

For Richer or For Poorer: How Financial Resources Affect Women's Mate-Value.

by

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B.Sc., University of Victoria, 2014

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Research on mate preferences suggests that men value physical attractiveness and youthfulness most in potential partners, whereas women value status and resources most in a potential partner (Buss, 1989). These differences in mate preferences have implications for the value men and women place on these characteristics (e.g. attractiveness and resources) in potential mates. A man's attractiveness and financial resources both contribute positively to his mate-value, (Sprecher, 1989; Townsend & Levy, 1990). A woman's attractiveness also contributes to her mate-value (Sprecher, 1989; Townsend & Levy, 1990), but the value of her resources is less clear. I expected that men's evaluation of a woman's financial resources would be dependent on her level of attractiveness. I hypothesized that a woman's financial resources would add to her mate-value when she was highly attractive, but detract from her mate-value when she was typically attractive. In Study 1, a woman of varying attractiveness (typical vs. high) approached men on campus and delivered a speech that conveyed her future income (low vs. high). Men's reported desire to join her focus group was used as measure of their impressions of her mate-value. Study 2 directly assesses participant's romantic interest in targets of varying income (low vs. high) and attractiveness (typical vs. high) using a controlled laboratory method where both men and women evaluated a profile of a potential romantic partner. The results of both studies supported my hypotheses. This research provides insight into the complicated nature of a woman's financial resources as part of her overall mate-value.

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Introduction

Over the last few decades, an increasing number (29%) of Canadian women have become the primary provider within their relationships and families (Sussman & Bonnell, 2006). Similar trends are reported in the U.S. and the U.K, where mothers are the primary source of income in 40% and 35% of households, respectively (Ben-Galim & Thompson, 2013; Wang, Parker, & Taylor, 2013). This trend is only expected to increase as women continue to pursue advanced degrees and experience greater opportunities for advancement within their careers (Sussman & Bonnell, 2006). However, the public's response to these changes appears to be mixed at best. For women, these changes signal a positive prognosis for their future professional advancement and long-term, independent financial security. Yet, others are more wary of these changes and their potential impact on society and, importantly, on romantic relationships and family. For example, recent newspaper articles have published stories portraying breadwinning women as less happy in their relationships (Wallace, 2014), as threatening to men (Williams, 2007), and as more likely to experience divorce (Thaler, 2013). Whether or not the assertions presented by these articles are true, it is clear that rise of women in breadwinner roles is causing negative pushback from certain facets of the public.

So, what are the real implications of women's increasing presence and success in the labour market on romantic relationships? In marriages where the woman earns more than her partner, a potentially-costly imbalance in well-being can arise, whereby increases in wives' income prompts increases in wives' marital happiness and well-being, but prompts decreases in husbands' happiness and well-being (Rogers & DeBoer, 2001). Other research has shown that married couples in which the wife earns more money than the husband report being less satisfied with their relationship than more traditional couples where the husband is the main breadwinner

(Tichenor, 1999). Both breadwinner wives and their husbands are also more likely to suffer from increased insomnia and anxiety (Pierce, Dahl, & Nielson, 2013). Thus, we are beginning to see that these economic changes do have a substantial impact on the dynamics within existing relationships.

Less well known is how women's increasing financial resources and status influences relationship formation. Thus, the current research seeks to answer the question: How do high financial resources affect women's mate-value? A person's *mate-value* summarizes the attributes and characteristics that he or she brings to a potential or actual relationship (Fletcher, Simpson, Thomas, & Giles, 1999; Edlund & Sagarin, 2010; Ellis, Simpson, & Campbell, 2002). Two key attributes that contribute to an individual's mate-value are wealth, or *financial resources*, and beauty, or *physical attractiveness* (Fletcher et al., 1999). Objectively, financial resources and physical attractiveness are both inherently desirable in a romantic partner. Beautiful people are often thought to have a number of other wonderful traits simply because they are beautiful (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Physical beauty is also an indicator of genetic fitness and health (Gangestad & Buss, 1993; Gangestad, Thornhill, & Yeo, 1994; Henderson & Anglin, 2003; Rhodes, Zebrowitz, Clark, Kalick, Hightower, & McKay, 2001; Singh & Singh, 2011). Likewise, a person with financial resources can afford to take his or her partner out for a fancy dinner, go on vacation, provide for their family, as well as many other desirable activities. Because of these benefits, both traits should be desirable commodities that are highly valued and sought after in a potential or actual relationship partner (Li, Bailey, Kenrick, & Linsenmeier, 2002; Sprecher, 1989).

However, men and women place different value on particular traits. For example, a man's physical attractiveness and financial resources are two characteristics that add to his mate-value because they are both valued by women (Buss, 1989; Regan & Sprecher, 1995; Sprecher,

1989; Townsend & Levy, 1990). In contrast, a woman's physical attractiveness adds to her mate-value (Buss 1989; Fletcher, Tither, O'Loughlin, Friesen, & Overall, 2004; Greitemeyer, 2005; Li, et al., 2002), but the value of her financial resources is less clear. Remarkably, there has been little research directly examining the mate-value of a woman's financial resources. Moreover, the research that has been conducted in this area has produced inconclusive results and may no longer be relevant due to the changing economic climate outlined at the beginning of this paper. For example, some research has demonstrated a small positive association between a woman's financial resources and her mate-value (Kendrick, Sundie, Nicastle, & Stone, 2001), whereas other research suggests that a woman's financial resources have little to no impact on her mate-value (Buss, 1989; Li et al., 2002; Townsend & Levy, 1990; Li, Yong, Tov, Sng, Fletcher, Valentine, Jiang, & Balliet, 2013). Furthermore, there is even evidence to suggest that a woman's high financial resources can negatively influence her mate-value (Greitemeyer, 2007). The current research builds upon and clarifies past research by examining how a woman's financial resources and physical attractiveness interact to predict men's impressions of her mate-value.

I argue that, in general, men will *not* value high financial resources in potential partners. But, physical attractiveness may buffer against the potential negative effects of a woman's high financial resources. In other words, high financial resources will not add to women's mate-value – unless she is highly physically attractive. I propose that men's negative evaluations of the mate-value of a woman's financial resources are explained by evolved or learned mate preferences, gender-role norms, and social-exchange considerations, because each of these social-psychological factors undermines the value of financial resources for women, while simultaneously emphasizing the value of physical attractiveness.

Gender Differences in Men and Women's Mate Preferences

When looking for a long-term partner, both men and women place similar value on qualities such as honesty, understanding, an exciting personality, and intelligence (Buss & Barnes, 1986). Yet, there are also gender differences. Buss' (1989) well-known study of mate preferences across thirty-seven cultures demonstrated that men value a potential partner's physical attractiveness, youthfulness, and domestic capabilities more than women, whereas women value status, resources, and provider capability more than men. Buss (1989) suggests that these gender differences in mate preferences stem from divergent evolutionary pressures on men and women. In the environment of evolutionary adaptiveness (EEA), one of the main objectives for ancestral women was to safely and effectively raise healthy offspring (Sadalla, Kenrick, & Vershure, 1987). Therefore, according to theory, women prefer mates who can provide resources for themselves and their children. In contrast, in the EEA, one of the main objectives for ancestral men was to successfully pass on their genes by impregnating women (Buss, & Schmitt, 1993). Thus, men prefer mates who are attractive and youthful, traits that signal high levels of fertility and health. These gender differences in mate preferences have been well validated and replicated, especially when people are evaluating long-term potential partners (Greitemeyer, 2005; Li et al., 2002, Li et al., 2013; Regan & Sprecher, 1995; Sprecher, 1989).

Although evolutionary explanations for observed gender differences in mate preferences are compelling, gender differences in mate preferences could also result from socio-cultural pressures (Eagly & Wood, 1999). From a social-constructionist perspective, the division of labour within a society is considered the driving force behind most observed sex differences. Throughout Western history and even today, women typically perform the majority of domestic housework and childcare, whereas men typically perform the majority of paid labour outside the home (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Ferrao, 2012; Sussman & Bonnell, 2006). Therefore, when it comes

to finding a mate, men and women want to “maximize their utilities” (Eagly & Wood, 1999, p.415) by choosing a partner who can fulfill complementary roles and responsibilities within the family. If a man has wealth and economic power, he can maximize his outcomes by finding a wife who is physically attractive (i.e., fertile and healthy) and can take care of the housework and childcare. If a woman is physically attractive and skilled in the domestic role, she can maximize her outcomes by finding a mate who is financially successful to provide resources for the family. Therefore, because men and women occupy different roles within society, they have adapted psychologically to meet to requirements of their respective roles, and such adaptations include complementary mate preferences.

Social roles have changed in recent decades (e.g., Sussman & Bonnell, 2006). In particular, more women work outside the home than ever before, and men are more involved in domestic work than ever before. However, traditional gender differences in mate preferences have largely persisted (Greitemeyer, 2005; Greitemeyer, 2007; Fletcher et al., 2004; Li et al., 2002, Li et al., 2013), perhaps because they are the result of the converging influences of socio-cultural and evolutionary forces (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Indeed, evolutionary and socio-cultural arguments concerning the genesis of gender differences in mate preferences need not be competing, both processes may be operating simultaneously. Moreover, whether gender differences in mate preferences are evolved or learned through culture is irrelevant to my arguments. The essential point is that gender differences in mate preferences exist and persist in modern relationships (e.g., Li et al., 2013).

However, it is not the case that women *do not* value physical attractiveness and men *do not* value financial resources. Instead, gender differences in mate preferences highlight the differing *values* placed on physical attractiveness and financial resources by men and women. A person’s mate-value can be divided into three broad categories: warmth-trustworthiness (e.g.,

kind, good-natured), vitality-attractiveness (e.g., lively, physically attractive), and status-resources (e.g. income, social level; Fletcher et al., 1999). Both men and women highly prize warmth-trustworthiness in a mate (Li et al., 2002). When men and women are asked to design their ideal marriage partner by ‘purchasing’ characteristics from a list of attributes, both genders spend the most on kindness, but men spend just as much on physical attractiveness, whereas women spend the second most on financial resources (Li et al., 2002). Moreover, when ‘budgets’ are constrained, men typically report that physical attractiveness is the most important characteristic in a romantic partner, and rank traits like intelligence, friendliness, interesting personality, sense of humour, romance, work ethic, and creativity above financial resources. In contrast, women typically report that financial resources are second only to intelligence in a romantic partner and rank physical attractiveness in the middle-range of importance. Furthermore, women are willing to allow high financial resources to compensate for a less physically attractive mate (Greitemeyer, 2005; Sprecher, 1989; Townsend & Levy, 1990), whereas men are not willing to compromise on the physical attractiveness of a potential mate regardless of her financial resources (Townsend & Levy, 1990).

These findings suggest that men highly value physical attractiveness in a potential mate, and that a woman’s physical attractiveness makes a large contribution to her overall mate-value compared to other characteristics, such as financial resources. A woman’s physical attractiveness is of higher importance to men likely because a woman’s physical attractiveness acts as a visual cue of her health, fertility, and youthfulness; traits that signify a woman’s ability to successfully give birth to healthy babies and maintain the youthful energy needed to care for offspring (Buss, 1989; Henderson & Anglin, 2003; Singh & Singh, 2011). From both an evolutionary and socio-cultural perspective, a woman’s financial resources may be less important to a man because it does not provide him with information about a woman’s ability to carry out the roles of child-

bearing and child-rearing the same way as a woman's physical attractiveness does (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Men's preferences for physically attractive mates may also be reinforced by the fact that, throughout Western history, men have had greater access to resources than women. Because men do not have to establish a relationship with another individual to gain access to resources, they are able to seek other appealing qualities in a potential mate, such as physical attractiveness (Howard, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1987).

The apparent lack of value that men place on financial resources might explain the neutral, or minimally positive, influence of financial resources on a woman's mate value that has been observed in some studies (Kenrick et al., 2001; Li et al., 2002). However, a woman's resources can also negatively influence her mate value (Greitemeyer, 2007; Brown & Lewis, 2004). Why might this be the case? It is possible that a woman's high financial resources signifies to a potential partner that she is not as strongly invested in having children or performing domestic duties as women of lower financial resources. This idea could explain why women with high financial resources are thought to be less faithful and less likeable than women with lower financial resources (Greitemeyer, 2007). This negative perception indicates that the perceiver has made a judgment about the high-resource woman's trustworthiness and thus her ability to devote time to raising his offspring. If she is unfaithful, she could end up raising someone else's offspring and devoting less time to his offspring. Consequently, she may not be perceived to be a good mate. Moreover, a man perceiving a high-resource woman as less likeable indicates that he has made a judgment about her warmth. As previously mentioned, warmth-trustworthiness is highly valued by both men and women (Li et al., 2002). Thus, the perception that a woman with high financial resources is less likeable also makes her appear to be a less appealing potential mate. Although the exact mechanism behind men's disfavor for women of high financial resources remains unclear, it is clear that a woman's financial resources can

influence men's evaluations of a her mate-value, even if a woman's financial resources are not as important to her mate-value as her physical attractiveness.

How High-Financial Resource Women Threaten Traditional Gender-Roles

Longstanding gender-roles likely contribute to the ambiguous value of women's financial resources. Traditionally, men's gender-role is characterized by traits such as dominance, agency, independence, power, aggression, and ambition, and requires that men take on the role of provider within the family and take on positions that afford them status, wealth, and power within society (e.g., Eagly & Wood, 1999; Stinson, Gaucher, Wood, Reddoch, Holmes, & Little, 2012). In contrast, women's traditional gender-role is characterized by traits such as communion, submission, understanding, caring, and friendliness, and requires that women take on the role of caregiver and nurturer within the family and take on positions of lesser power and status within society. Physical differences between men and women may have prompted the social construction of gender-roles (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Men being stronger and larger in size were naturally suited to the role of warrior, protector, and provider, whereas women were better suited to childcare and nurturing roles because of their abilities to gestate and feed babies. Eventually, these biological sex differences became formalized in gender-roles stipulating the roles and activities that were acceptable for men and women.

Over time, gender-roles resulted in a division of power between men and women that favoured men (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Men's roles outside the home provide them with status and resources that allow them greater societal power than women (Overall, Sibley & Tan, 2011). Even as the roles of women change due to women's growing presence in the workforce, the gender-roles themselves are slow to change. In Canada, women's employment rate has risen from 41.9% in 1976 to 57.9% in 2012 (Human Resources and Skill Development Canada, 2012). Despite this change, there is still a large division between men and women's roles, especially in

the workforce itself. Women are still making less than men in equivalent positions (Ferraio, 2012). In addition, the majority of employed women (67%) are still working in traditionally feminine jobs such as teaching, nursing, healthcare, and clerical work (Ferraio, 2012). This segregation of men and women's work is an issue because careers dominated by women tend to be associated with lower societal status and lower social power, whereas careers dominated by men tend to be associated with higher societal status and greater social power (Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2005; Overall et al., 2011; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Thus, existing gender inequalities related to status and power are maintained when women continue to pursue comparatively low status and low power occupations while the majority of men continue to pursue comparatively high status and high power occupations.

Furthermore, violating traditional gender-roles can have negative consequences for women. When a woman makes a great deal of money, she gains status and societal power. This gain in societal power may threaten the existing power balance between men and women (Brescoll, Uhlmann, & Newman, 2013; Day, Kay, Holmes, & Napier, 2011), resulting in "system maintaining" pushback from both men and women to reinstate existing gender-role norms. For example, women who defy typical gender-roles by performing well on "masculine" tasks often have their success sabotaged by their peers (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Presumably to avoid this negative outcome, such women will often hide their gender-defying success and display increased gender conformity when threatened. Gender-role violating women are also negatively stereotyped and evaluated. Professional women often get stereotyped as cold but competent (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Women in politics who are perceived as "power-seeking" are less well-liked by voters because they are viewed as violating traditional communal norms (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Women of high financial resources and education are also perceived to be less likeable and less faithful than their low financial resource, low education counterparts

(Greitemeyer, 2007). In contrast, men who are professional, in politics, or who are of high financial resources do not suffer the same negative consequences.

Why do men and women “pushback” or react negatively towards women who violate traditional gender-roles? Women who are of high income and status, or women who are the primary providers of financial resources within their families, violate longstanding gender norms that suggest women should be nurturers and take care of children and men should be providers (Eagly & Wood, 1999). As a result, people may perceive women of high financial resources as threatening to their current beliefs about the gender hierarchy within society. *System justification theory* posits that people are motivated to maintain their belief that the current social system is just and good (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Thus, when beliefs about the current state of the gender system are threatened, such as when a woman is in a position of power, of high financial resources, or the primary provider within a family, people react negatively and engage in negative stereotyping in an effort to reduce what they perceive as a threat to their current system of beliefs about gender-roles (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Therefore, the desire for men to preserve the existing status quo and balance of power between men and women could help to explain why men would prefer to mate with a woman of low or medium financial resources to one of high financial resources. Men desire romantic partners who act consistently with role expectations (Eastwick, Wilkey, Finkel, Lambert, Fitzsimons, Brown, & Fincham, 2013), and who do not pose a threat to their beliefs about the current social system.

Social Exchange in Relationships

In addition to gender-roles and unfavourable stereotyping, I propose that social exchange norms for romantic relationships also influence the mate-value of a woman’s financial resources. Relationships naturally involve the exchange of rewards and costs between partners. A reward is

anything a person values in a relationship. A reward can be something a partner does for you, such as taking care of you when you are sick, or a reward can be afforded passively by your partner's characteristics – simply being with a physically attractive partner is rewarding (Clark & Grote, 1998). Thus, a reward is anything that provides some kind of benefit to an individual, or adds quality to a relationship. Conversely, a cost can be thought of as anything a person views as a negative or undesirable expenditure in a relationship. A cost can be something a partner does to you, such as criticizing your favourite outfit, or a cost can be afforded passively by your partner's characteristics – feeling annoyed by your partner's bad manners at the dinner table (Clark & Grote, 1998). Most simply, a cost can be thought of as anything that takes away from, or reduces the quality of a relationship.

Whether a particular behavior or trait is rewarding or costly is subjective (Clark & Grote, 1998). For example, one may view his or her partner's deep, chortling laugh as endearing and pleasant, whereas another may view a similar laugh from a partner as noisy and intolerable. The weighting or value of a particular reward or cost is also subjective (Hatfield, Utne, & Traupmann, 1979). A husband might consider making dinner for his wife to be a large cost, whereas his wife may view the same gesture as a negligible cost. But everyone prefers relationships that offer high levels of rewards (Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1973; Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978). Rewarding relationships are desirable for good reason; overall levels of rewards gained from a relationship better predict relationship satisfaction than the level of equity, or fairness, in the relationship (Cate, Lloyd, & Long, 1988).

Due to these social exchange processes, people prefer romantic partners who offer them the most benefits (i.e., rewards). Men and women both benefit when they form romantic relationships in which the woman is highly attractive. Men benefit from being in a relationship with an attractive woman because it makes them look better in the eyes of others (Sigall &

Landy, 1973). Specifically, unattractive men who are partnered with attractive women are perceived to have very high income, status, and professional success (Bar-tal & Saxe, 1976). Moreover, spouses interact more positively to the extent the wife is more attractive than the husband (McNulty, Neff, & Karney, 2008). The converse is also true. Attractive husbands married to less attractive wives report less marital happiness and satisfaction with their marriages, and partners behave more negatively to the extent the husband is more attractive (McNulty et al., 2008). In contrast, men and women both suffer costs when they form a romantic relationship in which the woman is high in financial resources. In relationships where the wife earns more than the husband, increases in wives' income prompts increases in wives' marital happiness and well-being, but prompts decreases in husbands' happiness and well-being (Rogers & DeBoer, 2001). Even more, men in relationships where the woman is higher in financial resources are also more likely to use erectile dysfunction medication and suffer from increased insomnia and anxiety compared to men who are the breadwinners in their relationships (Pierce, Dahl, & Nielsen, 2013). Such inequity in well-being may explain why married couples in which the wife earns more money than the husband are less satisfied than conventional couples in which the man earns more money than the wife (Tichenor, 1999). Additionally, women who are the primary providers within their families often find it difficult to balance their roles as mother and provider, and are often simultaneously guilty about neglecting their domestic duties and resentful towards their husbands (Meisenbach, 2010). Men in such relationships take on more of the housework compared to men in relationships where the man is the higher-earner (Biernat & Wortman, 1991; Greenstein, 1996; Tichenor, 1999). It would appear that a man in a relationship with a woman of higher financial resources has to spend more of his time performing potentially boring household chores, and despite his extra efforts, his partner may still resent him. He may also struggle with the fact that he is not the higher-earner in the relationship (Tichenor, 1999). Consequently,

relationships that include a high financial resource woman are lower in rewarding satisfaction, happiness, and well-being, but higher in costly conflict and household chores compared to relationship where the man is of higher financial resources (Biernat & Wortman, 1991; Greenstein, 1996; Rogers & DeBoer, 2001; Tichenor, 1999). For a man seeking a rewarding relationship, a relationship with a high-resource woman may appear to be, on the whole, more costly and less rewarding than a relationship with a woman of lower financial resources.

The Current Research

The purpose of the current research is to clarify the mate-value of a woman's financial resources. Past research has produced conflicting findings regarding the true value of a woman's financial resources as part of her overall mate-value. I propose that these findings are conflicting because past research has not examined how a woman's physical attractiveness interacts with her financial resources to influence men's impressions of her mate-value. For typically attractive women (i.e., most women), high financial resources are costly because high-resource women violate gender-roles and upset normative social-exchange processes within romantic relationships. Yet if a woman is highly attractive, her possession of this desirable and socially acceptable commodity allows the relationship to appear to conform to established mate preferences and gender-role norms despite her high level of financial resources.

When the woman is very attractive, she is perceived as feminine and as an appealing mate (Buss, 1989; Li et al., 2002; Lippa, 1998; Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Men in relationships with comparatively attractive women tend to be perceived by others as being high in income, status, and professional success (Bar-tal & Saxe, 1976). Consequently, on the surface, such a couple appears to be fulfilling traditional gender roles of the male breadwinner and the attractive female homemaker, and other people would not necessarily know she is a high-resource woman unless it is made explicit to them. Thus, the man gets to enjoy the intrinsic

rewards of a high-resource partner without the backlash from others as a result of violating gender-roles. In other words, because she is so physically attractive, her financial resources may be much less costly to both partners. In fact, her financial resources may even add to her mate value because the positive qualities attributed to her as a result of her high level of physical attractiveness (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972) may buffer her against the negative connotations that may be associated with high financial resources.

In contrast, if a high-resource woman is typically attractive, her relationship may be less likely to appear to conform to established mate preferences and gender-role norms. Men may be less likely to perceive a typically attractive woman as a very appealing mate (e.g. Buss, 1989) and a typically attractive woman does not benefit from the wealth of positive attributes that are typically ascribed to beautiful people (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Additionally, as a woman's attractiveness becomes more similar to her partner's attractiveness, she may be more likely to be perceived by others as having high income, status, and professional success, whereas as a man becomes more similar to his partner in physical attractiveness he is more likely to be perceived as being low in these characteristics (Bar-Tal & Saxe, 1976). Consequently, a typically attractive woman in a relationship with a typically attractive man may be more likely to be perceived as the higher-earner of the pair and thus is also more likely to be perceived as violating traditional gender-role norms (Bar-Tal & Saxe, 1976). Furthermore, compared to highly attractive women, evaluations of a typically attractive women's desirability as a potential partner are more susceptible to external factors. For example, typically attractive women who are described using masculine traits are rated as less attractive than typically attractive women who are described using feminine traits, whereas the attractiveness ratings of highly attractive women are not influenced by feminine or masculine descriptions (Kiesling & Gynther, 1993). It would appear that a high level of physical attractiveness can act as a buffer against external influences.

However, for a typically attractive woman, high financial resources may negatively influence her mate-value because she lacks adequate physical attractiveness to buffer against the possible negative connotations of her high financial resources. Thus, a typically attractive, high-resource woman may be more likely to be perceived as violating traditional gender-roles and negatively stereotyped.

I will report the results of two experiments that examined these interpersonal dynamics. In both studies, men evaluate women who vary systematically in physical attractiveness and financial resources. In Study 1, men are asked to help a woman with a class project by evaluating a speech she has written and performed. In this study, I assess men's perceptions of women's mate-value by asking men to indicate their interest in and willingness to attend a focus group the woman will ostensibly be facilitating. Men are also given the opportunity to provide their contact information to the woman. Together, these items will measure men's *romantic intention behaviour* toward the women. Men should desire to spend more time with a woman whom they perceive as being of high mate-value. Both committing to join the woman's focus group and providing her with personal contact information are promising methods of securing a future encounter. In Study 2, men view an online profile of a woman. I assess men's evaluations of women's mate-value by asking men to report their *romantic interest* in a woman as well as measuring their *romantic intention behaviour* toward the woman, which in this study refers to whether or not men decide to share their online profile with, send an online message to, and provide their contact information to the woman. Men should report greater romantic interest in and greater romantic intention behaviour towards women whom they view as of high mate-value and less romantic interest and romantic intention behaviour towards women whom they view as low in mate-value. Both studies also ask men to evaluate the woman's warmth and competence as these ratings may differ from their evaluations of the women's mate-value. In both

experiments, I hypothesize that men will evaluate high-financial resource, typically attractive women more negatively than low-financial resource, typically attractive women (H1). However, I hypothesize that men will evaluate high-financial resource, highly attractive women more positively than low-financial resource, highly attractive women (H2).

My proposed research is important because it has the potential to provide necessary insight into the nature of a woman's financial resources as part of her mate-value. My research designs obviously focus on men's evaluations of women. Thus, in a sense, this research conforms to the predominantly patriarchal lens of Western culture, within which it is normative to view the world from the perspective of men (Mulvey, 1985). However, because men typically have greater societal power and influence than women, it is important to demonstrate how women's lives are affected by the ways in which they are judged by men, and that is the goal of the present research. Although I am studying how men evaluate women, I am still centering women's experiences in this research. By examining how a woman's physical attractiveness and financial resources interact to predict evaluations of her mate-value, this research will also add depth to the current understanding of human mate preferences. The current research will demonstrate that a woman's financial resources are more important to her overall mate-value than originally thought.

Although the current research focuses on a woman's *mate-value*, which has an overtly romantic connotation, it need not refer exclusively to how a woman is evaluated as a romantic partner. For instance, many of the same traits and characteristics that make one a desirable romantic partner also make one a desirable friend (Fuhrman, Flannagan, & Matamoros, 2009). Likewise, a woman's attributes and characteristics can influence how an observer perceives and stereotypes her, despite the observer's particular intentions (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Thus, in addition to mate-value, this research may also reflect broader processes of person perception.

Moreover, this research is particularly important because women in North America are increasing their presence in the workforce and increasing their resource-acquisition potential (Sussman & Bonnell, 2006). Thus, it becomes necessary to understand how such social changes will influence relationship formation and maintenance processes in the future. Finally, my research will present new considerations for future research aiming to investigate mate preferences, gender-role norms, and social exchange processes within heterosexual relationships. Specifically, if my hypotheses are correct, this research will call for a more comprehensive understanding of how different mate characteristics work in concert to influence overall impressions of women's mate-value.

Study 1

In this naturalistic field study, women of varying attractiveness (high vs. typical) approached men on the University of Victoria campus and asked them to evaluate a speech about her future career and income (high vs. low), ostensibly as part of a school project. Men also indicated their interest in joining a focus group she would be holding, and had the option of sharing their contact information. I predicted that men would be less interested in joining the focus group and providing their contact information to the typically attractive woman when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. But, men would be more interested in joining the focus group and providing their contact information to the highly attractive woman when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and four men were approached individually by one of four confederates at various communal locations on the University of Victoria campus. Participants were given the opportunity to answer demographic information about their age, ethnicity, relationship status,

earning potential, and academic major. Data from forty participants were excluded because they did not meet the necessary criteria to be included in the study¹. Included participants were heterosexual men under the age of 35 who were not in a long-term relationship (50 months or longer; $N=164$; $M_{age} = 20.76$; $SD_{age} = 2.31$; 3 Aboriginal/First Nations, 5 African/Black, 16 Asian, 124 Caucasian, 6 East Indian, 3 Hispanic, 4 of other ethnicities, 3 unreported; 44 were in relationships, 116 were not in a relationship, 4 unreported; 155 heterosexual, 2 bisexual, 5 other, 2 unreported). Participants received a chocolate bar or pack of gum as compensation for their participation.

Procedure and Materials

A confederate approached potential participants individually on campus at one of the University of Victoria's communal locations (e.g. the University Centre), and asked each man if he had approximately five minutes to help her with a class project. The confederate informed the participant that he was helping her with a public speaking project by evaluating the quality of her speech and performance. If the potential participant agreed to help, he was given a consent form to read and sign before the experiment continued (Appendix A).

The physical attractiveness of the confederate constituted the first independent variable in this study. Two confederates were *typically attractive* and two confederates were *highly attractive*. The highly attractive confederates had attributes established by empirical research to be universally attractive, such as large eyes, small nose, full lips, and a broad smile (Cunningham

¹ Data from eight participants were excluded because they had vocalized their suspicions about the study during the procedure. Data from three participants were excluded because a friend of each participant had interrupted the study. One individual's data were excluded because he appeared to not be paying attention while the confederate was presenting her speech. Data from two participants were excluded because each participant indicated that he was homosexual in the demographic questionnaire and I was specifically interested in how men would evaluate young women whom they could view as a potential romantic partner. Similarly, because I was mainly interested in how single men would evaluate the confederate, I excluded the data of four individuals because they were married or engaged and I excluded the data of eleven individuals because they indicated they had been in a relationship for over 50 months. Finally, data from eleven individuals were excluded because they were over the age of 35 and our confederates were all young women and I wanted to limit variance in responses due to age.

et al., 1995; Jones, 1995; Singh, 2004). In contrast, the typically attractive confederates lacked some of these attractive attributes. The attractiveness of the confederates in each condition were validated by three hundred and seventy-seven online participants who used a 7-point scale to rate each confederate's attractiveness (1 = *Not at all Attractive*, 7 = *Extremely Attractive*). The two highly attractive research assistants had a mean attractiveness rating of 5.29 (SD = .99, 95 % CI [5.18, 5.39]), whereas the typically attractive research assistants had a mean attractiveness rating of 3.79 (SD = 1.08, 95% CI [3.68, 3.89]). The typically attractive confederates and the highly attractive confederates sampled the same number of men (approx. 100 men per attractiveness condition).

After signing the consent form, the confederate gave the participant a clipboard with a questionnaire attached (Appendix C), which he was instructed to complete after the confederate finished her speech. The confederate told the participant that she was going to be giving the questionnaire responses to her professor, and so she would not see what he had written (Appendix B). Then, the confederate delivered her speech to the participant. The content of the speech constituted the second independent variable. In the *high-financial resource condition*, the confederate's speech was as follows:

Hi, my name is (confederate's name). I'm currently taking a series of professional development workshops on "Presentation Skills". As part of the course, my instructor has asked me to develop my public speaking skills by presenting a speech to other students. I was assigned to talk about my future career and financial prospects in hopes of getting myself and other students thinking about what they would like to do with their *own* futures. So, today I will be talking to you about the career plans I have for after I graduate. (Pause) I am a fourth year student here at UVic and I'm currently in the business program working toward a Bachelor's degree in Commerce. I am a dedicated student and work hard to maintain a GPA of 7.0. Last year, I completed a summer Co-op term where I was placed in an accounting position with Parkes & Co. Chartered Accountants. I'm really lucky that they have offered me a position as an Accountant after I graduate. I plan to take this job and, after I finish additional training and accreditation, I should earn about \$100, 000 per year. According to an online cost-of-living calculator, this salary should allow me to live comfortably in Victoria while I'm

still single. And, one day, when I'm married, the dual incomes should allow us to buy a house and have kids. In conclusion, I hope this speech has helped to get you thinking about your own plans for your future. And, in case you didn't know, UVic offers a lot of great services to help you plan for your future career. These services include career education and counseling, as well as many different kinds of professional-development workshops. I strongly recommend that you check these services out!

Alternatively, in the *low-financial resource condition*, the underlined words in the speech were replaced with "Accounting Book-keeper" and "\$35,000 per year." In both conditions, the confederates were instructed to act in a very warm and friendly manner.

After the confederate gave her speech, the participant completed a questionnaire (Appendix C). First, the participant indicated his agreement with eight statements concerning the confederate's performance using a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Five statements concerned the RA's *competence* (e.g., "The student's speech was informative," and "The student's speech was persuasive", $\alpha = .80$), two statements concerned the RA's *warmth* ("The student appeared likeable," and "The student appeared warm and friendly", $\alpha = .79$). One statement asked how likely the participant was to use the resources mentioned in the confederate's speech (e.g., "I am likely to use the resources the student told me about"). The participant was also asked to provide any additional comments for the confederate in an open-ended format. At a later date, responses to the open-ended question were coded for *positive/complimentary* and *negative/critical* content. Then, the participant used a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all interested*, 7 = *extremely interested*) to indicate his interest in joining a focus group that the confederate was supposedly hosting at a future date, as part of her class project. He also indicated how many meetings he would like to attend, using a 7-point scale (1 = *zero meetings*, 7 = *10+ meetings*). He also indicated his willingness to attend meetings held late in the evenings, and on Saturday and Sunday mornings at 8:00 am, again using a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly*

disagree, 7 = *strongly agree*). Then the participant was asked to provide his name and email (0 = *did not provide contact information*, 1 = *provided name or email*, 2 = *provided name and email*) so that the confederate could contact him about the focus group. Together, these four items were standardized and averaged ($\alpha = .81$) to comprise a measure of the participant's *romantic intention behavior* towards the confederate, or his desire to see and spend time with the confederate again.

Finally, the participant completed a demographic survey (Appendix C). In this survey, participants were asked to state their age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, major, career aspirations, expected income in their future career, and relationship status. The participant was allowed to decline to complete this form if they wished.

After the participant completed the questionnaire and demographic form, he returned the questionnaire to the confederate, and then I stepped in to debrief the participant concerning the true purpose of the study. Then the participant signed a post-debriefing consent form (Appendix D) and was given a feedback letter about the study (Appendix E). Finally, the participant was appreciatively thanked and offered a chocolate bar or pack of gum in appreciation for his time.

Additional data collected. To recruit participants, the confederate would stand in one location and would ask each passing man to help her out with her project. I recorded how many men agreed to participate and recorded how many men declined to participate for each confederate. As a result, men of various educational backgrounds, physical attractiveness, and demographics were approached to be potential participants. During this recruitment, three independent coders surreptitiously rated each potential participant's physical attractiveness using a 7-point scale (1 = *very unattractive*, 7 = *very attractive*).

Results

Preliminary analyses indicated that participants' relationship status, expected income, and the participants' own physical attractiveness did not directly or interactively predict target ratings,

so these variables were omitted from the analyses that follow. Means, standard deviations, and the correlations among variables assessed are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Variables Assessed in Study 1, Their Means and Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations Among Variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Rom. Intention Behaviour	-.004	.80	–	.39**	.12	.13	.04
2. Competence	5.27	.85	–	–	.48**	.42**	.10
3. Warmth	6.37	.72	–	–	–	.28**	.02
4. Comment Positivity	4.50	2.11	–	–	–	–	.14
5. Mention Accomplishments	.09	.25	–	–	–	–	–

** $p < 0.01$

Romantic Intention Behaviour

For my main analyses, I examined whether the experimental manipulations influenced participants' romantic intention behaviour toward the confederates. Recall that I predicted that in the typically attractive condition men would display less romantic intention behaviour in the high financial resources condition than in the low financial resources condition (H1). In contrast, I hypothesized that in the highly attractive condition, men would display more romantic intention behaviour in the high financial resources condition than in the low financial resources condition (H2). To test these hypotheses, I entered physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical attractiveness, 1 = high attractiveness) and financial resources condition (0 = low- financial resources, 1 = high-financial resources) into a two-way, between-participants, univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) predicting participants' romantic intention behaviour. Results revealed the

anticipated two-way interaction between physical attractiveness condition and financial resource condition, $F(1, 159) = 8.34, p = .004, \eta^2 = .05$ (see Figure 1). Simple effects analyses indicated that the financial resource effect was significant for the typically attractive confederate, $F(1, 74) = 4.07, p = .047, \eta^2 = .005$. Consistent with H1, men displayed less romantic intention behaviour towards the typically attractive confederate when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. The financial resources effect was also significant for the highly attractive confederate, $F(1, 85) = 4.70, p = .033, \eta^2 = .052$. Consistent with H2, men displayed significantly greater romantic intention behaviour towards the highly attractive confederate when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources.

Additional exploratory simple effects analyses showed that the physical attractiveness effect was not significant in the low-financial resources condition, $F(1, 75) = 2.28, p = .136, \eta^2 = .029$, such that men's romantic intention behaviour towards the typically attractive and highly attractive low-financial resources confederates did not differ. However, the physical attractiveness effect was significant in the high-financial resources condition, $F(1, 84) = 6.53, p = .012, \eta^2 = .072$. Men displayed more romantic intention behaviour towards the highly attractive, high-financial resource confederate compared to the typically attractive, high-financial resource confederate.

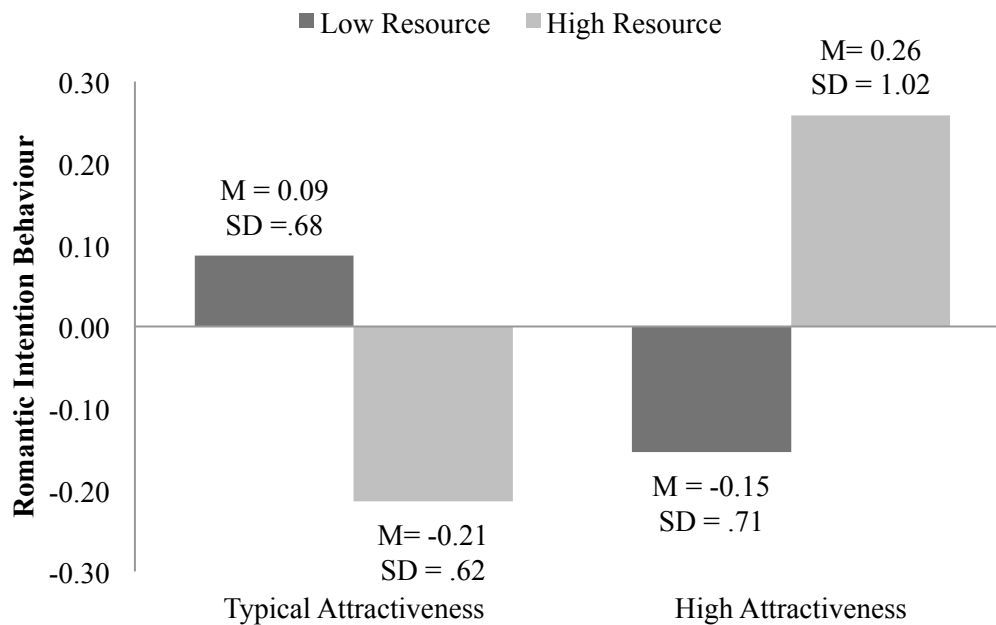


Figure 1. Men's romantic intention behaviour (standardized) as a function of physical attractiveness condition and financial resource condition. M = mean, SD = standard deviation.

Competence and Warmth Evaluations

Next, I analyzed whether the experimental manipulations influenced perceptions of the confederates' competence. Once again I entered physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical attractiveness, 1 = high attractiveness) and the financial resources condition (0 = low-financial resources, 1 = high-financial resources) into a two-way, between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting participants' ratings of the women's competence. No statistically significant effects emerged, all $F_s < 1$. Next I examined whether the experimental manipulations influenced perceptions of the confederates' warmth using the same ANOVA described previously. Results revealed a main effect of the speech-giver's physical attractiveness on participants' perceptions of her warmth $F(1, 159) = 9.40, p = .003, \eta^2 = .06$. Contrary to the "beautiful is good" stereotype, men rated the typically attractive female confederates as warmer ($M = 6.54, SD = .54$) than the

highly attractive female confederates ($M = 6.21$, $SD = .82$). Lastly, I used the same ANOVA to predict participants' ratings of the likelihood that they would use the stress-relieving resources that the confederates described in their speech. Once again, no significant effects emerged, all F s < 1.71 .

Participant Comments

Three independent coders rated participant's open-ended comments on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Extremely*) for their degree of positivity, negativity, criticism, compliments, warmth, as well as whether the participant mentioned the speech-giver's accomplishments (e.g., GPA, income, future career) in their comment (1 = *Yes*, 0 = *No*). Ratings of positivity, negativity (reverse-scored), criticism (reverse-scored), compliments, and warmth were averaged to create a measure of the overall positivity of the participants comment ($\alpha = .99$).

First, I used my usual ANOVA to predict the overall positivity of the participant's comment. No significant effects emerged, all F s < 1 . Then I used the same ANOVA to predict the measure of whether or not the participant mentioned the speech-giver's accomplishments (e.g. Income, GPA, Future Career) in his comment. There was a significant main effect of financial resource condition, $F(1, 123) = 4.38$, $p = .039$, $\eta^2 = .03$. The interaction was also significant, $F(1, 123) = 6.14$, $p = .015$, $\eta^2 = .05$ (see Figure 2). Simple effects analyses revealed that when the female speech-giver was of typical attractiveness, men were significantly more likely to comment on her accomplishments in the high-financial resources condition compared to the low-financial resources condition, $F(1, 123) = 9.88$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .07$, 95% CI[-.35, -.041]. However, when the speech-giver was highly attractive, there were no significant differences in men's likelihood of commenting on her accomplishments across financial resource conditions, $F < 1$. This pattern of results suggests that the confederate's financial resources were particularly salient in the typically attractive, high financial resources condition.

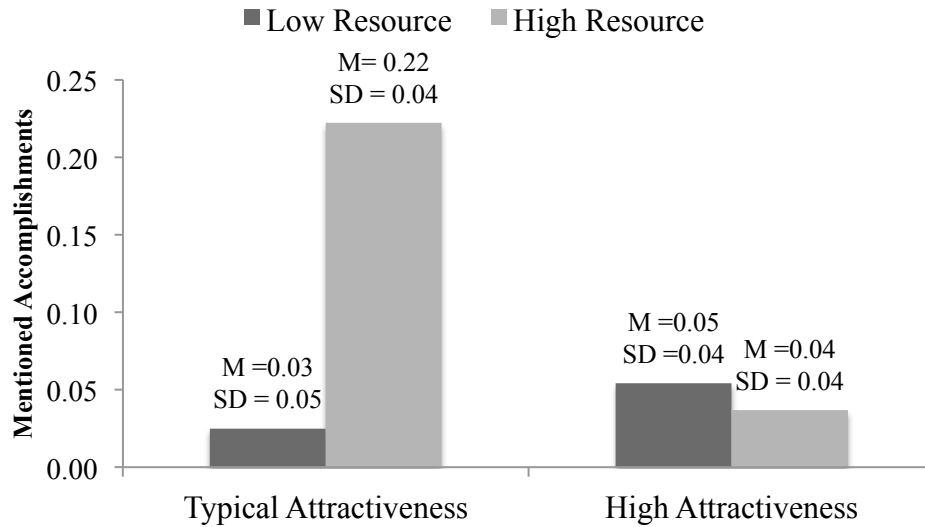


Figure 2. Men's mention of the confederate's accomplishments as a function of physical attractiveness and financial resources conditions. M=mean, SD = standard deviation.

Additional Analyses: Men's Future Career and Income

As part of the demographic survey, the men were asked to report their current or intended educational major and their future career aspirations. Using data from the 2008 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada, 2008) and Workbc.ca (2014) I determined the percentage of women in the participants' reported educational majors as well as in their anticipated careers. I then entered the physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical attractiveness, 1 = high attractiveness) and the financial resources condition (0= low-financial resources, 1 = high-financial resources) into a two-way, between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of the percentage of women in the educational major. There were no significant differences in the percentages of women in the educational majors of the men who participated in the study, all F s < 2.37. Next, I

performed the same ANOVA as previously described to predict the measure of the percentage of women in the men's expected careers. There was a main effect of financial resource condition, $F(1, 121) = 4.92, p = .028, \eta^2 = .039$, such that the expected careers of men in the high-financial resource condition had a greater percentage of women employed ($M = 36.80, SD = 19.89$) compared to the careers of men in the low-financial resource condition ($M = 29.16, SD = 18.22$). It may be that exposure to a high-financial resources confederate lead men to report pursuing career paths that employ higher percentages of women than men in the low-financial resources conditions.

Next, I entered financial resource condition and physical attractiveness condition into an ANOVA predicting men's ratings of their expected future income, no significant effects emerged, all $F_s < 1.73$. Although not significant, men's expected future income was slightly higher in the high-financial resource conditions ($M = 7.83, SD = 2.35$) compared to the low-resource conditions ($M = 7.26, SD = 2.64$). Because participant's expected future income varied with the experimental manipulation (although not significant), it is possible that participants' were implicitly reporting their expected future income to more closely match the confederate's future income. This effect appears particularly pronounced in the high physical attractiveness condition (see Figure 3.).

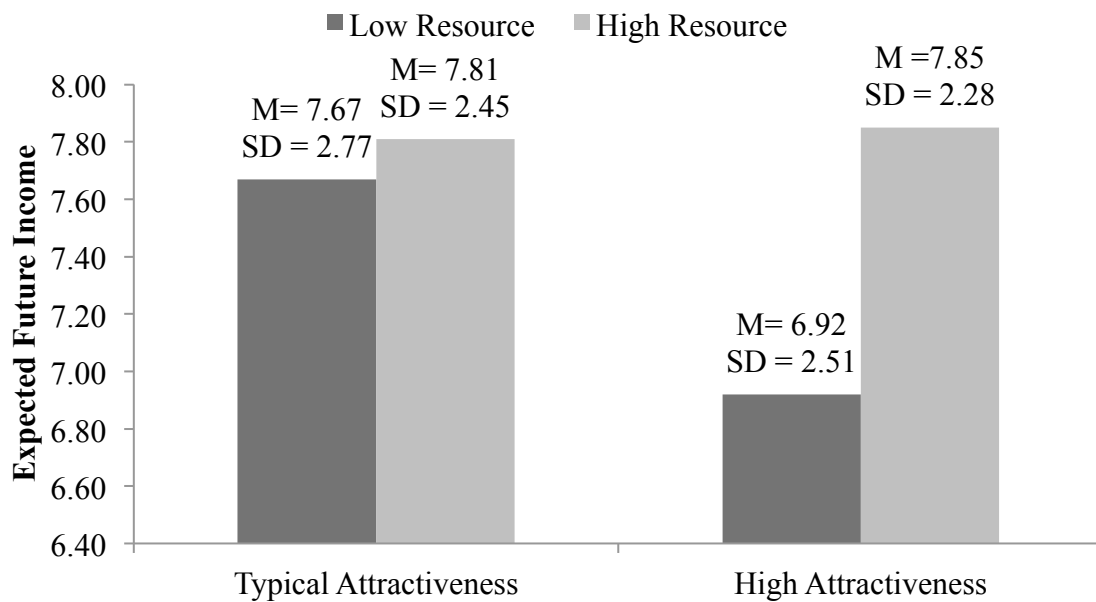


Figure 3. Men's expected future income as a function of physical attractiveness and financial resource conditions. M=mean, SD = standard deviation.

To explore this phenomenon further, I determined the actual mean income of participants' anticipated careers using data from Workbc.ca (2014). I performed the same ANOVA as described previously but this time predicting a measure of participants' actual mean income of their anticipated careers. There were no significant results, all F s < 1.10. Although not significantly different, men's actual mean income for their expected career was slightly higher in the low-financial resource conditions ($M = 5.40$, $SD = 1.42$) compared to the high-financial resources conditions ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.48$; measured on a 7-point Likert scale). Men, particularly in the high attractiveness condition, were overestimating their future income in the high-financial resources condition and underestimating their future income in the low-financial resources condition.

Additional Analyses: Approach and Participation Rates

Together, the typically attractive confederates approached 218 men. Of these 218 men, 97 (44.5%) agreed to participate and help the confederates with their class project. In contrast, the highly attractive confederates approached a total of 157 men. Of these, 106 (67.5%) agreed to participate and help her with her class project. Overall, the typically attractive confederates had to approach 61 more men than the highly attractive confederates to get relatively equal samples.

Discussion

As predicted, men displayed less romantic intention behaviour toward the typically attractive confederate when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. Yet, men displayed greater romantic intention behaviour toward the highly attractive confederate when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. In other words, a woman's high-financial resources have a derogating effect on her mate-value when she is of typical attractiveness, but a boosting effect on her mate-value when she is of high attractiveness. Thus, the results of Study 1 demonstrate that the value of a woman's financial resources is, in fact, dependent on the level of her physical attractiveness.

Furthermore, additional analyses showed that there was no difference between men's romantic intention behaviour towards the typically attractive, low-resource women and the highly attractive, low-resource women. However, men did display greater romantic intention behaviour toward the highly attractive, high-resource women compared to the typically attractive, high-resource women. Surprisingly, these findings suggest that a woman's physical attractiveness has little effect on men's impressions of her mate-value when she is of low-financial resources. Instead, it is in the high-financial resource condition where the buffering effect of high physical

attractiveness occurs. A woman's high attractiveness buffers her against the otherwise negative effects of high-financial resources that would occur if she were of typical attractiveness.

It is surprising that high physical attractiveness does not have a positive boosting effect for the low-financial resource women as well because physical attractiveness is so highly valued by men (e.g., Li et al., 2002). However, the current results depict that high-financial resources may be necessary to activate the "What is Beautiful is Good" stereotype. This explanation makes sense as people typically expect highly attractive people to obtain more prestigious jobs and have better professional prospects than their less attractive counterparts (Dion, Berscheid & Walster, 1972). In other words, high attractiveness and high-financial resources are naturally expected to go together. Consequently, when either high attractiveness or high financial resources is missing, the full boosting effect cannot be achieved.

Study 1 found no differences in men's impressions of the women's competence by condition. Even though a woman's physical attractiveness and financial resources influences men's impressions of her mate-value, men's evaluations of her competence remain impervious to these manipulations. This finding is positive because it shows that, although typically attractive, high-resource women are facing derogation in regard to their romantic outcomes, they are not experiencing additional derogation in ratings of their competence.

Men rated the typically attractive women as warmer than the highly attractive women. This finding is counterintuitive; because warmth is an important and highly valued characteristic in a romantic partner, I expected men to evaluate women whom they have greater romantic interest in as more interpersonally warm. Thus, I expected that the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman would be perceived as the most interpersonally warm. That being said, warmth ratings were quite high across all conditions. Therefore, these differences in warmth ratings may not be as indicative of men's impressions of the women's mate-value as originally

expected. Moreover, although all confederates were instructed to behave warm and friendly, this finding could be a result of actual differences in the women's behaviour toward the men.

There were no differences in the positivity of men's written comments by condition. Yet, men mentioned the woman's accomplishments most in the typically attractive, high-financial resource condition. Thus, it would appear that the woman's high-financial resources were particularly salient in this condition. It is possible that the typically attractive woman's high resources may have been perceived as threatening to men in this condition and this threat may have contributed to their reduced romantic intention behaviour toward her (Hettinger, Hutchinson, & Bosson, 2014). Vandello and Bosson (2013) argue that a man's gender-status is precarious because he must "earn" and "repeatedly demonstrate" his manhood throughout the life-course whereas a woman does not have to earn or demonstrate her gender-status because it is typically thought of as a permanent state linked to the developmental transition of puberty. Consequently, men experience greater anxiety over their gender-status than do women, especially when they perceive that their gender-status is being challenged (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). In relation to the current study, learning that a woman is going to make a great deal of money in her future career may challenge men's perceptions of their own masculinity because being professionally successful and a good provider is an important component of a man's gender-role and his ability to demonstrate his own masculinity (Eagly & Wood, 1999). When a woman is gender-nonconforming (i.e., when she is typically attractive and high in financial resources), she may be perceived as particularly threatening because she is successful in a way that is typically perceived as masculine and she does not conform to traditional gender-roles (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Moreover, when a man's masculinity is threatened in such a way, he is more likely to react in a way that preserves his own and others' perceptions of his masculinity (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Suppressing or decreasing romantic intention

behaviour toward the typically attractive, high-resource woman may reflect a method by which a man can psychologically distance himself from her and reduce the potential threat to his gender-status. In contrast, when a woman is highly attractive, she may be less threatening to men's masculinity because she still appears to conform to her gender-role through her high level of physical attractiveness (Lippa, 1998). Therefore, a man may be less likely to experience threat and reduce his romantic intention behaviour toward a highly attractive, high-resource woman.

Lastly, men appeared to be using the woman's stated future income to calibrate their own responses regarding their future income. Men overestimated their future income in the high-financial resources condition and underestimated their future income in the low-financial resources condition. These results may simply be due to the anchoring effect of the woman's income such that men are anchoring and adjusting their responses according to the future income the woman presents to them (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). This pattern suggests that men's romantic interest in the women may be influencing their beliefs about their future income. For instance, men who are interested in the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman may be more likely to believe that they have what it takes to romantically pursue her if they believe that they too will be successful in their future careers (Adams, 1965; Hatfield, Utne, & Traupmann, 1979).

There are also a few limitations of the present study that need to be addressed. First, although the methodology used in this particular study lends support to the ecological validity of my results, a conceptual replication using a distinct and more controlled methodology would provide greater evidence for the internal validity of my findings. Second, the nature of the present study did not allow for men's romantic interest in the confederates to be directly assessed. A study that replicates these findings by asking men to directly report their romantic interest would provide evidence for the convergent validity of the current findings. Similarly, because the

findings related to men's impressions of the women's warmth were unexpected, it is essential for the next study to also evaluate men's impressions of women's warmth as men's impressions of a woman's warmth may be more important than the current study would suggest. Lastly, including a comparison group of women would help to establish that these effects are unique to men evaluating women. Thus, the goal of Study 2 is to replicate and extend the findings of Study 1 using a distinct methodology, sampling women, and including direct measures of romantic interest.

Study 2

In Study 2, participants were told that they would be participating in a study about "Social Media and Communication". Participants viewed one profile of an individual who is high or low in physical attractiveness, and high or low in financial resources. Participants had the opportunity to indicate their romantic interest in the target as well as their romantic intention behaviour toward the target (i.e., whether or not they shared their profile, sent a message, and provided their contact information to the target). I predicted that men would report less romantic interest and less romantic intention behaviour toward the typically attractive woman when she is described as high in financial resources compared to when she is described as low in financial resources. Yet, I expected that men would report greater romantic interest and romantic intention behaviour toward the highly attractive woman when she is described as high in financial resources compared to low in financial resources. Additionally, I asked participants to rate the warmth and competence of their profile partner as I expected that men's perceptions of the women's warmth might be partly responsible for their reported romantic interest in the women. Specifically, due to the "What is Beautiful Is Good" stereotype (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972), I expected that men may have heightened perceptions of the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman's warmth and that these perceptions of her warmth would partly explain their romantic interest in

her. Lastly, women were also included in Study 2 as an exploratory comparison group. Thus, no specific hypotheses were made regarding women's responses.

Method

Participants

Five hundred and nineteen participants were recruited to participate at a public, communal location on the University of Victoria campus (the *University Centre*). One hundred and forty participants were excluded from the analyses because they did not meet the criteria to be included in the study². Participants had the opportunity to provide demographic information about their age, gender, sexual orientation, race, nationality, relationship status, earning potential, and academic major (N=379; $M_{\text{age}} = 21.58$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = 3.16$; 215 women, 164 men; 332 heterosexual, 29 bisexual, 12 unsure/questioning, 5 another term, 1 unreported; 4 African/Black, 1 Arab, 344 Caucasian/White, 18 Chinese, 6 Filipino, 6 Japanese, 1 Korean, 3 Latin American, 11 South Asian, 7 Southeast Asian, 4 West Asian, 19 of other ethnicities; 201 were in a relationship, 178 were not in a relationship). Participants received a chocolate bar or pack of gum in appreciation for their participation.

Procedure and Materials

Each participant first read and signed a consent form (See Appendix F). The participants were told that the study is about understanding how people use social media to communicate.

²Thirty participants were excluded because they were older than 35 and therefore unlikely to be romantically or platonically interested in the profile targets. Eleven participants were excluded because they were younger than 18 years old. Five participants were unable to complete the study and their data was not used. Six participants knew the person in the profile that they viewed prior to the study. Two individuals who provided the stimulus photos for the study also participated but had to be excluded due to their prior knowledge of the study. Fifty-five participants were excluded because English was not their first language and their responses differed from those who reported that English was their first language. This phenomenon is likely due to a number of factors such as differences in culture, experience, value, etc. Seventeen participants were excluded because they did not identify as heterosexual or bisexual. Lastly, fourteen participants were excluded because they reported identifying with a gender other than man or woman.

Once they agreed to participate, the participant sat at a lab computer set up in a semi-private area of the University Center and completed some demographic information about his or her age, race, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, educational major, future career aspirations and expected future income (See Appendix H). Next, the participant learned that he or she was going to “meet” a fellow student who participated in this study on a previous day (i.e., the *partner*) by reading the partner’s personal profile. In turn, the participant created his or her own personal profile, which he or she was given the opportunity to share with the partner if he or she so chooses.

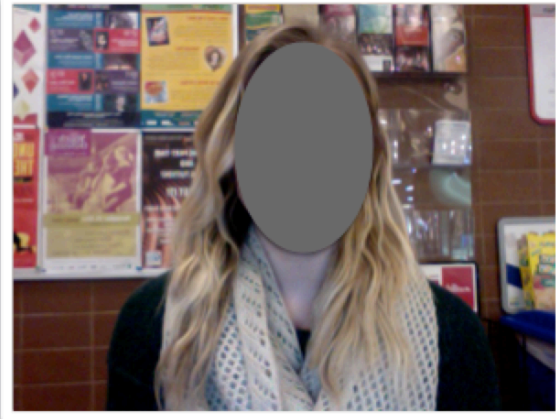
After learning about these procedures, the participant viewed the partner’s personal profile, which included a photograph of the partner that appeared to have been taken in the same location and by the same web-camera that the participant would later use to create his or her own profile. Men were always paired with a partner who was a woman, and women were always paired with a partner who was a man³. The partners’ level of physical attractiveness was the first dependent variable. Three men and three women served as targets in the *typically attractive condition*, and three men and three women served as targets in the *highly attractive condition*. The attractiveness of the targets in each condition were validated by three hundred and seventy-seven online participants who used a 7-point scale to rate each targets’ attractiveness (1 = *Not at all Attractive*, 7 = *Extremely Attractive*). The three highly attractive women had a mean attractiveness rating of 4.77 (SD = 1.00, 95 % CI [4.67, 4.87]), whereas the three typically attractive women had a mean attractiveness rating of 3.45 (SD = 1.11, 95% CI [3.34, 3.57]).

³ Due to the limitations of our technology, participants were assigned to view a profile partner on the basis of their presenting gender (e.g., a person who appeared to be presenting as a woman would be presented with the profile of a man). Similarly due to these limitations, participants’ who identified their sexual orientation as homosexual, asexual, queer, etc., were not necessarily shown a profile partner of their romantically preferred gender.

The three highly attractive men had a mean attractiveness rating of 4.50 (SD = 1.22, 95 % CI [4.38, 4.63]), whereas the three typically attractive men had a mean attractiveness rating of 3.44 (SD = 1.07, 95% CI [3.33, 3.56]).

Each participant was randomly assigned to view only one of three possible partners within each condition. I included three target photographs of men and women for each level of attractiveness. Randomizing stimuli photographs within each condition accounted for the possibility that some stimuli may have elicited higher scores on average than others (Judd, Westfall, & Kenny, 2012). Thus, this method assured that the photograph of any one particular individual did not drive the attractiveness effect. Moreover, replicating the findings of Study 1 using a distinct but comparable set of stimuli helped to ensure that the original results of Study 1 are not due to idiosyncrasies associated with the original speech-giving confederates (Westfall, Judd, & Kenny, 2015).

Under the partner's profile picture was a short biography (See Appendix I). Profile partners were always described as romantically single. The profile included information about the partners' future career goals and future income, which constituted the second independent variable. Figure 4. displays one profile in the *low-financial resources condition*, where the job was "Accounting Book-keeper" and the income was "\$35,000/year.



Name: Jessica

Interests/Hobbies: I love going to the movies, hiking at Mt. Doug with my dog Milo, listening to music (love Arcade Fire!). I bike almost everywhere. On the weekend my friends and I play ultimate frisbee or just hang out. I'm a bit of a book worm. I love to travel and had a great time in Germany this summer.

Favourite Food: My mom's homemade lasagna.

Favourite Colour: Dark blue

Relationship Status: Single

Values: Honesty, compassion, and humour.

Educational Major: Business

Educational Year: Second year undergraduate student at UVic.

Future goals: I definitely want to get married and have a family one day. I want to stay close to my friends and family. Being happy and successful in my career is also really important to me.

Future career aspirations: Accounting Book-keeper

Expected future income: I think Accounting book-keepers earn about \$35,000 per year

Where I see myself in 10 years: I hope I'll be successful in my career and make a decent salary. Victoria is expensive! I also hope I'll be happy and satisfied in my relationships. Maybe, I'll have a nice house and be starting a family. I hope I have lots of time to travel. I want to see Iceland and New Zealand. Also, I see myself making time to just relax and enjoy life.

Figure 4. Example of partner profile used in Study 2.

Alternatively, in the *high-financial resources condition*, the underlined words in the speech were replaced with “Accountant” and “\$100,000 per year.”

Then the participant completed a behavioural intention measure to assess his or her liking towards, or attraction to, the partner (See Appendix J). This measure was Høgh-Olesen's (2008) iconic proximity measure, a measure of seating distance. The participant was shown an image of two adjacent benches with a person sitting at the far left end of the left bench. There were six seats on the bench where the person is already sitting, and seven seats on the second rightmost bench. The participant was told that the person sitting on the left bench is the partner. The

participant was asked to imagine that he or she has come across the partner sitting at a public park bench and was asked to choose a seat on the bench. Each seat was given a score based on how close it was to the partner who was already sitting on the bench (1= *close*, 13 = *far*). For example, if the participant chose the seat directly beside the partner on the bench, he or she received a score of “1.” The spots were numbered from 1 to 13 in succession to measure the distance between the partner and the participant.

Next, the participant’s romantic interest in the target was assessed using three scale items taken directly from Fletcher, Kerr, Li, & Valentine’s research (2014). These items were “I [feel like I would have] potential romantic chemistry with this person”, “I am interested in getting to know this person”, and “I would be interested in going on a date with this person” (Fletcher, Kerr, Li, & Valentine, 2014, p. 544). Ratings were made on a 7-point scale (1 - *strongly disagree*, 7 - *strongly agree*). These three items in addition to another item, “I feel like I would get along well with this person”, were averaged to form a measure of the participant’s *romantic interest* ($\alpha = .83$). Liking towards profile partner was assessed with one item: “This person appears likable”. Similarly, participants perceptions of their profile partners acceptance towards him or herself was assessed with two items: “I think this person would be interested in getting to know me” and “I think this person would be accepting of me” ($\alpha = .74$).

The participant then created his or her own personal profile following the same format as the partner’s profile. He or she took a “selfie” using a web-camera attached to the lab computer at which the participant completed the study. The participant also described his or her interests/hobbies, educational major, career aspirations, and expected income (Appendix K).

The participant then learned that his or her partner was assigned to an experimental condition in which he or she was asked to share his or her profile publicly with any participant in our study. In contrast, the participant learned that he or she had been assigned to the “private

condition,” such that the participant in this condition had the choice of either sharing his or her profile with only their partner (i.e., the participant’s profile will be e-mailed to the partner), or the participant could choose not to share his or her profile at all. The participant’s *romantic intention motivation* was assessed by asking him or her to indicate his or her willingness to share his or her profile with the partner (1=*not at all willing*, 7=*extremely willing*), how much the participant would like to contact the partner with a private message (1= *not at all*, 7= *very much*), and how willing the participant would be to provide their contact information to the partner (1= *not at all*, 7=*very much*, $\alpha = .79$).

Next, the participant was given the opportunity to share his or her profile with the partner, send a private message to the partner, and provide his or her contact information to the partner. Together, these measures indicated the participant’s *romantic intention behaviour* or desire to contact the partner ($\alpha = .69$).

Finally, the participant rated the partner on a few dimensions using a 7-point scale (1= *not at all*, 7= *extremely*): *warmth* (warm, trustworthy, $\alpha = .73$) and *competence* (capable, skillful, $\alpha = .85$; adapted from Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Appendix L). After completing these final measures, the participant learned that the experiment is over, and the experimenter fully debriefed (See Appendices M, N, and O) and thanked the participant for his or her time. The participants were given a choice of chocolate bar or pack of gum in appreciation of their time.

Results

Preliminary analyses revealed that participants’ relationship status, own expected income, and own observer-rated attractiveness did not directly or interactively predict ratings, so these variables were omitted from the analyses that follow. Means, standard deviations, and the correlations among variables assessed are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Variables Assessed in Study 2, Their Means and Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations Among Variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Romantic Interest	4.13	1.28	–	.30**	.36**	.46**	.33**
2. Competence	5.02	.83	–	–	.49**	.14**	.09
3. Warmth	5.34	.76	–	–	–	.14**	.15**
4. Rom. Intention Motivation	3.24	1.39	–	–	–	–	.71**
5. Rom. Intention Behaviour	.90	1.03	–	–	–	–	–

** $p < 0.01$

Romantic Interest

For my main analyses, I examined whether the experimental manipulations influenced participants' romantic interest in their profile partner. Recall again, that I predicted that men would display less romantic interest in the high-financial resource, typically attractive women compared to the low-financial resource, typically attractive women (H1). Conversely, I predicted that men would display greater romantic interest in high-financial resource, highly attractive women compared to the low-financial resource, highly attractive woman (H2). Women participants were included as an exploratory comparison group. Thus, no specific hypotheses were made regarding women's responses. To test these hypotheses, I entered gender (0 = women, 1 = men), attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of romantic interest. Results revealed a main effect of attractiveness, $F(1, 366) = 13.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$, such that participants reported greater romantic interest in the highly attractive partners ($M = 4.69, SD =$

1.05) compared to the typically attractive partners ($M=4.27$, $SD=1.10$). Results also revealed a three-way interaction between gender, attractiveness condition, and financial resource condition, $F(1, 366) = 6.91$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

To decompose this interaction, I split the file by gender and entered attractiveness condition and financial resource condition into an ANOVA predicting romantic interest. For men, the same main effect of attractiveness described previously was present, $F(1, 159) = 5.37$, $p = .022$, $\eta^2 = .03$, as was the anticipated interaction between attractiveness condition and financial resource condition, $F(1, 159) = 7.87$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .05$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 5. Simple effects analyses revealed that the financial resource effect in the typically attractive condition was not significant, $F(1, 77) = 2.74$, $p = .102$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Inconsistent with H1, men's romantic interest in the typically attractive partners did not vary as a function of financial resource condition. In contrast, the financial resource effect in the high attractiveness condition was significant, $F(1, 82) = 5.41$, $p = .022$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Consistent with H2, men reported greater romantic interest in the highly attractive women when they had high-financial resources rather than low-financial resources. Additional simple effects analyses revealed that attractiveness did not influence men's attraction to the low financial resource women, $F(1, 75) = .127$, $p = .722$, $\eta^2 = .002$. In contrast, attractiveness did influence men's attraction to the high financial resources women, $F(1, 84) = 12.63$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .13$, such that they preferred the highly attractive, high-financial resource profile over the typically attractive, high-financial resources profile ($M_s = 4.86$ and 3.99 , respectively, $SD_s = 1.10$ and 1.14).

For women participants, there was a main effect of attractiveness, $F(1, 207) = 8.14$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .04$, such that women reported more romantic interest in highly attractive partners ($M=4.73$, $SD= 1.02$) compared to typically attractive partners ($M=4.32$, $SD=1.11$). All other $F_s < 1$.

Men Rating Women

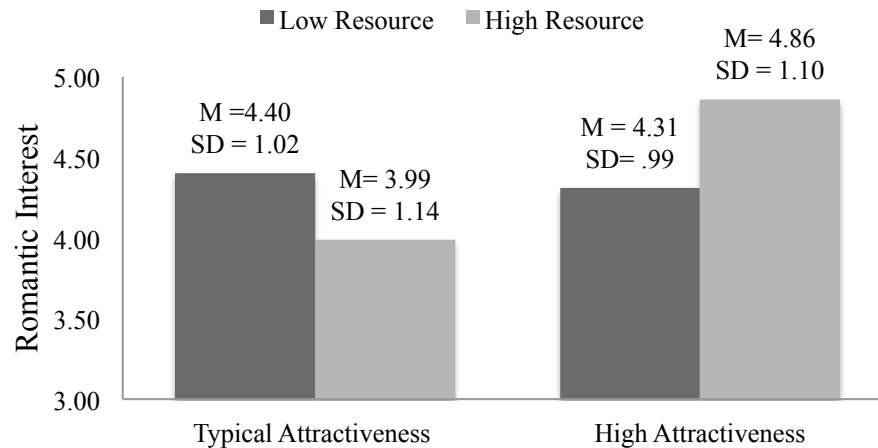


Figure 5. Men's romantic interest in their profile partners as a function of profile attractiveness and financial resource conditions. M=mean, SD = standard deviation.

Competence and Warmth Evaluations

Next, I examined how the experimental manipulations influenced participants' evaluations of their profile partners' warmth and competence. First, I entered gender (0 = women, 1 = men), attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of competence. Results revealed a main effect of gender, $F(1, 365) = 7.23, p = .007, \eta^2 = .02$. In general, women rated men as more competent ($M = 5.10, SD = .78$) than men rated women ($M = 4.90, SD = .88$). There was also a main effect of financial resources, $F(1, 365) = 10.70, p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$, such that participants rated high-financial resource profiles as more competent than low-financial resource profiles ($M_s = 5.14$ and 4.87 , respectively, $SDs = .83$ and $.80$, respectively). Finally, there was also a significant three way interaction, $F(1, 365) = 6.55, p = .011, \eta^2 = .02$.

To decompose this interaction, I split the file by gender and entered attractiveness condition and financial resource condition into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of competence. For men, there was solely a main effect of financial resources on their ratings of their profile partner's competence, $F(1, 159) = 9.54, p = .002, \eta^2 = .06$. Men rated the high-financial resource profiles as more competent ($M=5.11, SD=.91$) than the low-financial resource profiles ($M=4.68, SD=.78$). All other F s < 2.46 .

For women, there was a marginally significant main effect of attractiveness, $F(1, 206) = 3.07, p = .081, \eta^2 = .02$, such that they rated highly attractive profiles as more competent ($M=5.20, SD=.72$) than the typically attractive profiles ($M=5.02, SD=.82$). There was no main effect of financial resources, $F < 1.69$. However, there was an interaction, $F(1, 206) = 4.35, p = .038, \eta^2 = .02$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 6. Simple effects analyses revealed a financial resource effect for the typically attractive profiles, $F(1, 112) = 5.71, p = .019, \eta^2 = .05$, such that the typically attractive, high-financial resource profiles ($M=5.19, SD=.76$) were seen as more competent than the typically attractive, low-financial resource profiles ($M=4.83, SD=.84$). The financial resource effect for highly attractive profiles was not significant, however, $F(1, 94) = .323, p = .571, \eta^2 = .003$. Additional simple effect analyses showed that the attractiveness effect for low-financial resource profiles was significant, $F(1, 100) = 7.11, p = .009, \eta^2 = .07$. Women rated the highly attractive, low-financial resource men as more competent ($M=5.24, SD=.68$) than the typically attractive, low-financial resource men ($M=4.83, SD=.84$). There was no significant effect of attractiveness for high-financial resources profiles, $F(1, 106) = .058, p = .810, \eta^2 = .001$. High-financial resource men were rated similarly in competence, despite their level of attractiveness. See Figure 6. for means and standard deviations.

Women Rating Men

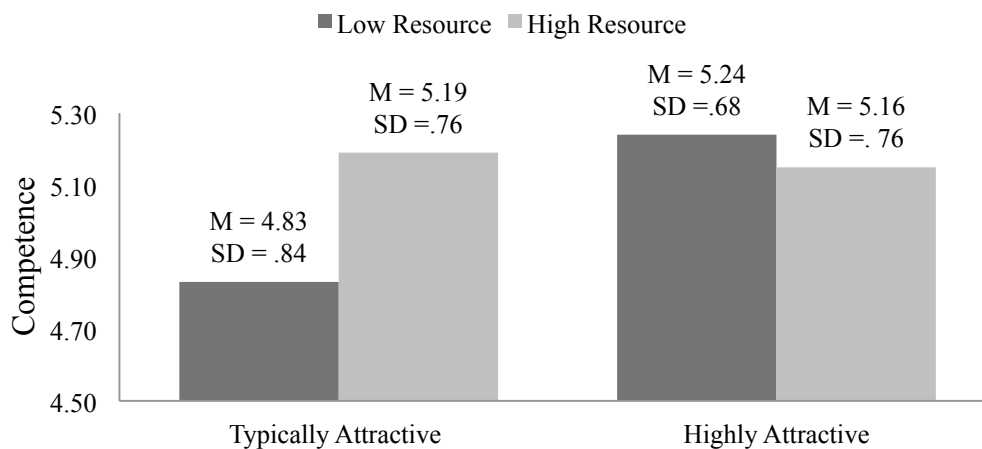


Figure 6. Women's ratings of profile partner's competence as a function of physical attractiveness and financial resource conditions. M=mean, SD = standard deviation.

Next, I entered gender (0 = women, 1 = men), attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of warmth. Results revealed a marginally significant interaction between gender and financial resources, $F(1, 365) = 3.008, p = .084, \eta^2 = .01$, and a significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 365) = 4.301, p = .039, \eta^2 = .01$. All other F s < 1.

To decompose the three-way interaction, I split the file by gender and entered attractiveness condition and financial resource condition into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of warmth. For men, there was a marginally significant interaction, $F(1, 159) = 3.59, p = .060, \eta^2 = .02$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 7. Simple effects analyses revealed that the financial resource effect for the typically attractive profiles was not significant, $F(1, 77) = .387, p = .536, \eta^2 = .01$, but the financial resource effect was significant for the highly attractive profiles, $F(1, 82) = 4.30, p = .041, \eta^2 = .05$. The highly attractive, high-financial resource women were seen as warmer ($M=5.48, SD=.82$) than the highly attractive, low-financial resource women

($M=5.11$, $SD=.76$). Neither the attractiveness effect at low-financial resources nor at high-financial resources was significant, $F_s < 2.04$. See Figure 7. for cell means and standard deviations.

For women, there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 2.22$. Women did not differ by condition in their ratings of warmth.

Men Rating Women

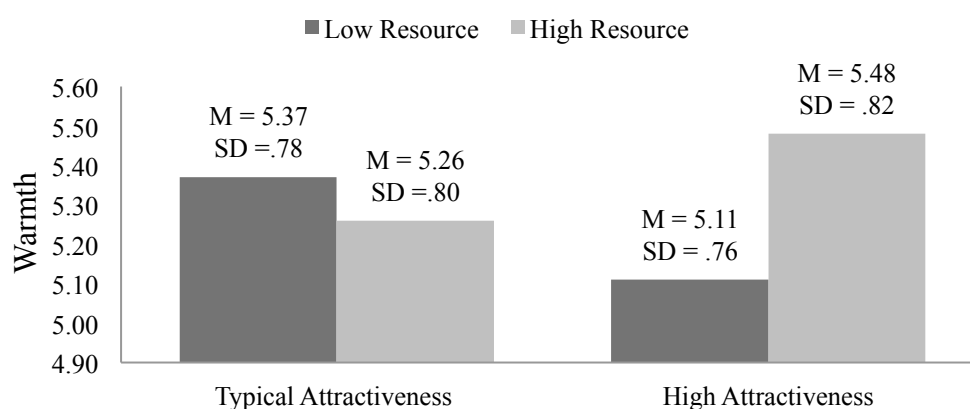


Figure 7. Men's ratings of profile partner's warmth as a function of physical attractiveness and financial resource conditions. M =mean, SD = standard deviation.

Mediated Moderation Analyses

I expected that men's perceptions of the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman's warmth would explain their increased romantic interest in her. Additionally, the pattern emerging from men's evaluations of the women's warmth suggested that this was a likely possibility. Thus, I tested the possibility that men's perceptions of profile partners' warmth were responsible for men's reported romantic interest in their profile partners. Likewise, women's competence ratings of men displayed a similar pattern. Thus, I also explored the possibility that women's perceptions of their profile partner's competence were responsible for women's

reported romantic interest in their profile partners. To test these possibilities, I used a process called *mediated moderation* (e.g., Morgan-Lopez & Mackinnon, 2006; Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005), in which path *a* from the predictor variable (i.e., profile's financial resources) to the mediator (i.e., warmth (for men viewing women) or competence (for men viewing women)) is conditional upon the level of the moderator variable (i.e., profile's attractiveness), but path *b* from the mediator to the outcome variable (i.e., participant's romantic interest) is unconditional. The mediated moderation models for men and women that I tested using regression are presented in Figures 8 and Figure 9, respectively.

For men rating women, I first sought to establish whether path *a* was moderated by the physical attractiveness manipulation. As detailed in Figure 8, when I regressed warmth onto dummy-coded resources condition (0 = low, 1 = high), dummy coded attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and the interaction between variables, consistent with the ANOVA results presented previously, physical attractiveness tended to moderate the association between financial resources and warmth, ($\beta = .48$, 95% CI [-.02, .98], $t(163) = 1.89$, $p = .06$), although the statistical significance of this path was marginally higher than the typical $p = .05$ threshold. Next, I tested whether path *b* (i.e., warmth \rightarrow romantic interest) was statistically significant controlling for the other variables in this model. When I added warmth to the regression I described previously and used this new model to predict romantic interest, perceptions of warmth did predict romantic interest ($\beta = .50$, 95% CI [.31, .70], $t(163) = 5.12$, $p < .001$), although the direct effect of the financial resources \times attractiveness interaction on romantic interest (controlling for warmth) was also still significant ($\beta = .71$, 95% CI [.08, 1.33], $t(163) = 2.23$, $p = .03$). Finally, I tested whether the moderated indirect path from the predictor to the outcome variable through the mediator variable was statistically significant (i.e., the product of paths *a* and *b*). I used Hayes'

(2013) PROCESS macro from SPSS using 5000 bootstrap samples to estimate the 95% bias-corrected CI of the moderated indirect path. Using this method, a moderated indirect path is considered statistically significant at $\alpha = .05$, and mediated moderation present when zero is not contained within the 95% CI. Results revealed that the moderated indirect path through warmth (i.e., $a \times b$) was statistically significant, indirect path = .24, SE = .14, 95% CI [0.02, 0.57]. This path was not significant at the level of typical attractiveness, conditional indirect effect = -.06, SE = .09, 95% CI [-0.26, 0.11], but was significant at the level of high attractiveness, conditional indirect effect = .18, SE = .10, 95% CI [0.02, 0.41]. Thus, it appears that men expressed heightened romantic interest in the highly attractive and high-financial resource women because they perceived such women to be warmer than their counterparts in other conditions, perhaps due to the “what is beautiful is good” stereotype (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972).

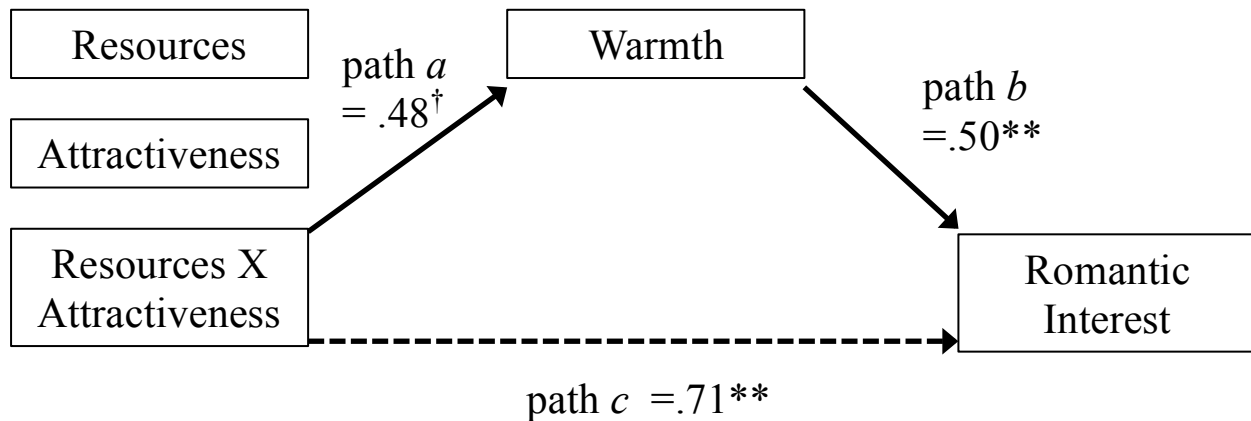


Figure 8. Mediated moderation model testing whether the financial resources x attractiveness interaction predicting men’s romantic interest in women is explained by men’s perceptions of the target woman’s warmth in Study 2. *Note:* ** $p < .01$, [†] $p = .06$.

For women rating men, I first sought to establish whether path a was moderated by the physical attractiveness manipulation. As detailed in Figure 9, when I regressed competence onto dummy-coded resources condition (0 = low, 1 = high), dummy coded attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and the interaction between variables, consistent with the ANOVA results presented previously, physical attractiveness moderated the association between financial resources and competence ($\beta = -.44$, 95% CI [-.86, -.02], $t(210) = -2.09$, $p = .04$). Next, I tested whether path b (i.e., competence \rightarrow romantic interest) was statistically significant controlling for the other variables in this model. When I added competence to the regression I described previously and used this new model to predict romantic interest, perceptions of competence did predict romantic interest ($\beta = .33$, 95% CI [.15, .52], $t(210) = 3.52$, $p < .001$). The direct effect of the financial resources \times attractiveness interaction on romantic interest (controlling for competence) was not significant ($\beta = -.04$, 95% CI [-.61, .53], $t(210) = -.13$, $p = .90$). Finally, I tested whether the moderated indirect path from the predictor to the outcome variable through the mediator variable was statistically significant (i.e., the product of paths a and b). I used Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro from SPSS using 5000 bootstrap samples to estimate the 95% bias-corrected CI of the moderated indirect path. Using this method, a moderated indirect path is considered statistically significant at $\alpha = .05$, and mediated moderation present when zero is not contained within the 95% CI. Results revealed that the moderated indirect path through competence (i.e., $a \times b$) was statistically significant, indirect path = $-.15$, SE = $.09$, 95% CI [-0.37, -0.02]. This path was significant at the level of typical attractiveness, conditional indirect effect = $.12$, SE = $.06$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.28], but not at the level of high attractiveness, conditional indirect effect = $-.03$, SE = $.05$, 95% CI [-0.15, 0.06]. It appears that women expressed

heightened romantic interest in the highly attractive, high-financial resource man because they perceived him as being more competent than his counterparts in the typically attractive condition.

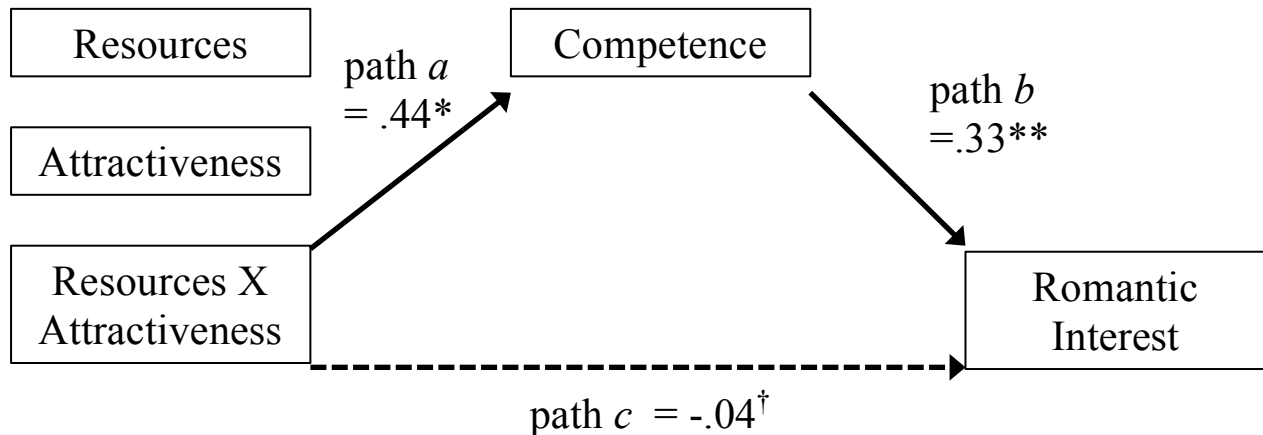


Figure 9. Mediated moderation model testing whether the financial resources x attractiveness interaction predicting women's romantic interest in men is explained by women's perceptions of the target man's competence in Study 2. *Note:* * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, † $p = .90$.

Romantic Intention Motivation and Romantic Intention Behaviour

For the next main analyses, I examined whether the experimental manipulations influenced participants' romantic intention motivation and romantic intention behaviour. With respect to H1, I expected that men would show less romantic motivation and behaviour towards typically attractive, high-financial resource women compared to typically attractive, low-financial resource women. Alternatively, with respect to H2, I expected that men would display greater intention motivation and behaviour towards the highly attractive, high-financial resource women compared to the highly attractive, low-financial resource women. Although I did not have any apriori hypotheses about women's intention motivation and behaviour, I expected their behaviour

to be different from men as a result of different socializing processes (Eagly & Wood, 1999).

Thus, women were included in the following analyses as a comparison group.

First, I entered gender (0 = women, 1 = men), attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of romantic intention motivation. Results revealed a main effect of attractiveness, $F(1, 360) = 4.98, p = .026, \eta^2 = .01$. Participants reported greater intention motivation towards highly attractive targets ($M=3.43, SD=1.44$) compared to typically attractive targets ($M=3.07, SD=1.33$). All other F s < 1.31 .

Next, I entered gender (0 = women, 1 = men), attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting the measure of romantic intention behaviour. Results revealed a main effect of gender, $F(1, 371) = 12.76, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$, such that men engaged in more romantic intention behaviour ($M=1.13, SD = 1.08$) than did women ($M=.74, SD = .96$). There was also a significant two-way interaction between gender and financial resources, $F(1, 371) = 9.70, p = .002, \eta^2 = .01$. Women were more likely to engage in romantic intention behaviour when the profile was of low-financial resources ($M=.88, SD=.99$) compared to high financial resources ($M= .61, SD=.91$), whereas men were more likely to engage in romantic intention behaviour when the woman was of high-financial resources ($M=1.30, SD= 1.09$) compared to low-financial resources ($M=.95, SD=1.03$). All other F s < 2.26 .

Although the three-way interaction was not significant, $F(1, 371) = 1.78, p = .182, \eta^2 = .01$, I treated the two genders separately due to research that men and women behave differently when it comes to initiating romantic contact and these behaviours are largely influenced by gender roles (Cameron, Stinson, & Wood, 2013).

Thus, I entered attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting men's romantic intention behaviour. Results revealed only a main effect of financial resources, $F(1, 160) = 4.34, p = .039, \eta^2 = .026$. Men were more likely to engage in romantic intention behaviour when their profile partner was of high-financial resources ($M=1.30, SD=1.10$) compared to low-financial resources ($M=.95, SD=1.03$; See Figure 13.). All other F s < 1 .

Next, I entered attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high), and financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a univariate ANOVA predicting women's romantic intention behaviour. There was a main effect of financial resources, $F(1, 211) = 5.35, p = .022, \eta^2 = .03$. Women were more likely to engage in romantic intention behaviour in the low-financial resources condition ($M=.88, SD=.99$) compared to the high-financial resources condition ($M=.61, SD=.91$). There was also a main effect of attractiveness $F(1, 211) = 4.58, p = .033, \eta^2 = .02$, such that women were more likely to engage in intention behaviour when the profile partner was highly attractive ($M=.88, SD= 1.04$) compared to typically attractive ($M=.62, SD=.87$). Lastly, there was also a significant interaction, $F(1, 211) = 5.30, p = .022, \eta^2 = .02$.

Simple effects analyses revealed a significant effect of attractiveness at low-financial resources, $F(1, 101) = 9.09, p = .003, \eta^2 = .08$, such that women engaged in romantic intention behaviour more when the man in the profile was highly attractive and low in financial resources ($M=1.19, SD = 1.10$) compared to typically attractive and low in financial resources ($M = .62, SD = .80$). The effect of attractiveness for the high-financial resource profiles was not significant, however, $F(1, 110) = .014, p = .906, \eta^2 = .00$. The effect of financial resources for typically attractive profiles was also not significant, $F(1, 113) = .00, p = .993, \eta^2 = .00$. But the effect of financial resources for the highly attractive profiles did reach significance, $F(1, 98)$

$=8.74, p = .004, \eta^2 = .08$. Women were more likely to engage in intention behaviour when their profile partner was highly attractive and of low-financial resources ($M = 1.19, SD = 1.10$) compared to highly attractive and of high-financial resources ($M = .60, SD = .89$). See Figure 10. for cell means and standard deviations.

Women's Behaviour

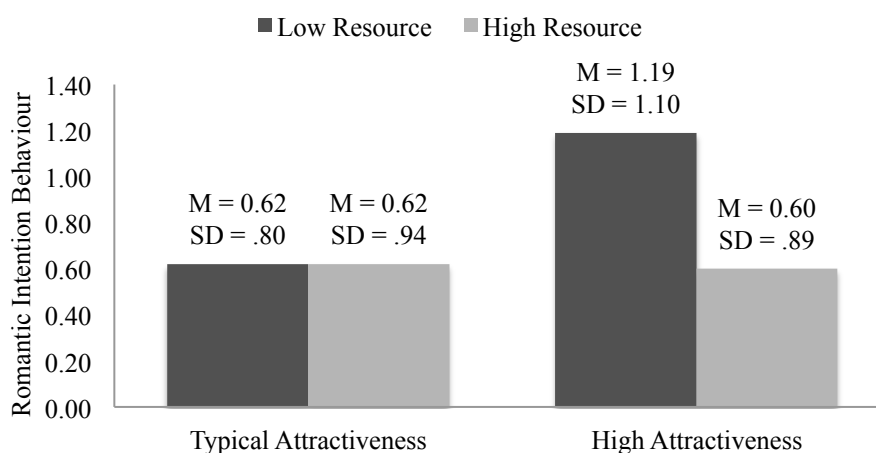


Figure 10. Women's romantic intention behaviour as a function of physical attractiveness and financial resource conditions. M=mean, SD = standard deviation.

Additional Analyses

Behavioural Intention – Iconic proximity Measure. I examined whether the experimental manipulations influenced participant's seating choices on the iconic proximity bench measure. Recall that participants were shown an image of two benches and told that their profile partner was supposedly sitting on the leftmost seat of the left bench. Participants were given 13 seating options with seat 1 being the closest to the profile partner and 13 being the farthest from their profile partner. I entered gender, (0 = women, 1 = men), physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high) and the financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a three-way,

between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting participant's seating distance on the proximity bench measure. Results revealed a marginal main effect of gender, $F(1, 366) = 3.68, p = .056, \eta^2 = .01$. On average, men tended to report that they would sit slightly further away from their profile partner ($M=6.62, SD=2.87$) compared to women ($M= 6.07, SD=2.70$). All other $F_s < 1.42$.

Likeability. Additionally, I examined how the experimental manipulations influenced participant's impressions of how likeable their profile partner appeared. I entered gender, (0 = women, 1 = men), physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high) and the financial resource condition (0= low, 1 = high) into a three-way, between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting their impressions of their profile partner's likeability. There was a main effect of gender, $F(1, 365) = 5.37, p = .021, \eta^2 = .01$, such that men rated women's profiles as less likeable ($M=5.96, SD=.73$) than women rated men's profiles ($M=6.11, SD=.60$). There was also a main effect of attractiveness, $F(1, 365) = 9.82, p = .002, \eta^2 = .03$, such that highly attractive profiles ($M=6.16, SD=.60$) were rated as more likeable than typically attractive profiles ($M=5.94, SD=.70$). All other $F_s < 1$.

Accepting of Me. To test whether participants' perceptions of their profile partner's acceptance toward them differed by condition, I entered gender, (0 = women, 1 = men), physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high) and the financial resource condition (0= low, 1 = high) into a three-way, between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting their impressions of their profile partner's acceptance. Only the three-way interaction was significant, $F(1, 366) = 4.27, p = .039, \eta^2 = .01$ (all other $F_s < 3.00$). Therefore, I split the file by gender and entered the physical attractiveness condition (0=typical attractiveness, 1 = high attractiveness) and the financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) predicting the measure of participants' perception

of the profile person's acceptance. Men's reports of their profile partner's acceptance towards them did not vary by condition, all $F_s < 1.43$).

For women, there were no main effects, $F_s < 2.65$, but there was a marginally significant interaction, $F(1, 107) = 3.163, p = .077, \eta^2 = .02$. Decomposing this interaction revealed an attractiveness effect at low-financial resources, $F(1, 100) = 7.44, p = .008, \eta^2 = .07$, such that women viewed the highly attractive, low-financial resources men to be more accepting of them ($M = 5.34, SD = .79$) compared to the typically attractive, low-financial resources men ($M = 4.88, SD = .92$). The effect of attractiveness at high financial resources was not significant, $F(1, 107) = .009, p = .923, \eta^2 = .00$. Similarly, there was no significant effect of financial resources for the typically attractive profiles, $F(1, 112) = .383, p = .537, \eta^2 = .003$, but there was a marginally significant effect of financial resources for the highly attractive profiles, $F(1, 95) = .848, p = .054, \eta^2 = .04$. Women tended to report that the highly attractive, low-financial resource men would be more accepting of them ($M = 5.34, SD = .79$) compared to the highly attractive, high-financial resource men ($M = 4.98, SD = 1.04$).

Future expected income. Participants reported their expected future income pre-experimental manipulation during the demographic survey and also post-experimental manipulation when they completed their profile. Participant's responses to both items were scaled (1 = <\$15,000/year, 21 = >\$205,000/year).

First, I examined participant's responses regarding their expected future income that they reported before the experimental manipulations. I entered gender, (0 = women, 1 = men), physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high) and the financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a three-way, between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting their pre-manipulation expected future income. Results revealed no significant differences between participants' expected future incomes, all $F_s < 2.61$.

Next, I examined participant's responses regarding their expected future income after they learned about the future income of their profile partner. I entered gender, (0 = women, 1 = men), physical attractiveness condition (0 = typical, 1 = high) and the financial resource condition (0 = low, 1 = high) into a three-way, between-participants, univariate ANOVA predicting their post-manipulation expected future income. Results revealed a main effect of gender, $F(1,300) = 6.25$, $p = .013$, $\eta^2 = .02$, such that men reported higher future incomes ($M=8.36$, $SD=4.16$) than did women ($M=7.31$, $SD=3.95$). There was also a main effect of financial resource condition, $F(1,300) = 7.24$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = .02$, such that participants reported higher incomes when the profile they viewed was of high-financial resources ($M=8.37$, $SD=4.21$) compared to low-financial resources ($M=7.13$, $SD = 3.83$).

Discussion

In Study 2, there was no difference between men's romantic interest in the typically attractive women when they were described as high in financial resources compared to low in financial resources. Thus, Study 2 failed to find support for H1. However, men tended to show less romantic interest in the typically attractive, high-financial resource women compared to the typically attractive, low-financial resource women. In contrast, as expected, men showed greater romantic interest in the highly attractive women when they were described as high in financial resources compared to when they were described as low in financial resources. Therefore, Study 2 provides further evidence that, when paired with high physical attractiveness, high-financial resources has a positive effect on women's mate-value.

Different from Study 1, Study 2 found that men rated women in the high-financial resource profiles as more competent than women in the low-financial resource profiles. This finding is consistent with past research demonstrating that professionally successful, "career women" are perceived as more competent than low-income, "typical women" (Eckes, 2002;

Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). As with Study 1, these findings are still quite optimistic. Men's romantic interest in the women does not affect their ratings of the women's competence, which may be of equal social importance to men's interest in dating them. It is promising to see that typically attractive, high-financial resource women are not suffering both romantically and in terms of men's perceptions of their competence.

Warmth ratings in Study 2 also differed from those in Study 1. There was no difference between men's ratings of the typically attractive women across financial resource conditions. However, men did rate the highly attractive woman as warmer when she was described as high in financial resource compared to low in financial resources. Thus, unlike in Study 1, men's ratings of the woman's warmth did parallel their reported romantic interest. Furthermore, mediated moderation analyses demonstrated that men's perceptions of the highly attractive, high-financial resource women's warmth explained their romantic interest in her. Ultimately, it was men's heightened perceptions of the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman's warmth that buffered her against the potential negative effects of her high-financial resources.

Study 2 also included measures of men's romantic intention motivation and romantic intention behaviour. Men displayed greater romantic intention motivation toward highly attractive targets compared to typically attractive targets. Although this finding does not directly correspond with my predictions, it is consistent with past research demonstrating that men value high attractiveness in a partner (Li et al., 2002; Li et al., 2013). Due to the hypothetical nature of the items composing this measure, it is not surprising that these results are consistent with past research that has used similar abstract, self-report measures of mate preferences (e.g., Buss, 1989). Interestingly, men displayed greater romantic intention behaviour toward high-financial resource compared to low-financial resource women, regardless of the women's attractiveness. Not only does this finding differ from my hypotheses, but also from past research that de-

emphasizes a woman's financial resources as part of her mate-value (e.g., Li et al., 2002).

Instead, this finding suggests that a woman's high-financial resources are an important factor influencing men's decision to reach out to her. However, it is important to consider this finding in the broader context of both studies. It is possible that this study did not have enough power to detect a significant interaction. Thus, before any firm conclusions can be made, future research should attempt to replicate these findings with a larger sample size.

Women Comparison Group

As a comparison group, women were included in Study 2. Although there were no specific hypotheses made for women, I expected that their mate preferences and romantic interest would correspond with the large body of mate preference research. Past research has demonstrated that women prefer partners that are attractive and of high financial resources (e.g., Li et al., 2002; Li et al., 2013). Thus, both of these characteristics should inspire women to report greater romantic interest in and romantic intention behaviour towards highly attractive and high-financial resource men. With these past findings in mind, it was expected that the highly attractive, high-financial resource profiles would garner the greatest intention behaviour and romantic interest from women, whereas the typically attractive, low-financial resource profiles would garner the least intention behaviour and romantic interest.

Interestingly, there was only a main effect of attractiveness for women's romantic interest in Study 2. Women displayed greater romantic interest in highly attractive profile partners compared to typically attractive profile partners. Moreover, there were no gender differences between men and women when it came to reporting their romantic intention motivation. As with men's romantic intention motivation, women's romantic intention motivation was greater towards highly attractive targets compared to typically attractive targets. However, women's romantic intention behaviour did differ from men's romantic intention behaviour. First, in

accordance with gender stereotypes and scripts related to relationship initiation (Cameron, Stinson, & Wood, 2013), women were less likely than men to engage in romantic intention behaviour. Recall that men were most likely to engage in romantic intention behaviour towards high-financial resource profiles compared to low-financial resource profiles. In contrast, women displayed the most romantic intention behaviour toward the highly attractive, low-financial resource profiles compared to the other three kinds of profiles. Women appear to be placing less value on finding partners who are high in financial resources. Instead, they prefer a lower-financial resource, highly attractive partner. It is important to consider that romantic intention behaviour, especially for romantic purposes, is still a highly gendered relational script, with men still expected to make the first move (Cameron, Stinson, & Wood, 2013). It may be that women feel that their romantic attempts may be more successful toward the highly attractive, low-financial resource men. In fact, women reported that, compared to the typically attractive, low-financial resource men, the highly attractive, low-financial resource man would be more accepting of them. Similarly, women felt this highly attractive, low-financial resource man would be more accepting of them compared to his high-financial resource counterpart, although this finding was only marginally significant ($p = .054$). Thus, it is likely that women's higher levels of romantic intention behaviour toward the highly attractive, low-financial resource profiles is related to their perceptions that these men will be more accepting of them compared to the men in the other conditions.

Together, these findings suggest that a man's physical attractiveness may be more important to his mate-value than previously believed. Past research on mate preferences has tended to emphasize the importance of a man's financial resources relative to his physical attractiveness as part of his mate-value (e.g., Buss, 1989). The current findings are more consistent with the growing body of evidence suggesting that women do value a man's physical

attractiveness as part of his mate-value (Li et al., 2002, 2013). Additionally, in the current study, high-financial resources actually detracted from the highly attractive man's value as a potential partner. This finding differs from recent research demonstrating that women's romantic interest in a potential partner increases as the partner's financial resources increases (Li et al., 2013). If replicated, these findings will be indicative of the changing nature of the factors influencing men's mate-value in addition to the changing nature of women's mate-value.

In terms of warmth ratings, women's ratings of their profile partner's warmth did not differ by condition. But, women's ratings of men's competence did reveal some intriguing findings. Simple effects analyses revealed that women rated the high-financial resource, typically attractive man as more competent than his low-financial resource counterpart. Yet, there were no differences in the competence ratings between the highly attractive, high-financial resource and highly attractive, low-financial resource men. There was a significant difference in the competence ratings of both low-financial resource men, such that the highly attractive, low-financial resource man was rated as more competent than the typically attractive, low-financial resource man. These results display a buffering effect for the highly attractive, low-financial resource man, such that his high level of attractiveness may act as buffer against the negative ratings of his competence that his typically attractive counterpart suffers. Moreover, mediated moderation analyses confirmed that women's romantic interest in the highly attractive, low-financial resource man is partially mediated by their perceptions of his competence. Thus, women's competence (but not warmth) ratings do align with their evaluations of men's mate-value. Just as the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman's warmth is buffered by her high level of attractiveness, so too is the highly attractive, low-financial resource man's competence.

Before concluding, it is important to address that participants in relationships were included in these analyses because preliminary analyses indicated that relationship status did not significantly affect how partnered participants responded to the experimental manipulations compared to single participants. However, the inclusion of men and women in relationships may have been a limitation of Study 2. Men and women who reported themselves as being in a relationship responded to the experimental manipulations in a way that was similar to their single counterparts. However, single participants were more responsive to our experimental manipulations. In other words, single participants responded more extremely to the experimental manipulations whereas partnered participants were more reserved in their responses. It is likely that partnered participants did not show as much romantic interest in their profile partner due to the consideration of their current relationship partner. Men and women in relationships were still included in the analyses because, due to their demographics (i.e., age and university student status), it is less likely that they are in established long-term relationships (Monto & Carey, 2014). Moreover, simply because these participants report being in a relationship does not necessarily indicate their commitment to these relationships, nor does it negate the possibility that they are still keeping an eye out for alternative partners. Nonetheless, their inclusion could have contributed to the inability to detect meaningful differences in some of the dependent measures. Future studies should collect data from a larger sample so that both single participants and those in relationships can be more meaningfully compared.

Although Study 2 improved upon Study 1 with greater experimental control, two important limitations of this study were the small sample size and imprecise nature of dependent measures. A larger sample size would have improved Study 2's ability to detect the small, but meaningful, effect size ($\eta^2 = .03$) responsible for men's decreased romantic interest in the typically attractive, high-financial resource woman compared to the typically attractive, low-

financial resource woman. Furthermore, the Cronbach's alpha reliability of several of the dependent measures was not as strong as originally hoped. Notable, is the relatively low alpha reliability of romantic intention behaviour ($\alpha=.69$). A more precise measure of romantic intention behaviour may have helped to uncover a significant interaction in regard to men's romantic intention behaviour. Clearly, future research should seek to address and improve upon these limitations.

General Discussion

In a series of two studies, I tested the prediction that men's evaluations of a woman's mate-value and their subsequent romantic interest in her is dependent on her level of physical attractiveness and financial resources. Specifically, I was interested in testing two hypotheses. First, I tested the hypothesis that men would evaluate high-financial resource, typically attractive women *more negatively* than low-financial resource, typically attractive women (H1). Second, I tested the hypothesis that men would evaluate high-financial resource, highly attractive women *more positively* than low-financial resource, highly attractive women (H2). Men's romantic intention behaviour (Study 1 and 2) and romantic interest (Study 2) were expected to reflect men's impressions of women's mate-value.

H1: Do high financial resources reduce a woman's mate-value when she is typically attractive?

The present results provide support for H1. In Study 1, men displayed significantly less romantic intention behaviour towards the typically attractive confederate when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. In essence, men in this study were reporting that they would be less interested in spending time with and getting to know the typically attractive woman when she told them she expected a high future income compared to a

low future income. Although not statistically significant, results from Study 2 also lend support to H1. Men in Study 2 reported less romantic interest in the typically attractive woman when she was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. However, results of a meta-analysis of the financial resource condition effect for the typically attractive condition in these two studies indicated that high-financial resources reduces men's romantic interest in the typically attractive women ($Z = 2.56, p = .005, d = -.34$). These findings demonstrate that a typically attractive woman's high financial resources do have a negative impact on men's perceptions of her mate-value, as evidenced by the fact that men are less likely to report being romantically interested in her (Study 2) and less likely to actually pursue further contact with her (Study 1).

H2: Do high financial resources enhance a woman's mate-value when she is highly attractive?

Both Study 1 and 2 found support for H2. In Study 1, men were much more likely to initiate further contact with the highly attractive confederate when she was of high-financial resources as opposed to low-financial resources. Similarly, in Study 2, men were more romantically interested in the highly attractive woman when she was of high-financial resources as opposed to low-financial resources. Results of a meta-analysis of the financial resource condition effect for the highly attractive condition in these two studies revealed that high-financial resources increases men's romantic interest in the highly attractive woman ($Z = 3.13, p < .001, d = .42$). The buffering effect of high attractiveness is also particularly salient when comparing the effect of attractiveness across high financial resource conditions. In both studies, men reported greater romantic intention (Study 1) and romantic interest (Study 2) toward the highly attractive, high-financial resource women compared to the typically attractive, high-

financial resource women. Results of a meta-analysis of the attractiveness condition effect for the high-financial resource condition in these two studies indicates that men were more romantically interested in the highly attractive, high-financial resource women compared to the typically attractive, high-financial resource women ($Z = 2.56, p < .005, d = 0.56$). These results demonstrate that a woman's high level of physical attractiveness may indeed have a buffering effect on men's impressions of her high-financial resources. A highly attractive woman appears to fit cultural perceptions of what it is to be feminine and benefits from the positive stereotypes (i.e., kind, sociable, interesting, etc.) attributed to her as a result of her beauty (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Moreover, she possesses a highly desirable relationship commodity, her attractiveness. Thus, any negative connotations that may be associated with high-financial resources may seem insignificant or irrelevant to men's evaluations of her mate-value. In fact, her high level of physical attractiveness may allow her high-financial resources to be appreciated for its unbiased positive value resulting in the observed boosting effect in men's romantic interest in her.

Additional simple effect analyses found that men's romantic intention behaviour (Study 1) and romantic interest (Study 2) did not differ between the low-financial resource conditions, such that men reported similar levels of romantic intention behaviour and romantic interest towards the typically attractive, low-financial resource confederates and the highly attractive, low-financial resource confederates. However, there was a significant difference at the level of high-financial resources. Men engaged in more romantic intention behaviour and reported more romantic interest in the highly attractive, high-financial resource confederates compared to the typically attractive, high-financial resource confederates. In a sense, the women in the low-financial resources condition can be considered a baseline for men's romantic intention behaviour and romantic interest. Both low-financial resource women appear to fit within the stereotypically

female gender role by having low-financial resources, and thus low status within society (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Eckes, 2002). However, when the women are of high-financial resources, it appears that high-financial resources have a derogating effect for the typically attractive woman, but a boosting effect for the highly attractive woman.

Inconsistent Findings: Explained

Interestingly, men's romantic intention motivation and romantic intention behaviour in Study 2 failed to directly support Hypothesis 1 or 2. In Study 2, there was solely a main effect of attractiveness for both men and women such that both reported greater romantic intention motivation toward highly attractive compared to typically attractive partners. This result is not surprising because I was assessing participant's *willingness* to share their profile and contact their profile partner, not their actual behaviour. There were no tangible consequences of reporting their willingness to contact their partners. Moreover, these findings are consistent with previous mate preference research showing that men report greater romantic interest in highly attractive partners (Li et al., 2013).

However, when it came to romantic intention behaviour, there was solely a main effect of financial resource condition, such that men were more likely to engage in romantic intention behaviour when the profile they viewed was of high-financial resources compared to low-financial resources. This finding differs from, but does not contradict, the intention behaviour observed in Study 1. It is possible that men's preference for the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman is driving the underlying effect of financial resources, but my study did not have enough power to detect such an effect. This finding could also be a result of the ambiguous nature of the study. It is possible that men were simply more interested in getting to know students who appeared to be successful in their education and future career plans.

Alternatively, recent research suggests that interpersonal attraction may depend on an individual's psychological distance from a target. Findings from a study by Park, Young, and Eastwick (2015) demonstrate that men show greater attraction towards targets who are more (vs. less) intelligent than themselves when the target is psychologically distant from them (i.e., when they are reading a profile or description of an individual). But, men show less attraction to targets who are more (vs. less) intelligent than themselves when the target is psychologically near (i.e., when they are directly interacting with the individual). Similar processes may be at work within the current studies. When reading the profile of a high-financial resource woman (i.e., when men are psychologically distant from her), she may seem like an attractive and interesting person to contact. In fact, as in Study 2, men may even reach out and contact the high-financial resource women in this context. However, when actually interacting with the women, as in Study 1, self-other comparisons may be more cognitively available and cause men to report less romantic interest the typically, attractive, high-financial resource woman, perhaps because she threatens their perception of their own masculinity (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Park, Young, & Eastwick, 2015).

Warmth and Competence Ratings

To better understand the observed results, I examined how men evaluated women's warmth and competence. Due to the fact that the trait "warmth" is considered an integral component of the female gender role (Eagly, 1987; Stinson et al., 2012) as well as a highly desirable quality in a potential partner (Li et al., 2002), I expected that men's ratings of the women's warmth would align with their romantic intention behaviour and romantic interest. Thus, I expected that the high-financial resource, typically attractive woman would be rated as less warm than her low-financial resource counterpart, whereas the high-financial resource,

highly attractive woman would be rated as warmer than her low-financial resource counterpart. However, in Study 1, men rated the typically attractive confederates as warmer than the highly attractive confederates. It is possible that these results were due to the nature of the field study and perhaps a result of actual differences between the behaviour and demeanor of the speech-givers. In the more experimentally controlled Study 2, there was a marginally significant interaction between profile financial resources and attractiveness predicting men's impressions of the profiles' warmth. Simple effects analyses revealed that men's evaluations of the typically attractive, low-financial resource woman and typically attractive, high-financial resource woman's warmth did not significantly differ. Had this finding been significant, it would have contributed to past findings that high-financial resource women are perceived as less warm and less desirable as romantic partners compared to low-financial resource women (Brown & Lewis, 2004; Greitemeyer, 2007). The inability to detect any significant differences may also be due to the imprecise nature of the measurements. The two items (i.e., "warmth" and "trustworthiness") that composed this measure in Study 2 did not hang together as strongly as expected ($\alpha = .73$).

In contrast, as expected, the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman was seen as warmer than the highly attractive, low-financial resource woman. Furthermore, mediated moderation analyses revealed that men's romantic interest in the highly attractive, high-financial resource women was explained by perceptions of their warmth. The highly attractive, high-financial resource women experienced a boost in warmth ratings compared to their low-financial resource counterparts. These findings are consistent with the notion that the highly attractive, high-financial resources women are not being derogated as a result of their high-financial resources. However, men's ratings of the highly attractive, high-financial resource women's warmth did not significantly differ from ratings of women in the typically attractive conditions. This result may be due to the fact that women's warmth was rated fairly high in all four

conditions. The boost in warmth that was observed for the highly attractive, high-financial resource profile compared to the highly attractive, low-financial resource profile may be a result of men's increased romantic interest in the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman, as she may represent the "whole" package.

Second, I examined men's evaluations of the women's competence in each study. There were no significant differences between men's ratings of the confederate's competence in Study 1. Again, this finding may be a result of the particular methodology used. Participants in Study 1 were told that the confederate's professor would be reading their written evaluations of her. Thus, rating the confederate's poorly would have been a particularly harsh thing to do. In Study 2, there was a significant main effect of financial resources for men's ratings of their profile partner's competence such that men rated the high-resource women as more competent than the low-resource women. This finding is in agreement with past research showing that successful, high-resource, "career women" are stereotyped as being high in competence and low-resource, "typical women" are stereotyped as being low in competence (Eckes, 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

Overall, men's ratings of the women's warmth were quite high across conditions. In other words, men's romantic interest in the women did not seem to affect their evaluations of her warmth, or vice versa. This appears to be the case for all but the highly attractive, high-resource woman where men's perceptions of her increased warmth explained their increased romantic interest in her. For the highly attractive, high-resource woman, men's ratings of her warmth do align with their evaluations of her mate-value. In contrast, men's evaluations of the women's competence are distinct from their impressions of the women's mate-value. In Study 2, men rated the high-financial resource women as more competent than the low-financial resource women regardless of the woman's physical attractiveness. This finding is important because it

demonstrates that typically attractive, high-financial resource women are not being derogated in respect to their competence despite the fact that they may be viewed as less desirable romantic partners.

Theoretical Implications

The current results show that men *do* consider a woman's financial resources when evaluating her mate-value. The current results demonstrate that high financial resources decrease a woman's mate-value when she is typically attractive but increase her mate-value when she is highly attractive. The results for typically attractive women support past research demonstrating that high-resource women are preferred less than their low-resource counterparts as potential romantic partners (Brown & Lewis, 2004; Greitemeyer, 2007). In contrast, the results for the highly attractive women lend support to past research demonstrating that a woman's financial resources have a positive effect on her mate-value (Kenrick et al., 2001). Thus, examining how a woman's physical attractiveness affects men's evaluations of her financial resources provides a method of clarifying the results of past research. Furthermore, this research is consistent with the large body of research demonstrating the importance of a woman's physical attractiveness as part of her mate-value (e.g., Buss, 1989). Yet, the current study suggests that a woman's high physical attractiveness alone may not propel her mate-value above that of her typically attractive counterparts.

In addition, these observed changes in mate preferences may provide support for the socio-cultural construction of mate preferences. Past research has shown that gender differences in mate preferences, that were previously presumed to have evolutionary roots, decline as gender parity within a country increases (Zentner, & Mitura, 2012). Currently in North America, women are outperforming men in education and are becoming the breadwinners of their family's more

than at any other point in history (Sussman & Bonnell, 2006; Wang, Parker, & Taylor, 2013). On the other hand, employment rates for young Canadian men are lower than they have been in over forty years (Moffatt, 2014). These subtle but real changes within our economic and social culture may have tangible consequences on the mate preferences people adopt as evidenced by men's increased romantic interest in highly attractive, high-financial resource women and women's preferences for highly attractive, low-financial resource partners. These socio-cultural influences should be considered when discussing and interpreting mate preference research.

Although gender roles may be changing, there is still some evidence that men and women's attitudes about the characteristics that define these roles are slower to change. For instance, men perceived the highly attractive, high-resource woman as warmer than her low-resource counterpart. More importantly, the perceptions of the highly attractive, high-resource woman's warmth were partly responsible for men's increased romantic interest in her. Despite the fact that she is of high financial resources, which often denotes the stereotype of being interpersonally cold (Eckes, 2002), men instead perceived her as interpersonally warm. The perception of her warmth preserves the perception that she is still feminine and gender typical, as warmth is a defining characteristic of women's gender role (Eagly, 1987). Similarly, women preferred the highly attractive, low-resource man compared to his high-resource counterpart. Again, past research would suggest that the low-resource man would be stereotyped as incompetent (Eckes, 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). However, women's ratings of the highly attractive, low-financial resource man's competence did not differ from his high-resource counterpart. In fact, the highly attractive, low-financial resource man's competence ratings were even higher than his high-financial resource counterpart. Women appear to be preserving their perception of the highly attractive, low-financial resource man's masculinity and gender conformity by perceiving his competence to be equivalent to that of his high-resource

counterparts. By choosing to perceive their profile partners as gender conforming, despite the fact that their partner's roles do not align with traditional gender roles, men and women do not have to confront any negative stereotypes about their potential partner that may hinder their romantic interest in them.

It is notable that these findings still reflect complementary mate preferences and roles. Couples still appear to be seeking to “maximize their utilities” and rewards. If women's gender roles are changing and they are pursuing higher education and high-status careers, their mate preferences in this study are echoing this shift, as they are beginning to prefer and seek out lower-resource partners. Perhaps these women believe that a low-resource partner will be more inclined to be a stay-at-home parent or that he will be more willing and able to take on domestic responsibilities. In this case, the low-resource man may be perceived as a very rewarding and desirable partner. Similarly, men are experiencing greater flexibility than ever before in the kinds of careers or futures they can pursue. Men no longer “have” to be the provider within their families. It is possible that men are recognizing this increased flexibility in their gender role and are open to taking advantage of it by pursuing a rewarding, high-resource partner. Future research and theory may need to consider and accommodate these kinds of cultural shifts and changes in gender roles when conducting research on relationship initiation processes as well as relationship maintenance processes.

Finally, previous research tends to emphasize how men and women differ in their preferences for a romantic partner (e.g., men desire attractive partners, women desire high-resource partners; Buss, 1989; Sprecher, 1989). Of course, these differences in preferences are often observed when using self-report measures (e.g., Buss, 1989; Greitemeyer, 2005; Li et al., 2002, Li et al., 2013; Regan & Sprecher, 1995; Sprecher, 1989). Yet, research has shown that self-reported mate preferences often fail to capture the individual's true mate preferences when it

comes to interacting with a potential partner in a realistic context (Eastwick, Eagly, Finkel, & Johnson, 2011). In both of the current studies, participants had the opportunity to interact with a real or ostensibly real partner and engage in romantic intention behaviour toward the partner. These particular methods may have been better able to tap into the implicit preferences that people may hold towards potential partners of varying financial resources and attractiveness. Moving forward, mate preference research should strive to include both self-report and behavioural measures as these kinds of measures may add nuance and complexity to our current understanding of human mate preferences.

Overall, the results of the current study expose a more complex representation of mate-value than some previous research would suggest. First, a woman's financial resources do have a very real impact on men's impressions of her mate-value. This research highlights the importance of taking into account the interactive effects of different attributes on men and women's evaluations of a partner's mate-value. Instead of examining mate-value in terms of a list of attributes, we should seek to examine how people view a potential romantic partner as a "whole". Doing so may provide a more realistic and accurate representation of how mate preferences and mating choices unfold within the real world. Second, this research highlights the potential impact of the socio-cultural climate and gender roles on mate-preferences and subsequent evaluations of mate-value. In this research, changing gender roles may be partly responsible for the observed changes in mate preferences. Lastly, this research underscores the necessity of using behavioural measures in addition to self-report measures as both are needed to obtain a more complete picture of an individual's mate-value.

Limitations

One limitation of Study 1 was that men's romantic interest in the confederate was not directly assessed. Instead, Study 1 measured men's interest and willingness to join the speech-

giver's focus group. Together, these measures acted as a proxy for men's evaluations of the mate-value of the confederate. Although we did not directly assess men's evaluations of the mate-value of the confederate, it is likely that men's evaluations of her speech and interest in joining her focus group would be heavily influenced by their desire to get to know her and possibly pursue a relationship with her. Furthermore, even if men did not perceive the confederate as a potential romantic partner, their evaluations of her would likely still be influenced by her personal characteristics and the career plans mentioned in her speech. Study 2 addressed this limitation by asking participants to explicitly report their romantic interest in their profile partner. However, neither study was overtly romantic in context. Thus, future research would benefit from testing whether my hypotheses are supported in an unambiguously romantic context such as in a speed-dating paradigm, where romantic interest may be more relevant and where it can be directly and more accurately assessed.

The current studies may also be limited by the fact that participants were not randomly selected. In Study 1, the confederates individually approached men at different locations on campus. While this procedure increased the study's ecological validity and applicability to real world situations, it may have introduced some bias. For example, the confederates may have been more likely to approach men who were alone as opposed to in groups, and men who appeared friendly as opposed to those who appeared unfriendly, etc. This sampling method could have contributed to greater similarities among the men sampled and may have influenced our results. Study 2 was conducted to compensate for Study 1's shortcomings. Study 2 increased the internal validity of my results by replicating Study 1's findings using a more controlled experimental design. As with Study 1, Study 2 sampled students who volunteered to participate at a communal campus location. One benefit of these sampling methods was the ability for us to sample men and women from a variety of different educational majors and backgrounds. Thus, these methods

provided an advantage that many studies in psychology typically do not have as they tend to use introductory psychology students as their main participant pool.

Furthermore, participants in Study 1 were strictly men. I chose to sample only men because past research has failed to clarify the exact role that status and income plays in their evaluation of a potential partner (Greitemeyer, 2007; Li, et al., 2002; Sprecher, 1989; Brown & Lewis, 2004; Kenrick, Sundie, Nicastle, & Stone, 2001). In contrast, the role that status and income has in women's impressions of men is well documented (Buss, 1989; Li, et al., 2002; Greitemeyer, 2007). Study 2 addressed this limitation by including a comparison group of women participants viewing the profiles of men. The original intent of Study 2 was to include conditions where men and women would view and evaluate same-gender profile partners. However, due to time constraints, these conditions were removed from the current study and the data from these conditions was not analyzed. Future studies should include same-gender conditions to help determine whether or not women hold similar stereotypes toward other women as well as to help distinguish whether the observed results are a product of romantic versus platonic interest in the target profiles.

I predict that women would evaluate a high-resource and low-resource woman confederate in a way that is akin to past research findings. Thus, I would expect that basic stereotypes would be reflected in women's evaluations of the confederates causing them to rate the low-financial resource confederates as more warm and friendly and less competent compared to the high-financial resource confederates (Cuddy, Fiske, Glick, 2004; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

However, it is less clear how women would be influenced by the attractiveness of the female confederates. One possibility is that they would evaluate an attractive confederate more positively than the less attractive confederate due to what Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972)

called the “what is beautiful is good” stereotype, which delineates that attractive people are thought to have more socially desirable personality traits than less attractive people. In contrast, women have been shown to attend to other women’s attractiveness because valuable mate-related traits, such as attractiveness, can be perceived as a threat to one’s own mating success (Maner, DeWall & Gailliot, 2008; Buunk & Dijkstra, 2004; Gutierrez, Kenrick, & Partch, 1999). As a result, women may evaluate a highly attractive woman less positively than a less attractive woman in an effort to reduce the perceived threat of the attractive woman. Overall, future research using women participants and women targets could also prove illuminating.

As with much psychological research, this research focuses on the experiences of relatively young, cisgender, heterosexual men and women who are also University students. Thus, my results cannot be generalized to people of other ages, genders, sexualities, or socioeconomic statuses. However, in future research, I hope to expand this limited scope to examine how these processes unfold within more diverse populations. For example, factors such as traditional gender attitudes, sexist attitudes, and normative beliefs, which may influence attitudes toward high-resource vs. low-resource women (Eastwick et al., 2006; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997), may be less prevalent or pronounced within this young cohort. Particularly, the findings from the current study suggest that attitudes about gender roles and subsequent mate preferences may in fact be changing, as evidenced by the fact that men are attending to and influenced by a woman’s financial resources. Similarly, in Study 2, women are showing less of a preference for high-financial resource partners, which is contrary to what previous mate preference research would suggest (e.g., Buss, 1989). The findings from both studies may be a product of the particular climate (e.g., University educated, predominantly Caucasian, heterosexual, young adults) from which I sampled. In fact, participants who did not speak English as a first language were excluded from analysis in Study 2 because their responses

were very different from native English speakers. Therefore, future research would benefit from examining the cultural differences in these mate preferences, as my particular findings may be more generalizable to “Western”, English-speaking cultures. Sampling older adults, or non-university cohorts, who may hold more traditional ideas about the gender roles of men and women, may reveal stronger negative effects of high financial resources on the evaluations of the women targets, similar to the attitudes reflected in gender stereotype research (e.g., Eckes, 2002). Therefore, future research would also benefit from sampling multiple populations where the negative effect of a woman’s high financial resources on men’s evaluations of her may be more apparent.

Finally, the confederates in Study 1 as well as the target photos in Study 2 were of Caucasian women and men. Future research should seek to use a more diverse range of photographs as the particular targets used to test these hypotheses could influence the kinds of impressions that participants form about the targets and their subsequent romantic interest in the targets.

Future Research

Future research should seek to improve upon the limitations of this research. For example, the dependent measures used in this study were mainly indirect behavioural measures of men’s impressions of women’s mate-value. While these indirect measures are advantageous for their discrete nature, they may not have provided the most accurate representation of women’s mate-value. However, the design and context of the current studies was not suitable for direct measures of men and women’s mate-value. In Study 1, men were asked to help with a school project and asked to attend a focus group related to the topic of career development. Study 2 was slightly more romantic in context as participants were paired with a “profile partner” and asked overtly

about their romantic interest in the partner. Nonetheless, future research would benefit from studying how a woman's financial resources and physical attractiveness influence men's explicit impressions of her mate-value. Future research could use speed-dating or online dating paradigms, where participants are more likely to be interested in meeting potential romantic partners and direct measures of mate-value could be implemented. Using these paradigms, researchers could ask participants to rate or rank potential partners in terms of their mate-value (i.e., their attributes). Researchers could also examine participant's romantic intention behaviour, such as whom they exchange contact information with and whom they decide to date. Replicating my findings within multiple contexts would lend support to the robustness of these effects.

Similarly, the measures of warmth and competence used in the current study were not as sensitive as I had originally hoped. More precise measures may help to clarify any inconsistencies observed in the current studies. Moreover, warmth itself may prove to be an interesting variable for future research to manipulate. Would men still prefer the highly attractive, high-resource woman if she appeared to be low in interpersonal warmth? The current findings would suggest that perceptions of her warmth is a key component of men's increased romantic interest in the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman. Thus, it is unlikely that a highly attractive, high-resource woman who appears interpersonally cold will be favoured over her typically attractive or low-resource counterparts. Future research should test this possibility.

Next, the causal factors behind men's evaluations of women still remain unclear. Past research has offered some potential factors that could help to explain men's evaluations of typically attractive, high-financial resource women. For instance, Brown and Lewis's (2004) findings suggest that men prefer subordinate partners to dominant partners. Therefore, it may be that men perceive a typically attractive, high-resource woman as dominant and this influences their romantic interest in her. In addition, Greitemeyer (2007) found evidence to suggest that men

perceive high-resource women as less likeable and less faithful than their lower resource counterparts. Again, these beliefs could help to explain men's decreased romantic interest in the typically attractive, high-financial resource woman. However, more research is still needed to better understand the mechanisms behind men's increased romantic interest in the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman.

The current results suggest that one potential mechanism for men's favourable reactions toward the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman might be related to perceptions of her role-congruency and femininity (Hettinger, Hutchinson, & Bosson, 2014). Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruity theory stipulates that the perceived incongruity between women's gender role and the leadership role can lead to two forms of prejudice against women. The first form of prejudice is that women are perceived less favourably than men as occupants of leadership roles. The second form of prejudice is that women are evaluated less favourably than men when enacting behaviours that fit the prescriptions of the leadership role.

Eagly and Karau (2002) argue that one critical reason for these prejudices is the perceived incongruity between the requirements and characteristics of women's gender role and the requirements and characteristics of the leadership role. As previously discussed, women's gender role typically denotes being high in communal characteristics such as kindness, affection, sympathy, helpfulness, sensitivity, and nurturance, etc. (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Stinson et al., 2012). In contrast, leadership roles, and other high-status, professional roles, typically denote being high in agentic characteristics such as assertiveness, control, confidence, ambition, dominance, independence, and self-confidence (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Not coincidentally, the characteristics used to describe men's gender role happen to overlap with the leadership role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This overlap facilitates a sense of role-congruency, such that men are naturally assumed to have the

characteristics required to make a good leader. In contrast, women's gender role and the leadership role are incongruent. Women are not naturally assumed to have the characteristics required to flourish in a leadership role. Thus, when evaluating women leaders, people may derogate them on either their ability to fulfill their leadership role or their gender role. If a woman is seen as highly competent, she may suffer in evaluations of her gender role, such as evaluations of her warmth and femininity. If a woman is seen as very feminine, she may suffer in evaluations of her competence and ability as a leader.

This theory can be extrapolated to the experience of women who are successful in their professional roles. For the typically attractive, high-financial resource woman, it is apparent that she is competent and going to be successful in her future career. Thus, men in the current study may have perceived the typically attractive, high-financial resource woman as a less desirable romantic partner because they implicitly made assumptions about her (in)ability to conform to her gender role. This implicit assumption about the femininity (or lack thereof) of the typically attractive, high-resource woman may have been the driving force behind men's decreased romantic interest in her. In support of this argument, men in Study 1 were most likely to mention the speech-giver's accomplishments, GPA, future income, and/or career in their feedback comments in the typically attractive, high-resource condition compared to the three other conditions. This finding demonstrates that men were hyper-aware of the high-financial resources of the typically attractive woman. Thus, any negative connotations or stereotypes related to her high-financial resources and ability to carry out her high status role may have been particularly salient for the men in this condition. These negative connotations may be partly responsible for their decreased romantic interest in her. Future research should seek to test this possibility.

In contrast, for the highly attractive, high-resource woman, men are presented with clear evidence about her competence from learning that she is going to be highly successful in her

career. But, unlike for the typically attractive woman, men are also provided with evidence of her conformity to her gender role through her attractiveness. Attractive women are perceived as more gender stereotypical (i.e., more feminine) compared to their less attractive counterparts (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Lippa, 1998). Thus, because she appears to conform to both the professional role and her gender role, men are unable to derogate her on either role. This inability to derogate her on either role may help to preserve positive perceptions of her mate-value and subsequently incite higher romantic interest in her. In keeping with my earlier arguments, her physical beauty serves as a buffer against the derogation that would occur if she were of typical attractiveness. Additionally, the highly attractive, high-resource woman may benefit from increased perceptions of role-congruency as a result of the “what is beautiful is good” stereotype (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). People expect attractive people to obtain more prestigious jobs and have better professional prospects than their less attractive counterparts (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Thus, the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman has the added advantage of being perceived as deserving of her high status and confirming of people’s preconceived expectations.

Accordingly, one particular mechanism for women’s favourable reactions toward the highly attractive, low-financial resource man might be related to perceptions of his role-congruency and masculinity. Women rated the highly attractive, low-resource man as highly competent suggesting that they are viewing him as stereotypically masculine (Eckes, 2002). Future research should investigate men and women’s impressions of the femininity and masculinity of these targets and how these perceptions may influence their mate choices.

Comparably, the type of career the targets were said to be pursuing may also be an important factor influencing the results of the current studies. I used the same careers for the targets in each study: Accounting Book-keeper for the low-income conditions and Accountant for the high-income conditions. I chose to use Accountant as a career because it is one that is

perceived as neutral in gender, that is, there are roughly equal number of men and women within the occupation (Koch, D'Mello, & Sackett, 2015). Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruency theory of prejudice against women who are leaders argues that the greater the incongruity between the descriptive norms that define women's gender role and the occupational role, the more likely it is for the woman occupying the occupational role to face prejudice. A woman who is successful in a man-dominated career might face more prejudice and negative evaluations compared to one who is successful in a neutral, or a woman-dominated career (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). Targets who are men may also illicit different reactions depending on the career they are said to be pursuing. With this in mind, future research may wish to assess how the type of career that the targets are said to be pursuing may influence how they are evaluated.

Finally, another area for future research to explore is how participants own characteristics may influence their evaluations of and romantic interest in the different targets. Two important characteristics might be the participant's own earning potential and physical attractiveness. Although the current research did not detect any significant influence of these characteristics on participants' preferences, it may have been due to a lack of power to detect an effect.

Men and women's own characteristics may influence how they perceive the rewards and costs of women's physical attractiveness and financial resources. How a man evaluates a woman who has high financial resources may depend largely on his own earning potential and physical attractiveness. For example, a man who is highly attractive with high earning potential may perceive relatively few costs of pursuing a highly attractive woman who has a high financial resources because he himself possesses equivalent traits (Adams, 1965; Hatfield, Utne, & Traupmann, 1979). But, he might be less interested in a woman who is lacking in either financial resources or attractiveness because she would not be able to provide him with sufficient rewards.

Thus, men who are highly attractive and have high earning potential may display the most romantic interest in highly attractive, high-resource women.

In contrast, a man who is low in attractiveness and has low earning potential may feel the highly attractive, high-financial resource woman is “out of his league” (Adams, 1965; Hatfield, Utne, & Traupmann, 1979). She would bring more rewards to the relationship than he would. Thus, such a highly attractive, high-financial resource woman would appear to be a more costly mate than a woman of lower attractiveness or financial resources, because he would have to compensate for his own lack of attractiveness and resources. For example, he may have to take on extra instrumental roles or practical jobs to compensate for his perceived inadequacy and to secure his partner’s commitment (Murray et al., 2009). Thus, the less attractive man with low earning potential may perceive that maintaining a relationship with the highly attractive, high-resource woman would require too much effort and so he may conclude that it is not worth pursuing a relationship with her. Therefore, men who are low in attractiveness and low in earning potential may display the most romantic interest in typically attractive, low-financial resource women. These are but a few examples of how a man’s own characteristics might influence his preferences for these particular characteristics in a potential partner. Future research examining these processes using larger sample sizes would help to illuminate any further complexities in the mate-value of a woman’s financial resources.

Conclusion

Do high financial resources contribute to, or detract from, a woman’s mate-value? As revealed in the current studies, the answer to this question depends on how the woman’s physical attractiveness interacts with her financial resources to predict her mate-value. A woman’s financial resources negatively affect her mate-value if she is typically attractive but positively affect her mate-value if she is highly attractive. Moreover, this research highlights the importance

of considering how social and economic changes, such as women's increasing presence and success in the workforce (Sussman & Bonnell, 2006), may not only impact relationship maintenance processes, but relationship initiation processes as well. Ultimately, this research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of women's mate-value and presents new considerations for future research aiming to investigate mate preferences, gender-role norms, and social exchange processes within heterosexual relationships.

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Appendix A

Research Methods in Psychology Project 1 Consent for Feedback Providers

As part of a course requirement, the student must generate a 30 second-1 minute speech and present it to a variety of people. You are invited to assist the student by rating him or her on a variety of aspects about the speech and the student's performance.

The purpose of this project is to give students the opportunity to practice and improve their public speaking skills. If you agree to voluntarily assist the student, then you may stop at any time without any explanation and without reprisal. If you stop, then your data will not be used (i.e., the student will not receive it). Your data will be presented to the student at a later time in aggregate form. This means that it will be grouped in with other people's feedback and not distinguished by your name. If you provide your email to the student, then it will be provided alongside the emails of others and not with your responses.

You may verify the ethical approval of this project, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting Dr. Danu Stinson (dstinson@uvic.ca) or the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca). Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this project and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the student.

Name of feedback provider

Signature

Date

Appendix B

Experimenter script

[Approach male]

“Hello! I was wondering if you had a few minutes to help me with a class project? I can offer you a chocolate bar in appreciation for your time.”

[If no]

“OK. Have a nice day!”

[If yes, then continue]

“Great! I need to get some feedback about my performance of a really really short speech – it’s only 60 seconds long! If you help out, you will listen to my speech and then complete a short, anonymous questionnaire. The whole thing should take less than five minutes. Can you please help me?”

[If no]

“OK. Have a nice day!”

[If yes, then continue]

“Awesome! I really appreciate it!”

[Give participant the consent form on clipboard]. This is a short consent form just explaining what we are doing and asking permission to use your responses for my project.

[When participant is done with the consent form, researcher takes that clipboard and consent form and places it in envelope. Researcher then hands participant the questionnaire on separate clipboard and pen attached].

“OK so here’s the questionnaire for you to hold onto while I give the speech. When I’m done, you can fill it out. When you finish, just put the questionnaire back in the envelope and give it to my friend over there (point to Alex) who’s helping me out. I’m not supposed to see your responses. So, I’ll be giving the questionnaires to my instructor who will give me the results as averages, so I won’t know who said what.”

[Give speech.]

[When speech is over:]

“Thank you again for helping me with this! Please just give the questionnaire to my friend when you’re done.”

[Female RA moves away to give him privacy and to record her ratings.]

[When he is finished the questionnaire, RA points him to another RA (Alex Fisher) who approaches and debriefs him.]

“Hi, thank you for participating. This was actually a psychology study and I’d like to quickly tell you more about it. We were interested in how characteristics of the speech-giver, like her age, career aspirations, and income, might have affected ratings of the speech-giver’s performance. In reality, the speech-giver is not pursuing the degree or career she informed you she was and she will not actually be leading a focus group in the future. The reason we needed to use deception in this study was because if we had told you what we were studying, then your responses may not have been natural. We apologize again for misleading you. We hope you understand why it was necessary. If you provided your email in the questionnaire, it will not be included in our electronic records and no one will contact you at that email. Can we still please use your questionnaire responses?”

[If yes]

“Thank you! Please sign this post-debriefing consent form saying so”

[If no],

“Ok, your responses will be shredded and will not be used”

[To all participants]

“Thank you for your time. Here is a debriefing form telling you more about the study.

Appendix C - Questionnaire Public Speaking Project 1

Student name: Sasha

The information that you provide here will be kept confidential. Sasja will not see it and will only receive the results in anonymous, aggregate form.

Please use the scale below to give your impressions of the Sasja's presentation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neutral	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree

- 1) The student's speech was persuasive. _____
- 2) The student's speech was engaging. _____
- 3) The student's speech was interesting. _____
- 4) The student's speech was informative. _____
- 5) The student appeared professional. _____
- 6) The student appeared warm and friendly. _____
- 7) The student appeared likable. _____
- 8) I am likely to use the resources the student told me about. _____

Please provide additional comments about Sasja's performance below.

As part of this course project, Sasja will form and lead a focus group on her topic in the next few weeks.

How much would you like to join this focus group? Please circle your answer on the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all interested			Neutral			Extremely Interested

How many meetings would you like to attend? 0 1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 10+
How willing are you to attend meetings held late in the evenings, and on Saturday and Sunday mornings at 8:00 am? Please circle your answer on the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all willing			Neutral			Extremely Willing

If you are interested in joining a focus group led by Sasja, please include an email address where she can contact you. Your email will not be associated with your ratings. Sasja will receive it among a list of other interested participants at a later time.

Your name: _____

Your email address _____

FLIP PAGE OVER →**Background information.**

Please say a bit about yourself. Results will only be reported in aggregate form. You may decline to answer these questions if you wish.

1) What is your age? _____ years

2) What is your sex? (check all that apply) Male _____ Female _____ Other _____

3) What is your sexual orientation? (check all that apply)

Heterosexual/Straight _____ Homosexual/Gay _____ Bisexual _____ Other _____

4) What is your race?

Aboriginal/First nations _____

African/Black _____

Asian _____

East Indian _____

Hispanic _____

Caucasian/White _____

Other _____

5) What is the average household income, in the past 5 years, in your parents/guardians home?
(Please circle your answer)

<\$15 000 \$16-25 000 \$26-35 000 \$36-45 000 \$46-55 000 \$56-65 000 \$66-75 000

\$76-85 000 \$86-95 000 >\$96 000

6) On average, how much do you expect to earn per year in your future career? (Please circle)

<\$15 000 \$16-25 000 \$26-35 000 \$36-45 000 \$46-55 000 \$56-65 000 \$66-75 000

\$76-85 000 \$86-95 000 >\$96 000

7) Were you born in Canada? Yes _____ No _____

8) How many years have you lived in Canada? _____ years

9) Is English your first language? Yes _____ No _____

10) What is your current major or intended major? _____

11) What career/profession do you hope to have in your future?

12) Are you currently involved in a serious dating relationship: Yes _____ No _____

If YES how long have you been involved in your current relationship? _____ (months)

What is the current status of this relationship? (check all that apply)

Casual dating _____ Exclusive dating _____

Engaged _____ Living together _____
Married _____ Long distance _____
Dating this person and others _____

THANK YOU

Appendix D
Post-Debriefing Consent Form

Project Title: Public Speaking Study 1

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Danu Stinson, Department of Psychology, dstinson@uvic.ca

Student Investigator: Alex Fisher, Department of Psychology, stinlab@uvic.ca

During the debriefing session, it was explained to me why it was necessary for the researchers to use deception in this study. I was informed that having full information on the purpose of the study might have influenced my behaviour and/or responses, and invalidated the results of the study. For this reason, the purpose of the study that I was initially provided was a misrepresentation of the study's true purpose.

I have now received a thorough verbal and written explanation as to the study's true purpose. I have also had the opportunity to ask any questions about this study, and to have these questions answered to my satisfaction.

I have been asked to give permission to the researchers to use my data in their study, and I hereby agree to this request. I realize that I may withdraw my consent at any time by notifying the Principal Investigator that I wish to do so.

I am aware that if I have any comments or concerns pertaining to my participation in this study, I may contact the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Participant Name

Signature of Participant Date

Signature of Witness Date

Appendix E

Public Speaking Study Feedback Letter

Project: Public Speaking Study 1
Faculty Investigator: Dr. Danu Stinson, Assistant Professor, Psychology Department
Contact Information: dstinson@uvic.ca; 250-721-6281
Student Investigator: Alex Fisher, Department of Psychology, stinlab@uvic.ca

Thank you for participating in this study! We were interested in how characteristics of the speech-giver (e.g., age, appearance, income) might have affected ratings of the speech-giver's performance. In reality, the female student will not actually be leading a focus group in the future and does not intend on entering the career she mentioned in her speech. The reason we needed to use deception in this study was because if we had told you what we were studying, then your responses may not have been natural. We apologize again for misleading you. We hope you understand why it was necessary. If you provided your email in the questionnaire, it will not be included in our electronic records and no one will contact you at that email.

If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact us at either the phone number or email address listed at the top of the page. If you would like a summary of the results, please let us know now by providing us with your email address. When the study is completed, we will send it to you.

As with all University of Victoria projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Human Research Ethics Office. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact the Human Research Ethics Office at 250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca. If participation in this study raised any issues you would like to discuss, you may contact the UVic Counseling office (phone #:250-721-8341, email: counsell@uvic.ca) or visit them in person at the University Center, room B202 (located on Ring Road at the University of Victoria).

Appendix F

Social Media Impressions 1 Information and Consent Letter

Project: Social Media Impressions 1
Faculty Investigator: Dr. Danu Stinson, Assistant Professor, Psychology Department
Contact Information: dstinson@uvic.ca; 250-721-6281
Student Investigator: Alexandra Fisher

You are invited to participate in a study entitled “Social Media Impressions 1” that is being conducted by Dr. Danu Stinson, a faculty member in the Department of Psychology at the University of Victoria. You may contact her if you have further questions by using the contact information provided above. This research is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada.

The purpose of this research is to understand how people form impressions of others and communicate via social media. If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, **your participation will include viewing one profile of an individual, creating a profile for yourself, and then answering some questions about your impressions of the person in the profile.** Participation in this study will take approximately 5 to 10 minutes of your time. In appreciation for your time you may choose to receive either a chocolate bar or a pack of gum.

Participating in this research involves no known or anticipated risks and offers the benefits of learning about the process of research and furthering our knowledge of psychology. Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any explanation and without reprisal. If you withdraw from the study your data will not be used. Although you may be known to be a study participant either by the researcher or by others around you at the time you participate, your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected: Your name will not be associated with your data in any way, and your data will be stored inside a locked cabinet or on password protected computers in a secure area of the psychology building.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: Scholarly journals or books, presentations at scholarly meetings, the internet, and the media. Data from this study will be disposed of by shredding paper records or deleting data files five years after publication.

You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca). Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Name of participant

Signature

Date

Appendix G

Recruitment Script

“Hi there, I was wondering if you have five to ten minutes to participate in a study entitled, ‘Social Media Impressions?’

If no: “Okay, no problem! Have a nice day!”

If yes: “Awesome! Thank you! It just takes place over there at the computer station. The whole study should only take five to ten minutes and you will receive a chocolate bar or pack of gum in appreciation of your time.” [Give participant the consent form to read and sign and then escort them to the computer station]

Experimenter Script

“Thank you for participating in this short five minute study entitled, ‘Social Media Impressions’. There are instructions throughout the survey to guide you, but I’ll just give you an overview of the study before you begin. In a moment, you will be shown a screen which will ask you to provide some background information about yourself such as your gender, age, and nationality. After that, you will be randomly partnered with another UVic student who participated in this study before you. You will view your partner’s profile, and answer some questions about it. Then, you will create your own profile, and you will have the choice of sharing your profile only with your partner, or you can choose to keep your profile private, in which case it will only be seen by our research team. Finally, you will complete another short questionnaire. When you have finished please let me know and I will give you your compensation. Do you have any questions? You may begin.”

Appendix H
Background information.

Please tell us a bit about yourself. Results will only be reported in aggregate form. You may decline to answer these questions if you wish.

- 1) What is your age? _____ years
- 2) What is your sex? (check all that apply) Male _____ Female _____ Other _____
- 3) What is your sexual orientation? (check all that apply)
Heterosexual/Straight _____ Homosexual/Gay/Lesbian _____ Bisexual _____ Other _____
- 4) What is your race?
Aboriginal/First nations _____
African/Black _____
Asian _____
East Indian _____
Hispanic _____
Caucasian/White _____
Other _____
- 5) What was the average household income in your parents/guardians home in the last 5 years?

- 6) On average, how much do you expect to earn per year in your future career? _____
- 7) Were you born in Canada? Yes _____ No _____
7a) If you answered "No" above, in which country were you born? _____
- 8) How many years have you lived in Canada? _____ years
- 9) Is English your first language? Yes _____ No _____
- 10) What is your current major or intended major? _____
- 11) What career do you hope to have in your future?

- 12) Are you currently involved in a serious dating relationship: Yes _____ No _____
If YES how long have you been involved in your current relationship? _____ (months)
What is the current status of this relationship? (check all that apply)
Casual dating _____ Exclusive dating _____
Engaged _____ Living together _____
Married _____ Long distance _____
Dating this person and others _____

THANK YOU!

Appendix I Partner Profile

Please read these instructions carefully.

You're invited to "meet" one of your fellow UVic Students. In a moment, you will view the profile of an UVic student who completed this study on a previous day. You have been randomly assigned to meet one opposite-sex partner. Please read your partner's profile carefully and answer the following questions regarding your partner's profile. Your answers will help us to better understand how people evaluate others and communicate through social media.



Name: Jason/ Jessica

Interests/Hobbies: I love going to the movies, hiking at Mt. Doug with my dog Scooby, listening to music (love Arcade Fire!). I bike almost everywhere. On the weekend my friends and I play ultimate frisbee or just hang out. I'm a bit of a book worm. I love to travel and had a great time in Germany this summer.

Favourite Food: My mom's homemade lasagna.

Favourite Colour: Dark blue

Relationship Status: Single

Values: Honesty, Compassion, and Humour.

Educational Major: Business

Educational Year: Second year undergraduate student.

Future goals: I definitely want to get married and have a family one day. I want to remain close with my group of friends and my family. Being happy and successful in my career is also a very important goal for me.

Future career aspirations: Accounting Book-keeper /Accountant

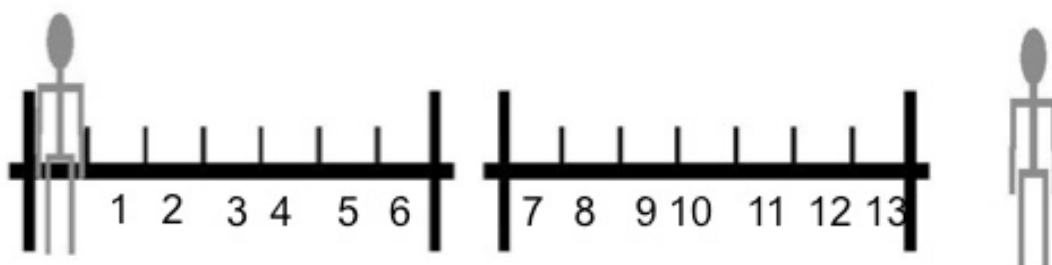
Expected future income: I think the average salary for a Accounting book-keeper/ Accountant is about \$35,000 per year / \$100,000 per year

Where I see myself in 10 years: I hope I'll be successful in my career and make a decent salary. Victoria is expensive! I also hope I'll be happy and satisfied in my relationships. Maybe, I'll have a nice house and be starting a family. I hope I have lots of time to travel. I want to see Iceland and New Zealand. Also, I see myself making time to just relax and enjoy life.

Appendix J

Help us understand your first impressions of James/Jessica.

1. There are two benches in a public park. James/Jessica happens to be sitting on one of the benches. You arrive. Where would you sit? Using the picture as a reference, please enter the number associated with the seat where you would sit on the line below.



Please rate your agreement with the following statements to give us an idea of how you view James/Jessica. Please indicate your answer using the scale below each question.

1. I feel like I would get along well with this person.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

3. I am interested in getting to know this person

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. This person appears likeable

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. I feel like I would have potential romantic chemistry with this person

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. I think this person would be accepting of me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I would be interested in going on a date with this person

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I think this person would be interested in getting to know me

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Appendix K Participant Profile

Your turn!

Please fill out the questions below and take a webcam picture of yourself that will be added to your profile.

Your experimental condition is : **Private**

Private Condition: You will have the option of sharing your profile solely with your partner, or you may choose not to share your profile at all.

Public Condition: You will have the option of sharing your profile with multiple individuals who complete this study, or you may choose not to share your profile at all.

Take a photo using the webcam connected to this computer and then complete the following questions.



Tell us about you! Please answer the following questions to create your profile.

1. What is your first name?

2. What are your interests/hobbies? (Name as few or as many as you would like)

3. What is your favourite food?

4. What is your favourite colour?

5. What is your relationship status? (Please select one)

Single In a relationship It's complicated other

6. List three values that are important to you?

7. What is your (intended) educational major?

8. What “year” of your educational program are you in? (e.g., “3rd year undergraduate student”)

9. What are your goals for the future?

10. What are your future career aspirations?

11. What is your expected future income?

12. Where do you see yourself in 10 years?

Reminder: You are in the “**Private**” experimental condition. You will have the option of sharing your profile solely with your partner, or you may choose not to share your profile at all.

Please use the scale below each question to indicate your response.

1. Are you willing are you to share your profile with your partner: James/Jessica?

7. If you would like to send your contact information to your partner: James/Jessica, please provide your name and email address below.

Name: _____ Email: _____

Appendix L

Impressions of Partner Items

First impressions are important. They will help us better understand your perceptions of your partner. Before you go, please rate your partner on the following characteristics. Use the scale provided below each question to inform your responses. Please enter the number associated with your response beside each characteristic.

1. How warm do you think: James/Jessica is compared to the typical undergraduate student at the University of Victoria? _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Below Average			Average			Very Above Average

2. How trustworthy do you think: James/Jessica is compared to the typical undergraduate student at the University of Victoria? _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Below Average			Average			Very Above Average

3. How capable do you think: James/Jessica is compared to the typical undergraduate student at the University of Victoria? _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Below Average			Average			Very Above Average

4. How skillful do you think: James/Jessica is compared to the typical undergraduate student at the University of Victoria? _____

Appendix M

Debriefing Script

“Hi, thank you for participating. I’d like to quickly tell you a bit more about the study. We were interested in how the characteristics of your profile partner, such as his or her attractiveness, career aspirations and expected future income would influence your interest in getting to know your partner as well as your impressions of your partner. We regret to inform you that, in reality, your profile partner is not an actual UVic student. The reason we needed to use deception in this study was because if we had told you that your partner was fictional, your responses may not have been natural. We apologize for misleading you. We hope you understand why it was necessary. If you provided your name and email, they will not be included in our electronic records and will not be used to contact you. If you provided your photograph in your profile, it will not be used to identify you or be used in publication. All your responses, including your picture, will be linked solely to your participant ID number and not your name. Do you have any further questions or concerns?

Can we still please use your questionnaire responses?” If yes: Thank you! If no: No problem, thank you for participating, your data will be destroyed.

Appendix N

Post-Debriefing Consent Form

Project Title: Social Media Impressions 1

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Danu Stinson, Department of Psychology, dstinson@uvic.ca

Student Investigator: Alex Fisher, Department of Psychology, stinlab@uvic.ca

Dr. Danu Stinson is a faculty member in the department of Psychology at the University of Victoria. You may contact her or the student investigator at the emails above if you have further questions. The purpose of this research is to understand how people form impressions of others. Your participation included viewing a profile, creating a profile for yourself, and completing a questionnaire regarding your impressions of the individual in the profile. Basic demographic information was also collected to determine whether this influences responses. Your profile responses and photograph will be rated on characteristics such as friendliness and approachability as an indicator of your impressions.

During the debriefing session, it was explained to me why it was necessary for the researchers to use deception in this study. I was informed that having full information on the purpose of the study might have influenced my behaviour and/or responses, and invalidated the results of the study. For this reason, the purpose of the study that I was initially provided was a misrepresentation of the study's true purpose. I have now received a thorough verbal and written explanation as to the study's true purpose. I have also had the opportunity to ask any questions about this study, and to have these questions answered to my satisfaction.

In appreciation of my time, I have the choice of either a chocolate bar or a pack of gum. My participation in this research was completely voluntary. I understand that I may withdraw at any time without any explanation and without reprisal. If I withdraw from the study, my data will not be used. Although I may be known to be a study participant either by the researcher or by others around you at the time I participate, my confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected: If I uploaded a photograph of myself to my profile, it will not be associated with my name in the records. Photographs will not be published nor used to identify participants. All data will be stored inside a locked cabinet or on password protected computers in a secure area of the psychology building.

I have been asked to give permission to the researchers to use my data in their study, and I hereby agree to this request. I realize that I may withdraw my consent at any time by notifying the Principal Investigator that I wish to do so. It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: Scholarly journals or books, presentations at scholarly meetings, the internet, and the media. Data from this study will be disposed of by shredding paper records or deleting data files five years after publication.

I am aware that if I have any comments or concerns pertaining to my participation in this study, I may contact the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Participant Name

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix O
Social Media Impressions 1 Feedback Letter

Project: Social Media Impressions 1
Faculty Investigator: Dr. Danu Stinson, Assistant Professor, Psychology Department
Contact Information: dstinson@uvic.ca; 250-721-6281

Thank you for participating in this study! We were interested in how characteristics of your partner such as his or her attractiveness, career aspirations and expected future income might have affected your interest in getting to know your profile partner and your impressions of him or her. In reality, your profile partner is not an actual UVic student. The reason we needed to use deception in this study was because if we had told you that your profile partner was fictional, then your responses may not have been natural. We apologize again for misleading you. We hope you understand why it was necessary. If you provided your name and email, they will not be included in our electronic records and will not be used to contact you. If you provided your photograph in your profile, it will not be used to identify you, be used in publication, nor will it be used for any other purposes. All your responses, including your picture, will be linked solely to your participant ID number and not your name.

If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact us at either the phone number or email address listed at the top of the page. If you would like a summary of the results, please let us know now by providing us with your email address. When the study is completed, we will send it to you.

As with all University of Victoria projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Human Research Ethics Office. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact the Human Research Ethics Office at 250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca.