, for example, the PCL-R focuses on criminal psychopathy while the PPI has looked at community samples of psychopathy (Neumann et al., 2008). It has essentially split the disorder into subtypes of successful and criminal psychopathy. The criminal construct of psychopathy has received a significantly larger portion of the research over the years as these individuals are more physically violent and pose a more dangerous threat to those in society (Douglas et al., 2018). Successful psychopaths may be less likely to physically harm another person than their unsuccessful counterparts, but their style of victimization should not be taken lightly. Their manipulation techniques and self-serving aspirations can have devastating psychological consequences to those around them. The controversies surrounding antisocial behavior and boldness are further explored below.

Antisocial Behavior. It is unusual to read a scholarly article on psychopathy and not see the term antisocial behavior and that is because since the onset of research into psychopathy, antisocial behavior is what has intrigued researchers the most. Over the years antisocial behaviors formed a cornerstone of necessity within the conceptualization of psychopathy (Hamburger et al., 1996; Crego & Widiger, 2015; Mager et al., 2014). It should be noted that antisocial behaviors are not interchangeable with criminality.

Neumann et al. (2014) argued that even though antisocial traits are a necessary component of psychopathy, criminality is not. Additionally, Lynam & Miller (2012) explained that realistically, any conceptualization of psychopathy that exists without antisocial traits cannot reliably validate the presence of psychopathy.

The controversy within antisocial is two-fold, the first is that criminality accompanies antisocial behavior because those who normally act on antisocial impulses typically break the law and the assumption is that they are consistently alongside one another (Neumann et al., 2014). The second factor is what antisocial behavior is defined to be. These two issues intertwine with each other to create a mirage that antisocial, and criminality are interchangeable and that they are both a necessary component of psychopathy (Cooke & Skeem, 2010; Hare & Neumann, 2010). As previously mentioned, when the PCL-R was operationalized, it became the gold standard for psychopathy assessment; this also meant that the defining characteristics of what antisocial behaviors were within the PCL-R were also became the gold standard for that factor (Cunha et al, 2020; Sellbom et al., 2019). Skeem and Cooke (2010) described antisocial as a behavior that aligns itself perpendicular to "social order" and Hare and Neumann (2010) broadly described antisocial as "conning, deceptive, irresponsible, callous, and remorseless" (page number for quote needed). Much of this controversy comes from the idea that the PCL-R was created using an incarcerated sample which creates assumptions that the antisocial behavior demonstrated in the participants most likely was criminal because of their current status as a prisoner. It should be noted that

this was not the intention of Hare when he established the antisocial facet but rather this was an assumption that merged over time due to popularity with the assessment (Hare & Neumann, 2010).

Boldness & Adaptive Traits.

The identification of boldness as an adaptive trait has caused much controversy within the field of psychopathy. Some researchers have argued that psychopathy is the distinct opposite of adaptive and that boldness contradicts with what the essence of psychopathy is believed to be (Crowe et al, 2020; Gatner et al, 2016). Those who argued against boldness have even gone as far as stating that it should be completely dropped from the psychopathy construct (Vize et al, 2016). However, the characteristics that make up boldness are taken from Cleckley's (1976) psychopathy construct and not the PCL-R (Drislane et al., 2014). Furthermore Lilienfeld et al. (2016) conducted a meta-analysis that included 28 studies which revealed that boldness was significantly related to other previously validated psychopathy assessments that did not base their constructs off the PCL-R. This implies that boldness is a valid construct of psychopathy and should be considered an important piece to the psychopathy puzzle distinct from the PCL-R.

There have been several studies that specifically looked at boldness as conceptualized by the TriPM. Evans and Tully (2016) looked at the origination and validity of boldness to understand its' role as a psychopathy measure. They identified that even though there were weak relationships between boldness, meanness, and disinhibition it was only because the capabilities of boldness expanded farther across the

spectrum of traits than previous assessments. This was further collaborated by Patrick (2010) who explained that the purpose of each construct is that they transect one another while remaining independent, thus explaining the variance observed. The TriPM has the capability to identify a different subtype of psychopathy outside the realm of the PCL-R (criminal psychopathy) and both assessments hold value depending on the population receiving the assessment.

Opposing views on boldness stem from the historic belief that psychopathic traits are inherently negative. This has been largely founded on the violent and criminal aspects of psychopathy. However, when boldness is coupled with both meanness and disinhibition, it creates a more encompassing concept of psychopathy (Gottfried et al., 2018; Hanniball et al., 2019). For instance, Sutton et al. (2020) looked at each factor of the TriPM, analyzed them separately, and found that boldness was related to servant leadership style; this type of managerial style looks to create a positive environment for their employees, and meanness and disinhibition were more related to an abusive leadership style. Meaning, those who externalized characteristics of meanness and disinhibition were more likely to burn out and abuse the employees they supervise. Those who portrayed boldness were likely to adjust their style and performance to include a more adaptive externalization of behavior (Sutton et al, 2020). Those who demonstrated servant style/boldness behaviors were more likely to end up with a desirable outcome for themselves than those who showed an abusive style (Sutton et al., 2020). This supports the idea that a more evolved, successful psychopath who can externalize adaptive

features is more likely to achieve their end goal with less resistance (promotion, raise etc.).

Additionally, a majority of current research opposing boldness as a valid factor of psychopathy centers upon the idea that the expression of boldness is negatively associated with antisocial behavior which includes violence and aggression (Gatner et al., 2016; Miller et al., 2017; Miller et al., 2020). Hannibal et al. (2019) found that individuals with high levels of boldness had increased satisfaction with their income/financial standing, personal relationships, and overall happiness. Similarly, Sleep et al. (2019) found moderate relationships between boldness and self-esteem (r= .54) and social potency (r= .55) as well as a negative relationship between boldness and personal distress (r= -49). It can be assumed that individuals who demonstrate high levels of boldness essentially have less motivation to externalize antisocial behaviors because they will have more to lose than someone who does not have the same levels of financial and social satisfaction that are associated with boldness. To further justify this assumption Bleidom et al. (2020) found that boldness has a positive relationship with a healthy personality (r= .48) and stress immunity (r= 49) and while this information seems contradictory to the overall psychopathic phenotype, when coupled with relevant scores of meanness and disinhibition that more wholly creates the successful psychopathic subtype. It becomes important to understand how the different traits that create boldness effect and manipulate the expression of psychopathic symptoms while still meeting narcissistic and deviant desires of the individual.

Boldness allows successful psychopaths to remain dominant in stressful situations and when combined with disinhibition and meanness can act as the individual's mask to keep their true agendas hidden from the public by mimicking the actions and reactions of a psychologically healthy individual, which brings the argument full circle into Cleckely's conceptual as psychopathy being a mask which hides underlying psychopathology (Berg et al., 2017; Drislane et al., 2014). The behavior that is mimicked is based off socially acceptable behaviors that differs between cultures and gender with women demonstrating emotional volatility and men being more outwardly aggressive and anti-social (Pauli et al., 2018; Sleep et al., 2019). Boldness may be the key to understanding the non-environmental differences between gendered expressions of psychopathy as gendered norms would require the psychopathic individual to adapt with what would be perceived as normal behavior (de Vogel et al., 2016; Falkenbach et al., 2017, Miller et al., 2020). If a successful female psychopath were to meet social confrontation with aggression it would appear out of place and this is further validated by the small and negative relationship between physical (r= -0.24) and relational (r= -0.32) violence and Sandra Bem's femininity scale from the Sex Role Inventory (Preston et al., 2018). Boldness may have a unique relationship with gendered sex roles which would explain the variation of how boldness is expressed between sexes.

de Vogel et al.(2016) and Falkenbach et al. (2017) found that boldness is an important construct of psychopathy that the PCL-R and other criminally driven assessments do not adequately depict and that the non-shared environmental factors that

males and females experience affect boldness differently. Additionally, Hannibal et al. (2019) and Sleep et al (2019) found that high rates of boldness result in high financial and social satisfaction which reduces the likelihood of antisocial behaviors that would draw the attention of law enforcement. Based on this information, there is a need to understand how women experience boldness and what non-shared environmental factors that are grounded in sex-roles influence potential adaptability. These studies support the approach to the current study.

Cleckley's Conceptualization

Hervey Cleckley wrote *The Mask of Sanity* (1941) which depicted case studies of a group of psychiatric inpatients he treated, who all contained features of a mental health disorder he dubbed psychopathy. Cleckley (1976) interviewed several individuals which included two women and from those interviews he determined that while criminality was a component of psychopathy, it was not a necessary component in which the diagnosis should be dependent upon. He developed the concept that psychopathic individuals can adapt in society through a pseudo mask that projects confidence and personability (Cleckley, 1976). These individuals could maintain an accepted behavior that allowed them to keep hidden who they truly were. It was as if these individuals wore a mask that reflected what they wanted people within society to see them as instead of how they truly were and this mask protected them and their true behavioral expressions which allowed them to continue their manipulative and charismatic lifestyle that they enjoyed without confrontation. A 16-item criteria list was developed from his work that outlined his mask

theory and those items included: superficial charm, absence of irrational thinking, absence of nervousness, unreliability, untruthfulness, lack of remorse, inadequately motivated antisocial behavior, poor judgement, pathological egocentricity, affective poverty, lack of insight, interpersonally unresponsive, fantastic and uninviting behavior, rare suicide threats, impersonal sex life, and failure to follow a life plan (Cleckley, 1976). Cleckley also believed that psychopaths could find success in respected professions such as academia and business due to their ability to adapt and overcome their more maladaptive features. Cleckley's research laid down the foundational structure for many others in the field that followed behind him. For instance, his work was incorporated into Robin's (1966) sociopathy construct that was later included into the DSM. Additionally, the ASPD DSM-II (1974) construct included excerpts from Clekley's 16-item criteria which explains the close relation between the two disorders. Finally, Cleckley's work was also the corner stone of Robert Hare's (1996) then, 22-item PCL. Many researchers followed in Clekley's path but there was an evolutionary process in the research that took place creating more specific descriptions that narrowed down his once vague 16 item descriptions into something more viable for assessment purposes (Kennealy et al., 2007).

Hare's Conceptualization

Robert Hare dedicated several years to Cleckley's work to further understand and develop a more standardized and specific conceptualization of psychopathy and his work has been popularized through-out the field with many researchers building off of and citing his work (Hare et al., 2018). The major differences between Hare and Cleckley's

work was that Hare chose to focus in on the incarcerated population of psychopaths and this comes across clearly in his work. For instance, a majority of those who meet the psychopathy cut-off for Hare's PCL-R consistently demonstrate that outward aggression that was missing from Cleckley's work (Hare, 2016). Hare deviated from Cleckely's prosocial psychopath and was able to accurately capture the criminal psychopath which has been demonstrated in multiple interrater reliability and validity tests (Gendreau et al., 2002; Hare, 2003, Hare et al., 2000). Hare's conceptualization mainly focused on criminal psychopathy, but he also acknowledged that there was a subtype of psychopathy in the corporate world that prioritized manipulation and charm over the outward aggression that had been established in his PCL-R (Babiak & Hare, 2019).

Psychopathy Checklist Revised.

The PCL-R was created by Robert Hare in 1991 and has evolved over the course of several years and has since become the "gold standard" of psychopathy assessments (Hare, 2003; Cunha et al, 2020). The creation of the PCL-R was developed using a population sample of 143 Canadian men who were incarcerated and is a 20-item assessment that looks at two primary factors thought to represent the construct of psychopathy (Hare, 1980, Hare, 2003; Hare & Neuman, 2005). This first factor includes interpersonal and affective traits. Interpersonal traits include superficial charm, pathological lying, manipulation, and a grandiose sense of self. Affective traits include a lack of remorse and empathy, inability to engage in emotions, and refusal to take responsibility for ones actions (Hare et al., 2018). The second factor includes lifestyle and

antisocial behavioral traits. Lifestyle looks at sensation seeking behaviors, impulsivity, and the lack of goals and the antisociality focuses on criminal aspects, including early childhood behavioral problems and juvenile issues, diverse criminal background, and an absence of behavioral control (Hare et al., 2018).

The administration of this assessment requires specialized training because it incorporates a semi-structured interview and a review of the individual's personal and criminal history (Cunha et al., 2020). That information is then taken by the professional and rated on a scale from one to three for each question and at the end of the assessment that rating is calculated producing a final score ranging between 1-40 with 30, acting as the cut-off score for North America and 25 as the cut-off score for most European countries when making the determination of psychopathy (Verschuere & te Kaat, 2019; Hare, 2003).

The versatility of the PCL-R has been demonstrated multiple times over the course of decades. It has been revised to fit multiple cultures (Hare et al., 2000), youth (Book et al., 2006), and it has also been used as a risk assessment to determine recidivism (Hare, 2016). Furthermore, the PCL-R has shown a consistent interrater reliability among those who have trained to use the assessment properly (Blais et al., 2017). The impact the PCL-R has had on research of psychopathy and its' success within the criminal male population is undeniable, but it is not an all-inclusive assessment that can be generalized between genders (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016; Gottfried et al., 2019; Hare et al., 2018). Research into the use of the PCL-R on female offenders has demonstrated a pattern of

low scores and that continued research has also shown that psychopathy is a multidimensional construct that a single assessment cannot capture wholly across multiple cultures and genders (Forouzan & Nicholls, 2015; Sellbom & Drislane, 2020). Regardless of current research, the PCL-R and its two, three, and four-factor models paved the way for the development of new constructs and the recognition of additional subtypes of psychopathy. Gottfired et al., (2019) and Guay et al. (2018) looked at current assessments that identify psychopathy and discussed how those assessments are not able to capture trait expression of successful and female psychopathy lending to previously established facts on trait expression and how they are different across the spectrum of psychopathy. Their discussion focused on women and the trait diversity of successful psychopathy, which directly relates to the research question. More specifically, Guay et al. (2018) discussed the need to break away from using cut off scores for the PCL-R and explore differences in gendered subtypes.

Overall, the PCL-R put a spotlight on psychopathy as a whole that only further encouraged research into the field. The impact of Hare's research and assessment on the criminal aspect of psychopathy has made its' way through the criminal justice system most notably on risk assessments and recidivism rates (Hare et al., 2018). The gender specific gaps within the PCL-R would not have been identified if it were not for the PCL-R itself and as research continues into these subgroups of populations and types the more the field realizes that there must be other measurements to identify and assess them (Skeem et al., 2011). One of the more prominent researchers to explore the successful

subtype of psychopathy was Christopher Patrick.

Patrick's Conceptualization

Christopher Patrick developed the TriPM as a self-report psychopathy assessment tool that is also rooted heavily in Cleckley's 16-item criteria (Patrick et al., 2009). An important concept that largely differs from Hare's conceptualization of psychopathy, which includes a focus on maladaptive traits, is that Patrick chose to embrace the "mask" that allows psychopaths to go unnoticed for so long while maintaining their personal and professional relationships (Patrick et al., 2009). From those concepts, Patrick created a conceptualization that included three major constructs: boldness, meanness, and disinhibition that some have argued are better suited for identifying successful versus unsuccessful psychopathy (Blagov et al, 2016; Evans & Tully, 2016). Meanness and disinhibition are typical characteristics of the more popularized psychopath; however, boldness remains a disputed trait within the field (Gatner et al., 2016). Boldness is what makes Patrick's conceptualization unique because it provides an explanation of the "mask" trait that Cleckley identified (Patrick, 2018). The introduction of this new trait has allowed the expansion of the criminal variant of psychopathy to include the successful.

Triarchic Psychopathy Model.

The TriPM is a 58-item self-report assessment that is reflective of Patrick's psychopathy construct (Brislin et al., 2016). His conceptualization includes three distinctive constructs: Meanness, Disinhibition, and Boldness; these three constructs

provide a broad range of previously established psychopathic symptoms that further push the dimension of psychopathy outside of criminality (Patrick & Drislane, 2014; Patrick et al., 2009). Moreover, these three constructs should be analyzed separately with no specific hierarchy or overlap comparison (Evans & Tully, 2016; Patrick et al., 2009).

Disinhibition encompasses an overall lack of impulse control, the inability to plan and prepare for future desires or goals, and the need for immediate gratification (Patrick et al., 2009; Tuvblad et al., 2019). The way that disinhibition is typically expressed by an individual is through the use of illegal substances, aggression, and other negative actions that result in legal, financial, or familial consequences (Patrick et al., 2009; Sleep et al., 2019). Disinhibition describes typical personality traits that have been validated within other psychopathy constructs and unsurprisingly, it is disinhibition that has the strongest correlations to the PCL-R (Evans & Tully, 2016; Latzman et al., 2020). The characteristics of disinhibition lend themselves well to the overall concept of antisocial behavior and is well accepted by professionals in the field.

Meanness comprises lack of empathy, personal attachments, antisocial behaviors, and selfishness (Gatner et al., 2016; Latzman et al., 2020; Patrick et al., 2009). Much like disinhibition, meanness offers trait characteristics that are familiar and previously validated in other psychopathy constructs like Cleckley and Hare's and meanness has also shown to share relationships with disinhibition (Gatner et al., 2016; Sleep et al., 2019). Given the characteristics associated with meanness, it is no surprise that those who score high on meanness are typically motivated by hedonistic ideas and goals and if

others get in the way of their pursuits they will be met with aggression and lack of empathy (Patrick et al., 2009; Sleep et al., 2019). Likewise, these individuals are more inclined to be physically violent while disregarding authority figures such as law enforcement (Patrick et al., 2009). Meanness overlaps largely with the criminal subtype of psychopathy and there are strong relationships between the PCL-R's interpersonal and lifestyle factors (Evans & Tully, 2016).

Comparison of the PCL-R and TriPM

Professionals have pushed to establish psychopathy within the clinical realm of forensic psychology by creating quantitative assessments that look at multiple factors. Some of these assessments are the TriPM, PCL-R, Psychopathic Personality Inventory (PPI), Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (SRP), and the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality-Self Report (CAPP-SR) (Lilienfeld & Andrews., 1996; Sellbom et al., 2019). The two main assessments that will be further analyzed are the PCL-R and TriPM as these two incorporate remarkably similar and opposing conceptualizations of psychopathy. The PCL-R requires that an interview take place while the TriPM can easily be given to the individual for them to fill out on their own. Both assessments offer valid and reliable analysis of psychopathy which advances the idea that psychopathy truly is a spectrum disorder.

The most notable difference between these two assessments is that the PCL-R requires a semi-structured interview with the professional filling out the assessment and the TriPM is a self-assessment given to the individual so they can complete it on their

own. There are many advantages and disadvantages to both methods. To begin with, self-report measures allow for an individual to rate themselves with little error in interpretation from the professional. This means that interrater reliability is no longer a factor when looking at the overall reliability of the assessment (Sellbom et al., 2018). Additionally, self-report measures offer a standardized response system which provides an easier method of comparison between participant responses; there are no open-ended questions that allow for diverse or long responses (Sellbom et al., 2018).

Although self-reports offer a more simplistic form of obtaining data because professionals who administer them do not need any supplemental certifications or training in order to use them, it does not provide any additional information behind the reasoning for the response to the question (Sellbom et al., 2018). This also segues into a lack of understanding of the internal process behind the decision to select an answer and the unknown if the participant is lying in their responses (Sellbom et al., 2018). The PCL-R requires semi structured and long interviews through a single interviewer, but, two raters can be used in order to establish inter-rater reliability that only enhances the validity of the assessment itself which cannot be found with a self-assessment. In terms of the physical structure and reliability, both formats offer pros and cons that are tailored to fit different research approaches.

Another key difference between the PCL-R and the TriPM is that the TriPM focuses on both adaptive and maladaptive traits while the PCL-R focuses on maladaptive features (Hare, 2003; Patrick et al., 2009). The PCL-R remains the gold standard for

incarcerated populations because of its' exclusive focus on maladaptive traits, but the TriPM extends its' reach outside of the criminal subtype of psychopathy into the successful with its' construct of boldness (Patrick et al., 2009). The TriPM has three factors: Meanness, Disinhibition, and Boldness, while the PCL-R has two factors: Factor 1 (Affective, and Interpersonal) and Factor 2 (Lifestyle/ Antisocial), (Hare et al., 2018, Patrick et al., 2009). While the TriPM has an extended reach that highlights a different subtype of psychopathy, the PCL-R has been around longer which means there is more empirical data that has validated this assessment. Conversely, the TriPM is still somewhat new to the field and will need additional time to accumulate the amount of empirical data and evidence to solidify its' reliability (Evans & Tully, 2016).

Both assessments offer different pros and cons whether it is through the method they are implemented and given to participants, their trait construct reach and depth, or their history of reliability and validity. In terms of their use by professionals, each option should be weighed according to the needs of the participant, the purpose of the research, or the needs of the third party requesting the assessment. Regardless, each assessment has solidified their purpose within the field and while there are intersections of the two, one does not replace the other. For the purpose of this research, the TriPM will be used because of its' broadened ability to highlight successful psychopathy which is a major focal point of this research.

Female Psychopathy

A true understanding of female psychopathy has eluded researchers, law

enforcement, and society for years. Western standards regarding sex roles have changed society's perception of what women and men are capable of in terms of manipulation, physical aggression, and criminality (Howell, 2018; Perri & Lichtenwald, 2010). Evidence of this phenomenon has been found within the criminal justice system; for instance, a comparative study conducted on female and male offenders in Pennsylvania found that women are more likely to receive no sentence or a lesser sentence for the same crime that male offenders commit (Lu, 2018). In comparison, successful psychopathy typically manifests within white collar employment that has only recently seen an increase in female professionals (Preston et al., 2018). As women continue to transcend the societal barriers and stereotypes previously established by gender norms such as the glass ceiling and being too emotional to lead, the need for ongoing research into successful female psychopathy will become more apparent and necessary.

Successful psychopaths fundamentally depend on their capability to adapt to their social and professional surroundings; traditionally, the idea of an overtly aggressive female leader is rejected by society so they must adapt to that norm (Jonason & Davis, 2018). It can be assumed that boldness is a key trait differentiating successful female psychopaths as they have either evolved their behavior to survive high stress situations or base their behavior off female gender norms such as externalizing a false sense of sympathy versus aggression (Jonason & Davis, 2018; Landay et al, 2019). Female psychopathy must be examined from a multi-dimensional perspective rather than from the same viewpoint that has been previously established through research on male

psychopathy.

When the PCL-R became extremely popular in the mid 1990's, it brought a lot of attention to both female and male psychopathy; however, the data used to create the PCL-R was a male only sample which meant that the PCL-R standard was generalized to incarcerated women (Verona & Vitale, 2018). This generalization did not have major statistical inconsistencies across gender; but there were issues with how the trait descriptions in the factor structure captured the expression of female psychopathy (Verona & Vitale, 2018) That male-specific factor structure only identified a small portion of female psychopaths compared to male psychopaths and it was only those women who deviated from typical female behavioral norms (Berardino et al., 2005; Gottfried et al., 2019).This meant that the PCL-R was only identifying a small scope of the overall female psychopath group and that became evident when women were consistently scoring higher and lower in different factor structures than the male samples (Guay et al., 2018; Kossen et al., 2013).

As research into female psychopathy began to grow, new factor constructs began to emerge which sought to equalize the gaps seen in the antisocial factor between men and women (Guay et al., 2018; Lilienfeld et al., 2015). Thomson et al. (2019) and Gillespie et al. (2020) found that female psychopaths who demonstrate physical aggression normally only perpetrate against other inmates and/or someone in their family (e.g., a significant other or family member). This has been the extent of the identification of physical aggression in female psychopaths and for this reason, research has continued

to seek out and understand the externalization of female psychopathy. In fact, Falkenbach, et al. (2017) looked at trait expression differences for both male and female psychopathic samples and found that women were more likely to demonstrate a reserved behavioral expression but also had higher rates of verbal aggression than males. Lilienfeld et al. (2015) confirmed this finding and elaborated woman have more internalized traits than men and have an increased presence of impulsivity. Both studies continuously brought up fearless dominance/boldness as the gateway between successful and unsuccessful psychopathy. The complications behind externalization bring up additional problems with research; this is especially true when these individuals enter a clinical setting and are misdiagnosed with cluster B personality disorders.

Unequal identification of psychopathy in women and potential diagnosis of cluster B personality disorders and those relationships to psychopathy are an important factor to consider. de Vogel and Lancel (2016) conducted a study on 197 female psychopathic patients and found that women are less likely to externalize physical aggression and are typically involved in crimes such as fraud. Those same women were also found to be diagnosed with BPD more so than the 197 males who were also included in the sample (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016). Similarly, Vossen et al. (2017) discussed the multiple gender differences between cluster B personality disorders to the Dark Triad traits with Machiavellianism and psychopathy being the strongest predictor of BPD and narcissism as the strongest predictor of HPD in women. This is relevant to the current study because it demonstrates the lack of knowledge the field currently has on successful

female psychopathy and the misdiagnosis that occurs because of the inability to differ between trait expressions. It is important to have a clear understanding of what the expression of psychopathy looks like in women to continue research and develop protections between them and their communities.

In addition to being misdiagnosed with personality disorders, the manifestation of sexual deviance and intimate relationships differs between male and female psychopaths. Moore et al. (2020) looked at the externalization of sexual deviance between male and female psychopathy and identified that while men are more likely to have more sexual partners over a lifetime, women are more likely to marry and seek out additional short-term sexual partners. Also, Lyons et al. (2020) found similar results that showed psychopathic women were more likely to use Tinder (a dating app primarily used as a way to satisfy sexual needs) as a way to get back at their ex-partner via short term sexual relationships, while men who displayed psychopathic characteristics were more likely to use Tinder to satisfy their high-sex drive with multiple sexual relationships. These sexual strategies each gender takes on reflect society's ideologies on gender and sexual relationships with women keeping their sexual deviance more private and out of the public eye than men as it is less socially acceptable for women to take on multiple partners.

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) has been a focus of discussion for both male and female psychopathy. Collins et al. (2017) found that female psychopaths are more emotionally charged than their male counterparts within intimate relationships and while

males are still significantly more likely to create a physically hostile environment for their spouse, women are more likely to create an emotionally abusive environment. This information provides continued support for the idea that expression of psychopathic traits is different between genders and that difference manifests through behaviors such as manipulation, control, and antisociality. To advance this information, Mager et al. (2014) discussed situational IPV between psychopathic men and women who self-reported receiving and administering physical abuse in relationships and they found that when both parties scored high in psychopathy there was a mutual form of physical and emotional abuse between one another, and a significant number of women reported inflicting physical abuse on their spouse, more so than what is nationally reported by men. Men who are not psychopathic and find themselves in relationships with psychopathic women who abuse them may be hesitant to report the abuse out of fear or shame as it goes directly attacks their masculinity. In these situations, female psychopaths are not only protected by their own gender norm of being thought of as emotional and physically weak, but also by male gender norms that imply they are physically stronger than women and that they should be able to protect themselves. This double-edged covert aggression tactic has the potential to dramatically decrease the amount of physical violence perpetrated by female psychopaths.

Boldness Overview

Meanness and disinhibition are well documented traits that have established their purpose within the realm of psychopathy; despite this, boldness has struggled to solidify

its' place within the field (Gatner et al., 2016). The concept of adaptive features of psychopathy began with Cleckley's (1976) idea that individuals who are internally maladaptive put out a "mask" to all those they meet as a way to hide their true intentions. Moreover, boldness has shown to most associate with the PCL-R's interpersonal facet; however, the interpersonal facet is not as encompassing as boldness when looking at successful psychopathy traits (Ribes-Guardiola et al, 2019). Boldness was further researched as a construct of psychopathy in Lilienfeld and Andrews' (1996) Psychopathy Personality Inventory (PPI) and from that point forward, boldness became more defined. Some characteristics and other terms for boldness are Fearless Dominance (FD) (Lilienfeld et al, 2012), remaining calm in stressful situations (Patrick et al, 2009), and being able to dominate in social settings (Lilienfeld & Sellbom, 2017). Boldness allows for both successful male and female psychopaths to put out a polite and charming image to conceal their other, more nefarious traits.

Boldness has evolved since Cleckley's "mask" and even Lilienfeld's PPI, and those who have a strong presence of boldness prioritize the relationships around them to preserve their success and in that sense, relationships may be considered valuable bringing into question attachment styles (Howell, 2018; Sleep et al, 2019). Notoriously, psychopathy is a disorder with the absence of attachment but if relationships are valued it may be that there is not a lack of attachment but rather a dysfunctional method of attachment; for instance, there is both small and large associations with insecure attachment and boldness and there is also a strong negative correlation between boldness

and attachment anxiety (Christian et al, 2017). This information contradicts early research on psychopathy that stated there is no attachment associations with psychopathy and this may also explain the lack of external maladaptive behaviors (Sleep et al, 2019).

In addition to attachment, boldness provides an overarching relationship preservation in different forms. Shou et al. (2019) revealed that those who score high on boldness are more willing to cooperate in groups both inside and outside their professional lives in order to achieve a goal or reward that they want. Shou et al. (2019) also found that boldness was significantly related to an independence factor where they preferred to only rely on themselves and not need others and that those individuals have a strong desire to be recognized for their work through different awards and professions Shou et al., 2019). Those findings can be carried over to Baran and Jonason's (2020) results that identified boldness as a protective factor in academic deceit with students who were identified as bold being less likely to cheat to graduate. Instead, the students would overachieve and saturate themselves within their academic majors in order to become experts in their field which would fundamentally align with previously acknowledged boldness characteristics such as self-reliance, confidence, and ability to perform under stress (Baran & Jonason, 2020; Patrick et al., 2009; Shou et al., 2019).

Boldness has made a controversial name for itself within the field of psychopathy that continues to be argued and validated. Consequently, some researchers do not identify boldness as an inherent or a required trait for psychopathy and while that may be the case for the criminal subtype of psychopathy, it has shown to provide distinctive markers that

separate it from ASPD (Gatner et al., 2016; Latzman et al., 2020). The debate on the necessity of boldness will be further discussed; however, for the purposes of this research, boldness is a valid trait construct that will be used to further analyze the expression of psychopathic traits in noncriminal women.

Boldness in Females

Boldness is not a binary trait that has a direct relationship with externalized traits; instead, boldness acts as a buffer that allows the individual to adapt their externalization of behavior to maintain social appearance (Berg et al., 2017; Crowe et al, 2020). Throughout the exhaustive literature review process that took place on boldness in female psychopathy several themes were identified that include hedonism, narcissism, sexual deviance, mental health and trauma, and empathy. Each theme will be discussed and further analyzed to understand how boldness influences the expression of female psychopathy.

Hedonism.

Hedonism, in any context, is the desire to indulge in all things a person finds pleasurable which includes non-sexual activities or accomplishments (Jonason et al., 2019). It has become a reoccurring theme throughout the history of psychopathy creating a fast life mentality with little regard to consequences or outcomes (Birkas & Csatho, 2015; Jonason et al., 2018). This type of lifestyle contradicts the adaptive features of boldness, but this does not mean that successful psychopaths lack hedonistic drives. The externalization of their hedonism has been adapted to more socially acceptable formats

via music, movies, social media, and other passive activities (Bowes et al., 2018; Liubin-Golub et al., 2016; Sest & March, 2017). This adaptation is a key factor to the successful component of psychopathy. For women, externalizing hedonistic desires not only goes against social norms, but also their gender norms (Collisson et al., 2020). There are a handful of studies that have looked at alternative forms of hedonistic consumption for women and those studies are discussed and analyzed below.

Liubin-Golub et al. (2016) looked at hedonism traits in male and female university students and found that women who scored high in boldness were more likely to demonstrate humanitarianism characteristics while men were more likely to prioritize self-indulgence. For the men and women in the study, gender moderated the likelihood that they would act on their personal desires and because of that moderation, boldness may be a good predictor of humanitarian behaviors in women. Conversely, when high disinhibition scores were present along with boldness, disinhibition moderated the relationship between boldness and self-indulgent behavior for women (Liubin-Golub et al., 2016). Meaning, if women have high scores on both traits, it may serve as a predictor for more antisocial self-indulgent behavior (Ljubin-Golub et al, 2016). As much controversy as boldness has within the realm of psychopathy, humanitarianism poses even more of a controversy. However, Keleman et al. (2020) revealed that those who chose to save an individual for the betterment of the group, in reference to the trolly problem, demonstrated more psychopathic than altruistic traits. A closer look at the results found that female participants with psychopathic traits were more likely to

volunteer to bolster their image and obtain recognition and distinction for their efforts thus achieving their financial, professional, or egocentric goals (Keleman et al., 2020; Shou et al., 2019).

It is unrealistic to believe that all successful female psychopaths externalize their hedonistic drives by volunteering at non-profits or raising money for ill children. Bowes et al. (2018) looked at how boldness interacted with non-sexual masochistic needs in women. While boldness, disinhibition, and meanness had no relationships with any specific genre of movies or music, the authors found that those who scored high in boldness had a specific taste in both movies and music with the most significant relationships between rap/hip hop and electronic music and war based and western style movies. Likewise, successful psychopathic women were found to have an alternative outlet for sadism. Sest and March (2017) looked at cyber-trolling and female psychopathy and found that while men were more likely to take part in cyber-trolling the gendered difference was smaller than that of the externalization of physical aggression. The more society advances technologically, the more the field has seen an increase in alternative methods of sadistic satisfaction. More specifically, psychopathic women who were empathy aware could analyze their potential victims in a way that creates a pro versus con list of virtually attacking that victim (Sest & March, 2017). They were able to determine to what level their trolling would affect their victim and proceed accordingly (Sest & March, 2017).

These findings bring about an interesting discussion point on female psychopaths

who have higher levels of boldness because the relationship between their music and movie interests could be their passive outlet for antisocial behavior instead of acting out more well-known and aggressive antisocial behaviors associated with psychopathy. These individuals may be able satisfy their violent and aggressive behavioral needs through media consumption. Sagioglou and Greitemeyer (2020) demonstrated additional findings that revealed women with higher boldness scores preferred violent and/or scary movies where they experienced sadness which fulfilled their masochistic trait needs. Furthermore, the reasoning for the smaller gap between males and females when it comes to online aggression versus physical aggression may be that online trolling is more socially acceptable for women than engaging in physical violence. This allows them to act within their gendered role but still satisfy that urge for victimization.

After discussing the relationship between psychopathy and the externalization of hedonism, there are clear patterns that identify boldness as a buffer that seeks to curve antisocial behaviors into more socially accepted ones (Bowes et al., 2018; Collisson et al., 2020; Liubin-Golub et al., 2016). For women, boldness allows them to remain successful, but it also allows them to conform within their gender norms. Instead of being outwardly aggressive to achieve their goals, they take the more passive and gender relevant path of humanitarianism. This bolsters their outward mask of being shy and selfless and that attention and fame pursues them in lieu of them pursuing it. Also, boldness has allowed them to adapt and utilize media as a masochistic outlet. As long as boldness remains their strongest feature out of the triarchic model, it will allow them to

adapt their internal drives and focus their externalization of those drives.

Narcissism.

Narcissism is often associated with psychopathy because of how self-serving the disorder truly is. There is no debate regarding the presence of narcissism within several of the psychopathic constructs that have been developed as it contributes to degraded personal relationships, an inflated sense of self and entitlement, and an overall lack of empathy for others (Alalehto & Azarian, 2018; Miller et al., 2020). Researchers within the field have started to look at narcissism and its' relationships with psychopathy. More specifically, boldness and narcissism have been examined together to understand how the adaptive features of boldness work with narcissistic traits in order to create a more diverse social mask that the individual puts forward (Brislin et al., 2015; Lyons et al., 2020). At a superficial glance, narcissism may seem as though it is a naturally maladaptive trait with no adaptive features, but this is not the case. Narcissism has adaptive features like assertiveness that allows individuals to obtain their desired goals without externalizing antisocial behaviors (Miller et al., 2020). This concept becomes an increasingly more important aspect to examine when looking at successful female psychopathy because women are less likely to display antisocial behaviors (Smith et al., 2018).

A three-factor model of narcissism showed that boldness induced narcissism was primarily driven by the extraversion factor versus antagonistic or neuroticism factors (Miller et al., 2020). Boldness has no empirical ties to the antisocial or aggressive

behaviors; however, there is a relationship present between high scores on extraversion and boldness (Hyatt et al., 2020). This may hint at a higher rate of boldness in successful female psychopaths versus male because gender norms dictate these women are less likely to externalize aggression and women are expected to demonstrate positive externalizations of extraversion (Hyatt et al., 2020; Miller et al, 2020).

Sexual Deviance.

There has been an enormous amount of research into sexual deviance and psychopathy over the years and recent research has taken that topic a step further to analyze gender differences. There are many behaviors that contribute to the overall definition of sexual deviance and those include seduction, engaging in multiple short-term sexual relationships (e.g., one-night stands), harassment both in and out of the workplace, sexual coercion, and infidelity (Carre et al., 2018; Miller et al., 2017). It is not necessary for an individual to externalize all of these behaviors in order to be considered sexually deviant. When looking at the differences between male and female psychopaths, there are clear preferences in how sexual deviance is expressed (Bommel et al., 2018; Moore et al., 2020). Boldness plays a significant role when it comes to sexual deviance; for instance, psychopaths who score high on boldness were much more likely to report satisfaction with their sexual conquests, which researchers believed is because the adaptive traits of boldness intensified their self-esteem and reduced their lack of fear and anxiety (Pilch & Smolorz, 2019). It is especially important that researchers examine the relationship between sexual deviance and successful female psychopaths because it lifts

the veil of secrecy regarding sexually manipulative tactics employed by these women, for instance, women were more likely to sexually manipulate and have intercourse with other men as a way to enact revenge on a previous male partner (Lyons et al., 2020). There has not been a large amount of research into this sub-discipline of psychopathy, but what has been completed has validated boldness as a meaningful construct (Collisson et al., 2020; Lyons et al., 2020).

Sexual deviance is a common externalization of psychopathy with both successful and unsuccessful subtypes because it is considered a maladaptive trait (Evans & Tully, 2016). Women who scored high in boldness were more confident with their sexuality and sexual experiences which allowed them to have a more satisfying sex life than women who scored high in disinhibition (Pilch et al., 2019). The relationship between boldness and disinhibition appears to vary between genders (Drislane & Patrick, 2016). Moore et al. (2020) found that boldness did not have a direct relationship with infidelity but that successful female psychopaths were more likely to externalize their sexual deviance by having short-term extramarital affairs while men were more likely to have multiple sexual partners. The adaptive features of boldness may serve as a unique factor for successful psychopathic women by forcing them to covertly commit infidelity rather than having multiple sexual partners, to confirm to gender norms and thus preserve their lifestyle.

Mental Health & Trauma.

The life experiences of female psychopaths, especially trauma, are an important

link to the development and externalization of psychopathic traits (Colins et al., 2017; Fontaine et al., 2010; Gottfired, et al., 2019). It is important to note that both male and female psychopaths typically experience some form of trauma in their childhood that contributes to the manifestation of psychopathy; however, there are gendered differences in this manifestation (Bowes et al., 2019; Gottfired, et al., 2019). The subject of mental health and trauma are broad and encompassing; however, anxiety, depression, suicide, childhood neglect, childhood sexual abuse, and the affect those experiences have on their overall empathy will be the focus of this discussion as this is what the literature has defined and demonstrated as significant environmental factors that contribute to female psychopathy.

Depression & Anxiety.

Depression and anxiety are common psychological deficits that are common through-out general society; but this is not the case with those who have psychopathy (Bowes et al., 2019; Christian et al., 2016). These types of psychological disorders are typically internalized, meaning that many of the symptoms experienced occur within an individual's mind that have secondary externalizations that others can observe. It is important to look at how these internalizing disorders interact with boldness because boldness represents an emotional fearlessness and is also an internalizing process (Bowes et al., 2019; Falkenback et al., 2017). It seems as if boldness and depression and/or anxiety, could not coexist together because boldness would force a cancelation of the depression and/or anxiety. Understanding the role of boldness in successful female

psychopathy could potentially provide additional explanations into how these women interact with others on an individual, social, and romantic level.

Psychopathic women are more likely than men to experience depression and anxiety, and both genders externalize symptoms of these disorders differently, for example, men will engage in substance abuse and outward aggression while women will more likely become emotionally unstable and visibly anxious (Bowes et al, 2019; Falkenbach et al., 2017). This makes boldness even more important in the role of understanding how psychopathic women process these disorders. A higher score of boldness was found to be an indicator that little to no depression or anxiety was present within the women in Bowes et al.'s (2019) study. This is consistent with the conceptualization of boldness as a type of fearlessness, which when interacting with attachment styles could create anxiety. For example, Christian et al., (2016) looked at attachment anxiety, boldness, and overall psychopathy in female participants and found that women who scored higher on boldness spent less time worrying about the emotional availability of their spouse, partner, or other close familial relationships.

Boldness continues to fulfill its' role as a protective and adaptive trait in psychopathy, especially when it comes to depression and anxiety. In general, women who have higher scores on boldness were less likely to experience depression, anxiety, and anxiety related attachment disorders, and while this is also true with men, it had a larger impact in women since they were more likely to experience those disorders in the first place (Christian et al., 2016; Bowes et al, 2019; Falkenbach et al., 2017). It can be

assumed that boldness provides a layer of protection when it comes to these disorders and prevents negative externalizations such as suicide and drug use; however, higher scores of disinhibition accompanied with boldness increased drug use (Falkenbach et al., 2017; Gottfired et al., 2019). If female psychopaths have high levels of boldness it would essentially offer a protective barrier that would prevent them from taking part in behaviors that would lead to a criminal lifestyle as there would be less factors negatively influencing them to commit criminal acts (Christian et al., 2016). More research is needed to understand the relationship between boldness and internalizing disorders, such as depression and anxiety, but preliminary research has been consistent in demonstrating that boldness prevents these disorders from appearing and/or minimizes their symptoms.

Suicide.

Suicide and psychopathy have been researched and discussed since Cleckley's (1976) time where he explained that psychopaths would often talk about ending their own lives but would never actually follow through with their threats and primarily used that behavior as a vehicle to receive attention. Suicide ideation has been found to be more present in male psychopaths than females and this statistic mirrors that of the Western culture's general population where males are more likely to commit suicide than women (Canetto, 2017; Shagufta et al., 2019). Additionally, boldness has a unique effect on how suicide ideations are internalized for women which further influences how those women externalize those ideations (Buchman-Schmitt et al., 2017). For instance, boldness was found to inversely identify suicidal and other negative mental health behaviors in women

(Anestis et al., 2018). However, just because those women may not have behaved in a way that reflects suicide, it does not mean that they are not internalizing those ideations (Gottfired et al, 2019). Furthermore, boldness provided insight into the capability and desire of suicide in female gun owners; boldness provided a low fear response which increased suicide capability, but at the same time provided a protective factor that mitigated the desire for suicide (Anestis et al, 2018; Buchman-Schmitt et al., 2017).

Overall, in the research studies reviewed, women were less likely to take their own lives than men, but that was not related to their use of a suicidal threat to obtain a goal that personally benefitted them (Gottfired et al., 2019). Provided that there is a high presence of boldness, it is possible that completed acts of suicide is extremely low in successful female psychopaths, but threats of suicide have a higher chance of being present (Anestis et al., 2018). Therefore, the constant threat of suicide without any actual plan to take their own life as a potential indicator of boldness in female psychopaths should be further researched. Additionally, given the positive relationship between suicide BPD and HPD, this issue needs to be parsed out further to distinguish between these personality disorders and psychopathic traits.

Childhood Neglect & Sexual Abuse.

There are many variables that exist within childhood trauma and for that reason and the purpose of this study, those variables have been narrowed down to neglect and sexual abuse as these two variables have consistent empirical data that demonstrate their relationships with boldness. Childhood neglect can be experienced in many ways and

those include the absence of a parental figure/caregiver, or the primary caregiver neglects emotional, psychological, or physical needs of the child (Forouzan & Nicholls, 2015). Childhood sexual abuse describes any inappropriate sexual interaction between the primary caregiver and the child; both which have shown to affect women differently than men in the development of psychopathy (Boduszek et al., 2019; Docherty et al., 2018). In addition to the characteristics of trauma and gender, boldness has been identified in the relationship between female psychopathy and childhood abuse (Gottfried et al., 2019; Guillaume et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2017).

Both men and women experience childhood neglect and sexual abuse throughout their childhood; however, gender variances exist in how that trauma is cognitively processed and eventually externalized as adults (Durand & Calheiros-Velozo, 2018; Lang & Lenard; 2015). To demonstrate these gendered variances, women have consistently shown to report higher rates of abuse than males (Watts et al., 2017). When this fact is further analyzed using the TriPM, it was found that women scoring high in boldness were significantly less likely to have experienced childhood neglect but more likely to have experienced sexual abuse; this was in contrast to those women who scored high in disinhibition and meanness, but low on boldness as they reportedly experienced higher rates of childhood maltreatment and physical neglect (Guillaume et al., 2018; Watts et al, 2017). Equally important is that female victims of childhood sexual abuse were more likely than men to demonstrate the psychopathic traits of lack of remorse and empathy, which may potentially make them more likely to victimize others (Weizmann-Henelius et

al., 2010).

When all this information is synthesized together it furthers the field's understanding of the manifestation of boldness in successful female psychopaths as well as provides potential indicators that make women high risk for secondary psychopathy. As previously mentioned, disinhibition and meanness create personality traits that fall in line with antisocial behaviors, impulsiveness, and a lack of empathy; they negatively correlate with boldness and create the perfect environment for a more criminally centered psychopath (Latzman et al., 2020; Patrick et al., 2009). Whereas sexual abuse correlated positively with boldness, and less so with disinhibition and meanness; this could be a potential indicator of successful psychopathy in women (Guillaume et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2017; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2010).

Empathy.

Empathy is one person's ability to understand the emotional pain that another person is experiencing and effectively share those feelings with another person, and it provides an emotional and cognitive link between individuals and ethical behavior (Brown et al., 2010). Empathy, or lack of it, is one of the most researched topics in the field of psychopathy and can be found in the work of Cleckley, Hare, and Patrick, and others (Cleckley, 1976; Hare et al., 2000; Patrick et al., 2009). It was originally believed that psychopaths had no capability to comprehend or understand empathy in the way that a psychologically healthy individual would, but recent research has shown there are varying levels of empathy present in psychopaths (Litten et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2017).

For example, Metcalf et al., (2020) found moderate levels of empathy in both male and female youth who demonstrated callous-unemotional traits or took part in antisocial behaviors.

Litten et al., (2018) found that a sample of undergraduate students who demonstrated psychopathic traits in psychology majors demonstrated higher rates of empathy than those who demonstrated the same traits but were majoring in business. While there is not enough data in this study to determine if that empathy was developed from their chosen disciplines, there was enough data from the participant demographics to draw some assumptions. A total of 124 psychology students participated with 98 female and 26 male participants and a total of 135 business majors participated with 64 male and 71 female students (Litten et al., 2018). A significant number of participants in the psychology major were female in comparison to the business major. In terms of gender norms and sex typing, empathy is primarily a female attribute, and those female psychopaths may have more empathy present because of their gendered differences rather than their selected major for undergraduate school (Bem, 1981). More research is needed within these variables to make that determination, but there are additional studies that demonstrate a higher level of empathy in female psychopaths when compared to their male counterparts. Notably, Watts et al. (2017) found that women who scored higher in boldness are less likely to portray characteristics of cold-heartedness (lack of empathy) with sexual assault victims while the opposite was true of women who scored high in meanness. Watts et al. (2017) was able to identify a relationship in females between high

levels of boldness and an increased presence of empathy. Additionally, Preston and Anestis (2019) found that when high levels of meanness were present it lowered empathy scores and increased the likelihood of an aggressive and physical reaction. Cunliffe et al. (2016) found that sex-typed behaviors stemming from GST explained pivotal differences in aggression characteristics between male and female psychopaths with women more likely to take part in affective (reactive violence) violence versus predatory (planned and motivated violent actions).

These findings demonstrate that the presence of boldness increases the likelihood of empathy while meanness increases the likelihood of physical aggression (Preston & Anestis, 2019; Watts et al., 2017). Similarly, when there is low empathy and low boldness present in females, they are more likely to take part in reactive violence when they feel threatened and not take part in predatory violence which adheres to the gender norms of women (Bem, 1981; Berg et al., 2017; Cunlifee, 2016). This information lends itself to the idea that successful female psychopaths are more likely to demonstrate higher levels of boldness and empathy compared to criminal female psychopaths. This further validates the necessity of research into the externalization of boldness in successful females.

Summary

Psychopathy is a combination of antisocial behaviors and a lack of empathy and remorse that may or may not result in the presence of a criminal record (Cleckley, 1976; Hare et al., 2000; Patrick et al., 2009). Not all antisocial behaviors of psychopathy are

overt; different traits such as sexual deviance, manipulation, and failure to learn from punishment and/or mistakes contribute to antisocial behaviors and lifestyles (Wygant et al., 2016; Wygant et al., 2020). Psychopathy is a spectrum disorder that ranges from criminal to successful behavioral traits that is more commonly found in men than women (Cleckley, 1976; Lilienfeld et al., 2015). There is no clinical diagnosis that has been established within the DSM-5 in part because of the similarities the disorder shares with other personality disorders like ASPD, NPD, and HPD and also because there is still a strong disagreement within the field on the conceptualization of psychopathy (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016; Vossen et al., 2017: Hamburger et al, 1996).

One of the founding researchers in field of psychopathy was Hervey Cleckley. His in-depth case studies revealed common behavioral traits presented in psychopaths, which started the discussion on successful psychopathy that included those in professional and white-collar positions, versus overtly antisocial and criminal behaviors (Cleckley, 1976). Cleckley's work was so influential that it was the foundation of Robert Hare's work and the development of the PCL-R, which focused on criminal psychopathy, and soon became the gold standard for psychopathy assessments and (Cunha et al., 2020; Hare, 2003; Hare et al., 2018). This opened the door for an abundance of research that brought about new information to the field and revealed issues with reliability when diagnosing incarcerated women as well as identifying successful psychopaths (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016; Gottfried et al., 2019; Hare et al., 2018). Patrick et al., (2009) created the TriPM, which includes three factors: boldness, meanness, and disinhibition. Boldness,

which encompassed much of the successful components that Cleckley (1941) had researched years prior, has been shown to be a valid construct within psychopathy (Lilienfeld et al., 2016).

Female psychopathy has been under researched when compared to research on males. However, new research is being conducted to help expand knowledge in this area. For example, the PCL-R now has new norms specific to female offenders, as prior studies used norms from male only samples (Verma & Vitale, 2018). Differences between the sexes have emerged suggesting psychopathy manifests differently based on gender (Verma & Vitale. 2018). When GST is applied with the information the field already, it becomes apparent that sex-typing at a young age is a key variable to understanding this phenomenon.

The next chapter looks at the methodology of the study to include the purpose, research design and rationale, and a breakdown of explanatory mixed methods approach. It also looks at the assessment being used and establish the validity and reliability of that assessment with the population being recruited. Ethical guidelines and procedures are discussed as well as recruitment.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Purpose

The purpose of this explanatory mixed methods study was to explore the expression of boldness in successful women who rated high on boldness. There is a lack of understanding surrounding both boldness and the expression of psychopathic traits in women and several current researchers in the field have suggested the need for further research into both areas (Crowe et al., 2020; Verena & Vitale, 2018). Furthermore, Sellbom and Drislane (2020) suggested future research have qualitative components to assist in the deeper understanding behind the mass amounts of quantitative data that already exists in the field. This study addressed both gaps in topic and methodology. In this chapter, I identify and justify the explanatory mixed methods approach, explain the methodology, discuss ethical concerns, and go over the threats to validity and trustworthiness.

Setting

This research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic which created new barriers to collecting data and the setting in which that collection occurs. The participants were interviewed over the video calling app Zoom. This reduced the possibility of transmitting COVID-19 between the researcher and participants, ensuring the safety of both parties. I worked with the participants to determine which brand of video interviewing app worked best for them and accommodated accordingly. All participant interviews were conducted in a quiet location that safeguarded their privacy and allowed

them to speak freely. I ensured my office door was locked during all interviews.

Research Design & Rationale

Research Questions

RQ1: What are the lived experiences of non-criminal women who score high in boldness?

RQ2: How do non-criminal women express the psychopathic construct of boldness?

The central phenomenon of this study is that women are diagnosed at significantly lower rates than males with psychopathy and are more likely to be diagnosed with BPD or HPD (de Vogel & Lancel, 2016; Vossen et al., 2017). Furthermore, the other half of this phenomenon is the relevance and prevalence of boldness within female psychopathy and the expression of its' symptoms. Boldness is a highly controversial topic within the realm of psychopathy that has many professionals in the field debating on whether it should even be included into the construct (Gatner et al., 2016). This research may help address the gaps in the understanding of successful females who rate high on boldness express it. In addition, this research may provide additional evidence that supports the use of boldness as a central feature of psychopathy. This understanding may also help in the development of future assessments and the reduction of future victimizations. An explanatory mixed methods approach was selected for this research design for several reasons. The first being that a mixed methods approach incorporates both qualitative and quantitative data which allows for a deeper and well-rounded presentation of the

phenomenon that is the primary focus of the study and that will allow for an easier understanding of the complex themes that emerge from both the data obtained from the preliminary screening assessment (TriPM) and semi-structured interviews (Gibson, 2017). A mixed methods approach was critical for this study because I needed to ensure the participants I interviewed were identified as having high rates of boldness as determined by the TriPM. If I interviewed participants who were not screened for boldness and then moved those participants into the interview stage, then that data would not have been valid or applicable to the study. By first using a quantitative measure to filter participants to ensure they met the qualifications of the study it strengthened the results for the second phase of research and the information those participants disclosed (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

An explanatory mixed methods approach was selected because I collected the quantitative data in the first phase of this research by providing the TriPM self-assessment to participants to confirm they met the criteria for the second phase of the research which were qualitative interviews. The first phase of the data collection process was broader and include a greater number of participants than the second phase. This was intentional to make certain that the second phase of the data collection was purposeful and meaningful to the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). During the first phase of this research, I examined the TriPM self-assessment scores to determine if they had high boldness scores.

The phenomenological design was selected for the qualitative portion of this

research because the aim of the second phase of research was to examine and explore the lived experiences of female psychopaths; more specifically, how Westernized gender norms played a role in developing and externalizing the traits of psychopathy and the significance of boldness and the role that trait plays in the externalization process. This method allowed me to prioritize the essence of the participants' truth and experiences instead of focusing on the accuracy and factuality of how the participants described their experiences (Patton, 2015). This allowed for a true understanding of the complexities behind their decisions and motivations with their externalizations and decisions.

Role of the Researcher

The purpose of phenomenological research was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences that relate to the phenomenon in question (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In the qualitative portion of this study my role as researcher was the interviewer and I was the primary tool used to analyze and code the data that was derived from the interviews (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Korstjens & Moser, 2017). This role was key to the second phase of the research process and was made up of several important aspects such as my personality and how that affected the interpretation of the information received from the participants, my own core values and motivations for the research, and how that influenced the coding and final analysis of the information, and my own personal lived experiences that mirrored those of the participants (Korstjens & Moser, 2017; Patton, 2015).

The recruitment process of this research took place in a manner that allowed me

to filter out any participants who I knew personally or professionally, and recruitment did not take place in my current or previous workplaces to eliminate the chances of coming across a participant where I had a personal or professional relationship with. This allowed me to minimize power relationship dynamics that may otherwise be present if I had recruited participants within my own "backyard" (Alase, 2017; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Additionally, as a female researcher focusing on the lived experiences of the female participants, I undoubtedly shared many of the same perspectives and experiences as the participants who were recruited for the study and this required me apply a significant amount of effort into identifying, addressing, and managing my own bias.

There were several different methods that were implemented to identify, manage, and limit researcher bias throughout the study. The first method involved bracketing and this is where I acknowledged my preconceptions regarding the topic, and this was especially relevant given that I am a female researching the effects of female gender norms and their influence on expressed behaviors (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). There were two methods I used to implement the bracketing technique. The first was to write out notes and memos throughout the data analysis process about my biases as 1 experienced and identified them (Tufford & Newman, 2016). The active process of physically writing out and engaging in self-reflection made sure that I stayed actively aware of those biases as I analyzed the data (Rodham et al., 2015; Tufford & Newman, 2016). To further my own understanding of how my bias affected my research, I implemented the second technique of bracketing and extended the first method of bracketing into discussions with

my chair. Engaging in these discussions with my chair will helped shed additional insight on how my biases affected my data analysis (Sutton & Austin, 2015; Tufford & Newman 2016). I kept all the memos I created and scheduled a meeting with my chair to discuss them.

Horizontalization is another method I used to address bias and that typically co-occurs with phenomenological reduction (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Horizontalization is where the researcher plots all the data in preparation for analysis and assigns equal value to all of the data collected without prioritizing one set of data over the other and phenomenological reduction forces the researcher to always go back to the root meaning of the lived experience in itself so it is not lost within the data analysis phase of the research (Hourigan & Edgar, 2020; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Implementing those tactics helped guarantee that the data was not manipulated by my own bias which reinforced the validity and reliability of the data for the qualitative portion of the study.

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

There were two stages of participant selection. In the first stage, where the quantitative TriPM self-assessment was used, participant selection was based off two primary criteria: gender and age. All participants who were selected for the first phase of this research were at least 18 years of age and female. All participants were recruited through ads placed on social media, flyers placed in local businesses, and on service websites such as Craigslist. The second phase of selection logic was based off the

participants' self-assessment scores and those who scored 40 or greater out of the total 57 possible points were invited to participate. I continued to provide the self-assessments to participants in the first phase until I secured enough participants for data saturation in the second phase. This process required me to evaluate 40 self-assessments until I met the established criteria of participants for the second phase.

Data saturation for phenomenological interviews varies depending on the representative pool of participants and it is typically recommended that researchers interview anywhere between two and 25 participants to ensure data saturation (Alase, 2017). As previously mentioned, the second phase of data collection included purposeful sampling where I chose the participants that I felt would be best suited to address the phenomenon in question and that is where I used the participants' boldness scores to elevate the quality of participants for the second phase (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Patton, 2015).

This study had 10 participants move on to the second phase for interviews. After six interviews were conducted, the data was analyzed to see if there was a need for additional interviews. As the researcher, I decided that there was still a need to supplement the data that were already collected and pressed forward with the screening and facilitation of the interviews until a true data saturation took effect, resulting in 10 total interviews.

Qualitative Instrumentation

The main qualitative instrument I used in this study was a semi-structured

interview (Appendix B). The questions in the semi-structured interview were researcher developed and they were not taken from a previously published instrument. The questions developed for the semi-structured interviews were based off the TriPM's boldness specific questions (Patrick et al., 2009). The semi-structured interview format allowed me to remain on topic through-out the interview while asking phenomenon focused, open ended questions that permitted diverse responses from each participant as well as a continued conversation between researcher and participant (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The interview questions were developed and submitted to both my chair and committee member for review.

I also used a note keeping process during each interview. All notes were kept on an interview guide developed to cater to the main interview questions that kept the interview on track. The notes I took on the interview guide helped me to develop more individually centered follow-up questions if they were needed and it let me explore any additional details to receive further elaboration on a specific question (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). All notes kept on the interview guide were submitted to my chair and committee member for review and assistance in developing additional questions, coding in the data analysis phase, and to serve as documentation for my audit trail when addressing bias.

Quantitative Instrumentation

The data collection instrument for the quantitative portion of this study was the 58-item Triarchic Psychopathy Model (TriPM) self-assessment measure (Patrick et al., 2009). The assessment is divided into three different factors: Boldness (19 questions),

Meanness (19 questions), and Disinhibition (20 questions; Patrick et al., 2009). There were four responses the participants could choose from: True, Somewhat True, Somewhat False, and False. Participants were selected for the qualitative interview portion of the study if their responses met the cutoff score of 40 from the 19 questions that pertained to boldness. This assessment and the materials on how to use it can be found online for free; they are open for public use.

The Tri-PM has been tested for validity and reliability in several studies; Brislin et al. (2015) used the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire with the TriPM to establish validity of the meanness, disinhibition, and boldness scales. They used a mixed sample of 240 incarcerated (100% men) and 176 community members (50.3% female) and found that with the community sample there were strong similarities between the two assessments with boldness (r= .81), meanness (r= .67), and 79 disinhibition (r= .62; Brislin et al., 2015). The incarcerated sample was measured against the PCL-R and both meanness and disinhibition had moderate relationships with the overall PCL-R score, r= .35 and r= .28 respectively (Brislin et al., 2015). Boldness only showed a r= .12 with the overall PCL-R score but was the strongest factor for facet one of the PCL-R with an r=.33 (Brislin et al., 2015).

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Potential participants for this study were recruited through various ads that I posted on social media and other platforms such as Craigslist and through flyers that I sent out to several different agencies in my surrounding geographic area. For participants

to take part in the first stage of the research, they needed to be female and over the age of 18. I explained that the nature of the study is to examine the lived experiences of women who display traits of boldness which was provided in the recruitment flyer I produced (Patrick et al., 2009). I did not inform the participants that this study looks at psychopathy because I did not want any stigmatization to occur if they were selected for the second phase of the research.

Participants who responded were given an informed consent form so they could make an informed decision on if they want to participate in the study. Those who choose to sign the informed consent form were moved forward to the first stage of the research, the self-assessment, which was taken via survey monkey. The first page of the survey included the initial consent form. Those who did not agree to the informed consent form were not included in the study and no further contact was made with those potential participants. Once participants signed the informed consent form and progressed to the first stage of the research, they were assigned a code based on the order that they were selected to participate in the study. Examples of these codes are: Participant 1, Participant 2,…Participant 25, Participant 26. The number that follows the word participant was the order of their participation and if participants did not meet the criteria for the second stage of the research their code was not reused. The codes continued to count upwards until enough participants qualified for the interview portion of the research.

Due to the current pandemic, data collection took place over online video conferences using software that best suited the participant. Examples of this software

include Skype and Zoom, but Zoom was the only software used for all interviews. I conducted the interviews over video conference, and I made sure that each participant had at least 90 minutes for each interview. Prior to the interviews taking place, I emailed them to ensure they still wanted to participate in the second half of the study and then arranged a time to complete the interview with the participant. If I did not receive an email from the participant I had selected within two weeks demonstrating their desire to participate in the study I continued on and reached out to the next participants on the list to move forward to the interview stage. Interviews ran longer or shorter depending on the amount of information the participant chose to disclose. Time was made for follow-up interviews if they were needed, but there was no need to meet with any of the participants for an additional interview. At the onset of the interview, I briefly reminded them of the consent form, including the limits of confidentiality, and allowed the participant to ask any questions. I also let them know they were free to withdrawal from the study at any time. While the interviews were taking place, I recorded the audio for data analysis, and I created handwritten notes and memos to supplement the interview audio tapes for future reference. I reviewed the playback of the audio tapes to make sure I fully understood what the participants were trying to inform me of. I had implemented a member checking procedure where I reached out to the participant for further clarification to ensure the quality and validity of the data I was analyzing (Saldana, 2016).

Data Analysis Plan

To begin with, all data collected and analyzed through-out this research process

was kept safely in my home office where I secured physical documents in a locked drawer within a locked office, and all electronic documents were kept on a password protected computer as well as in a password protected folder that was only accessible locally and not stored on a cloud or shared drive. Once the interviews had taken place, I transcribed all the interviews with the use of the audio recordings I maintained for each interview. Recording the audio of the interviews let me focus on other important aspects of the interviewees such as body language and additional note taking that I incorporated into the data analysis process.

Prior to conducting the interviews, all participants were given an electronic version of the TriPM that they filled out via survey monkey. This made it easier to collect and receive data. Once I received the completed self-assessment I went through and scored each participant based off their responses and scoring key and applied the naming convention that I previously discussed (Participant1, Participant2, etc.). The self-assessments were then organized into two categories, those who met the 40 cut-off and those who did not. There was no further evaluation or contact of the participants who did not meet the cut-off score.

Once the interviews were all transcribed and the handwritten notes were organized with each interview, I began the data analysis process. I did not use any software specifically designed for analyzing qualitative data. Although I downloaded and experimented with both MAXQDA and Nvivo to see how those programs work and what the strengths and weaknesses of each program offered, my final decision was to utilize

Microsoft Excel for all the organization and analysis of my data as I was able to maintain complete control over all the data and it also offered additional flexibility that permitted me to organize codes and themes in a manner that best fit my data analysis strategy. Additionally, by utilizing Microsoft Excel I was able to create a new sheet that housed the quantitative information for each participant that took the self-assessment and those participants that moved on to the second phase of the research were highlighted so I had both data sets within the same program that were easily and readily accessible through-out the data analysis process.

One of the most important facets to phenomenological research is the coding of themes and information acquired from the information that participants provided during their interviews (Alase, 2017). I coded the visual, physical, and audio data and identified patterns and themes that emerged between the different participants as I obtained the data from them. I did not wait until all of the interviews had taken place before analyzing data because knowing what was already acquired helped guide my data saturation efforts, so I had a real time idea of where my data was at in regard to its' richness and depth. I also wanted to minimize the amount of time between the interview and the analysis of the information derived from that interview. This helped ensure the encounter was still fresh in my mind which bolstered the reliability and quality of the information that was analyzed.

The coding process was extensive and took place in several different phases. Through-out the entire process I kept the purpose and goals of the study on hand so I

could continue to reference them to guarantee my coding remained on track and adhered to the purpose of the study. The first phase of coding included laying out all the data together in a singular format and I utilized Microsoft word for this phase. Once all the data was reformatted, I began my pre-coding procedures where I highlighted and made notes of significant statements from the participants that had a considerable impact on the phenomenon that is being questioned (Saldana, 2016). Those statements helped define the initial categories and codes for the rest of the data to follow.

As I began to read through the transcripts and notes for each individual participant, I utilized a form of coding called splitting instead of lumping. Splitting and lumping offer their own pros and cons; however, splitting allows for a more concise and detail-oriented coding process which created the opportunity to reduce later in the coding process (Saldana, 2016). If I had chosen to utilize lumping, I would have needed to go back and reanalyze the transcripts to see if more data was needed to supplement each category. By splitting the data, I ended up investing more time and energy at the start of the coding process, but it also alleviated that burden as I progressed through the coding process (Saldana, 2016). All the splitting occurred within the Microsoft Word documents that contained the transcribed interviews and handwritten notes.

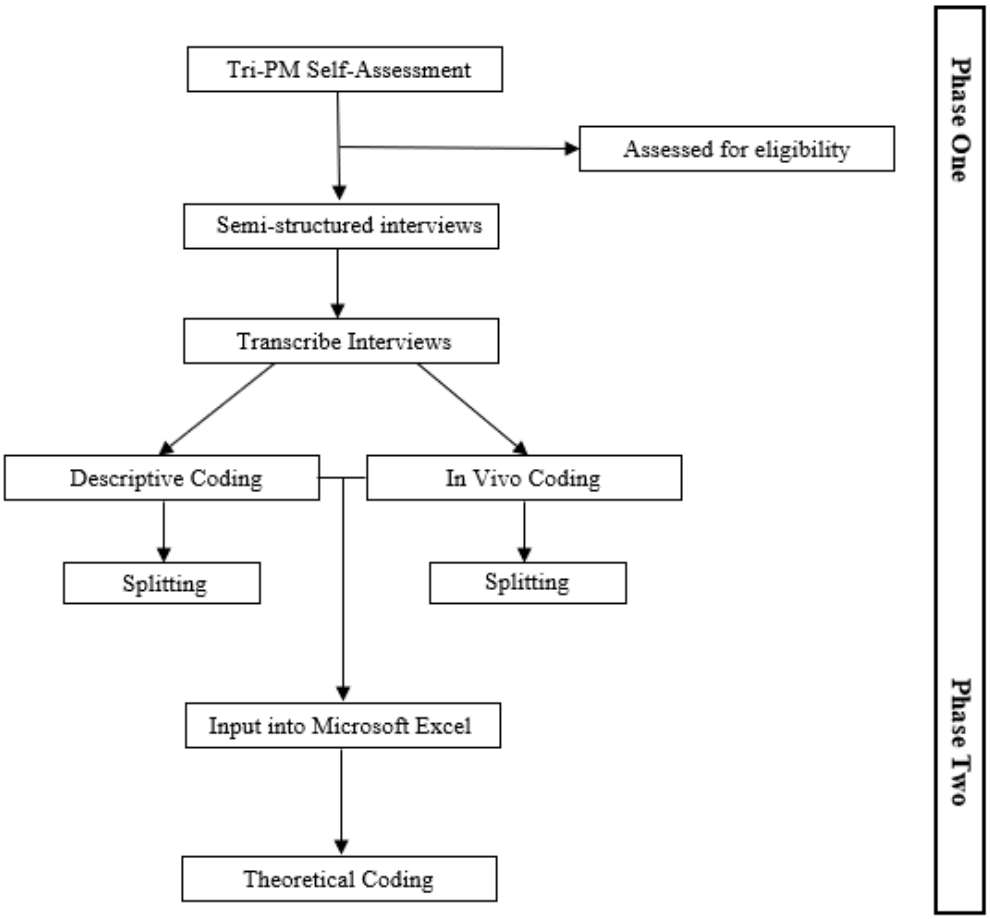
Splitting was the method I used to break apart the data, but in this first phase I utilized both descriptive and in vivo coding. I went through each of the participants transcripts utilizing a descriptive coding method that helped create initial categories for the themes within the interviews and then utilized in vivo coding, which relies on the

participants' own language, to derive meaning from the data (Manning, 2017; Saldana, 2016). The primary reason I utilized this coding method was because I recruited participants of different cultural, ethnic, and racial backgrounds and I did not want to lose the value of their experience and a valid way of preserving the richness of their experience was to identify it through their own meaning that they applied (Manning, 2017). The second coding method I utilized is descriptive. Descriptive coding let me create major categories of themes that needed further elaboration (which was completed through in vivo coding) but those initial themes continued to drive the data analysis down a broad and identifiable pathway (Elliot, 2018; Saldana, 2016). By utilizing both coding methods it facilitated a more reliable and well-rounded analysis of the data from two distinct viewpoints and provided that rich data set that is required of the phenomenological research design.

The transition into the second phase of coding required me to take all the information obtained from preliminary and first phase of coding and put it into Microsoft Excel to create a spreadsheet of the refined data. Once the data was put into Microsoft Excel, I had a complete and thorough summary of the segmented data. At this point I began the second phase of coding that focused on theoretical coding methods that helped bring together all the previous categories and subcategories together to establish and define the rich data that related to the phenomenon at the center of the research (Saldana, 2016). My data analysis plan can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Data Analysis Plan



Threats to Validity

Both external and internal threats to validity exist within every research design but having the capability to identify and address those threats prior to conducting the research is key to limiting the effects those threats have on the results (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). To successfully move on to the second phase of my research design, I

needed to limit the threats to validity so that the self-assessment measures what it is intended to measure, or it would have had serious negative effects that could have rolled into the final results. I created plans that addressed both the external and internal threats to validity.

External Validity

External validity is threatened when the results of a study create an inaccurate assumption that is applied to different settings and people that were not outlined in the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The self-assessment being used in this study was the TriPM which is a psychopathy self-assessment that can be utilized on both men and women, but for the purposes of this study, it was only used with women, so the results of this study are not generalizable across the male population. To help make the results more generalizable across the female population, I have sampled women from different socioeconomic, ethnic, cultural, professional, and age groups. In addition to the backgrounds of the participants, applying the results to real-world settings can create threats to external validity (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this study, there is no physical experimentation taking place in a controlled setting which significantly reduces the threat to validity when applying the results to a real-world environment.

Internal Validity

In this study, there were no efforts made to provide a cause-and-effect relationship because it was non-experimental in design. There was also no pre- or post-test in this study which limits the threats to internal validity created by changes within the

assessments and the TriPM self-assessment that was used was not altered in any way from participant to participant or over time. However, participants who scored high on boldness in the TriPM were prioritized for the second phase of the study, so the selection process introduced a threat to the internal validity that affects the generalizability of the results (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This selection procedure cannot be altered as it reflective to the research questions and the phenomenon at hand. This limited the generalizability of the results to not only women, but women who score high on boldness.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is an essential component of research and researchers should implement the best practice standards to confirm the quality of their data and results remains consistent through-out the core of the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). To safeguard this study from any trustworthiness issues, I looked at the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability aspects of my research. I implemented techniques and strategies for each component to develop a strong sense of rigor through-out the data collection, analysis, and the presentation of results.

Credibility

Credibility addresses whether the results presented by a researcher are truly reflective of the participants in the study and are an unbiased representation of the phenomenon at hand (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). To secure a high level of credibility, I used the member check strategy. Member checking is the process of returning the data that was obtained to the original source for review as a failsafe for accuracy and validity

of the data (Candela, 2019). I implemented this strategy after I transcribed the interviews. I reached out to all the participants who I interviewed and sent them the transcribed interview in a Microsoft Word document for review. They had the opportunity to return that transcript with feedback on the accuracy as well as offer any additional clarity on what they had said.

Transferability

Transferability is an import facet of maintaining trustworthiness within a study that has qualitative components. Transferability refers to the study's ability to transfer from one setting to another (Patton, 2015). The key to ensuring transferability within a study is to provide a thick description of the setting and participants involved in the research so that other researchers can make the determination on whether my results are compatible with their setting (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). I provided thick descriptions that included the participants' lived experiences and other social factors that may make them unique to the study so that the reader can decide for themselves if it is truly transferable.

Dependability

Dependability looks at the consistency of a research design and key components of dependability within a study are logical thought processes that are well documented (Patton, 2015). Remaining logical and keeping well documented notes and explanations of the information derived from participants will increase the possibility of other researchers duplicating the study. A major strategy to maintaining dependability is to

implement external audits and this is when a researcher who has not emersed themselves in the research looks at the interpretations developed from the transcribed interviews, the overall process, and the results of the study to make an evaluation on how well the study was executed without bias or preference (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). I implemented my audit trail strategy by providing both my Chair and Committee Member with all my notes that detailed my thought process for decision making. They provided me with honest feedback on my management and interpretation of the data.

Confirmability

Confirmability looks at the overall objectivity of the research and seeks to safeguard the conclusions and interpretations of the participants' life experiences by making sure that they are not flawed by researcher bias (Abdalla et al., 2017). Much like dependability, an audit trail can help maintain transparency to reduce researcher bias in the selection of methods and interpretations of results (Abdalla et al., 2017). I provided detailed explanations behind my decision-making process and remained upfront and honest about my own opinions and beliefs. This way, they will be more recognizable if they did make their way into my research. This can be completed through reflexivity which is the process of self-reflection and details the relationship between the researcher and the research (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Reflexivity provided an additional layer of transparency when coupled with my strategies to maintain credibility, transferability, and dependability.

Ethical Procedures

I submitted an application for this study to Walden University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) that was approved and given the approval number: 01-30-23-098989. The IRB ensures student research is ethically compliant with U.S. federal regulations. There was minimal risk to those who participated, and they each provided informed consent for both phases of the study. Additionally, each participant was given the university's contact information if they felt they needed to reach out. All materials and information were explained to each participant thoroughly and the data collected was maintained in a secure environment and is set to be destroyed after five years, per Walden University's policy.

The ethical considerations and procedures were based off the American Psychological Association's (APA) ethical guidelines' responsibilities. This guarantees that all participants were safeguarded from the numerous ethical concerns that may arise. All participants recruited in this study had the opportunity to withdraw at any point during their participation. All participants were recruited on a volunteer basis, and all efforts were made to ensure that they felt comfortable and safe. No one was required to complete the study. All participants had a clear understanding of their rights as volunteers in the study and there were no barriers in the way of that understanding (language, forms of communication etc.). All participants had a solid understanding of their rights.

Additionally, all participants were provided with a transcript of their interviews so they could review what they said and provide clarification or changes as needed to make

certain what they meant to say was not misinterpreted. This tactic was also coupled with member checking during the data analysis stage. The data analysis stage of the study did not progress until all the participants had a chance to review their transcripts and approve of the information that they provided to be included in the study. The first ethical concern was to safeguard the personally identifiable information of the participants. All electronic data that was used during the data collection and analysis phases was stored on a secured, local file on my own computer that required a password to gain access that only I know. All physical documents that contained participant information was kept in a locked drawer in my desk that was secured in my home office, and I always maintained possession of the key.

One major ethical concern related to the interview process; the semi-structured format allowed for a two-way dialog at different points through-out the interview. When this happened, I fell back into my primary role as the researcher to collect data, and I did not offer advice on their personal issues or conflicts (Patton, 2015). Engaging in those side conversations would have blurred my role with collecting data and that could have created additional bias later on during the data analysis phase and created an unethical relationship between myself and the participants where they would have viewed me as a friend or therapist (Patton, 2015). To maintain an ethical relationship with the participants, I redirected those questions so the interviews remained on topic. No participants disclosed criminal and/or abusive behaviors that they had either experienced themselves or had perpetrated on to others; however, I did prepare for both scenarios and

I created an ethical framework that I operated within.

I was also prepared for participants to disclose victimizations as part of their lived experiences and made sure to have a list of resources that catered to all socio-economic classes of individuals (Patton, 2015; Rubin & Rubin, 2012). That referral was provided with the consent form. Prior to the interview taking place, I reminded them that there was a limit to the confidentiality within the study and that by law I was mandated reporter. Due to the nature of the in-depth interviews, I was sure to provide a caveat at the start of the interview with information on what is considered criminal behavior that I would need to report, and that information was also present in the consent form (Patton, 2015).

Summary

The purpose of the explanatory mixed methods study was to understand the lived experiences of women who scored high on boldness based off the TriPM. The quantitative portion of this study included the use of the TriPM self-assessment that determined the selection process for the second phase of the research, which was qualitative, and involved semi-structured, in-depth interviews that looked at the lived experiences of the participants. Both boldness and female psychopathy are controversial and under researched aspects of psychopathy and this study addressed both of those gaps (Gatner et al., 2016; Verena & Vitale, 2018). Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel were used to code and identify relationships between female psychopathy, boldness, and the lived experiences of the participants. Throughout this chapter I thoroughly explained my explanatory mixed methods research design, the participant selection logic, procedures

for recruitment, participation, and data collection, my data analysis plan, threats to validity, issues of trustworthiness, and ethical concerns and procedures. In Chapter 4, I preset the results of the study.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The field of psychopathy is one that is complex and nonlinear and has only started to see an increase of research interest. As new researchers break ground on this controversial topic, several primary gaps have surfaced. The first being that there is an overall lack of research completed on women in both the successful and criminal psychopathy constructs (Gottfried et al., 2019; Verona & Vitale, 2018). Secondly, there are differing positions on the use of boldness as trait construct for successful psychopathy because the trait itself is adaptive and psychopathy as a whole is maladaptive (Gatner et al., 2016; Patrick et al., 2009). Finally, there is little to no research on how these women express boldness in conjunction with successful psychopathy even though it may be a critical component to understanding the gender-based differences between female and male trait expression (Falkenbach et al. 2017; Miller et al., 2020).

The purpose of this study was to look at the lived experiences of women who score high on boldness, based on the TriPM self-assessment, and identify how they express boldness. The research questions for this study were:

RQ1: What are the lived experiences of non-criminal women who score high in boldness?

RQ2: How do non-criminal women express the psychopathic construct of boldness?

This chapter looks at the setting in which participants interviewed and provided information, provides a description of the demographic requirements to participate, and the process of which that data was collected. Additionally, this chapter details the data analysis process that took place, provides the results that were derived from that analysis, and finally, examines the trustworthiness of the study as a whole.

Setting

The physical setting of this study was completely virtual, and interviews were conducted through Zoom. All participants were recruited via social media groups that were specifically targeted for having members who demonstrated boldness. I did not personally know any of the participants and none of the participants had organizational connections with me. There were no personal or organizational conditions that influenced participants or their experience at the time of the study that affected the interpretation of the study results.

Demographics

I sought to recruit participants who identified as being bold, having an outgoing personality, being successful, assertive, and fearless. In addition to personality characteristics, participants were required to be born and identify as a woman, be 18 years or older, have no criminal record as an adult, speak and read English, and live within the United States. No additional demographic information was collected from participants.

Data Collection

This study included a two-phase data collection process with a total of 39 female participants from across the country who were recruited via social media groups. The first phase of data collection had participants take the TriPM self-assessment that was refined to only include the 19 boldness specific questions. All questions relating to meanness and disinhibition were excluded. This self-assessment was used to identify participants who scored high on boldness who would be asked to move on to the second phase of the data collection process: the semi-structured interviews (Patrick et al., 2009). This step ensured that all data collected during the second phase was reliable and meaningful to the research questions. Out of a total of 57 points that a participant could receive for boldness (zero having no identifiable boldness traits and 57 having the highest rate of boldness traits), a cut-off score of 40 was implemented to guarantee that those who were selected for the semi-structured interviews had a well-rounded, bold personality. Participants who scored a 40 or higher were contacted to participate in the semi-structured interview phase via email using the verbiage that was approved by the IRB.

All 39 participants were able to complete the self-assessment from their preferred electronic device in the privacy of their homes. Out of those 39 participants, 21 met the cut-off score of 40. This cut-off score created a standard that was inclusive to the top 29.82% of scorers confirming that selected participants were bold in many aspects of their personality and not just one or two. Of those 21 participants who were contacted for an interview, 12 responded back confirming that they wanted to continue to the next

phase. Out of those 12, a final total of 10 participants were interviewed. The scores of the participants who were interviewed can be found in Table 1 (below). Each of the 19 questions had a scoring scale from 0-3. Each of the participants' answers were calculated to create their final score. No additional statistical tests were conducted on the participants' scores.

Table 1

Participant Self-Assessment Scores

Participant	Score
P8	45/57
P10	52/57
P12	40/57
P14	46/57
P16	41/57
P22	44/57
P27	46/57
P32	57/57
P33	42/57
P36	47/57

One participant (P17) scheduled an interview but did not show up for her appointment. Another participant (P35) could not find availability to sit and participate for the requested amount of time (60-90 minutes) in one session and it was decided that she

would not be able to complete the interview and thus removed from consideration for the second phase of data collection.

The first phase of data collection began on February 15th, 2023 and continued through March 29th, 2023. The first phase remained active until I confirmed data saturation from the second phase. Twice a week every week during that time frame I would repost the request for participation posts in each of the social media groups. A total of 27 social media groups were used in the recruitment of participants. These groups targeted three separate personality clusters of women. Those three clusters were women who traveled alone and/or sought out high-risk activities, entrepreneur and women leaders, and finally, women who served or are currently serving in the military. It was determined that these clusters would offer the best pool of bold participants. The second phase of data collection began on February 15th, 2023, and lasted through March 23rd, 2023. The first email request sent to a qualifying participant to join in the second phase of the study was sent on February 15th, 2023, the first interview took place on March 2nd, 2023, and the last interview took place on March 23rd, 2023. The two phases overlapped, and once data saturation was met with the semi-structured interviews, both phases were terminated on the same day. Phase 1 was kept open through-out the duration of phase two so that participants were continuously recruited to ensure that qualifying participants were made available if another participant decided to end their involvement with the study.

For the second phase of data collection, interviews were conducted via Zoom. Each participant who consented to the second phase was emailed a Zoom invite for a meeting that was scheduled for a timeframe of 60-90 minutes. All participants who completed the interview did so from a room in their homes with a door, so they were able to maintain their privacy. I facilitated the interviews from a locked office and used headphones so that the participants' privacy was guaranteed. Each interview lasted approximately 45 to 80 minutes, and each participant was asked the same set of 12 questions (Appendix B). Prior to asking those questions, I reviewed the voluntary and confidential nature of the data collection process and reminded each participant that they could stop the interview at any point if they wanted.

Each interview was audio recorded for transcription and data analysis purposes. Each participant was informed and consented to the recording of the interviews and was assured that there would be no personally identifiable information included in the storage of those recordings. Once the 12 primary questions were asked the interviewer explained that all the information recorded would be transcribed and sent to them via email for their review. The interviewer let them know that they would have the ability to make additional comments regarding their transcripts if they wished. Out of the 10 participants who received a transcript, only one, P8, responded with additional comments and information regarding her responses. She did not redact any information; she only added additional supporting information for one of the scenarios she described. Data collection went as expected, and there were no deviations from the methodology that was presented

in Chapter 3. Additionally, there were no unusual circumstances encountered in the overall data collection process.

Data Analysis

To begin with, there were two separate excel spreadsheets created in order to track and analyze the data collected. The first spreadsheet listed each participant by their designation (P1, P2, P3, etc.). That spreadsheet included their response to each question posed in the TriPM self-assessment along with their calculated final score from zero to 57, their email address, and the dates that they interviewed and received their transcript for review. The second spreadsheet included a tab for each participant labeled with their identifier and each tab listed the 12 interview questions along with quotes and interpretations pulled from the transcripts. This not only provided the foundation for in-depth analysis, but also ensured that identifying information (the participant's email) was separated from the information participants provided in the interviews. Both spreadsheets were kept in separate folders and each folder was password protected with a different password. Keywords and phrases were pulled from each participant's response for each question and logged in the spreadsheet.

There was a four-stage process with analyzing the interviews for themes (Alase, 2017; Saldana, 2016). The first stage was to look at each participant's individual and assigned themes for each of the questions that were asked. The second stage looked at each question across all the participants and found common themes for each question. The third stage looked at the whole interview for each participant and found the primary

theme for their entire interview. The fourth stage of analysis looked at all the main themes for each participant found in the third stage and from that analysis two overall themes with several sub-themes emerged that wholly represented the participant pool. The themes that emerged for each question are presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2

Individual Themes for Interview Questions

Question	Themes
Q1: Can you tell me about a time when you were involved in a dangerous situation?	Survivor, resiliency, and non-adherence of gender norms
Q2: Can you tell me about a time when you took part in a fast paced or heart pumping activity like skydiving?	Excitement and analytical
Q3: Can you describe a situation where you experienced a drastic change in your life and explain how you handled that change?	Resiliency, strong support networks, and independent
Q4: Can you tell me about any situation you experienced where you had to persuade someone?	Analytical, misogyny, and motivated
Q5: How would you describe your ability to interact in a social setting with others you have never met before?	Initiative, outgoing, and charismatic
Q6: Can you describe to me a time when you took the lead in a group project at work or in a school setting?	Initiative, non-adherence of gender norms, misogyny, and direct communication
Q7: How do you view your personal and professional success when compared to your friends, family, and co-workers?	Motivated, confidence, and strong support systems
Q8: Can you describe a situation to me where you have had to rely on your personality to get you through a stressful situation either at work or with family and friends?	Analytical and emotional regulation
Q9: Can you explain a situation you've experienced where you feel you've demonstrated a strong sense of resilience after a troubling event?	Resiliency, motivated, and survivor
Q10: Can you think of and describe a time when you had to take charge and overcome a fear or a fearful situation either at work or in your personal life?	Resiliency, fearlessness, and motivated
Q11: Can you describe to me any special talents or skills that you have?	Strong support networks and learned talents
Q12: Can you think of an example of a difficult problem you've faced in your life and describe to me your attitude and/or mindset when facing it?	Optimism, motivated, and resiliency

The top four themes that emerged across all 12 questions were resiliency, analytical, strong support networks, and motivated. When the individual participant interviews were analyzed to see which themes best represented them the following was found: P8: feminism and resiliency, P10: non-adherence of gender norms, P12: motivated, P14: motivated, P16: resiliency, P22: resiliency, P27: motivated and analytical, P32: resiliency, P33: analytical, and P36: motivated. The themes that emerged between the individual questions across participants and the individual participant interviews were analyzed to create two major themes with subthemes that represented the participant group as a whole: resiliency and feminism.

Theme 1 - Resiliency

The theme of resiliency includes the following subthemes: motivation, optimism, and the analytical problem-solving style. Every single participant had experienced a traumatic event (many experienced multiple) that forced them to become more and more resilient over time. P33 explained, “I have a very short adjustment period and it's just kind of like the mentality of like, this is the reality now, so get used to it." In order to become resilient, they first found something in their lives that motivated them to succeed and to get through those difficult situations. P36 described her motivation is rooted in her traumatic experiences, “I just feel like I’ve been through too much and I work too freaking hard to not have some level of success.” That traumatic experience allowed them to develop analytical problem-solving skills which were the same across all ten participants. P27 detailed their problem-solving skills, “very logical, driven, I identify an

issue and how to take care of it", she goes on, "I don't cry, I don't go crazy... If I don't know what to do, I figure out what to do and do it." They all described that they would pick apart problems in a very unemotional way and then analyze how to get from where they were to the solution. Once they planned out that path, they would keep their head down and move through it until they were on the other side and would not accept anything less than success. Their resiliency was based on their motivation to succeed, their analytical problem-solving style, and the optimism they externalized while moving through that difficult situation. P32 described her optimism, "discomfort is not necessarily harmful and you'll get through it." Resiliency was a key factor towards the development of and externalization of their boldness.

Theme 2 - Feminism

The second major theme of feminism encompasses the many traits and aspects of what makes up feminism including stepping outside of typical gender norms for women, facing misogyny and overcoming the barrier that creates for women, and recovering from gender based violent crimes at the hands of men. Every single participant had a story of confrontation or survival with a man and as a result developed and adapted their own personalities to overcome that conflict to ensure it never happened to them again. This adaptation forced them to be bold and to externalize that trait in ways that are assertive and prominent. P14 demonstrated this when they explained,

> I don't think I put myself in, like, dangerous situations unless I'm, like, in a screaming match with a man, you know? I don't know what his reaction would be,

> but I don't really mind. Like, I don't mind doing that sometimes, screaming back, yeah, like, I am not going to let a man disrespect me, never.

For these women, boldness was used as a tool to confront misogyny and to overcome their trauma as P8 exemplified, “but you know, if you don’t back down, they back down because they’re not used to women standing up to them.”

The two major themes of resiliency and feminism along with their respective subthemes have been derived from the patterns identified within the responses to the individual questions as well as the prominent themes identified from the individual interviews as a whole. There were majorly discrepant cases; however, P10 was the only participant to have non-adherence of gender norms as their primary theme for their overall interview. Even though she was the only one who had that designation as her primary theme, her responses to the individual questions did not deviate from the other participants’ responses. In addition, the non-adherence of gender norms theme appeared within the interviews of all the other participants frequently enough and shared ample similarities with the other themes identified that it was confidently considered and selected as a subtheme.

Results

The following table presents the two main themes and their subthemes.

Table 3

Major Themes and Subthemes for each Research Question

Major Themes	Subthemes
RQ1: Resiliency	Motivation, optimism, and analytical problem solving
RQ2: Feminism	Non-adherence of gender norms, misogyny, survivor

Qualitative Components

This study included two research questions and the results will be presented as they relate to each research question.

RQ1: What are the lived experiences of non-criminal women who score high in boldness?

There were many similarities between all the women who participated in this study but the most common lived experiences amongst them all was the experience of physical, sexual, or verbal abuse with a male perpetrator. P36 explained her encounter with an ex who kidnapped her,

> He kept saying that he would let me go if I promised to love him forever and, like, never date anyone ever again and mind you, I was 19, right? And I don't know what it was in me, but I was like, I might die today, but I'm not going to make that promise to him. I just refused, and he almost killed me.

P8 shared a similar experience with her ex-husband,

> He was a high school dropout, came out a captain, went to Vietnam three times, did not come home in good shape from any of his trips there and he became very abusive and an alcoholic during that period of time.

Finally, P16 detailed her experience as well,

> he would break into the home and leave bullets around the house with my name written on them, you know, and like, one time, he threatened to kill himself and bought animal blood and poured it on the garage floor so when I came home all I saw was blood leaking from the garage and I thought he had actually done it.

Participants 10 and 32 were the only ones who did not experience physical or sexual abuse from men, their primary victimization included verbal and emotional abuse; however, they both had this to say about being sexual assaulted, P10 "...I'm not afraid of as many things as a lot of people. I would say being raped would probably, I think would be like the worst thing that you could possibly do to me." On top of that being her fear, she volunteered with sexual assault victims and immersed herself into that type of victimization as a way to cope with the possibility of it. When P32 was talking about the possibility of sexual assault she stated this, "I'm the kind of person that I always have, either a pistol or a knife on my person. Like, I'm just not going to be the victim." Each participant altered their lives in some way, either small or large, to accommodate the lived experience of sexual assault.

In addition to being a victim of male perpetrators, the participants all experienced varying levels of misogyny. Whether it was in the workplace, public, or private environment the participants were put down or discredited solely because they were female. P22 described a situation where she led a male team in the military but they would not listen to her because she was a woman,

> I go out there and my team is nowhere to be found, nowhere, they could not do the one thing I asked them to do...nobody really took me seriously, I mean, everyone would go to the other corporals or sergeant and when they said it, it was like, oh yeah, no problem, but when I said it, it was just like, who cares?

P12 experienced misogyny when volunteering to coach her son's baseball team. The other male coaches thought it was a joke and her thoughts were,

> I'm here. I'm here to do business. I am equal to you, but I know you just tore my clothes off looking at me. Now I'm going to, I'm going to try even harder because you're a piece of crap.

P33 talked about how she experienced misogyny in the workplace when attempting to pitch new ideas to her supervisor,

> One of our male colleagues could say the same exact thing that I said, and she would be like, oh yeah, great point, and you know, it was me, another female colleague, and a male colleague that are on the same plane. I would have to make him understand that, you know, he has more rights, so to speak, in our workplace

> just because anything that he says goes without having to have justification or anything like that.

Finally, P14 talked about marrying into a misogynic family system when asked about being in fearful situations,

> perfect example would be his dad. His dad's like a narcissist. 1,000%. He wants me to, like, bow down to him and, obviously, it's probably the worst thing that could ever happen to him for his son to marry me, who I'm very much like, I'm not going to do that.

Each participant had a story that involved an abusive male figure and while the type of role that male filed varied among the participants it was a common thread between them all.

The lived experiences of these women included heavy influences of misogynistic and abusive behaviors at the hands of men. Those lived experiences are critical to understanding how they externalized and expressed boldness because the resiliency they developed as a result of those situations contributed to their current expressions of boldness.

RQ2: How do non-criminal women express the psychopathic construct of boldness?

As previously mentioned in the last section, the lived experiences of women who participated in this study all included negative male influences. As a result of that trauma, they each developed a strong sense of resiliency and while a portion of that resiliency functions internally, another portion is externalized when faced with difficult situations,

especially when they involve men. Typical female gender norms include being shy, quiet, and emotional, but those characteristics do not apply to any of the women in this study (Bem, 1981). Boldness, by definition, includes social dominance, aggressiveness, and emotional resiliency and that is what every woman in this study externalized and expressed (Patrick et al., 2009). One way they expressed boldness was to step outside of their typical gender norms and boldness appeared to be at the core of their newly founded resiliency.

For instance, P27 explained that when faced with a problem the first thing she does is to make sure she does not cry, “I don't cry, I don't go crazy... If I don't know what to do, I figure out what to do." She was aware of what is considered a typical female rection to a difficult situation and it became the first thing she will not engage in because deviation from what makes her seem vulnerable, in this case, crying, is what makes up a portion of her boldness. When asked about entering unknown social situations, P12 stated, “I love it, it is like I am about to be, like, I'm on a stage," and that “I am the woman that people will remember." Similarly, when P36 was asked the same question she explained, “Obviously, I like being the center. I like the limelight being the center of attention. I like performance,” and finally, P33 stated “having an outgoing personality kind of forces people to take a second look at you. You can't really be like swept under the rug or anything.” While all of the participants engaged in social dominance these three demonstrated the most drastic separation from their gender norm, shyness. Not only did they flourish in attention, but they also demand it.

Aggressiveness is also considered a trait expression of boldness and these women also expressed that; however, this too was especially externalized against men. As P14 explained,

> I don't think I put myself in, like, dangerous situations unless I'm, like, in a screaming match with a man, you know? I don't know what his reaction would be, but I don't really mind. Like, I don't mind doing that sometimes, screaming back, yeah, like, I am not going to let a man disrespect me, never.

P8 also took an aggressiveness stance against men, "But you know, if you don't back down, they back down because they're not used to women standing up to them." Finally, P22 explained that men would only listen if she presented herself aggressively,

> I said, you got to slam it up. You just have to push it all the way up. And the next time we do it, he just holds it right there. He just cannot follow instructions to save his life and I'm like, you have to slam it up. You got to like, your elbows need to be above your head, your and then third time comes around and he's still just holding it right there, and that's when I yelled at him. I was like, and it wasn't nice, it was pretty mean…but I still told him next time it should not take three times for you to slam up a rack."

It was demonstrated throughout each interview of this study that boldness was expressed in women through a nonadherence of gender norms. Women are often times expected to adhere to the stereotypical gender norms that are taught to them at an early age. This includes being shy, quiet, and emotional (Bem, 1981). However, women who

identify as being bold not only go against those typical behaviors they intentionally break them. Every participant was aware that their behavior was not typical for a woman and several participants explained that they could switch from "bubbly to stern" (P22), "I can be cooperative or adversarial" (P27), and "I can be funny or I can be bitchy…aggressiveness comes off as bitchiness" and in most cases, these women would weaponize their boldness in the face of confrontation to persuade or create an outcome that was desirable for them.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Credibility

In order to maintain a high level of credibility in this study, all participants were provided with a transcript of the recorded interviews for their review. This extra step of member checking allows participants to review the information they provided and confirm that they have said what they wanted to in a way that was reflective of who they are reinforcing the accuracy and validity of the data obtained (Candela, 2019). Nine of the 10 participants who received their transcripts let me know that everything was fine the way it was, but one participant, P8, had let me know she wanted to add additional information to one of her responses so she could further elaborate on the statement she made. She emailed me a small paragraph with that information that I included with the final results. At no point did she (P8), or any other participant request to have information redacted or changed.

Transferability

For the qualitative portions of this study, it is important that thick descriptions of the setting and participant demographic information is provided so that other researchers are able to determine compatibility with their settings (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). I have provided a complete description of the participants' demographics along with a description of the setting in which the interviews took place. Additionally, I highlighted unique variables of each participant, where applicable, including the niche social media groups from where they were recruited to bolster transferability.

Dependability

Dependability is a critical aspect of research and is needed to safeguard interpretation and result analysis from bias (Patton, 2015). In order to maintain dependability in this study I had my Chair review the notes I created from analyzing the interviews and self-assessment scores. I provided her with final results along with a detailed explanation of how I came to that conclusion using evidence and direct quotes from the transcribed interviews as support. I also checked in with my Chair on a weekly basis and updated her with my progress and the different steps I was taking so there was transparency during the entire process.

Confirmability

To ensure the confirmability of this study, many of the same steps were taken for dependability where I had my Chair oversee my data analysis and collection. In addition to being open and transparent with my data, I also completed reflexivity where I

conducted a self-reflection on my relationship with the research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). As a woman conducting research on women who detailed their specific gendered lived experiences there are obvious relationships; however, as I analyzed the information from each participant and made sure to identify my own bias and relationships so they would not interfere with the results.

Intra and Intercoder Reliability

To achieve intercoder reliability, I spoke with my chair telephonically about the original codes I had assigned to the data. After discussing those codes, she provided me with additional insight and direction that I included in my second round of analysis. When I decided it was time to merge some themes together and create separate main and subthemes, I sent her an explanation of that process and my justification for it so she could review that process and determine if the major and subthemes I selected were suitable for the results.

To attain intracoder reliability steps were put in place to maintain consistency (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). As I began the coding process, I would annotate a code and assign a reasoning to it that became the threshold for me to use that code again. That technique allowed me to keep the same standard of coding throughout all 10 participants. Additionally, once I had completed coding for all 10 participants, I then went back through and reanalyzed the data to see if any of the newer codes I assigned and found for the later participants fit with the initial participants I interviewed. That way any new

concepts or themes identified towards the end of the coding process remained consistent for the those that analyzed at the beginning of the coding process.

Summary

Data collection for this study initially began by having participants take a 19 question, online self-assessment that was comprised of the questions that address boldness from the TriPM. Participants who met the cut-off score of 40 out of 57 were then emailed and asked to take part in the second phase of data collection, the semi-structured interviews. There was a total of 10 participants who volunteered for the interviews. Their interviews were recorded and transcribed. Once transcribed, I began the process of analyzing the data and determined that I had met saturation and that I had enough consistent information to answer the research questions successfully.

There were two research questions; one sought to answer what the lived experiences of bold women were and the other looked to answer how bold women express those traits. The major theme of RQ 1 was resiliency with subthemes of motivation, optimism, and analytical problem solving and the major theme of RQ 2 was feminism with subthemes of non-adherence of gender norms, misogyny, and survivor. Based on the data it was determined that the lived experiences of women who scored high on Boldness, as measured by the TriPM primarily were made up traumatic and difficult events that were primarily at the fault of men and over time, those experiences created a strong sense of emotional resiliency. That emotional resiliency then served as the core of their expression of boldness. It provided them with the emotional strength to

step outside of their assigned gender norms and take on aggressive and socially dominant patterns of behavior. Those behavior expressions would especially come forward when dealing with misogynistic men.

In Chapter 5, I summarized key findings as well as provided an in-depth interpretation of these findings and connected them to GST, the theoretical framework for this study that was previously discussed in Chapter 2. I also reviewed the limitations, recommendations, and the implications this study has for positive social change. Finally, I discussed the major takeaways this study has to offer.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this explanatory mixed methods study was to understand how non-criminal women externalize boldness and identify what their accompanied lived experiences were. Female psychopathy has been under researched as a whole within the field of psychopathy and boldness as a construct of psychopathy has proven to be highly controversial among professionals (Gatner et al., 2016; Verona & Vitale, 2018). I sought to understand these two variables (gender and boldness) and identify how they work together in order to further understand successful female psychopathy.

This study identified two major themes across the entire semi-structured interview participant pool, and they were feminism with subthemes in non-adherence of gender norms, misogyny, and survivor, and resiliency with subthemes in motivation, optimism, and analytical problem-solving. What this study found was that women who scored high on boldness via the TriPM externalized that trait in ways that do not align with their gender norms; more specifically, they became further motivated to demonstrate aggressive and bold behavior when faced with sexism and misogyny. GST developed by Bem (1981) was the theoretical foundation used in this research and was the basis of what typical and atypical gender were identified as. It was identified that in a non-criminal sample of women, a high rate of boldness is a good predictor of non-adherence to gender norms.

Interpretation of the Findings

These two themes applied to both research questions that were established at the beginning of the study. The interview questions used for this study were based upon the boldness specific TriPM questions to ensure consistent and relevant information was pulled from participants. The interpretation of the findings are broken out individually for each research question for an in-depth look at what the results mean for each component. While each major theme played a role in both research questions, resiliency was more commonly associated with RQ1, and feminism was more commonly associated with RQ2. Finally, the results are interpreted based in the context of GST, the theoretical foundation that was used for this study.

RQ1: What are the lived experiences of non-criminal women who score high in boldness?

Each participant provided several different accounts of their lived experiences throughout the interview process as it related to each question. While the specificity of their experiences was unique to each participant, there were major similarities across the pool. The overarching theme for this research question was resiliency and this is what developed as a result of and drove the participants' lived experiences. To begin with, engaging in humanitarian work was a constant for all 10 participants whether it was their full-time job or an activity they took part in during their free time as a volunteer. All participants volunteered or worked with victims of sexual assault (SA) and domestic violence (DV) and/or participated in feminist movements that speak out against gendered

violence. This mimics previous research in the field: Liubin-Golub et al. (2016) identified boldness as a good predictor of humanitarianism in women because those who scored high externalized humanitarianism characteristics; however, when high rates of disinhibition and meanness were present, that humanitarianism trait became more self-indulgent and hedonistic which is representative of psychopathy. In addition, Keleman et al. (2020) and Shou et al. (2019) identified motivation (a subtheme for resiliency) as the key difference between bold psychopathic and bold non-criminal women; they found that motivation for humanitarian work is based on bolstering the individual's self-image (psychopathic) versus altruism (non-psychopathic). Again, when additional constructs of psychopathy are present there is a deviation to the expression of boldness that is not present in the non-criminal sample.

The motivation for the participants' involvement was split into two categories, the first was that the participants themselves were victims of SA, DV, and/or IPV, and wanted to help other women who faced the same hardships they did. Guillaume et al. (2018) and Watts et al. (2017) found that women scoring high in boldness were significantly less likely to have experienced childhood neglect but more likely to have experienced sexual abuse and the results of this study proved to match that study's findings as well. Seven participants identified as being a survivor of sexual assault while two identified as having experienced childhood neglect all of which said that those experiences bolstered their resiliency. The second reason that fueled motivation for the participants' work with victims was the fear of becoming a victim of SA or DV.

Participants 10 and 32 were the only two participants who did not report SA or DV, but they both were extremely repetitive when it came to that type of victimization. P10 explained, “I’m not afraid of as many things as a lot of people. I would say being raped would probably, I think would be like the worst thing that you could possibly do to me” ‘and P32 stated, “I'm the kind of person that I always have, either a pistol or a knife on my person. Like, I'm just not going to be the victim.” Furthermore, both participants actively participated in and volunteer as advocates for sexual assault and speak out against gender-based violence within their workplace.

Secondly, a major aspect of the participants’ lived experiences outside of their career and volunteer work was their mindset and their overall outlook on their lived experiences and those yet to come. Hannibal et al. (2019) found that individuals with high levels of boldness had increased satisfaction with their income/financial standing, personal relationships, and overall happiness. Similarly, Christian et al. (2016), Bowes et al. (2019), and Falkenbach et al. (2017) demonstrated that women with higher rates of boldness were less likely to experience depression and anxiety. Both of those findings were duplicated in this research. There were overwhelming similarities between all the women with how they described their lives; every single participant identified themselves as being more successful in terms of finances, personal relationships, and happiness than their peers. It should be noted that when participants were asked this question most of them (eight) were hesitant to answer the question because they were afraid to be seen as narcissistic or judgmental of others in their lives. Moreover, when discussing mental

health, the participants could each describe a time when they were depressed or had anxiety, but only one participant, P14, identified as having a current issue with anxiety. She explained that she had coping mechanisms in place that she found to work successfully for interacting in unfamiliar social settings.

The participants credited their well-rounded success to their ability to remain optimistic and their analytical problem-solving skills. All of the participants explained that there was not anything they could not overcome with their resiliency that was developed via their lived experiences. P36 said, "Resilient. I just can't. I can't give up. What's the point? What kind of life would I live? Just be in bed and be bored. Like that might sound great to some people, but I just can't. I can't do it." P10 stated, "I'm more of a glass half full kind of person," and P14 described, "I try not to dwell on things like that," and said, "I can't change that, like, I got to move forward." In terms of analytical problem-solving, P27 described themselves as "very logical, driven, I identify an issue and how to take care of it." This optimistic mindset coupled with their ability to think logically through problems were major contributors to the overall happiness they have found within their own personal lives.

RQ2: How do non-criminal women express the psychopathic construct of boldness?

The expression of boldness was the most consistent aspect of the responses from the participants in this study. Boldness was primarily externalized through a non-adherence of gender norms meaning that they would express the trait in ways that were assertive, confrontational, and outspoken. This was especially the case when they were

confronted with misogyny or when it came to advocating and supporting women's safety and their rights within the political realm. The expression of boldness for women who scored high on this trait is where there are key differences between a criminal and a non-criminal sample. For instance, in a criminal sample, the women would covertly obtain their wants and needs from men by externalizing their typical gender norms; Collisson et al. (2019) found that these women would pretend to be interested in men to get a free meal during a date and when it came time for someone to pay, the women would bring up the expectation that men should always pay for women. However, the sample of women in this study took pride in the fact that they were independent financially and did not need or even want a man to have to fill that role for them.

Jonason et al. (2018) and Landay et al. (2019) discussed the probability of psychopathic women using boldness as tool that allows them to evolve their behavior in order to maintain their mask, as discussed by Cleckely (1976), and to not be caught in their manipulation schemes because diverting outside of their accepted female gender norms would bring unwanted attention to their deviant behavior. The difference between the criminal and non-criminal sample is the addition of meanness and disinhibition for the psychopathic sample and it is those constructs that weaponize boldness and turn it into an adaptive/maladaptive construct (Berg et al., 2017; Drislane et al., 2014). None of the women who participated in this study were afraid or deterred from externalizing behaviors outside of their identified gender norms and most even found joy in the confrontation that non-adherence would bring.

Finally, Sutton et al. (2020) found that boldness was related to servant leadership style; this type of managerial style looks to create a positive environment for their employees, and this was confirmed by the lived experiences of the women in this study. Many of the women who were interviewed functioned in a supervisory role and would often bring up those who worked under them. They would express boldness in situations with those higher than them to fight for better working conditions or policy changes for their employees. They would speak highly of those they supervised and even in situations where individuals that they worked with did not get along with them, they still expressed a desire to create an enjoyable working environment for them.

Gender Schema Theory

GST was the theoretical foundation used for this study and it describes the cognitive and social process behind sex-typing which happens at the onset of a child's life and continues forward that dictates behavioral traits that fall in line with the child's identified gender at birth (Bem, 1981). GST is a critical piece of the gendered psychopathic puzzle because the externalization of behaviors is dictated by gender norms that are established in children. For women, this means they learn to be quiet, shy, and non-confrontational; however, those traits do not describe any of the women who were identified as having a high level of boldness in this study (Bem, 1981). The women in this study defied female gender norms; for instance, P27 discussed how she problem solves and handles difficult situations in her life: "I don't cry, I don't go crazy... If I don't know what to do, I figure out what to do." A woman whose behavior is dictated by

gender norms would become emotional during a difficult situation. This is important to understand because it brings up the possibility that females high in boldness have the capability to weaponize their gendered behavior and those expectations that have been established for them by society.

The women in this study all speak out or have spoken out against misogyny and embraced feminism. Bem (1981) noted feminism includes the non-adherence of gender norms and in her research explained that androgynous individuals, whether a man or a woman, have the flexibility to be masculine or feminine based on the need of the situation that the individual is involved in. The non-criminal female sample in this study was not afraid to externalize behaviors that were outside of their gender norm even thought it would bring unwanted attention towards them, especially from men. They did not care about that attention because they were acting in a way that aligned with their morals and values and as long as they stayed true to their own beliefs, the opinions of others became irrelevant. Furthermore, Bem explained that women who enjoy taking the center stage in social situations would also be considered androgynous as opposed to identifying fully with female gender norms. Many of the participants in this study specifically identified being the center of attention or being center stage as something they enjoyed and sought out. For example, P12 stated, “I am the woman that people will remember,” and P36 explained, “I like the limelight, being the center of attention. I like performance. And even though this is an educational performance, it’s still a

performance, and I just enjoy the attention." Non-criminal women who have a high rate of boldness intentionally move and act outside of their specified gender norms.

A critical difference between the sample used in this study and the samples in other studies are that psychopathic, criminally involved women who are high on boldness typically express behaviors that are in line with their gender norms (Perri and Lichtenwald, 2010). Not only were they more likely to fall in line with those gender norms, but they were also found to weaponize them; for instance, it was found that unsuccessful female psychopaths used sexual coercion and emotional manipulation to make men feel safe and get them in vulnerable positions to perpetrate against them (Hughes et al., 2019). While emotional manipulation and sexual coercion are not typical gender norms learned in childhood, it is an over exaggeration of what gender norms are expected of women such as being emotional and physically attractive (Bem, 1981; Pauli et al., 2018; Perri & Lichtenwald, 2010). Collisson et al. (2019) explained that when unsuccessful psychopathic women adhere to their gender norms, they are more likely to attract men who also heavily adhere to their own gender norms which makes them more easily exploitable and creates a cycle of perpetration. Unsuccessful psychopathic women also understand that they are more likely to get what they want by fulfilling their gender norms and it provides their true motivations with a layer of protection because they are not acting in a way that is out of the ordinary (Honey, 2017).

The use of GST in this study exemplified the manner in which boldness influences gender norms and how that influence can be manipulated by individual

motivation and weaponized by female psychopaths. The women that participated in this study expressed boldness in a healthy and ethical manner. When compared to women of an unsuccessful psychopathic sample, it can be seen how other facets of psychopathy, such as meanness and disinhibition, may come together to alter that trait expression.

Limitations of the Study

Overall, there were many strengths to this study; however, there are also important limitations that need to be addressed. To begin with, the primary data collection method was qualitative which required a small sample size of 10 participants due to the amount and richness of data that would be collected per participant. Additionally, while this study sought to include a culturally diverse population participation was dependent on factors that excluded cultural backgrounds.

Another major limitation to this study was my own personal bias based off my lived experiences that were similar to the participants within the study. There were several biases present throughout the data analysis portion of this study. I am a woman who served in the military and who has also had negative experiences with men and regularly engages in social justice movements. In order to actively address this bias, I made sure to engage in self-reflection throughout the data collection and analysis process. I wrote out memos and notes that identified what biases were present and maintained separation between those biases and the final analysis of the data. While I took steps to acknowledge and address my bias, there may have been other biases that I was unaware of; however, centering on the lived experiences of the participants was at the forefront of

my data analysis and I am confident that technique mitigated a large majority of all biases.

Recommendations

This study looked at the lived experiences and the expression of boldness in a non-criminal sample of women in order to understand how that information compares to current research in the field on psychopathic women. Based on the conclusions of this study, there are three major recommendations that should be key takeaways: 1) more research needs to be conducted on successful psychopathic women, 2) boldness needs to be given the proper attention and research within the field of psychopathy regardless of its' adaptive properties, and 3) more research is needed to understand how the roles of gender are utilized in psychopathic traits such as charisma and manipulation to further victimize people within society.

The first recommendation is that there needs to be an increase of research on female psychopathy. There are gendered differences in almost every single human function; whether that is the externalization of behaviors, medical diagnoses and their symptoms (including mental health) or lived experiences and those differences should be highlighted. Men and women are biologically and socially diverse from one another and the field has emphasized research on male psychopathy but has neglected the female side of this disorder. More research into female psychopathy may help expedite the development of assessments and other measures that will reliably identify psychopathy

and in turn, that could help the prevention of future victimizations as well as provide intervention for the individual.

The second recommendation is that boldness be treated with the respect it deserves within the field of psychopathy and that it be further examined in psychopathy research. To say that a trait is adaptive and therefore cannot be considered as a construct for a naturally deviant disorder is unfair and creates limitations based on assumptions. While many aspects of psychopathy are maladaptive it does not mean there has not been or cannot be an evolution of behaviors (Meloy, 1992). For instance, the pandemic created an environment where individuals with malicious intent adapted their behaviors in order to overcome barriers to their successful perpetration of others (Payne, 2020). Just because a trait is inherently positive does not mean that it cannot be used negatively or that an individual's motivation can dictate how that individual expresses a trait.

Finally, the last recommendation is that gender norms and theories be more incorporated into psychopathy research. Researchers need to have a clear understanding on how gender norms created by society influence behaviors of men and women and the externalization of symptoms related to disorders. Including gender as a variable will allow researchers to understand the why behind behavior externalization as well as the how. As of right now, there is a lack of information on how female psychopaths perpetrate against their victims because they do not replicate the aggressive behaviors that men portray and this has allowed them to maintain a covert level of perpetration (Howell, 2018; Perri & Lichtenwald, 2010). There is also a low rate of female

psychopaths who are identified via assessments because male only sample groups were utilized (Verona & Vitale, 2018). In addition, successful female psychopaths who maintain themselves within corporations have had a lack of identification and this is because women are just now transcending the professional ladder and obtaining those positions. The field is overlooking the capability and complexity of female psychopathy by not incorporating gender norms and theories into their research.

Implications for Positive Social Change

This study has many facets to it that contribute to positive social change. To begin with, this research highlighted and addressed the lack of female sample groups within psychopathy research (Crowe. et al., 2020; Verena & Vitale, 2018). In many situations across the globe, there is an overall lack of inclusion and representation of women in corporate positions, medical research, blue collar positions, and within psychological research. This study provided a platform for the advancement of women's psychological health in research which will hopefully bolster future efforts of inclusion and create positive social change.

In addition to the inclusion of women, this study sought to increase the knowledge pool on how women express boldness which is a component in the construct of psychopathy. That knowledge can be used to better understand how female psychopaths externalize psychopathy and perpetrate against their victims. When it is understood how and why these women perpetrate it can more easily be identified and prevention programs can be developed and implemented. Similarly, that same knowledge can be

used to supplement existing intervention programs for victims and help provide more closure and healing for their victimization.

Finally, on top of inclusion and victim assistance, this research can help contribute to the future studies on female psychopathy that can aid in the development of assessments and other tools used to identify female psychopaths, especially those who have come into contact with the criminal justice system. Much like male psychopathy, risk assessments and recidivism rates can be established once enough information is collected through research to identify the complexities of female psychopathy. Those tools and assessments can be utilized to better safeguard the communities that these individuals perpetrate in.

Conclusion

This study was designed and completed in a way that would look at the lived experiences of non-criminal women who scored high on boldness, as measured by the TriPM. This study found that these women expressed boldness by not adhering to their gender norms and their lived experiences demonstrated a pattern of behavior that supports that finding. When that finding was compared to the literature review completed there was one major component that regulated the expression of boldness and that was motivation. The motivation of unsuccessful psychopathic samples included influences of meanness and disinhibition which created hedonistic and self-indulgent goals and desires while the motivation of the non-criminal sample was influenced by optimism and resiliency which created empathetic and ethically sound goals and decision making.

A major takeaway from this study is that boldness is an adaptive trait and has the potential to offer adaptive functions to previously known maladaptive psychopathic traits depending on the motivation that is present. The participants who took part in this study had optimistic and ethically sound motivations and their expression of boldness reflected that; however, when motivations become devious as a result of meanness and disinhibition being present, the expression of boldness may take on a more destructive form and act as a shield to protect the public from recognizing that individual's malicious behavior. Motivation may be a key moderator between boldness and trait expression in successful female psychopathy and that relationship has the ability weaponize boldness and evolve maladaptive psychopathic traits.

References

Abdalla, M. M., Oliveria, L. G. L., Azevedo, C. E. F., & Gonzalez, R. K. (2017). Quality in qualitative organizational research: Types of triangulation as a methodological alternative. *Administration: Teaching and Research, 19*(1), 66-98. https://doi.org/10.13058/raep.2018.v19n1.578

Alalehto, T. & Azarian, R. (2018). When white collar criminals turn to fatal violence: The impact of narcissism and psychopathy. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 15*(3), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.13058/10.1002/jip.1503

Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education & Literacy Studies,* 5(2), 9-19. https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijels.v.5n.2p.9

Alzeer, S. M., Michailidou, M. I., Munot, M., & Kyranides, M. N. (2019). Attachment and parental relationships and the association with psychopathic traits in young adults. *Personality and Individual Differences, 151*, 1-7. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.07.009.

Anestis, J. C., Anestis, M. D., & Preston, O. C. (2018). Psychopathic personality traits as a form of dispositional capability for suicide. *Psychiatry Research, 262*, 193-202. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2018.02.003

Babiak, P. & Hare, R. D. (2019). *Snakes in Suits (Revised Ed.).* Harper Collins Publishers.

Babiak, P., Neumann, C. S., & Hare, R. D. (2010). *Corporate psychopathy: Talking the*

walk. Behavioral Sciences & the Law, *28*(2), 174–193. https://doi.org/10.13058/10.1002/bsl.925.

Baran, L. & Jonason, P. K. (2020). Academic dishonesty among university students: The roles of the psychopathy, motivation, and self-efficacy. *PLOS One*. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0238141

Barnett, M. D. & Sharp, K. J. (2017). Narcissism, gender, and evolutionary theory: The role of private and public self-absorption. *Personality and Individual Differences, 104*, 326-332. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2016.08.008

Bem, S. L. (1981) Gender Schema Theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, *88*(4), 354-364. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.88.4.354

Berardino, S. D., Reid-Meloy, J., Sherman, M., & Jacobs, D. (2005). Validation of the Psychopathic Personality Inventory on a female sample. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, *23*, 819-836. https://doi.org/10.13058/10.1002/bsl.666

Berg, J. M., Lilienfeld, S. O., & Sellbom, M. (2017). The role of boldness in psychopathy: A study of academic and clinical perceptions. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 8*(4), 319–328. https://doi.org/10.1037/per0000247

Birkas, B. & Csatho, A. (2015). Size the day: The time perspectives of the dark triad. *Personality and Individual Differences, 86*, 318-320. https://doi.org/10.13058/10.1016/j.paid.2015.06.035

Blackburn, R. (1988). On moral judgments and personality disorders. The myth of psychopathic personality revisited. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 153,* 505-512. 10.1192/bjp.153.4.505

Blagov, P. S., Patrick, C. J., Oost, K. M., Goodman, J. A., & Pugh, A. T. (2016). Triarchic Psychopathy Measure: Validity in relation to normal-range traits, personality pathology, and psychological adjustment. *Journal of Personality Disorders, 30*(1), *71*-81. https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi_2015_29_182

Blais, J., Forth, A. E., & Hare, R. D. (2017). Examining the interrater reliability of the Hare Psychopathy Checklist—Revised across a large sample of trained raters. *Psychological Assessment, 29*(6), 762–775. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000455

Bleidom, W., Hopwood, C. J., Ackerman, R. A., Witt, E. A., Kandler, C., Riemann, R., Samuel, D. B., & Donnellan, M. B. (2020). The healthy personality from a basic trait perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 118*(6), 1207-1225. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000231

Boduszek, D., Debowska, A., Willmott, D., Jones, A. D., DeLisi, M., & Kirkman, G. (2019). Is female psychopathy linked with child abuse? An empirical investigation using a person-centered approach. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 6,* 708-725. https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2019.1592272

Bommel, R. V., Uzieblo, K., Bogaerts, S., & Garofalo, C. (2018). Psychopathic traits and deviant sexual interests: The moderating role of gender. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health, 17*(3), 256-271.

https://doi.org/10.1080/14999013.2018.1499684

Book, A. S., Clark, H. J., Forth, A. E., & Hare, R. D. (2006). The Psychopathy Checklist-Revised and the Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version. In R. P. Archer (Ed.), *Forensic uses of clinical assessment instruments* (p. 147–179). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Bowes, S. M., Watts, A. L., Costello, T. H., Murphy, B. A., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2018). Psychopathy and entertainment preferences: Clarifying the role of abnormal and normal personality in music and movie interests. *Personality and Individual Differences, 129,* 33–37. 10.1016/j.paid.2018.03.009

Bowes, S. M., Watts, A. L., Thompson, W. W., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2019). Clarifying the association between psychopathy dimensions and internalizing symptoms in two community samples: The role of general personality. *Personality and Individual Differences, 147,* 144-155. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.04.02

Brazil, K. J. & Forth, A. E. (2020). Psychopathy and the induction of desire: Formulating and testing an evolutionary hypothesis. *Evolutionary Psychological Science, 6,* 64-81. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40806-019-00213-0

Brislin, S. J., Drislane, L. E., Smith, S. T., Edens, J. F., & Patrick, C. J. (2015). Development and validation of Triarchic Psychopathy scales from the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire. *Psychological Assessment, 27*(3), 838-851. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037%2Fpas0000087

Brown, T. A., Sautter, J. A., Littvay, L., Sautter, A. C., & Bearnes, B. (2010). Ethics and

personality: Empathy and narcissism as moderators of ethical decision making in business students. *Journal of Education for Business, 85*, 203-208. doi: 10.1080/08832320903449501

Buchman-Schmitt, J.M., Brislin, S.J., Venables, N.C., Joiner, T.E., Patrick, C.J., 2017. Trait liabilities and specific promotive processes in psychopathology: The example of suicidal behavior. Journal of Affective Disorders. *216*, 100–108. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2016.09.050

Candela, A. G. (2019). Exploring the function of member checking. *The Qualitative Report, 24*(3), 619-628. https://search.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/exploring- function-member-checking/docview/2213787326/se-2?accountid=14740

Canetto, S. S. (2017). Suicide: Why are older men so vulnerable? *Men and Masculinities, 20*(1), 49-70. 10.1177/1097184X15613832

Carre, J. R., Mueller, S. M., Schleicher, K. M., & Jones, D. N. (2018). Psychopathy and deviant workplace behavior: A comparison of two psychopathy models. *Journal of Personality Disorders, 32*(2), 242-261. https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi_2017_31_296

Chivers, T. (2016). Where are you on the psychopathy spectrum? https://www.buzzfeed.com/tomchivers/where-are-you-on-the-psychopathy-spectrum

Christian, E., Sellbom, M., & Wilkinson, R. B. (2017). Clarifying the associations

between individual differences in general attachment styles and psychopathy. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 8*(4), 329-339. 10.1037/per0000206

Cleckley, H. (1976). *The Mask of Sanity (5th ed.).* Mosby.

Colins, O. F., Fanti, K. A., Salekin, R. T., & Andershed, H. (2017). Psychopathic personality in the general population: Differences and similarities. *Journal of Personality Disorders, 31*(1), 49-74. 10.1521/pedi_2016_30_237

Collison, K. L., Miller, J. D., & Lynam, D. R. (2020). Examining the factor structure and validity of the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy across measures. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 11*(1). https://doi.org/10.1037/per0000394

Collisson, B., Howell, T., & Harig, T. (2019). Foodie calls: When women date men for a free meal (rather than a relationship). Social Psychological and Personality Science, *11*(3), 425-432. doi: 10.1177/1948550619856308

Cooper, B. S., & Yuille, J. C. (2007). Psychopathy and Deception. In H. Hervé & J. C. Yuille (Eds.), *The Psychopath: Theory, Research, and Practice* (p. 487–503). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Cox, J., Kopkin, M. R., Rankin, J., Tomeny, T., & Coffey, C. A. (2018). The relationship between parental psychopathic traits and parenting style. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 27*(7), 2305–2314. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1057-9

Crego, C., & Widiger, T. A. (2016). Cleckley's psychopaths: Revisited. *Journal of*

Abnormal Psychology, 125, 75–87. https://doi.org/10.1037/abn0000130.

Creswell, J. W. & Clark, V. L. P. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research (3rd ed.).* Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (5th ed.).* Sage Publications.

Crowe, M. L., Weiss, B. M., Sleep, C. E., Harris, A. M., Carter, N. T., Lynam, D. R., & Miller, J. D. (2020). Fearless dominance/boldness is not strongly related to externalizing behaviors: An item response-based analysis. *Assessment,* 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1177/107319112090795

Cunha, O., Braga, T., Gomes, H. S., & Goncalves, R. A. (2020). Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) factor structure in male perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Research and Practice, 20*(3), 241-263. https://doi.org/10.1080/24732850.2020.1717279

Cunliffe, T. B., Gacono, C. B., Smith, J. M., Kivisto, A. J., Meloy, J. R., & Taylor, E. E. (2016). Assessing psychopathy in women. In C. B. Gacono (Ed.), *Personality and clinical psychology series. The clinical and forensic assessment of psychopathy: A practitioner's guide* (p. 167–190). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

de Vogel, V., & Lancel, M. (2016). Gender differences in the assessment and manifestation of psychopathy: Results from a multicenter study in forensic psychiatric patients. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health, 15*(1), 97-110. https://doi.org/10.1080/14999013.2016.1138173

Docherty, M., Kubik, J., Herrera, C. M., & Boxer, P. (2018). Early maltreatment is associated with greater risk of conduct problems and lack of guilt in adolescence. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 79*, 173-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.01.032

Douglas, K.S., Vincent, G.M., & Edens, J.F. (2018). Risk for criminal recidivism: The role of psychopathy. In C. J. Patrick (Ed.), *Handbook of psychopathy (2nd ed)* (p. 682-709). The Guilford Press.

Donnellan, B. M., & Burt, A. S. (2016). A further evaluation of the triarchic conceptualization of psychopathy in college students. Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 38, 172-182. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10862-015-9512-z

Drislane, L. E., Patrick, C. J., & Arsal, G. (2014). Clarifying the content coverage of differing psychopathy inventories through reference to the Triarchic Psychopathy Measure. *Psychological Assessment, 26*, 350– 362. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0035152

Drislane, L. E., & Patrick, C. J. (2016). Integrating Alternative Conceptions of Psychopathic Personality: A Latent Variable Model of Triarchic Psychopathy Constructs. *Journal of Personality Disorders, 31*(1), 110–132. https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi_2016_30_240

Durand, G., & de Calheiros Velozo, J. (2018). The interplay of gender, parental behaviors, and child maltreatment in relation to psychopathic traits. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 83*, 120-128. 10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.07.013

Elliott, V. (2018). Thinking about the coding process in qualitative data analysis. *The Qualitative Report, 23*(11), 2850-2861. Retrieved from https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol23/iss11/14

Esteller, A., Poy, R., & Molto, J. (2016). Deficient aversive-potentiated startle and the triarchic model of psychopathy: The role of boldness. *Biological Psychology, 117*, 131-140. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsycho.2016.03.012

Falkenbach, D. M., Reinhard, E. E., & Roelofs-Larson, F. R. (2017). Theory-based gender differences in psychopathy subtypes. Personality and Individual differences, 105, 1-6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2016.09.023

Fontaine, N. M., Rijsdijk, F. V., McCrory, E. J., & Viding, E. (2010). Etiology of different developmental trajectories of callous-unemotional traits. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 49*(7), 656-664. doi:10.1016/j.jaac.2010.03.014

Forouzan, E. & Nicholls, T. L. (2015). Childhood and adolescent characteristics of women with high versus low psychopathy scores: Examining developmental precursors to the malignant personality disorder. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 43.* 307-320. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.06.001

Fragkaki, I., Verhagen, M., van Herwaarden, A. E., & Cima, M. (2019). Daily oxytocin patterns in relation to psychopathy and childhood trauma in residential youth. *Psychoneuroendocrinology, 102*, 105–113. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psyneuen.2018.11.040

Gatner, D. T., Douglas, K. S., & Hart, S. D. (2016). Examining the incremental and interactive effects of boldness with meanness and disinhibition within the triarchic model of psychopathy. Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 7(3), 259-268.

Gendreau, P., Goggin, C., & Smith, P. (2002). Is the PCL-R really the unparalleled measure of offender risk?: A lesson in knowledge cumulation. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 29*(4), 397-426. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854802029004004

Gibson, C. B. (2017). Elaboration, generalization, triangulation, and interpretation: On enhancing the value of mixed method research. *Organizational Research Methods, 20*(2), 193-223. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428116639133

Gillespie, S. M., Garofalo, C., & Centifanti, L. C. M. (2020). Variants of psychopathy in male and female civil psychiatric patients: Latent profile analyses of the MacArthur Violence Risk dataset. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 72*, 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2020.101748

Gillespie, S. M., Mitchell, I. J., Satherley, R. M., Beech, A. R., Rotshtein, B. P., & Morano, M. (2015). Relations of distinct psychopathic personality traits with anxiety and fear: Findings from offenders and non-offenders. PLoS One, 10(11). https://doi-org.ezp.waldenulibrary.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0143120

Gottfried, E. D., Harrop, T. M., Anestis, J. C., Venables, N. C., & Sellborn, M. (2019). An examination of triarchic psychopathy constructs in female offenders. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 101*(5), 455-467.

https://doi.org/10.1080/00223891.2018.1502193

Green, A., & McClelland, C. (2019). Male gender expression conflict between baby boomers and millennials. *Pepperdine Journal of Communication Research, 7*(1), 6-19. https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/pjcr/vol7/iss1/6

Goulter, N., Kimonis, E. R., Denson, T. F., & Begg, D. P. (2019). Female primary and secondary psychopathic variants show distinct endocrine and psychophysiological profiles. *Psychoneuroendocrinology, 104*, 7-17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psyneuen.2019.02.011

Guay, J. P., Knight, R. A., Ruscio, J., & Hare, R. D. (2018). A taxometric investigation of psychopathy in women. *Psychiatry Research, 261,* 565-573. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2018.01.015

Guillaume, D. & de Calheiros Velozo, J. (2018). The interplay of gender, parental behaviors, and child maltreatment in relation to psychopathic traits. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 83*, 120-128. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.07.013

Guo, J., Zhang, J., & Pang, W. (2021). Parental warmth, rejection, and creativity: The mediating roles of openness and dark personality traits. *Personality and Individual Differences, 168,* 1-7. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110369

Hamburger, M. E., Lilienfeld, S. O., & Hogben, M. (1996). Psychopathy, gender, and gender roles: Implications for Antisocial and Histrionic personality disorders. Journal of Personality Disorders, *10*(1), 41-55 doi:

Hanniball, K. B., Gatner, D. T., Douglas, K. S., Vijoen, J. L., & Aknin, L. B. (2019).

Supplemental material for examining the Triarchic Psychopathy Measure and comprehensive assessment of psychopathic personality in self-identified offender populations. Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, *10*(4), 340-353. doi: 10.1037/per0000333.supp

Hare, R. D. (1980). A research scale for the assessment of psychopathy in criminal populations. *Personality and Individual Differences, 1*, 111-119. https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-8869(80)90028-8

Hare, R. D. (1993). Without conscience: *The disturbing world of the psychopaths among us*. Pocket Books.

Hare, R. D. (2003). Manual for the Revised Psychopathy Checklist (2nd ed.). Multi-Health Systems.

Hare, R. D. (2016). Psychopathy, the PCL-R, and criminal justice: Some new findings and current issues. Canadian Psychology, 57(1), 21–34. https://doi.org/10.1037/cap0000041

Hare, R. D., Black, P. J., & Walsh, Z. (2013). Forensic applications and limitations. In R. P. Archer & E. M. A. Wheeler (Eds), *Forensic uses of Clinical Assessment Instruments* (230-). Routledge.

Hare, R. D., Clark, D., Gran, M., & Thornton, D. (2000). Psychopathy and the predictive validity of the PCL-R: An international perspective. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 18*(5). 623-645. https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-0798(200010)18

Hare, R. D., & Neumann, C. S. (2005). Structural models of psychopathy. *Current*

Psychiatry Reports, 7(1), 57–64. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-005-0026-3

Hare, R.D., & Neumann, C.S. (2010). The role of antisociality in the psychopathy construct: comment on Skeem and Cooke (2010). *Psychological Assessment, 22*, 446-54. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013635

Hare, R. D., Neumann, C. S., & Mokros, A. (2018). The PCL-R assessment of psychopathy: Development, properties, debates, and new directions. In C. J. Patrick (Ed.), *Handbook of Psychopathy (2nd ed).* Guildford Press.

Hartung, C. M., & Lefler, E. K. (2019). Sex and gender in psychopathology: DSM–5 and beyond. *Psychological Bulletin*. *145*(4), 390-409. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/bul0000183

Hecht, L. K., Berg, J. M., Lilienfeld, S. O., & Latzman, R. D. (2016). Parsing the heterogeneity of psychopathy and aggression: Differential associations across dimensions and gender. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 7*(1), 2-14. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/per0000128

Hickey, E. W., Walters, B. K., Drislane, L. E., Palumbo, I. M., & Patrick, C. J. (2018). The PCL-R assessment of psychopathy: Development, properties, debates, and new directions. In C. J. Patrick (Ed.), *Handbook of Psychopathy (2nd ed).* The Guildford Press.

Honey, L. P. (2017). Women of the dark triad. In M. L. Fisher (Ed), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Competition* (147-165). Oxford University Press.

Hourigan, R. M. & Edgar, S. N. (20). Phenomenological Research in Music Education. In

C. Conway (Ed.), *Approaches to Qualitative Research: An Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research, Volume 1*. (p. 110-123). Oxford Press.

Howell, E. F. (2018). Outsiders to love: The psychopathic character and dilemma. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis, 54*(1), 17-39. 10.1080/00107530.2017.1420318

Hughes, A., Brewer, G., & Khan, R. (2019). Sexual coercion by women: The influence of pornography and Narcissistic and Histrionic Personality Disorder traits. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 49*, 885-894. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-019-01538-4

Hyatt, C. S., Crowe, M. L., Lynam, D. R., & Miller, J. D. (2020). Components of the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy and the Five-Factor Model domains share largely overlapping nomological networks. *Assessments, 27*(1), 72-88. https://doi.org/10.1177/10731911198609

Johnson, S. A. (2019). Understanding the violent personality: Antisocial Personality Disorder, Psychopathy, & Sociopathy explored. *Forensic Research & Criminology International, 7*(2), 76-88. https://doi.org/10.15406/frcij.2019.07.00267

Jonason, P. K., & Davis, M. D. (2018). A gender role view of the Dark Triad traits. *Personality and Individual Differences, 125*, 102-105. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2018.01.004

Jonason, P. K., Sitnikova, M., & Oshio, A. (2018). The dark triad and views of time in three countries. *Personality and Individual Differences, 120*, 107-111. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.08.036

Kalemi, G., Michopoulos, I., Efstathiou, V., Konstantopoulou, F. Tsaklakidou, D., Gournellis, R., & Douzenis, A. (2019). Narcissism but not criminality is associated with aggression in women: A study among female prisoners and women without a criminal record. *Frontiers in Psychiatry, 10*(21). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyt.2019.00021

Keleman, A., Lugonja, L., Subotic, S., & Dimitrijevic, S. (2020). Trolley problem: Psychopathy or virtue? *Research gate,* 35-38. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336981272_Trolley_problem_Psychopathy_or_virtue

Kennealy, P. J., Hicks, B. M., & Patrick, C. J. (2007). Validity of factors of the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised in female prisoners. *Assessment, 14*(4), 323-340. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191107305882

Kosson, D. S., Neumann, C. S., Forth, A. E., Salekin, R. T., Hare, R. D., Krischer, M. K., & Sevecke, K. (2013). Factor structure of the Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV) in adolescent females. *Psychological Assessment, 25*, 71-83. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028986

Korstjens, I. & Moser, A. (2017). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 2: Context, research questions and designs. *European Journal of General Practice, 23*(1), 274-279. https://doi.org/10.1080/13814788.2017.1375090

Korsjens, I. & Moser, A. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 4: Trustworthiness and publishing. *European Journal of General Practice,*

24(1). 120-124. https://doi.org/10.1080/13814788.2017.1375092

Landay, K., Harms, P. D., & Crede, M. (2019). Shall we serve the dark lords? A meta-analytic review of psychopathy and leadership. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 104*(1), 193-196. 10.1037/apl0000357

Lang, A., & Lenard, K. (2015). The relation between memories of childhood psychological maltreatment and machiavellianism. *Personality and Individual Differences, 77,* 81-85. 10.1016/j.paid.2014.12.054

Latzman, R. D., Tobin, K. E., Palumbo, M. I., Conway, C. C., Lilienfeld, S. O., Patrick, C. J., & Krueger, R. F. (2020). Locating psychopathy within the domain space of personality pathology. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *164*. 10.1016/j.paid.2020.110124

Lilienfeld, S. O., & Andrews, B. P. (1996). Development and preliminary validation of a self-report measure of psychopathic personality traits in noncriminal populations. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 66*, 488 – 524. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa6603_3

Lilienfeld, S. O., Smith, S. F., Sauvigné, K. C., Patrick, C. J., Drislane, L. E., Latzman, R. D., & Krueger, R. F. (2016). Is boldness relevant to psychopathic personality? Meta-analytic relations with non-Psychopathy Checklist-based measures of psychopathy. *Psychological Assessment, 28*(10), 1172–1185. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000244

Lilienfeld, S. O., Watts, A. L., Smith, S. F. (2015). Successful psychopathy: A scientific

status report. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 24*, 298-303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721415580297

Lilienfeld, S. O., Watts, A. L., Smith, S. F., Patrick, C. J., & Hare, R. D. (2018). Hervey Cleckley (1903-1984): Contributions to the study of psychopathy. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 9*(6), 510-520. https://doi.org/10.1037/per0000306

Litten, V., Roberts, L. D., Ladyshewsky, R. K., Castell, E., & Kane, R. (2018). The influence of academic discipline on empathy and psychopathic personality traits in undergraduate students. Personality and Individual Differences, 123, 145-150.

Ljubin-Golub, T., & Sokic, K. (2016). The relationships between triarchic psychopathic traits and value orientations in men and women. *Psychological Research, 19*(2) 185-202. 10.5937/psistra1602185l

Logan, C. (2011). La femme fatale: The female psychopath in fiction and clinical practice. *Mental Health Review Journal, 16*(3), 118-127. 10.1108/13619321111178078

Lu, Y. (2018). Rural and urban differences in gender-sentencing patterns of Pennsylvania. *Rural Sociology, 83*(2). https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12204

Lynam, D. R., & Miller, J. D. (2012). Fearless dominance and psychopathy: A response to Lilienfeld et al. Journal of Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 3(3), 341–353. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028296

Lyons, M., Messenger, A., Perry, R., & Brewer, G. (2020). The Dark Tetrad in Tinder:

Hook-up app for high psychopathy individuals, and a diverse utilitarian tool for Machiavellians? *Current Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-019-00589-z

Mager, K. L., Bresin, K. & Verona, E. (2014). Gender, psychopathy factors, and intimate partner violence. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 5*(3), 257-267. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/per0000072

Manning, J. (2017). In vivo coding. In Matthes, J. (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. Wiley-Blackwell.

March, E. & Marrington, J. Z. (2021). Antisocial and prosocial online behaviour: Exploring the roles of the dark and light triads. *Current Psychology, 40*(2), https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-021-01552-7

McLeod, S. A. (2007). Nature Nurture in Psychology. Retrieved from www.simplypsychology.org/naturevsnurture.html

Mejia, C. Y., Donahue, J. J., & Farley, S. D. (2020). Mean, uncommitted, and aggressive: Divergent associations between triairchic psychopathy, elements of love, and caustic relationship behaviors. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 37*(4), 1193-1215. doi: 10.1177/0265407519890414

Meloy, J. R. (1992). *The psychopathic mind: Origins, Dynamics, and Treatment.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Merriam, S. B. & Tisdell, E. J. (2016). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation (4th ed.).* Wiley.

Metcalf, S., Dickerson, K. L., Milojevich, H. M., & Quas, J. A. (2020). Primary and secondary variants of psychopathic traits in at-risk youth: Links with maltreatment, aggression, and empathy. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development.* https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-020-01083-5

Miller, J. D., Rausher, S., Hyatt, C. S., Maples, J., & Zeichner, A. (2014). Examining the relations among pain tolerance, psychopathic traits, and violent and nonviolent antisocial behavior. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 123*(1), 205–213. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035072

Miller, J., Sleep, C., Crowe, M. L., & Lynam, D. R. (2020). Psychopathic boldness: Narcissism, self-esteem, or something in between? *Personality and Individual* Differences, *155*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.109761

Miller, J. D., Vize, M. C., & Crowe, D. R. L. (2019). A critical appraisal of the Dark-Triad literature and suggestions moving forward. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *28*(4), 353-360. https://doi-org.ezp.waldenulibrary.org/10.1177/0963721419838233

Moore, K., Ross, S., & Brosius, E. (2020). The role of gender in the relations among Dark Triad and psychopathy, sociosexuality, and moral judgements. *Personality and Individual Differences, 152*. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.109577

Morgan, K. & Ayim, M. (1984). Comment on Bem's "Gender Schema Theory and its implications for child development: Raising gender-aschematic children in a gender-schematic society. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *10*(1), 188-

196. doi: 10.1086/494131

Mullins-Sweatt, S. N., Wingate, L. R., & Lengel, G. J. (2012). Histrionic personality disorder: Diagnostic and treatment considerations. In P. K. Lundberg-Love, K. L. Nadal, & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Women in Mental Disorders*. Praeger.

Neumann, C. S., Malterer, M. B., & Newman, J. P. (2008). Factor structure of the Psychopathic Personality Inventory (PPI): Findings from a large incarcerated sample. *Psychological Assessments, 20*(2), 169-174. 10.1037/1040-3590.20.2.169

Olivia C. Preston, Ashley L. Watts, Joye C. Anestis, and Scott O. Lilienfeld (2018). Psychopathic traits' differential relations with aggression forms: Considering the roles of gender and gender role adherence. Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology: 37(8), 628-658. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2018.37.8.628

Palmen, D., Derksen, J., & Kolthoff, E. (2018). House of Cards: Psychopathy in politics. *Public Integrity,* 1-17. 10.1080/10999922.2017.1402736

Patrick, C. J., & Drislane, L. E. (2014). Triarchic Model of Psychopathy: Origins, operationalizations, and observed linkages with personality and general psychopathology. *Journal of Personality, 83*(6), 627-643. 10.1111/jopy.12119

Patrick, C. J., Fowles, D. C., & Krueger, R. F. (2009). Triarchic conceptualization of psychopathy: Developmental origins of disinhibition, boldness, and meanness. *Development and Psychopathology, 21*, 913-938. doi:10.1017/S0954579409000492

Pauli, M., Essemyr, K., Sorman, K., Howner, K., Gustavsson, P., & Lilljeberg, J. (2018).

Gendered expressions of psychopathy: Correctional staffs' perceptions of the CAPP and CABP models. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health, 17*(2), 97-110. https://doi.org/10.1080/14999013.2018.1431337

Perry, F. S. & Lichtenwald, T. G. (2010). The last frontier: Myths and the female psychopathic killer. *Forensic Examiner, 19*(2), 51-67.

Persson, B. N. & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2019). Social status as one key indicator of successful psychopathy: An initial empirical investigation. *Personality and Individual Differences, 141,* 209-217. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.01.020

Pilch, I. & Smolorz, K. (2019). The dark triad and the quality of sexual life. Personality and Individual Differences, *149*, 78-82. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.05.041

Preston, O. C. & Anestis, J. C. (2019). The indirect relationships between psychopathic traits and proactive and reactive aggression through empathy and emotional dysregulation. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 42*, 409-423. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10862-019-09760-z

Preston, O. C., Watts, A. L., Anestis, J. C., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2018). Psychopathic traits' differential relations with aggression forms: Considering the roles of gender and gender role adherence. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 37*(8), 628-658. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2018.37.8.628

Raine, A., Fung, A. L. C., Portnoy, J., Choy, O., & Spring, V. L. (2014). Low heart rate as a risk factor for child and adolescent proactive aggressive and impulsive psychopathic behavior. *Aggressive Behavior, 40*(4), 290-299. 10.1002/ab.21523.

Ribes-Guardiola, P., Poy, R., Segar, P., Branchadell, V., & Molto, J. (2019). Response preservation and the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy in an undergraduate sample. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 11*(1), 54-62. 10.1037/per0000371

Rodham, K., Fox, F., & Doran, N. (2015). Exploring analytical trustworthiness and the process of reaching consensus in interpretative phenomenological analysis: Lost in transcription. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 18*(1), 59-71. 10.1080/13645579.2013.852368

Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data (3rd ed.).* Sage Publications.

Sagioglou, C. & Greitemeyer, T. (2020). Common, nonsexual masochistic preferences are positively associated with antisocial personality traits. *Journal of Personality, 88.* 780-793. 10.1111/jopy.12526

Saldana, J. (2016). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers (3rd ed.).* Sage Publications.

Sellbom, M., Cooke, D. J., & Shou, Y. (2019). Development and initial validation of the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality-Self Report (CAPP-SR). *Psychological Assessment, 31*(7), 878–894. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000714

Sellbom, M. & Drislane, L. E. (2020). The classification of psychopathy. *Aggression and Violent Behavior.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2020.101473

Sellbom, M., Lilienfeld, S. O., Fowler, K. A., & McCrary, K. L. (2018). The Self-Report

Assessment of Psychopathy Challenges, Pitfalls, and Promises, In C. J. Patrick (Ed.), *Handbook of psychopathy (2nd ed)* (p. 211-258). The Guilford Press.

Sest, N. & March, E. (2017). Constructing the cyber-troll: Psychopathy, sadism, and empathy. *Personality and Individual Differences, 119,* 69-72. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.06.038

Shaguufta, S., Sahibzada, S., & Boduszek, D. (2019). Psychopathic traits in relation to suicide ideation in male and female undergraduate students: A structural equation modeling approach. *Journal of Social Sciences, 13*(3), 107-120.

Shou, Y., Lay, S. E., De Silva, H. S., Xyrakis, N., & Sellbom, M. (2019). Sociocultural influences on psychopathy traits: A cross-national investigation. *Journal of Personality Disorders, 33,* 1–23. doi:10.1521/pedi_2019_33_428

Skeem, J. L., & Cooke, D. J. (2010). Is criminal behavior a central component of psychopathy? Conceptual directions for resolving the debate. *Psychological Assessment, 22*, 433– 445. https://doi.org/ 10.1037/a0008512

Skeem, J. L., Polaschek, D. L. L., Patrick, C. J., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2011). Psychopathic personality: Bridging the gap between scientific evidence and public policy. *Psychological Science in the Public Interests, 12*(3), 95-162. https://doi.org/10.1177/1529100611426706

Sleep, C., Weiss, B., Lynam, D. R., & Miller, J. D. (2019). An examination of the Triarchic Model of Psychopathy's nomological network: A meta-analytic review. *Clinical Psychology Review, 71,* 1-26. doi:

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2019.04.005

Smith, S. T., Edens, J. F., Clark, J., & Rulseh, A. (2014). "So, what is a psychopath?" Venire person perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes about psychopathic personality. *Law and Human Behavior, 38*, 490-500. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000091

Smith, J. M., Gacono, C. B., & Cunliffe, T. B. (2018). Comparison of male and female psychopaths on select CS Rorschach variables. *Journal of Projective Psychology & Mental Health, 25*(2). 138-155.

Somma, A., Borroni, S., Sellbom, M., Markon, K. E., Krueger, R. F., & Fossati, A. (2020). Assessing Dark Triad dimensions from the perspective of moral disengagement and DSM-5 Alternative Model of Personality Disorder traits. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 11*(2), 100-107. http://dx.doi.org.ezp.waldenulibrary.org/10.1037/per0000388

Starr, C. R., & Zurbriggen, E. L. (2017). Sandra Bem's Gender Schema Theory after 34 years: A review of its reach and impact. *Sex Roles, 76*(9-10), 566–578. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0591-4

Strickland, C. M., Drislane, L. E., Lucy, M., Krueger, R. F., & Patrick, C. J. (2013). Characterizing psychopathy using DSM-5 personality traits. *Assessment, 20*(3), 327-338. https://doi-org.ezp.waldenulibrary.org/10.1177/1073191113486691

Sutton, A., Roche, M., Stapleton, M., & Roemer, A. (2020). Can psychopathy be adaptive at work? Development and application of a work focused self and other report measure of Triarchic Psychopathy Model. *International Journal of*

Environmental Research and Public Health, 17(11). doi: 10.3390/ijerph17113938

Sutton, J., & Austin, Z. (2015). Qualitative research: Data collection, analysis, and management. *Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy, 68*(3), 226-231. 10.4212/cjhp.v68i3.1456

Tuvblad, C., Wang, P., Patrick, C. J., & Berntsen. (2019). Genetic and environmental influences on disinhibition, boldness, and meanness as assessed by the triarchic psychopathy measure in 19-20-year-old twins. *Psychological Medicine, 49*(9), 1500-1509. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291718002052

Unrau, A. M., & Morry, M. M. (2019). The subclinical psychopath in love: Mediating effects of attachment styles. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 36*, 421–449. doi:10.1177/ 0265407517734068

Venables, N. C., & Patrick, C. J. (2012). Validity of the externalising spectrum inventory in a criminal offender sample: Relations with disinhibitory psychopathology, personality, and psychopathic features. *Psychological Assessment, 24*,88–100. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024703

Verona, E., & Vitale, J. (2018). Psychopathy in women: Assessment, manifestations, and etiology. In C. J. Patrick (Ed.), Handbook of psychopathy (pp. 509–528). The Guilford Press.

Verschuere, B. & te Kaat, L. (2019). What are the core features of psychopathy? A prototypicality analysis using the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R). Journal of Personality Disorders, 34(3), 410-419.

https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi_2019_33_396

Vize, C. E., Lynam, D. R., Lamkin, J., Miller, J. D., & Pardini, D. (2016). Identifying essential features of juvenile psychopathy in the prediction of later antisocial behavior: Is there an additive, synergistic, or curvilinear role for fearless dominance? *Clinical Psychological Science, 4*, 572–590. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2167702615622384

Vossen, T. J., Coolidge, F. L., Segal, D. L., & Muehlenkamp, J. J. (2017). Exploring the dark side: Relationships between the dark triad traits and cluster B personality disorder features. *Journal of Psychiatry and Psychiatric Disorders, 1*(6), 317-326. https://doi.org/10.26502/jppd.2572-519X0031

Wall, T. D., Wygant, D. B., & Sellbom, M. (2015). Boldness explains a key difference between psychopathy and antisocial personality disorder. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 22*(1), 94–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/13218719.2014.919627

Watts, A. L., Bowes, S. B., Latzman, R. D., Lilienfeld, S. O. (2017). Psychopathic traits predict harsh attitudes toward rape victims among undergraduates. Personality and Individual Differences, *106*, 1-5. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2016.10.022

Watts, A. L., Donahue, K., Lilienfeld, S. O., & Latzman, R. D. (2017). Gender moderates psychopathic traits' relations with self-reported childhood maltreatment. Personality and Individual Differences, *119*, 75-180. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.07.011

Weizmann-Henelius, G., Gronroos, M., Putkonen, H., Eronen, M., Lindberg, N., &

Hakkanen-Nyholm, H. (2010). Psychopathy and gender differences in childhood psychosocial characteristics in homicide offenders - a nationwide register-based study. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 21*(6), 801-814. 10.1080/14789949.2010.506616

Woody, R. H. (2019). Violence and criminal psychopathy In R. Henley (Ed.), *Risks of Harm from Psychopathic Individuals* (p. 33-35). Springer.

Wygant, D. B., Engle, J. E., & Sellbom, M. (2020). Further examination of DSM-5 Antisocial Personality Disorder and Psychopathy: Findings from a female correctional sample. *Personality and Mental Health.* https://doi.org/10.1002/pmh.1494

Wygant, D. B., Sellbom, M., Sleep, C. E., Wall, T. D., Applegate, K. C., & Krueger, R. F. (2016). Examining the DSM-5 alternative personality disorder model operationalization of Antisocial Personality Disorder and Psychopathy in a male correctional sample. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 7*(3), 229-239. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/per0000179

Wynn, R., Hoiseth, M. H., & Pettersen, G. (2012). Psychopathy in women: Theoretical and clinical perspectives. *International Journal of Women's Health, 4*(1), 257- 263. 10.2147/IJWH.S25518

Appendix A: Triarchic Psychopathy Measure

Questionnaire: TriPM
Study ID: _____
Subject ID: _____
Date: _____

Directions: This questionnaire contains statements that different people might use to describe themselves. Each statement is followed by four choices: Ⓣ ⓣ ⓕ Ⓕ. The meaning of these four different choices is as follows:

Ⓣ = True ⓣ = somewhat true ⓕ = somewhat false Ⓕ = False

For each statement, fill in the bubble for the choice that describes you best. There are no right or wrong answers; just choose the answer that best describes you.

Like this: ● Not like this: ✓ Ⓧ ⊘

Remember: Fill only one bubble per item. If you make a mistake cross out the incorrect answer with an X and fill in the correct option. Answer all of the items. Please work rapidly and do not spend too much time on any one statement.

1.	I'm optimistic more often than not.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
2.	How other people feel is important to me.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
3.	I often act on immediate needs.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
4.	I have no strong desire to parachute out of an airplane.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
5.	I've often missed things I promised to attend.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
6.	I would enjoy being in a high-speed chase.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
7.	I am well-equipped to deal with stress.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
8.	I don't mind if someone I dislike gets hurt.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
9.	My impulsive decisions have caused problems with loved ones.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
10.	I get scared easily.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
11.	I sympathize with others' problems.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
12.	I have missed work without bothering to call in.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
13.	I'm a born leader.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
14.	I enjoy a good physical fight.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
15.	I jump into things without thinking.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ

Ⓣ = True ⓣ = somewhat true ⓕ = somewhat false Ⓕ = False

16.	I have a hard time making things turn out the way I want.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
17.	I return insults.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
18.	I've gotten in trouble because I missed too much school.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
19.	I have a knack for influencing people.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
20.	It doesn't bother me to see someone else in pain.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
21.	I have good control over myself.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
22.	I function well in new situations, even when unprepared.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
23.	I enjoy pushing people around sometimes.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
24.	I have taken money from someone's purse or wallet without asking.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
25.	I don't think of myself as talented.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
26.	I taunt people just to stir things up.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
27.	People often abuse my trust.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
28.	I'm afraid of far fewer things than most people.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
29.	I don't see any point in worrying if what I do hurts someone else.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
30.	I keep appointments I make.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
31.	I often get bored quickly and lose interest.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
32.	I can get over things that would traumatize others.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
33.	I am sensitive to the feelings of others.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
34.	I have conned people to get money from them.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
35.	It worries me to go into an unfamiliar situation without knowing all the details.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
36.	I don't have much sympathy for people.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
37.	I get in trouble for not considering the consequences of my actions.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
38.	I can convince people to do what I want.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
39.	For me, honesty really is the best policy.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
40.	I've injured people to see them in pain.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
41.	I don't like to take the lead in groups.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
42.	I sometimes insult people on purpose to get a reaction from them.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ

Ⓣ = True ⓣ = somewhat true ⓕ = somewhat false Ⓕ = False

43.	I have taken items from a store without paying for them.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
44.	It's easy to embarrass me.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
45.	Things are more fun if a little danger is involved.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
46.	I have a hard time waiting patiently for things I want.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
47.	I stay away from physical danger as much as I can.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
48.	I don't care much if what I do hurts others.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
49.	I have lost a friend because of irresponsible things I've done.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
50.	I don't stack up well against most others.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
51.	Others have told me they are concerned about my lack of self-control.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
52.	It's easy for me to relate to other people's emotions.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
53.	I have robbed someone.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
54.	I never worry about making a fool of myself with others.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
55.	It doesn't bother me when people around me are hurting.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
56.	I have had problems at work because I was irresponsible.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
57.	I'm not very good at influencing people.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ
58.	I have stolen something out of a vehicle.	Ⓣ	ⓣ	ⓕ	Ⓕ

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about a time when you were involved in a dangerous situation?

    (Q# 47 I stay away from physical danger as much as I can)

    1a. Would your friends and family say you often find yourself in those situations?

    1b. How often do you safety plan prior to going on a vacation or for a night out?

2. Can you tell me about a time when you took part in a fast paced or heart pumping activity like sky diving?

    (Q# 4 I have no strong desire to parachute out of an airplane)

    2a. Do you often seek out those types of activities?

    2b. What is it about those experiences that makes you want to seek them out?

3. Can you describe a situation where you experienced a drastic change in your life?

    (Q# 22 I function well in new situations, even when unprepared)

    3a. How long did it take you to adjust to the new changes?

    3b. How well do you feel you handled that change when compared to others?

4. Can you tell me about any situation you experienced where you had to persuade someone?

    (Q# 19 I have a knack for influencing people)

    (Q# 57 I'm not very good at influencing people)

    4a. Do you feel it is easy for you persuade others?

5. How would you describe your ability to interact in a social setting with others you have never met before?

(Q# 54 I never worry about making a fool of myself with others)

5a. Can you provide an example of when this happened to you?

5b. Can you describe what emotions you were feeling during that experience?

6. Can you describe to me a time when you took the lead in a group project at work or in a school setting?

(Q# 13 I'm a born leader)

6a. How did others within group feel about you becoming the leader?

6b. How did you handle any conflict that arose from that decision?

7. How do you view your personal and professional success when compared to your friends, family, and co-workers?

(Q# 50 I don't stack up well against most others)

7a. Can you explain what you feel sets you apart from others you know?

8. Can you describe a situation to me where you have had to rely on your personality to get you through a stressful situation either at work or with family and friends?

(Q# 7 I am well-equipped to deal with stress)

8a. Do you feel you are better equipped than most to handle stressful situations?

8b. Can you explain what sets you apart from others?

9. Can you explain a situation you've experienced where you feel you've demonstrated a strong sense of resilience after a troubling event?

(Q# 32 I can get over things that would traumatize others)

9a. How would you compare yourself to others when it comes to your level of resilience?

9b. Would you say that resilience comes naturally for you?

10. Can you think of and describe a time when you had to take charge and overcome a fear or a fearful situation either at work or in your personal life?

(Q# 28 I'm afraid of far fewer things than most people)

10a. How would you describe that experience overall?

10b. Do you feel that you are generally less afraid than most people you know?

11. Can you describe to me any special talents or skills that you have?

(Q# 25 I don't think of myself as talented.)

11a. Do you feel you were born with certain talents, or did you have to work to develop them?

12. Can you think of an example of a difficult problem you've faced in your life and describe to me your attitude and/or mindset when facing it?

(Q# 1 I'm optimistic more times than not)

12a. Do you always have that mindset going into a difficult situation?

12b. Can you recall a situation where you had a hard time facing a difficult situation?