

The Functionality of Risk-Taking:
Mating Motivation, Relationship Status, and Sex Differences

by

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ABSTRACT

Men may engage in financially risky behaviors when seeking mates for several reasons: Risky behaviors can signal to potential mates one's genetic fitness, may facilitate success in status competition with other men, and may be a necessary strategy for gaining sufficient resources to offer potential mates. Once in a relationship, however, the same financial riskiness may be problematic for males, potentially suggesting to partners an interest in (extra-curricular) mate-seeking and placing in jeopardy existing resources available to the partner and the relationship. In the current research, we employed guided visualization scenarios to activate either a mating motivation or no motivation in single and in attached men and women. Participants indicated their preference for either guaranteed sums of money or chances of getting significantly more money accompanied by chances of getting nothing. As predicted, mating motivation led single men to become more risky and attached men to become less risky. These findings replicated across different samples and measures. Interestingly, in all three studies, women exhibited the opposite pattern: Mating motivation led single women to become less financially risky and attached women to become more risky. Thus, two additional experiments were conducted to explore the potential causes of this effect. The results of these latter experiments support the "mate-switching" hypothesis of risk-taking in attached women. That is, women who are able

(i.e. have high mate value) were more risky in order to exit an undesirable relationship and move into a better one.

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Imagine you have taken a new job, and must decide how to allocate your retirement funds. You confront a choice between two investment packages: one comprised of low-risk government bonds with guaranteed, but relatively low, rates of return; the other of high-risk international stocks with a chance of very high returns but also some chance of substantial losses. Could this important choice be affected by something as transitory as whether you were thinking about a new romantic partner just before making the decision? Do the answers to these questions depend on whether you are a man or a woman, or whether you are currently in a relationship? Each day, consumers make financial decisions large and small, many of which involve an element of risk. Understanding how such decisions can be influenced by transitory factors such as current motivation or one's dating status could have important implications for understanding decision-making under uncertainty.

Risk Taking as a Costly Signal and Male Mating Strategy

There is evidence that suggests our ancestors often operated close to the margin of survival (Stephens & Krebs, 1986). There was a serious danger that they or their children would not survive if they misjudged how to invest their time or effort. Given that our ancestors faced limited resources, why do we take risks at all? Why not always play it safe? Researchers have proposed costly signaling theory (CST) as one possible reason. Costly signaling theory was originally developed in the field of animal behavior and explains how behaviors that are considered to be

costly in terms of time, energy, or resources can actually be adaptive by signaling important information about the individual (Zahavi, 1977).

A significant amount of evidence in the animal behavior literature, and mounting research in the human behavior literature, suggests that risk-taking is often used as a costly signal. Male animals are especially prone to costly risk-taking, due to differences in parental investment (in humans, as in most mammals, females must carry the offspring in her body and nurse them after birth). As a consequence of the fact that reproduction involves substantially more obligatory parental investment by females, females are generally the more “choosy” sex, and males must compete amongst themselves for mating opportunities (Trivers, 1972). Females select mates that possess genes for high viability, and/or can provide direct material resources (Price, Schluter & Heckman, 1993).

According to CST, human males who are willing and able to take risks are simultaneously signaling that they are more likely to be healthy, wealthy, and competent (Bliege Bird, Smith & Bird, 2001). A female who chooses such a male as a mate increases the odds of gaining good genes for her offspring and resources for herself, improving both her and her children’s likelihood of survival and ultimately increasing her genetic fitness. In line with the idea that men engage in risky behaviors for mating purposes, risk-taking is at its highest for men in their late teens or twenties, when females are highly fertile and males are least likely to have attracted a mate (Byrnes, Miller & Schafer, 1999). In fact, the level of risk-

taking for men that age is so striking that researchers have dubbed the phenomenon the “young male syndrome” (Wilson & Daly, 1985).

Several lines of experimental research show that men become more financially risky when in a mating motivated frame of mind. For instance, Baker and Maner (2008) found that men became more risky in a blackjack game after being exposed to images of attractive, but not unattractive, women. The authors later found that men were more risk-taking in the Balloon Analogue Risk Task (BART) if they believed they were going to interact with an attractive female confederate, suggesting risky behaviors serve as costly signals of genetic quality (Baker & Maner, 2009). In another set of studies, Knutson, Wimmer, Kuhnen, and Winkielman (2008) found that financial risk-taking increased in heterosexual men who had recently viewed erotic pictures. The participants in these studies were either undergraduate students or between the ages of 18-26 and, although their relationship status was not reported, likely single and interested in short-term mating opportunities.

Perceived Attractiveness of Risk-taking

There is a significant difference in the type of traits people look for in short versus long-term partners. When it comes to short-term mates, women tend to prefer risk-prone over risk-averse men (Bassett and Moss, 2004; Kelly & Dunbar, 2001; Sylwester & Pawlowski, 2010). However, this preference is flipped when women think about long-term partners. For example, Bassett and Moss (2004) found that women were not

attracted to risk-takers in the context of marriage. Similarly, Sylwester & Pawlowski (2010) showed that women rated risk-avoiders as more attractive than risk-takers for long-term, but not short-term, sexual partners. The authors defined long-term partners as “someone with whom a participant would like to live or start a family” and short-term partners as “one with whom a participant would have casual sex or an affair” (Sylwester & Pawlowski, 2010 pp.700).

Interestingly, Sylwester & Pawlowski (2010) found no sex differences in ratings of how attractive risk-taking is for short and long term mates. That is, they found that both men and women prefer risk-prone individuals as short-term partners and risk-averse individuals as long-term partners. Their data support those of Bassett and Moss’s (2004), which also show that risk-taking in potential partners is attractive to both men and women who are looking for casual relationships. Sylwester & Pawlowski (2010) suggest that risky behaviors in women may signal higher levels of sexual unrestrictedness, an attractive trait for men interested in short-term relationships. Thus risk taking in women may act as a costly signal to attract high quality short-term mates.

Relationship Status, Mating Motivation, and Risk-taking

The above research supports the idea that financial risk-taking serves as a costly signal of resources and genetic quality and that risk-takers are perceived positively as short-term mates. What is conspicuously missing from the literature, however, is experimental

research on how men who are in committed relationships make decisions under risk. Women do not desire risk-prone men as long-term partners – is there a difference in mating-motivated men’s financial taking behaviors are if they are attached rather than single? There is also currently no research comparing how mating-motivated women who are single versus in relationships make risky decisions. The present research addresses this gap in the literature by proposing and experimentally testing the hypothesis that mating motives lead to different decisions under risk depending on the sex of the participant and his/her relationship status.

If risk-taking serves the function of signaling good genes and allowing men to successfully compete for mating opportunities, men who are single and motivated to seek a short-term partner should be more financially risky than men for whom mate acquisition is not salient. Men who are already in relationships, however, ought to be less likely to exhibit the same bias toward risk-taking. Correlational data suggests that factors related to life stage, such as age, desire for marriage, and parenthood are negatively correlated with risk-taking (Willoughby & Dworkin, 2009; Wang, Kruger, & Wilke, 2009). This may be because, for men who are already in relationships, the potential benefits of risk-taking do not outweigh the potential costs. For these men, taking risks could suggest to partners that they are interested in (extra-curricular) mate-seeking and place in jeopardy existing resources available to the partner and the

relationship. Therefore, men in relationships who are primed with short term mating should actually become less financially risky.

What will single women do when primed with short-term mating? As mentioned above, risk-taking in women is perceived positively by men looking for casual sexual partners because it may indicate sexual unrestrictedness. Thus, it is possible that women, like men, will become more financially risky in order to attract a mate. On the other hand, there are significant costs for women who attract sexual interest from the wrong person. The minimal level of parental investment for women is greater than that for men, because she must exert energy, time, and resources in gestation and lactation (Trivers, 1972). Getting pregnant from a one-night stand would result in disproportionately greater costs for women than for men. Thus, women should be extremely careful when considering the possibility of short-term relationships. This should lead to lower levels of risk-taking for women who are primed with short-term mating compared to women for whom short-term mating is not salient.

From an evolutionary perspective, women who are in relationships face a somewhat different cost-benefit framework when considering the possibility of getting pregnant. She must still bear the burden of carrying the fetus to term and nurse him/her after birth, but the chances of survival for her and her offspring would be greater because they could obtain resources from her current partner. Indeed, there are non-trivial numbers of fathers raising children who are not biologically their own. Although

estimates of non-paternity vary, recent research finds that the number could be as high as 30% in some demographics (Anderson, 2006). Research from Norway also finds that relatively large numbers of both men and women (16% and 11% respectively) have cheated on their current partners, and half of them did not use any form of contraception during their affair (Traeen, Holmen, and Stigum, 2007). These data suggest women who are already in stable relationships may be inclined to engage in risk-taking in order to attract a short-term mate, because doing so would allow her to obtain “good genes” for her offspring while maintaining a long-term partner who offers emotional and financial support.

Another possible explanation for why women in relationships might be more risky when primed with mating is that they have a financial “cushion” if their gamble doesn’t pan out. This hypothesis is in line with research by Hsee and Weber (1999), who found that Chinese were more risk taking than Americans in investment, but not medical or academic, decisions. The authors proposed that this is because Chinese are more likely to receive help if they are in need from family members and relatives (a financial “cushion”), thus giving them more leeway to take risks if the payoffs are high.

A series of experiments were conducted to test the hypotheses outlined above. Below, I will briefly describe these experiments and their findings, and then I will discuss the aims, methods, and expected results of the current study.

Study 1

Participants and Procedure

106 students at a business school in the South (54 women) completed the study. They were randomly assigned to either a mating motivation or a control condition. Motivations were induced via guided visualization exercises. In the mating motivation condition, participants imagined being on vacation and meeting a highly desirable person of the opposite sex. They wind up spending a romantic day with the new romantic interest, and the scenario ends as the two people share a passionate kiss on the moonlit beach. In the control condition, people imagined organizing a desk and putting papers away in files of different colors. These manipulations have been extensively pre-tested and shown to elicit the desired motives in both men and women (Griskevicius et al., 2009; Griskevicius, Goldstein, Mortensen, Cialdini, & Kenrick, 2006; Griskevicius et al., 2007).

Then, participants were presented with 3 questions that asked them to choose a certain amount of money for sure or a chance to win more money accompanied by a chance of winning nothing (e.g. Would you rather have: A). a sure gain of \$240 or B). a 25% chance to gain \$1,000 and a 75% chance to gain nothing). Participants answered these questions on 4 point scale with 1 = definitely choice A, 2 = probably choice A, 3 = probably choice B, and 4 = definitely choice B. These three items were aggregated to form the risk taking dependent measure ($\alpha = .75$).

Participants were then asked a set of demographic variables that included their relationship status. “Single, not dating” was coded as 1 and “single, dating one person” was coded as 2. Other relationship statuses (e.g. single, dating more than one person) were not included in the analyses below. Finally, all participants were fully debriefed and given credit.

Results

A 2(condition: mating, control) x 2(participant sex) x 2(dating status: not dating, attached) ANOVA was performed. As predicted, there was a significant 3 way interaction $F(1, 98) = 4.75, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .05$. Men who were not dating anyone became more risky under a mating motivation, but men who were already in a relationship were less risk taking under a mating motivation (Figure 1, top). Women who were not in a relationship became less risk taking under a mating motivation, while women who were currently dating experienced little change compared to control (Figure 1, bottom).

Study 2

The aim of Study 2 is to replicate the results found in Study 1 with a different population. This is important for two reasons: 1) most of the participants in Study 1 were business students, who may have a different view of money and financial risk than the average person, and 2) the results for the women were initially unexpected. Study 2 also asked more

questions regarding risk in order to expand the generalizability of the findings.

Participants and procedure

110 undergraduate students (48 female) at a large public university in the Southwest participated in the study for course credit. They were randomly assigned to either the mating or control condition. Motivations were induced via the same guided visualization exercises as in Study 1.

Participants made 6 choices between a particular amount of money for certain versus a chance of winning more money with a risk of not winning anything (e.g. \$100 for sure versus a 50% chance of winning \$800 and a 50% chance of winning nothing). Participants answered these questions on a 4 point scale with 1 = definitely choice A, 2 = probably choice A, 3 = probably choice B, and 4 = definitely choice B. These items were aggregated to form the risk taking dependent variable ($\alpha = .78$). Dating status was measured in the same way as in Study 1.

Results

A 2(condition: mating, control) x 2(participant sex) x 2(dating status: not dating, attached) ANOVA was performed. As predicted, there was a 3 way interaction between condition, dating status and participant sex $F(1, 102) = 9.11, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .08$. Men who were single became more risky when primed with mating, but men who were already in a relationship were less risk taking under a mating motivation (Figure 2, top). Women who were not in a relationship became less risk taking under

a mating motivation, while women who were currently dating became more risky compared to control (Figure 2, bottom).

Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 support our hypothesis that a mating motivation leads single men to be more risk taking but attached men to be less risk taking compared to control. They also reveal female behavior to be opposite to those of men – single women are less risky when primed with short-term mating, but attached women are more risky. The dependent measures in Studies 1 and 2 related to a very specific instance of financial risk taking, and the value of, say, \$100 may not be the same for everyone. Study 3 aimed to extend the findings from Studies 1 and 2 by investigating whether the results would hold for more general financial risk-taking behaviors.

Participants and procedure

228 undergraduate students (117 female) at a large public university in the Southwest completed this study for course credit. As with the previous 2 studies, participants were randomly assigned to either the mating or the control condition. This time, financial risk taking was measured using a 6-item self-reported risk taking scale. Participants were asked to rate their likelihood of engaging in the following behaviors on a scale of 1 (*extremely unlikely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*): “Betting a week's income/allowance at a casino”, “Going over your monthly budget and going in debt to make an investment in the stock market”, “Making a \$100

bet with a friend about the outcome of a sporting event or race”, “Using your grocery money to play poker or other gambling game”, “Spending a week’s allowance on lottery tickets when the jackpot hits a new record high”, “Charging a large amount (over \$100) on a credit card to back up a risky bet”. These items were aggregated to form a general risk-taking dependent variable ($\alpha = .73$). Dating status was measured as before.

Results

A 2(condition: mating, control) x 2(participant sex) x 2(dating status: not dating, attached) ANOVA was performed. As predicted, there was a 3 way interaction $F(1, 210) = 4.43, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Again, men who were not dating became more risky under a mating motivation, but men who were already in a relationship were less risk taking under a mating motivation (Figure 3, top). Women who were not in a relationship became less risk taking under a mating motivation, while women who were currently dating experienced little change compared to control (Figure 3, bottom)

Internal Meta-analysis of Studies 1-3

A mini-meta analysis was conducted to see if the pattern of results for men and women is significant across the first 3 studies. In order to conduct this test, the dependent measure, risk-taking, was first standardized within study. Then, a separate data set was made consisting of only the critical variables – condition (control, mating), dating status (single, attached), participant sex, and the standardized risk-taking scores.

First, a 2 (condition) x 2 (dating status) x 2 (participant sex) ANOVA was conducted with standardized scores on risk-taking as the dependent measure. As expected there was a significant interaction $F(1, 428) = 16.43, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Deconstructing the three way interaction shows that attached women are significantly more risky in the mating motivation condition than the control condition ($p = .03$). The difference for single women, however, was marginal ($p = .09$). Single men were significantly more risky in the mating motivation condition than the control condition ($p = .01$), but attached men were only marginally less risky under a mating motivation ($p = .09$).

Studies 4 and 5

Three studies revealed that mating motivated single men become more risky, and attached men less risky, compared to a control condition. These results are expected based on previous literature and our own theorizing. The fact that single women become more cautious when in a mating motivation is also unsurprising based on parental investment theory. The results for women who are already in relationships, however, deserve further attention. Thus, in Studies 4 and 5, we wanted to explore the potential reasons attached women are more financially risk-taking when primed with short-term mating. There are three main hypotheses for the effect.

Primary Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Mating-motivated women who have low-status mates are more risk-taking in order to attract a better quality mate, using risky behaviors as signals of unrestrictedness.

Hypothesis 2: Mating-minded women who have low-status mates are more risk-taking to gain resources their mate does not have.

Hypothesis 3: Mating-minded women who feel that their partners are wealthy will be financially risk-taking because they feel they have a safety net to fall back on.

The current studies ask participants how risky they would be with different types of financial decisions (ones where the risky option has a higher expected value than the safe option, ones where the risky option has the same expected value as the safe option, and ones where the risky option has a lower expected value than the safe option), as well as physical risk. If hypothesis 1 is correct, women who are primed with mating should be riskier in all their financial choices, regardless of the expected value of the risky option, as well as in the physical domain. If hypothesis 2 or 3 is correct, women should be risky only when the expected value of the risky option is greater than that of the safe option. In addition, they should not be any riskier when it comes to non-financial choices. These competing hypotheses for financial risk-taking (Figure 4) and physical risk-taking (Figure 5) are presented in the appendix section.

Secondary hypotheses

It is also possible that the effects will be moderated by relationship stability. Women who feel uncommitted, unsatisfied, or unsecure in their current relationships may be more likely to use financial risk-taking as a way to signal their sexual unrestrictedness to other men. If this is the case, there should be an interaction between relationship stability, prime (control vs. mating), and partner manipulation. Deconstructing the interaction should reveal that mating-minded women who see profiles of desirable men become risky (both financially and physically) if they are in unstable relationships (Figure 6). Women who are in stable relationships, on the other hand, should actually be less risky in the mating compared to the control condition because they do not want to appear unrestricted. Women who see profiles of undesirable men should find their current partners more desirable and thus be less risky if they are in a stable relationship, regardless of whether mating motives are salient.

In addition, there may be an effect of mate value on risk-taking. If the mate-switching hypothesis is correct, only women who are able to attract a better partner should be risky when made to believe that their current mate is undesirable. It wouldn't make sense for women low in mate value to be risky for signaling purposes because they could suffer potential losses, and are unlikely to gain the interest of a high quality partner. The resource acquisition and cushion hypotheses, on the other hand, do not predict differences in risk-taking based on mate value.

Study 4

Participants

One hundred and three females currently in romantic relationships were recruited from introductory psychology courses to participate in the study. Of the 103 women, 91 were dating one person, 5 were dating more than one person, and 7 were engaged or married. About 34% of participants had been in the relationship for less than 6 months, 18% had been in the relationship between 6 months and 1 year, 32% had been in the relationship between 1 and 3 years, and 16% of participants had been in the relationship for over 3 years.

Mating Motivation and Control Guided Visualization Scenarios

Participants arrived at the lab in groups of up to 6 at a time and were seated at computers separated by partitions. They were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: a mating motivation or a no motivation control. These conditions were manipulated via guided visualization scenarios used in previous research (Griskevicius et al., 2009; Griskevicius, Goldstein, Mortensen, Cialdini, & Kenrick, 2006; Griskevicius et al., 2007). The control scenario guides participants through the process of organizing their desk at the beginning of the semester. The mating motivation scenario guides participants through a romantic beach vacation where they meet a desirable person of the opposite sex. The participant and their romantic interest spend a wonderful day together, eating dinner, engaging in meaningful

conversation and sharing a passionate kiss on the beach. Both the mating and control scenario are included in the appendix.

Partner Quality Manipulation

After participants read the mating motivation or control scenario, they looked at a series of profiles that depicted either attractive, high status men (desirable profile condition) or average-looking, low status men (undesirable profile condition). These profiles were adapted from those used in previous research (Kenrick, Neuberg, Zierk, & Krones, 1994) and shown to successfully make women feel that their own partners are of low quality (in the desirable profile condition) or high quality (in the undesirable profile condition). Each profile contained a picture, a short description of the target's interests, and a few facts about the target (name, hometown, hobbies/interests, and notable accomplishments). The names, hometowns, and hobbies/interests of the targets were the same across conditions, but the picture, description and notable accomplishments will vary in order to depict the quality of the target. Sample profiles are included in the Appendix.

Risk-taking Measures

Financial risk-taking was measured by asking participants to respond, on a scale of 1 = definitely choice A, 2 = probably choice A, 3 = probably choice B, and 4 = definitely choice B, whether they would choose a certain amount of money for sure, or a chance to gain more money accompanied with a chance of gaining nothing.

Nine financial risk-taking items were included in the study that varied in their risk type: In 3 of the items, the risky option had a *higher expected value* than the sure option (1. a sure gain of \$20, 25% chance to gain \$100 and a 75% chance to gain nothing; 2. a sure gain of \$200, 25% chance to gain \$1,000 and a 75% chance to gain nothing; 3. a sure gain of \$2,000, 25% chance to gain \$10,000 and a 75% chance to gain nothing), in another 3 of the items, the risky option had the *same expected value* than the sure option (1. a sure gain of \$10, 25% chance to gain \$40 and a 75% chance to gain nothing; 2. a sure gain of \$250, 25% chance to gain \$1,000 and a 75% chance to gain nothing; 3. a sure gain of \$1,000, 25% chance to gain \$4,000 and a 75% chance to gain nothing), and in the final 3 items, the risky option had a *lower expected value* than the sure option (1. a sure gain of \$30, 25% chance to gain \$96 and a 75% chance to gain nothing; 2. a sure gain of \$150, 25% chance to gain \$480 and a 75% chance to gain nothing; 3. a sure gain of \$1,500, 25% chance to gain \$4,800 and a 75% chance to gain nothing).

A measure of physical risk-taking adapted from Weber, Blais, and Betz (2002) was also included. Participants responded on a scale from 1 (extremely unlikely) to 7 (extremely likely) their likelihood of engaging in the following behaviors: (1) Going camping in the wilderness, (2) Going down a ski run that is beyond your ability, (3) Going whitewater rafting at high water in the spring, (4) Bungee jumping off a tall bridge, (5) Piloting a small plane.

Mate value

Participants were asked to rate themselves, compared to the average student at their university, on several positive attributes, including attractiveness, social status, intelligence, kindness, responsibility, trustworthiness, and wealth. The scale ranged from 1 (much lower than average) to 9 (much higher than average), with the mid-point being 5 (average).

Results

Primary hypotheses

Financial risk. A mixed-ANOVA was conducted with risk type as the within subjects factor and prime (mating vs. control) and partner manipulation as between subject factors. Results reveal a significant main effect of risk type $F(1, 99) = 7.430, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .070$. People were riskiest when the risky option had a higher expected value than the safe option ($M = 2.227, s.d. = 0.707$), next riskiest when the risky option had the same expected value as the safe option ($M = 2.207, s.d. = 0.685$), and least risky when the risky option had a lower expected value than the safe option ($M = 2.068, s.d. = 0.707$). However, risk type did not interact with any other variable ($ps > .25$), so future analyses are collapsed across risk type.

The main hypothesis is that women who believe that their current partners are of low quality will be more risky when primed with a short term mating motivation so as to attract a higher quality mate. Thus, the

primary prediction is a 2 (prime: control, mating) by 2 (partner manipulation: desirable, undesirable) interaction. That is, women primed with short term mating who see pictures of desirable men should be more risk-taking than women who see pictures of undesirable men in short term mating or no motivation conditions.

The results, however, did not support this hypothesis $F(1, 99) = 0.064, p = .801, \eta_p^2 = .001$. Instead, there was a main effect of partner manipulation – women who saw profiles of desirable men (control: $M = 2.407, s.d. = 0.732$; mating: $M = 2.254, s.d. = 0.575$) were more risky than women who saw profiles of undesirable men (control: $M = 2.111, s.d. = 0.568$; mating: $M = 1.898, s.d. = 0.518$) $F(1, 99) = 7.557, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .071$ (Figure 7). There were no other significant main effects or interactions.

Physical risk. A physical risk-taking composite score was created by averaging scores from five items taken from the domain specific risk-taking scale (Weber, Blais, & Betz, 2002), $\alpha = .786$. Then, an ANOVA was conducted with this dependent measure and prime (mating vs. control) and partner manipulation as predictors. Results revealed no effect of the predictors on physical risk-taking ($ps > .38$).

Secondary hypothesis

The secondary hypothesis to be tested is that only women who are dissatisfied with their current relationship partners will take risks in order to signal to potential mates. Thus, additional analyses were conducted

with current relationship stability as an interaction term. Three items probing that stability of one's relationship (commitment, satisfaction, and security) were aggregated to form the "relationship stability" scale ($\alpha = .816$).

Financial risk. An ANOVA was conducted with financial risk-taking as the dependent measure and prime, partner manipulation, and relationship stability as the predictor variables. Results revealed a marginally significant 3-way interaction between the predictors $F(1, 95) = 3.841, p = .053, \eta_p^2 = .039$.

In the desirable profile condition, there was a main effect of partner stability on financial risk-taking – women in stable relationships were more risky than women in unstable relationships $b = .331, t(53) = 2.229, p = .030$. There was also a marginal 2-way interaction between prime and relationship stability, $b = -.267, t(52) = -1.506, p = .139$. A mating motivation led women in this condition to be somewhat *less* risky, unless they are in an unstable relationship (Figure 8).

In the undesirable profile condition, there was also a main effect of partner stability $b = -.165, t(51) = -2.088, p = .042$. However, the trend is in the opposite direction – women were more risky if they were in an unstable relationship. In addition, there was no interaction with prime in this condition $b = .165, t(51) = 1.231, p = .224^1$.

¹ We also conducted a secondary analysis with SOI in the model. However, results revealed no significant main effect or interactions with SOI. Graphs available upon request.

Physical risk. An analogous analysis was conducted with physical risk-taking as the dependent measure and prime, partner manipulation, and relationship stability as predictors. There was no effect of any of the predictors on physical risk-taking ($ps > .42$).

Effect of mate value

If the mate-switching hypothesis is correct, there should be an interaction between self perceived mate value and partner manipulation. Only women who are able to enter a better relationship (high mate value women) should be more risky when they feel that their current partner is undesirable.

A regression analysis with mate value, partner manipulation, and prime supported this prediction by revealing a 2-way interaction between mate value and partner manipulation, $b = -.435$, $t(90) = -2.00$, $p < .05$. High mate value women were more risky after viewing profiles of desirable men than undesirable men. There was no such difference in risk-taking for low mate value (Figure 9). In addition, there was no effect of prime on this interaction ($p = .834$). That is, women in the mating motivation condition and control condition showed the same pattern of results.

Study 5

There was a main effect of partner manipulation in Study 4, whereby women were generally more risk-taking after viewing pictures of desirable men. It is unclear whether the profiles themselves elicited a mating motivation. Thus, a second study was conducted that used a

different partner manipulation. Also, since there were no differences in risk-type in Study 4, this second study used a more general measure of financial risk-taking.

Participants

Participants were 111 females currently in romantic relationships. Of these women, about 11% had been in their relationship for a year or less, 39% had been in their relationship between 1 and 5 years, and 40% had been in their relationship for longer than 5 years.

Mating Motivation and Control Guided Visualization Scenarios

Participants completed the study on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. They were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: mating motivation or control. As in Study 1, these motivations were activated via guided visualization scenarios.

Partner Quality Manipulation

After participants read the mating motivation or control scenario, they were asked how much money their partner currently makes per year (if they were not sure, they were asked to take a guess). The partner manipulation was in the response choices – in the *poor partner* condition, the answer choices ranged from “less than \$50,000” to “more than \$300,000” in \$50,000 increments. In the *rich partner* condition, the answer choices ranged from “less than \$10,000” to “more than \$60,000” in \$10,000 increments. Previous research finds that, when participants respond toward the top or bottom of a scale, they tend to make

corresponding inferences about their circumstances (Schwarz, 1999). For example, people who respond near the top of an income scale tend to feel relatively rich while those who respond near the bottom tend to feel relatively poor (Nelson & Morrison, 2005). Thus, participants who respond near the top of the scale for their partner's income should feel that their partner is relatively wealthy while those who respond near the bottom of the scale should feel that their partner is relatively poor.

Risk-taking Measures

Financial risk-taking was measured via 3 general risk-taking items. Participants were asked to respond on a scale from 1 (extremely unlikely) to 7 (extremely likely) their likelihood of engaging in the following behaviors: "Betting a week's income/allowance at a casino"; "Going over your month budget and going in debt to make an investment in the stock market"; "Using your grocery money to play poker or other gambling game". These items were averaged to form the financial risk-taking dependent variable ($\alpha = .872$).

Physical risk-taking was also measured via 3 items. Participants were asked to respond on a scale from 1 (extremely unlikely) to 7 (extremely likely) their likelihood of engaging in the following behaviors: "Going whitewater rafting at high water in the spring"; "Taking a skydiving class"; "Bungee jumping off a tall bridge". These items were averaged to form the physical risk-taking dependent variable ($\alpha = .810$).

Mate value

In order to increase the generalizability of the results found in Study 4, a different measure of mate value was included in study 5. Mate value was assessed using a validated mate value scale, which measures self-perceived mating success (Landolt, Lalumiere, & Quinsey, 1995). Participants respond using a Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree), such that higher scores indicate higher mating success. Sample items from the scale include “Members of the opposite sex that I like tend to like me back”, “I can have as many sexual partners as I choose”, and “Members of the opposite sex are not very attracted to me” (reverse scored) ($\alpha = .87$).

Results

Primary hypotheses

Financial risk-taking. An ANOVA was conducted with financial risk-taking as the dependent measure and prime (mating vs. control) and partner manipulation as predictors. Results reveal a marginal interaction between prime and partner manipulation $F(1, 107) = 3.628, p = .059, \eta_p^2 = .033$. Women who thought that their partners were relatively poor were more risky when primed with a mating motivation (Figure 9).

Physical risk-taking. An ANOVA was conducted with physical risk-taking as the dependent measure and prime (mating vs. control) and partner manipulation as predictors. There were no significant effects of either of the predictors or their interaction ($ps > .54$).

Secondary hypotheses

Financial risk-taking. An ANOVA was conducted with financial risk-taking as the dependent measure and prime (mating vs. control), partner manipulation, and relationship stability as predictors. As in Study 1, relationship stability was measured using 3 items probing the commitment, security, and satisfaction of the participant's current relationship ($\alpha = .817$).

Results reveal a marginal 3-way interaction between prime (mating vs. control), partner status manipulation, and relationship stability $F(1, 102) = 3.548, p = .062, \eta_p^2 = .034$. In the poor partner condition, a mating motivation led to greater risk-taking $b = 5.074, t(57) = 2.133, p = .038$. This main effect is qualified by a marginal interaction with relationship stability. Women who were in low stability relationships were the ones who became riskier in a mating motivation $b = -.712, t(57) = -1.910, p = .062$.

In the rich partner condition, women were generally less risky if they were in a stable relationship than an unstable relationship, $b = -.608, t(53) = -1.905, p = .063$. There was no interaction with prime (mating versus control) in this condition $b = .305, t(53) = .786, p = .436$ (Figure 10).

Physical risk-taking. An ANOVA was conducted with physical risk-taking as the dependent measure and prime (mating vs. control), partner manipulation, and relationship stability as predictors. Results

reveal a significant main effect of prime. Women were less risky in the mating versus control condition $F(1, 102) = 10.942, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .097$. However, this effect is qualified by an interaction with relationship stability. While women in stable relationships were less risky under a mating motivation, women in unstable relationships actually became more risky $F(1, 102) = 11.678, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .103$ (Figure 12). There was no significant 3-way interaction with profile manipulation ($p = .304$).

Effect of mate value

In line with the findings from Study 4, and with the mate-switching hypothesis, there was a marginal interaction between mate value and partner manipulation such that women with high (but not low) self-perceived mate value were more risky when primed to think that their partner was poor, $b = -.44, t(107) = -1.84, p = .068$ (Figure 13). Also in line with Study 4, the same pattern of results was found for women in both the mating and control conditions.

General Discussion

How does being in a relationship influence people's inclination to take financial risks? Does the answer to this question differ for men and women or the situation one is currently in? A significant amount of attention has been devoted to understanding risk-taking, but extant research has often neglected to take into consideration important individual level variables. The current research sought to fill this gap in the literature by examining how relationship status moderates the effect of

mating motives on financial risk-taking for men and women. Experiments 1-3 revealed that mating motivation inspires men to become more financially risky, but only if they are single. Mating motivation reduced men's inclination to take financial risks if they were already in a relationship. These findings make sense in light of costly signaling and sexual selection theories.

On the other hand, mating-motivation had a very different influence on women, for whom it motivated less risk if they were single and more risk if they were in a relationship. From an evolutionary perspective, it may be adaptive for single women to be cautious in the domain of mating since the costs of an unwanted pregnancy with an undesirable partner is much greater for women than for men. It is less clear, however, why women in relationships are more financially risk-taking when primed with a mating motivation.

We developed three different hypotheses to explain the mechanisms for this effect: (1) The *mate-switching hypothesis* posited that women in unsecure relationships are more financially risky so as to attract a better quality partner than the one they currently have. (2) The *resource acquisition hypothesis* suggested that women with low status partners are financially risk-taking in order to acquire resources they would otherwise not have. (3) *The cushion hypothesis* tested the idea that women in relationships are more risk-taking because they have a financial safety net if their gamble doesn't pay off.

Two experiments were conducted to test these three competing hypotheses. Study 4 primed participants with a mating motivation or no motivation using guided visualization scenarios, and manipulated partner quality via profiles of desirable (attractive, high status) men or profiles of undesirable (unattractive, low status) men. Previous research shows that viewing these profiles lead women to feel less or more satisfied with their own partners, respectively (Kenrick, Neuberg, Zierk, & Krones, 1994). The financial risk-taking dependent measure included items in which the risky option had higher, lower, or equal expected values than the safe option. The physical risk-taking dependent variable consisted of 5 items adapted from the domain-specific risk-taking scale by Weber, Blais, and Betz (2002).

Study 5 also primed participants with a mating motivation or no motivation via guided visualization scenarios, but partner quality was manipulated differently – by arranging the response scale so that their partner’s current income would seem either relatively high or relatively low (following Schwarz, 1999). The financial risk-taking dependent measure consisted of 3 general betting behaviors, and the physical risk-taking measure was a shortened 3-item version of the one used in the previous study.

Although far from conclusive, both experiments 4 and 5 provided more support for the mate-switching hypothesis than the resource acquisition or cushion hypotheses. In experiment 4, women in

relationships became more financially risky after viewing profiles of desirable men, regardless of whether or not they were primed with a mating motivation. One potential explanation for this is that the profiles were enough to elicit a mating motive, negating the need for an additional mating manipulation to produce an increase in risk-taking. In addition, this effect was the same regardless of whether the expected value of the risky option was larger, smaller, or equal to that of the safe option, suggesting that risk-taking was being used as a signal rather than a means to resource acquisition. Finally, analyses that included participant mate value in the statistical model revealed an interaction such that high mate value women became more risk-taking after viewing profiles of desirable men, while low mate value women did not. This finding supports the mate-switching hypothesis because it suggests that only women who are able to attract a high quality mate use financial risk taking as a strategy to exit a relatively less desirable relationship.

The results of study 4 do not support the resource acquisition hypothesis for several reasons. First, the resource acquisition hypothesis predicts that women are only financially risky if the expected value of the risky option is greater than that of the safe option. Second, the resource acquisition hypothesis does not suppose any difference in risk-taking by mate-value.

The financial risk-taking results in study 4 also do not support the cushion hypothesis. In fact, the results are in the opposite direction of

what the cushion hypothesis would predict. The cushion hypothesis predicts that women would be more risky if they feel that their partners are wealthy and can support them (i.e. when they see profiles of undesirable men), but the results reveal that women are actually riskier after viewing profiles of desirable men.

The results of physical risk-taking in study 4 are less supportive of the mate-switching hypothesis. Indeed, no effect was found for any of the predictors or their interactions. These null results are more in line with the resource acquisition and cushion hypothesis, neither of which predicts an effect of mating prime or partner manipulation on physical risk-taking. However, it is imprudent to make too much out of null findings and, given that the results for financial risk-taking support the mate-switching hypothesis, I am inclined to view the physical risk-taking results as more indicative of a poor choice of dependent measure than as support for either the resource acquisition or cushion hypotheses. I return to and expand upon this in the limitations and future directions section.

Study 5 also found some support for the mate-switching hypothesis. Women who were primed with a mating motivation and felt that their current partners were relatively poor became financially riskier. Further analyses revealed that women who felt that their relationships were insecure were the ones who were the most risky. Finally, women who rated themselves high in mate value were more risk-taking if they thought their partners were poor; women who rated themselves low in mate value

did not show this effect. Again, these results are not compatible with the resource acquisition hypothesis, which predicts no effect of relationship stability on risk-taking, or the cushion hypothesis, which predicts that women would be riskier if they thought their partners were rich rather than poor.

Unfortunately, although the financial risk-taking measure was again supportive of the mate-switching hypothesis, the physical risk-taking measure was not. As in study 4, physical risk-taking in study 5 did not vary based on partner quality or whether the participant was in a mating frame of mind. As I explain below, it is possible that the null findings for physical risk-taking may be due to the way the studies were designed, and should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence against the mate-switching hypothesis.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although two experiments found some support for the mate-switching hypothesis, the results were also somewhat mixed and, therefore, inconclusive. The main way that the actual results deviated from the predicted mate-switching results is that physical risk-taking did not increase in high mate value women who were manipulated to believe that they had undesirable partners. One potential reason for this is that the measures used to detect physical risk were not especially indicative of sexual unrestrictedness. Perhaps other types of risky behaviors (such as drinking heavily at a social function or going to a party by oneself) would

be better for testing the mate-switching by signaling hypothesis.

Unfortunately, the current studies only used physical risk-taking measures and additional research must be conducted in order to test this idea.

Another potential limitation of the current research is that the financial risk-taking measures always came before the physical risk-taking measures. This methodological oversight may be problematic because women may not feel the need to report greater levels of physical risk-taking if they already reported that they would be financially risky. To test this idea, future research could systematically manipulate the presentation order of different types of risk. If women believe that it is sufficient to be risky in only one domain to signal unrestrictedness, the results should show a boost in risk-taking in the risk items that appear immediately after the manipulations, but not necessarily in later items that measure risk in a different domain.

Conclusion

Five experiments show that dating status affects when and why men and women take financial risks. The general finding that men are more risk-taking than women, especially under a mating motivation, is qualified by whether those men and women are in relationships. These nuanced findings make sense in light of the cost-benefit ratios that men and women face when deciding whether to take risks for signaling value. The only result that needed further exploration was greater risk-taking by mating minded women in relationships. Thus, studies 4 and 5 investigated

potential mechanisms for this effect by proposing and testing three alternative hypotheses. Although none of the hypotheses were fully supported by the two experiments in the current research, the data fit the mate-switching hypothesis the best – women in less than ideal relationships, who are able to, may use financial risk-taking as a signal to other, more desirable, men.

This is not to say that women never use financial risk taking for other purposes, or that the resource acquisition and cushion hypotheses are completely wrong. Indeed, it is possible that different women adopt different strategies. For instance, study 4 shows that, in the control condition, women reminded of high status men become riskier if they are in a stable relationship. It could be that these women were thinking about their own relationships and were more financially risky because they knew they had a financial safety net.

Even if women are using multiple strategies, the current research is still an important step in identifying the conditions that lead to financial risk-taking in women. More broadly, the results of the five studies in this package speak to the importance of looking at multiple factors when understanding complex downstream behaviors such as decision-making.

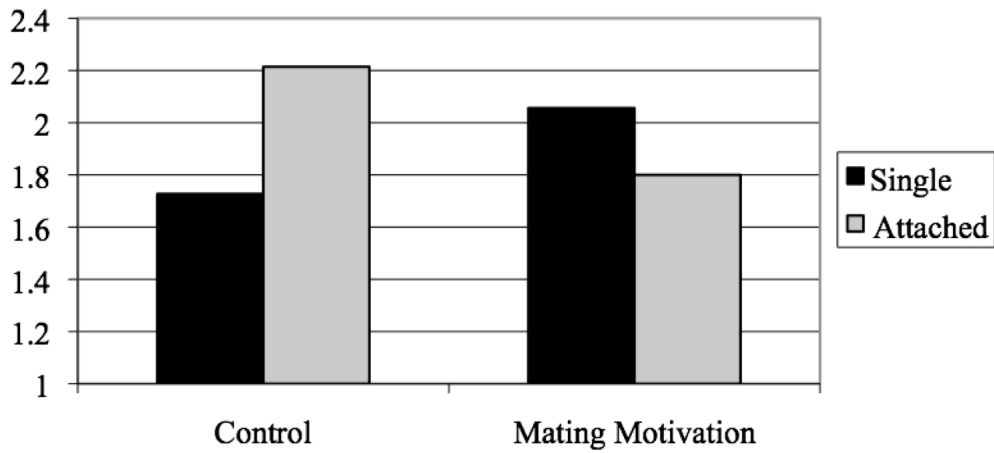
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Male Data



Female Data

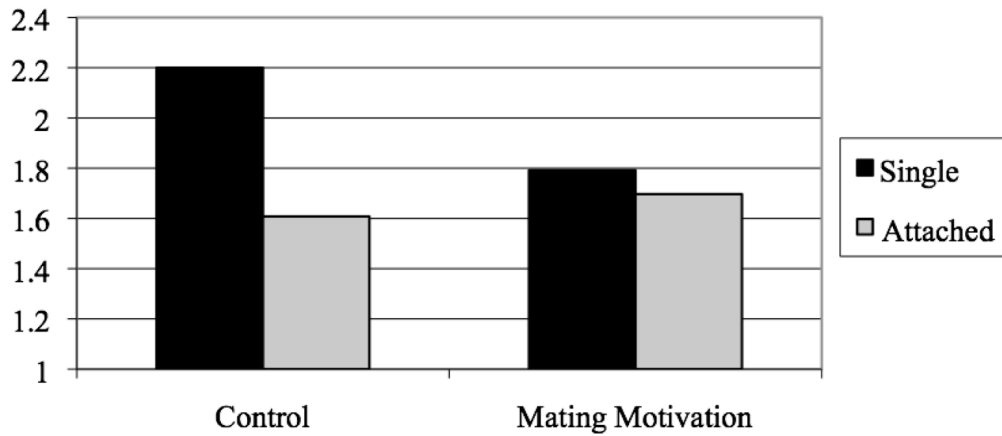
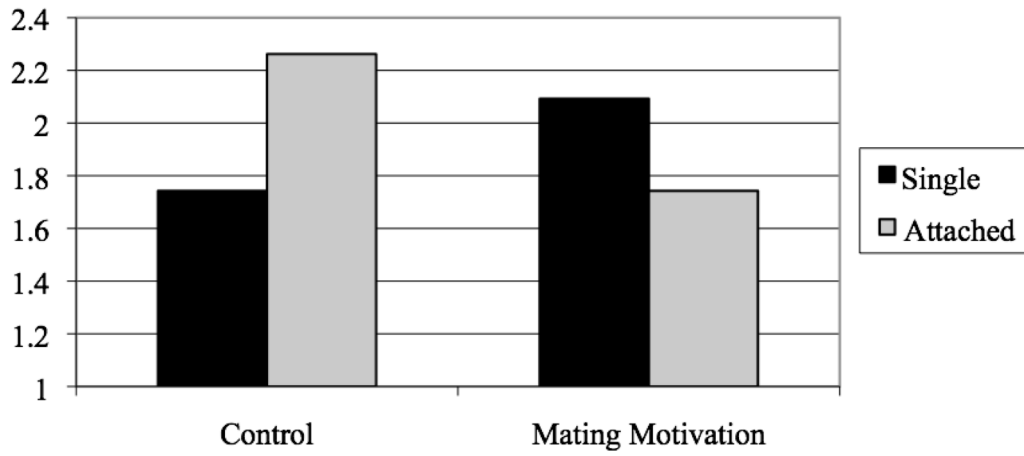


Figure 1. Mean risk-taking for men (top) and women (bottom) broken down by motivation and relationship status. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

Male Data



Female Data

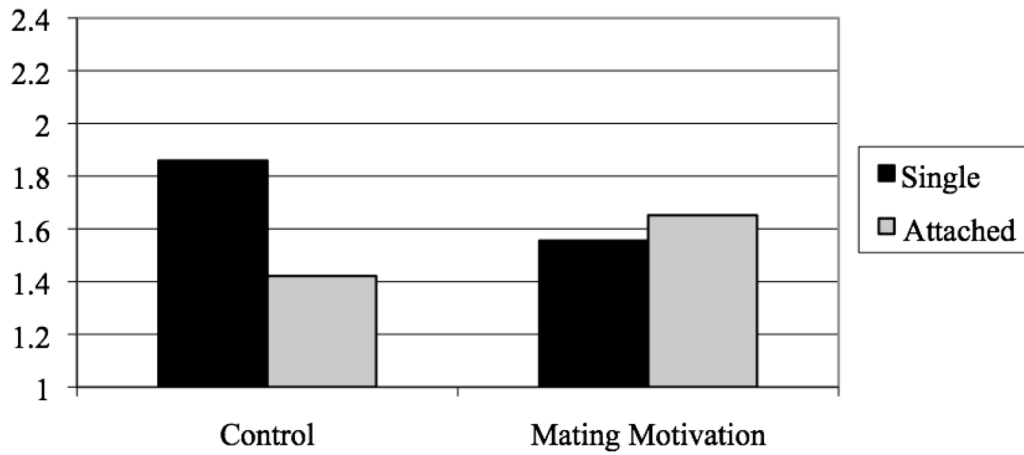


Figure 2. Mean risk-taking for men (top) and women (bottom) broken down by motivation and relationship status. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

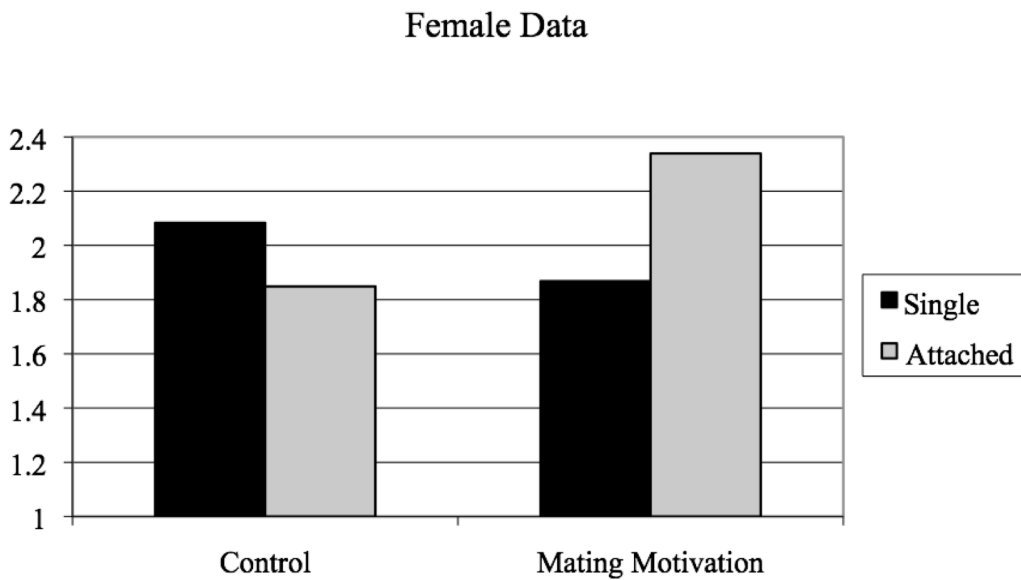
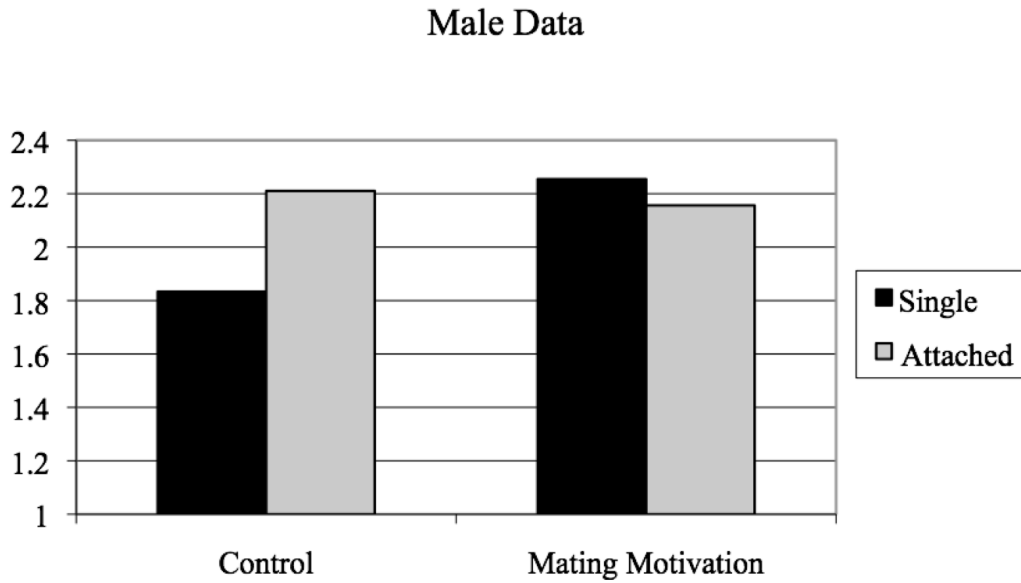
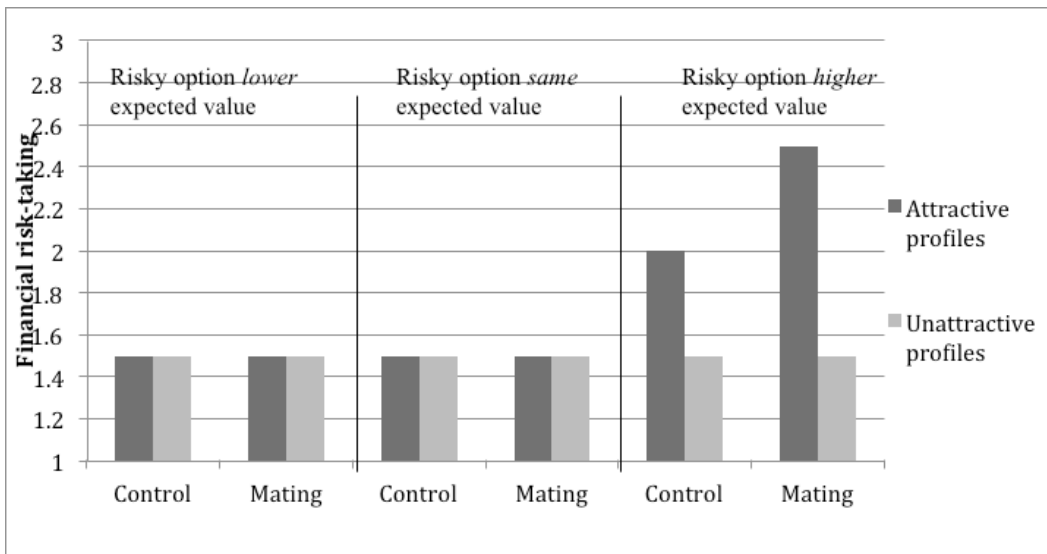
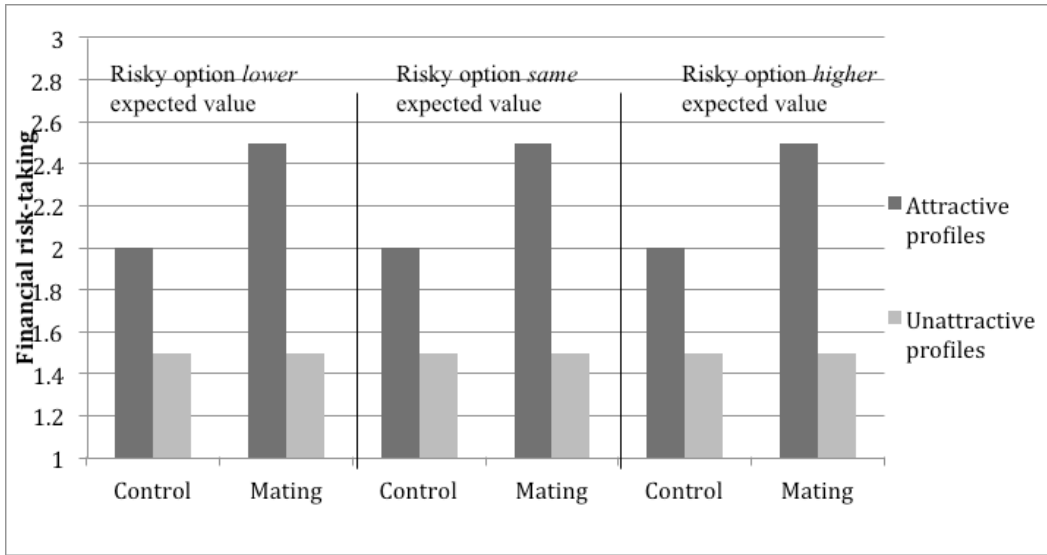


Figure 3. Mean risk-taking for men (top) and women (bottom) broken down by motivation and relationship status. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.



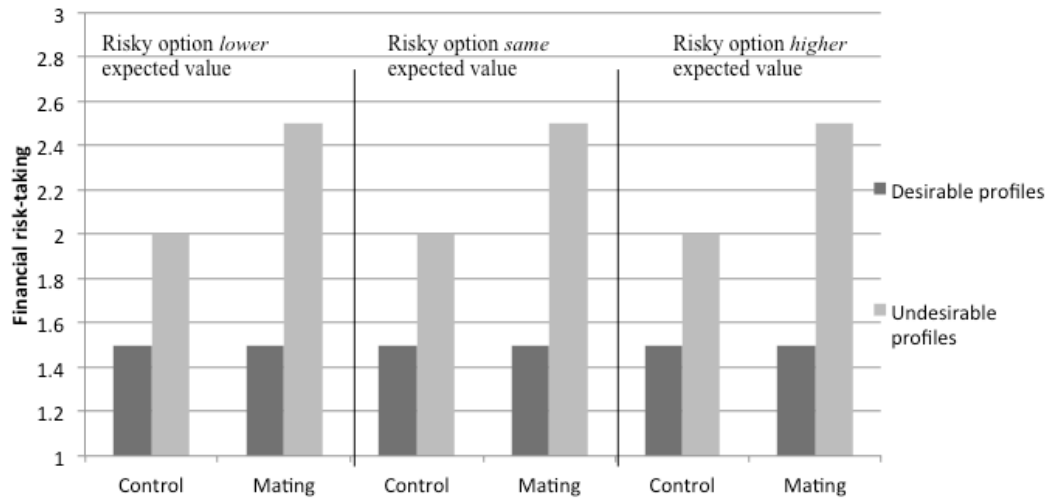


Figure 4. Expected pattern of financial risk-taking for the mate-switching hypothesis (top), resource acquisition hypothesis (middle) and cushion hypothesis (bottom) broken down by motivation and partner manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

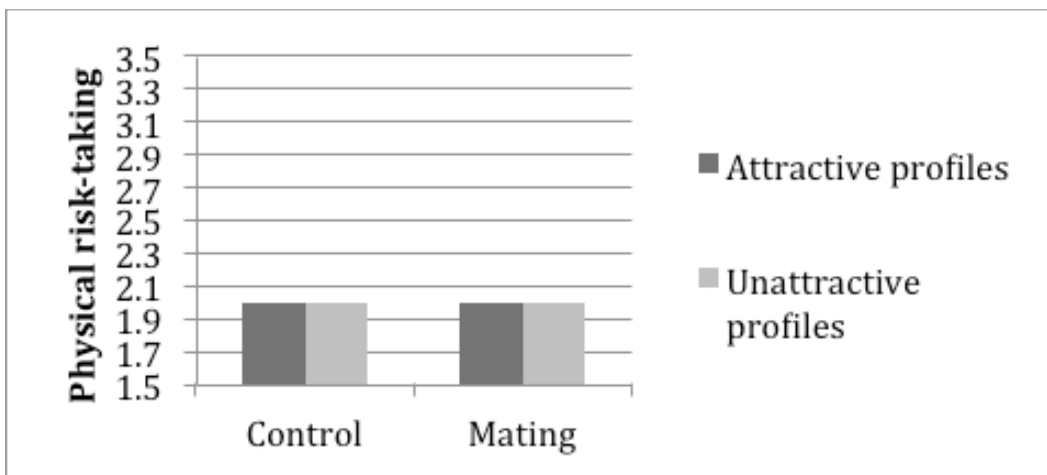
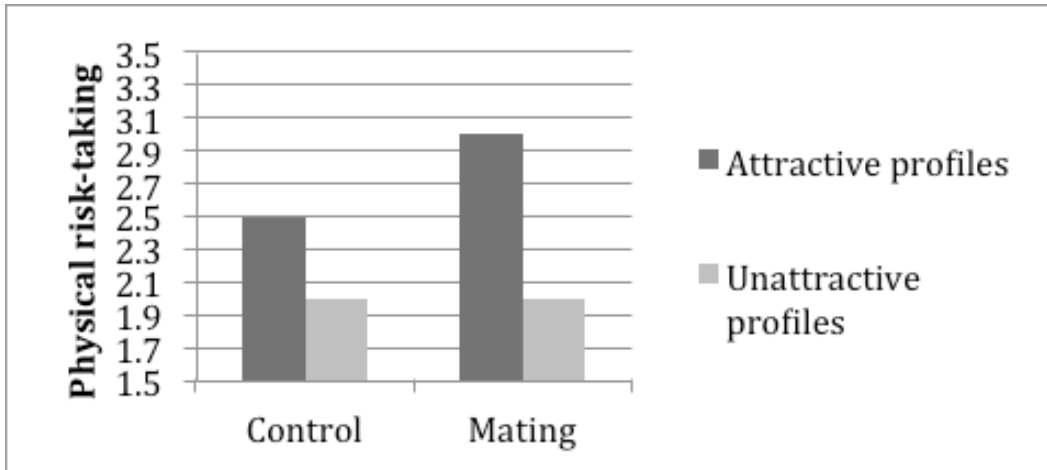


Figure 5. Expected pattern of physical risk-taking for the mate-switching hypothesis (top), and resource acquisition and cushion hypotheses (bottom) broken down by motivation and partner manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

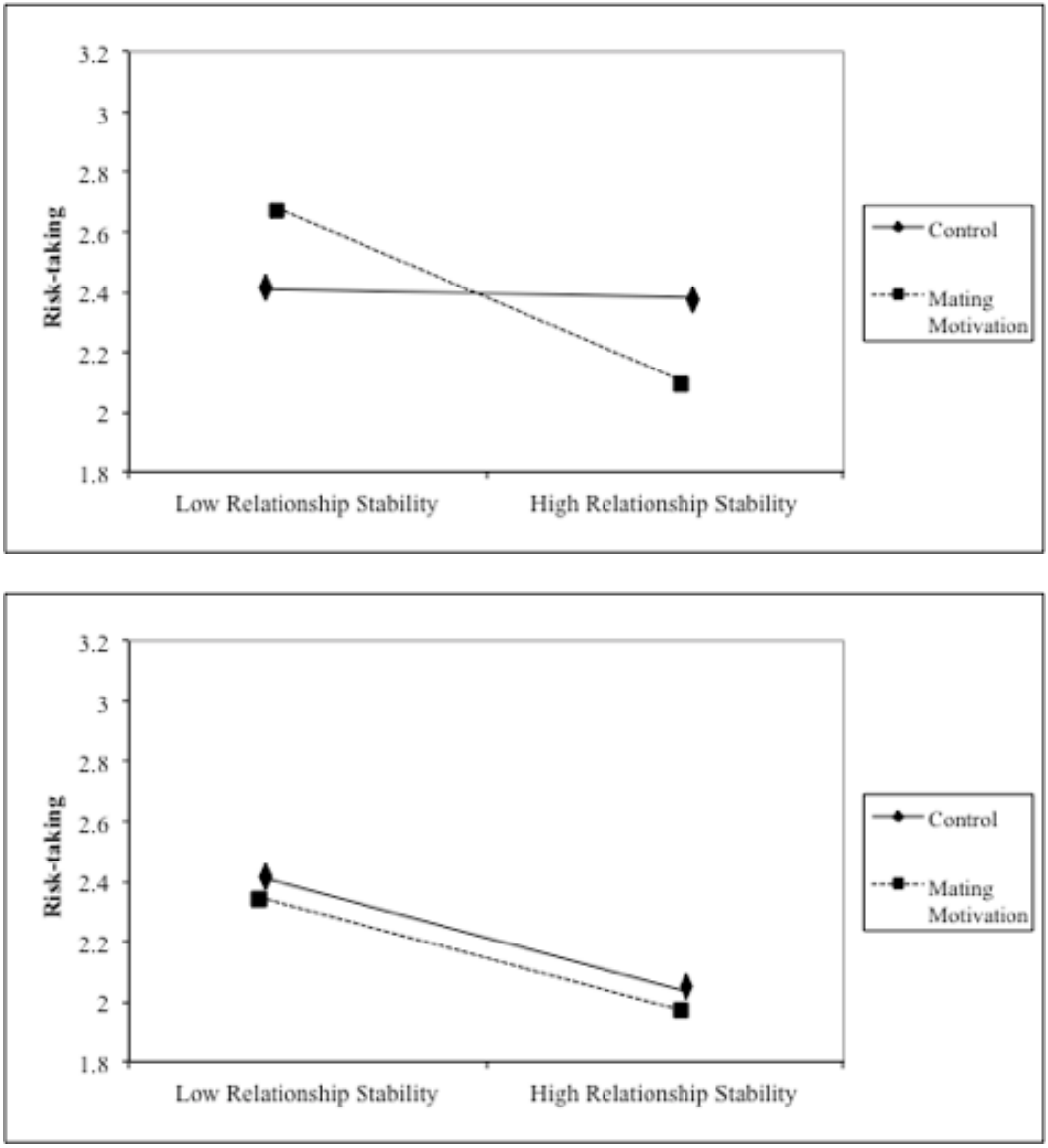


Figure 6. Expected pattern of financial risk-taking for the mate-switching hypothesis for women who view desirable (top) and undesirable (bottom) profiles, broken down by relationship stability and manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

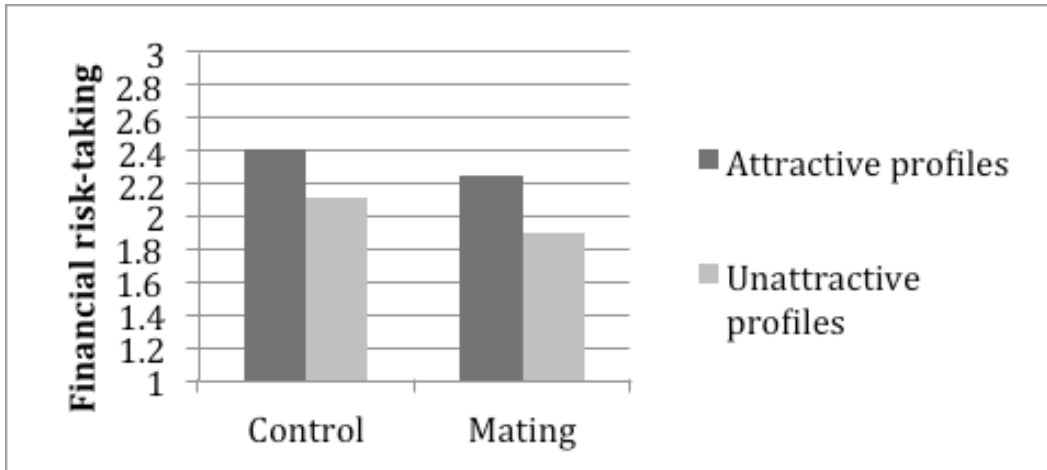


Figure 7. Financial risk-taking broken down by manipulation and partner manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

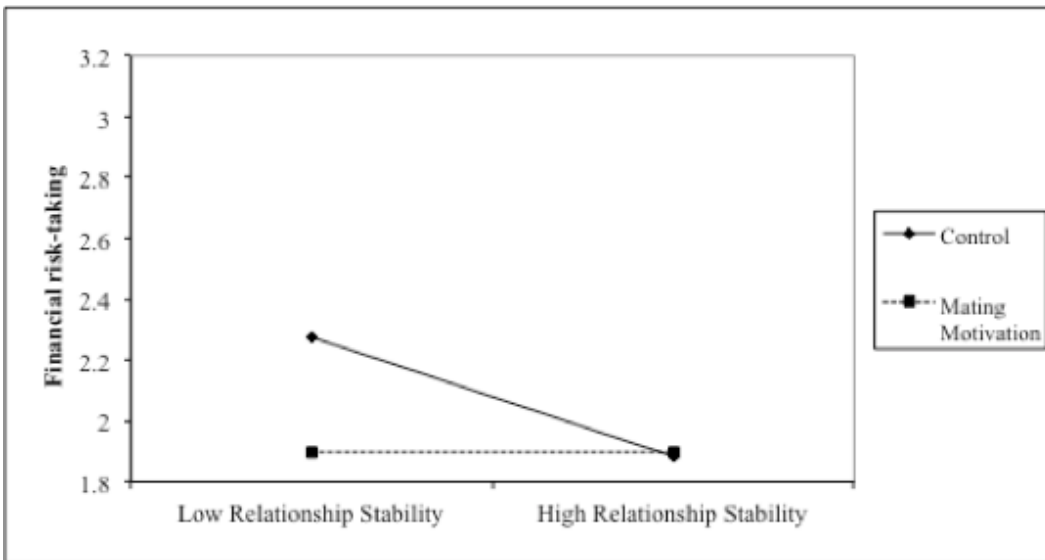
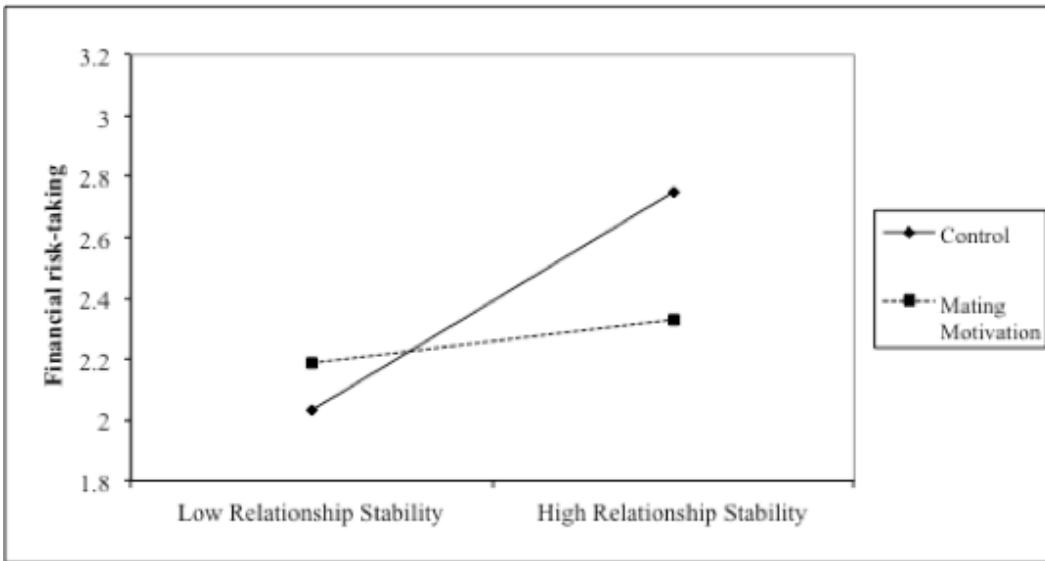


Figure 8. Financial risk-taking for women who viewed desirable (top) and undesirable (bottom) profiles, broken down by relationship stability and manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

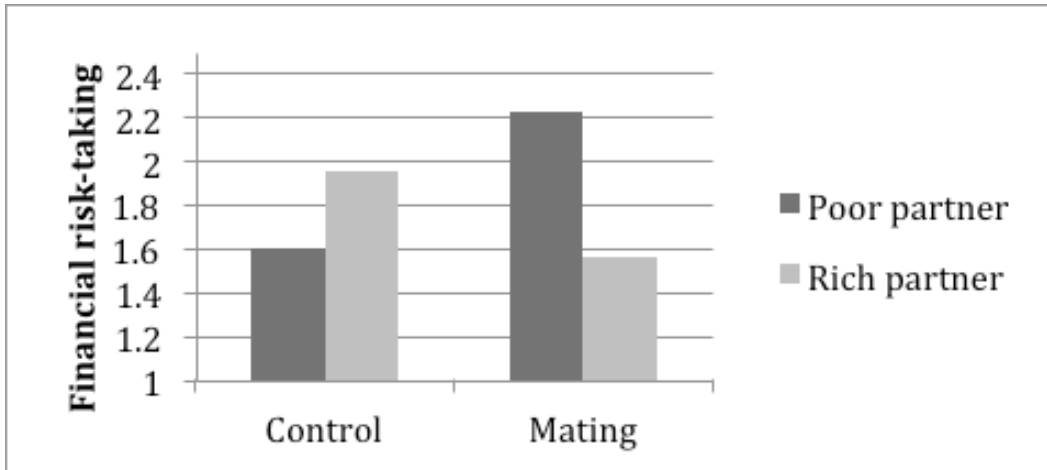


Figure 9. Financial risk-taking broken down by manipulation and partner manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

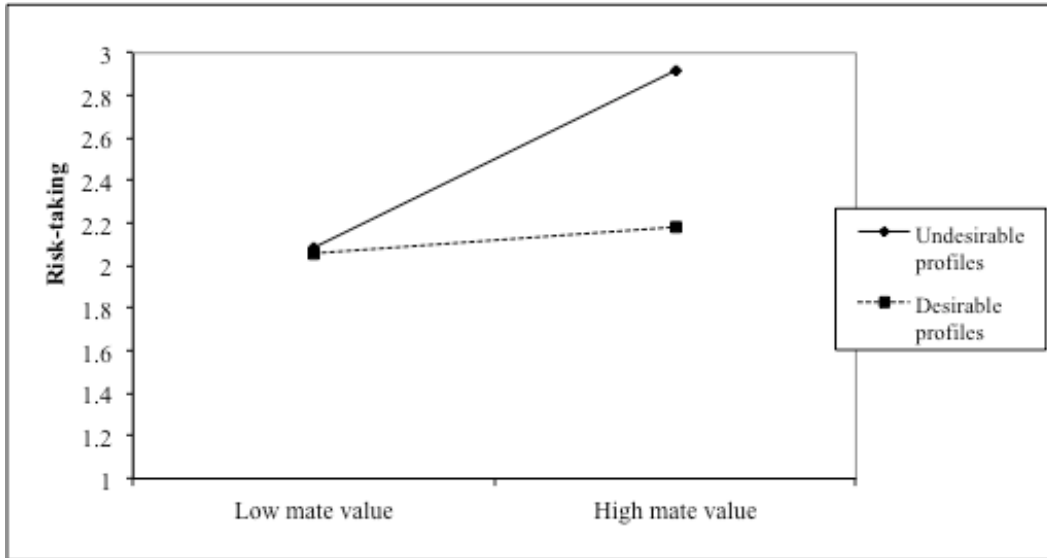


Figure 10. Financial risk-taking for women who saw profiles of undesirable and desirable men, broken down by self-reported mate value of the participants.

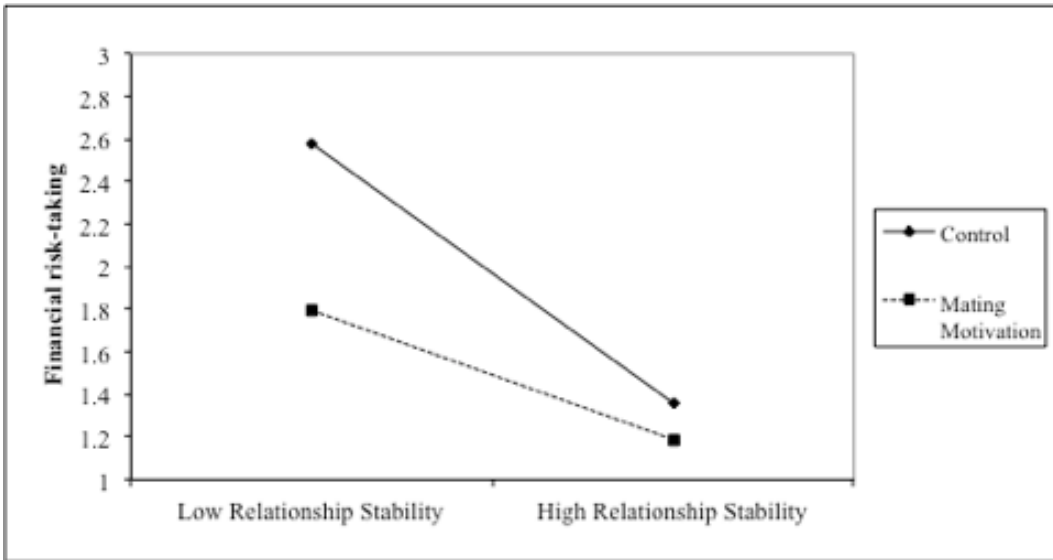
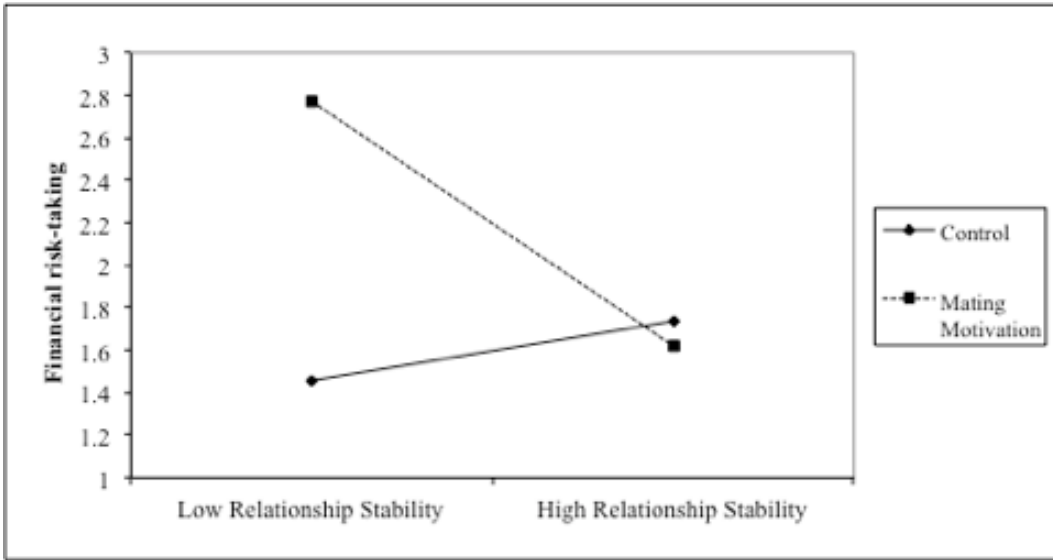


Figure 11. Financial risk-taking for women who believed their partner was poor (top) and wealthy (bottom) profiles, broken down by relationship stability and manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

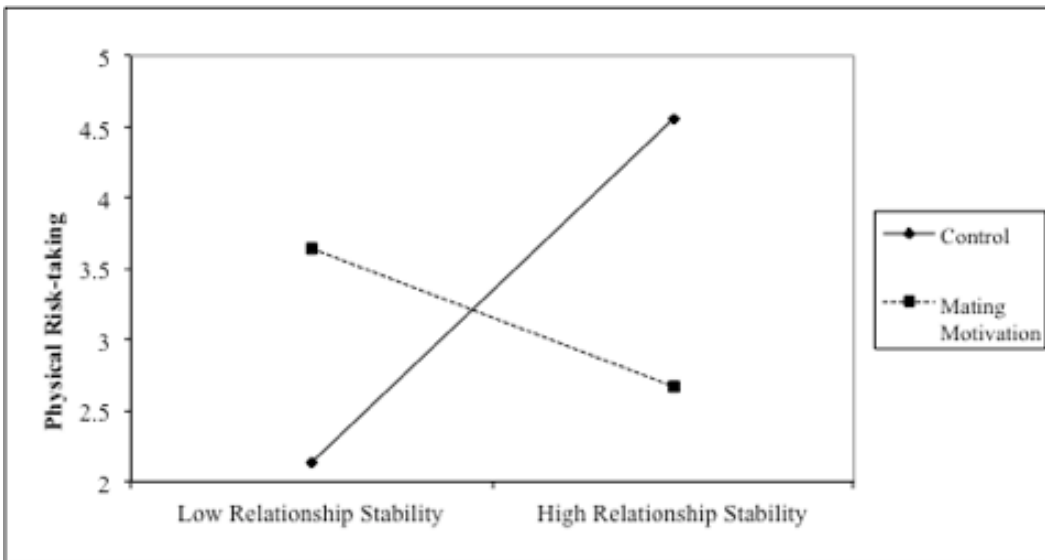
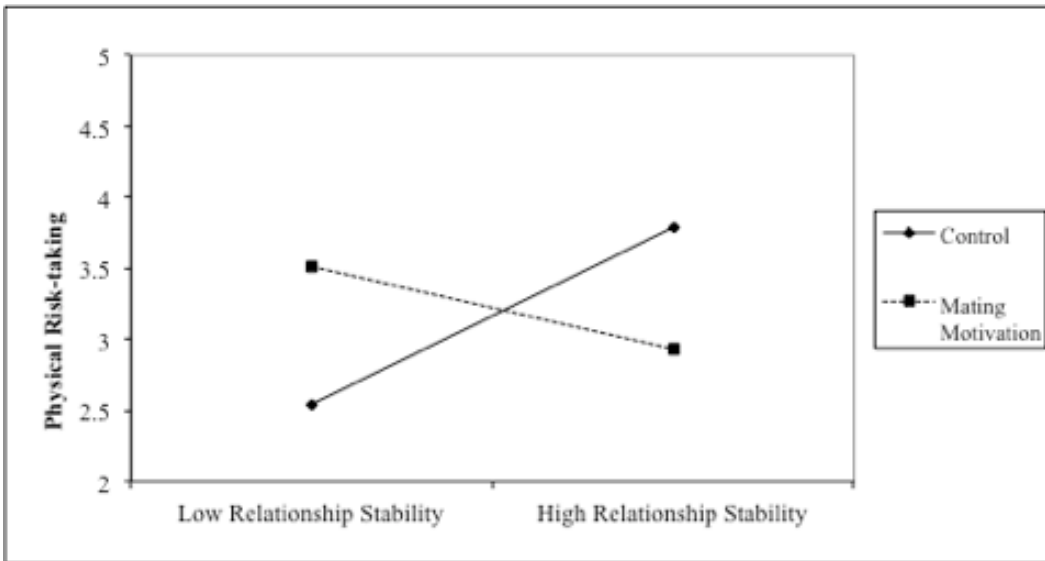


Figure 12. Physical risk-taking for women who believed their partner was poor (top) and wealthy (bottom) profiles, broken down by relationship stability and manipulation. Higher numbers indicate greater risk-taking.

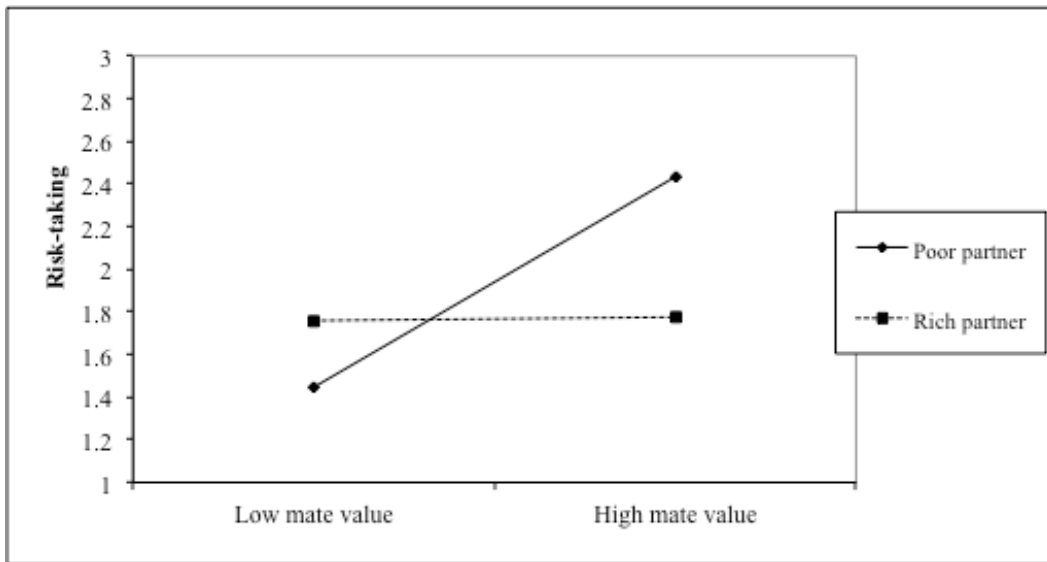


Figure 13. Financial risk-taking for women led to believe that their current partner is poor or rich, broken down by self-reported mate value of the participants.

APPENDIX A
GUIDED VISUALIZATION MANIPULATIONS

Instructions: Please listen carefully to the following scenario. As you're listening, try to put yourself in the shoes of the main character and experience the emotions that they are feeling.

Control Scenario

Imagine you're in your house, in the room where you study. You have decided to organize your workspace, because the semester has just begun and you want to be organized. You have already bought your books for classes, and you have a syllabus and some initial paperwork for each class. You are taking five classes: Botany, Math, Psychology, History, and English. For math, you will be handing in a lot of assignments on notebook paper, and you decide that those will be most easily ordered and maintained in a three-ring binder. You take the syllabus and assignment list for that class, and three-hole-punch them and put them at the front of the folder. Then you place four dividers in the folder and label them Test 1, Test 2, Test 3, and Test 4, so that you can put material that will be covered on each test in those sections. Then you take the four folders that you recently bought, and choose a separate color for each remaining class, and put your syllabus and any other handouts you have received in those folders. You choose green for Botany, because plants are green. You choose blue for Psychology, because people see psychologists when they are feeling blue. For English, you choose yellow, because your teacher wore an obnoxious yellow dress the first day- now the color just seems to be associated with the class. And finally, you make the white folder

History, because that's the only one left. You have learned from previous semesters that if you create too many folders, you never seem to remember to grab the right one before you leave for school in the morning, so this year you decide to get a five-subject notebook for taking notes. That way, you won't have to think about which notebook to take to class. If you receive a handout, you can just put it into the appropriate folder when you get home.

Now that you have everything for your classes, you decide to put them all on the bookshelf. You clear the top shelf of all of the books, and put your class books on first, ordering them by size. Next to those, you put your three-ring binder, and then your notebook and four folders. You contemplate what the best strategy is for organizing all of your other books on the shelves below. First, you think that you might do it by author within each genre, so that the books are easy to find, but then you realize that you will probably be too busy with school this semester to do any fun reading, and you decide to just organize it by the size of the books so it looks nice. Also, you are able to get it done much faster that way. All you have left now is your desk. Only your top drawer is really out of order, but all you have to do is grab up all of your loose pens, pencils, paper clips, rubber bands, staples, tacks, and binder clips and separate them into their own compartment in the tray in your drawer. Your workspace looks pretty good now, but you still need to clean the rest of your room. Your classes are not

too demanding on your time yet, so you decide that you'll take a break for a little while, and get back to it later tonight.

Mating Motivation Scenario

Imagine that you are on vacation with your friends on a tropical island. It's the last day of your trip and you are sitting on the beach on a pleasant summer evening, sipping an exotic drink. The air is warm and pleasant, and you watch the waves as the sun begins to set. You have a book open, but you're not really reading it. Instead, you look around, relaxed and daydreaming. As you watch the people strolling by on the soft sand, you notice that everyone seems to be in a particularly good mood.

From behind you, you hear a voice say: "Wow, isn't that the most beautiful sunset you have ever seen?"

When you turn around, you are surprised to see that it's coming from a particularly handsome man whom you have seen before. You remember noticing him a few days earlier at the hotel, when your eyes locked across the lobby. Since that time, you've seen him several times, but you have never had a convenient opportunity to talk with him.

Now he is standing right in front of you, and smiling warmly. "Mind if I join you for a few minutes?" he says.

At first you feel a bit awkward, but as you begin to talk, you realize that you feel incredibly comfortable with him. You share your thoughts about your week on the island, and you are both a little sad that your time in paradise hasn't been as exciting as you had hoped. And while you learn

that he lives far away from you, it turns out that it's his last night on the island as well. Up close, he is even more attractive and charming than you remember. And he is wonderful to talk to. You find that everything he says is somehow fascinating, and you notice that when you talk, he listens carefully to everything you say.

He suggests that the two of you go grab something to eat. Walking together, you notice that he's walking close to you and comfortably touching you on the arm when you say something that makes him laugh. When he's around you, your senses become heightened. Even when his hand touches yours by accident, you feel a tingle and a rush of excitement. You quickly glance at his eyes, waiting for him to look at yours. When he does, both of you smile and look away.

You end up in a little restaurant near the beach, and the two of you sit in a dark romantic corner in the back. By the candlelight, you notice the pleasant and soothing aromas from the kitchen. As the evening goes on, you realize you are having an absolutely wonderful time with this person, and that he is feeling the same way. The two of you order a dessert together and decide to share it. He suggests that after dinner, both of you should go for a walk on the beach in the moonlight. You have been dreaming about someone asking you that very question all week.

As you stroll out onto the sand, he reaches for your hand. You softly squeeze his hand in yours and your eyes meet once again. It's a little windy and you get closer to him. His body feels warm under the stars. You can

hear that your heart is beating faster, and you feel excited. The sand feels cool and soft against your feet. A wave comes crashing on the beach and you both lightly trip and fall as you try to run away. Sitting in the sand and still holding his hand, you feel the coldness of the water on your feet. Both of your eyes lock again and your heart feels like it's about to stop. As your look at his beautiful face in the moonlight, his hand moves up to caress the back of your neck. You can feel your hairs begin to tingle. He leans in and the tip of his nose slowly touches yours as you continue to wander in each other's gaze. Finally, you close your eyes and his soft lips slowly touch yours for the first time. Although you know that you might never see him again, the kiss is filled with passion. Your embrace is flowing with the kind of desire that you have never felt. You squeeze his body tighter, and you can feel yourself getting excited as you begin to think of how to make this night be one of the most memorable of your entire life.

APPENDIX B

TARGET PROFILES FOR EXPERIMENT 5

High attractiveness/dominance profiles



Name: Carl Richmond

Hometown: Madison, WI.

Hobbies/Interests: 1. Music

2. Physical fitness

3. Writing

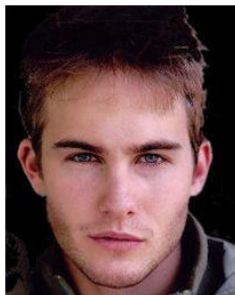
Most Notable Accomplishment: Editor, U of W campus newspaper

I think that I have plenty of friends because people can count on me and I enjoy a good time. I like to plan new adventures for my friends and myself. I work out 5 days a week, and teach trampoline to kids at the Y on the other days. I like to be with people and I often end up as group leader when someone needs to take charge. I like being in leadership positions, it comes easily to me, and I get to meet a lot of people that way. I'm told that I'm a natural at delegating responsibility to others. I was really pleased to be chosen editor of the campus newspaper at U of W before I transferred. I've already published two short pieces in Runner's World magazine, both of them about the qualities that it takes to achieve excellence. I try to practice what I preach, and that's probably what accounts for my own success so far.



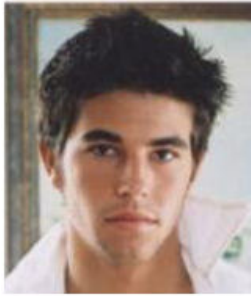
Name: Christopher Harper
Hometown: Indianapolis, IN.
Hobbies/Interests: basketball, movies, computers
Most Notable Accomplishment: President, local chapter of FCEA (Future Chief Executives of America)

Well, I guess you'd say that I'm a calm and reasonable person. I like an occasional quiet evening with a good movie and a close friend, but, I also like a great game of basketball, especially when we're creaming the opposing team. I guess I'd have to say that I'm pretty oriented towards success, given that I've been an officer in FCEA for the last three years, and that I was also president of the Future Business Leaders in high school, as well as a delegate to the national convention. I think that the reason I'm often chosen for these types of roles is that I have a level head, and people can count on me not to panic under pressure. Overall, I'd say that I'm the kind of person who enjoys being with people, and who enjoys being someone who his friends can count on.



Name: Kenneth Bridgeman
Hometown: Chicago, Ill.
Hobbies/Interests: Tennis, Reading, Movies
Most Notable Accomplishment: Senior Class President

What am I like? I think my friends would agree that I am quite friendly. Also, I am not one of those people who likes to watch from the sidelines while others take charge. I prefer to be right at the center making those decisions. That's probably why I was elected as president of my graduating class. I also have a cousin who is one of those commanding, dominant people who can take charge of a social group, and people often say I'm a lot like him, so maybe it's just in our family's genes. All in all, I'm a pretty sociable person.



Name: Richard Bonner
Hometown: Bakersfield, CA
Hobbies/Interests: Wind-surfing, Going to movies
Most Notable Accomplishment: President of my fraternity

I try to be someone who can be depended on, someone who's there for his friends whenever they really need him. That may be related to why I contribute a great deal of my time to charitable causes. In high school, my friends used to say that my middle name ought to be Kennedy, because, they told me, I had some of that type of "charisma." I guess I'm someone that people tend to look up to. I'm always being chosen to run for this office or that. I think it's worth noting that, during the breaks, I manage the whole summer recreation program for the city of Fresno. I believe that the world has enough followers, and that we need some people who are good at making decisions. I guess I was made to be one of those people.



Name: Jason Williams
Hometown: Hillsboro, N.C.
Hobbies/Interests: Bicycling, Guitar
Most Notable Accomplishment: Captain of tennis team, UNC

I think most people would agree that I am a warm person. And they'd probably say I'm something of a go-getter. I guess I have always been pretty well-suited for politicking, winning offices, being the decision-maker, or the head of the team, etc. I was the captain of the tennis team when I was at the University of North Carolina, which is an accomplishment I am particularly proud of. I am usually decisive in planning my life, and I think my peers would regard me as a leader. For some reason, people seem to respect my authority. That could be because I try hard to earn the respect of others.

Low attractiveness/dominance profiles



Name: Carl Richmond

Hometown: Madison, WI.

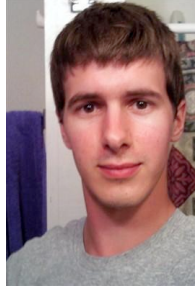
Hobbies/Interests: 1.Music

2.Physical fitness

3.Writing

Most Notable Accomplishment: most helpful employee of the campus newspaper at U of W

I think that I have plenty of friends because people can count on me and I enjoy a good time. I'm usually willing to go along with whatever adventures my friends plan for us. I try to go to the gym frequently, and help out with the children's trampoline program at the Y on other days. I like to be with people and I'm not too proud to run errands or help in anything that needs to be done. I don't like being in leadership positions. It doesn't come easily to me, and it gets in the way of getting to know people, but I'm pretty good at carrying out the responsibilities that get delegated to me. I was really pleased to be chosen most helpful employee of the campus newspaper at U of W before I transferred. I've been writing a couple of short pieces I'd like to get published in a magazine, both of them about the qualities that it takes to be contented with yourself. I try to practice what I preach, and that's probably what accounts for my own contentment.



Name: Christopher Harper
Hometown: Indianapolis, IN.
Hobbies/Interests: basketball, movies, computers
Most Notable Accomplishment: Secretary,
accounting club

Well, I guess you'd say that I'm a calm and reasonable person. I like an occasional quiet evening with a good movie and a close friend, but, I also like a great game of basketball, at least when we're not being humiliated by the opposing team. I guess I'd have to say that I'm not real oriented towards success, given that I have hesitated to get actively involved in leadership roles in any of the business organizations I've been involved with, and I've never entered competitions to go to national conferences. I think that the reason I'm not suited for these types of roles is that I'm a bit too quiet, and people may doubt that I could perform under pressure. Overall, I'd say that I'm the kind of person who enjoys being with people, and who enjoys being someone who his friends can count on.



Name: Kenneth Bridgeman
Hometown: Chicago, Ill.
Hobbies/Interests: Tennis, Reading, Movies
Most Notable Accomplishment: Worked on school yearbook

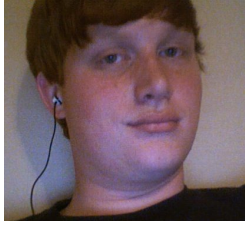
What am I like? I think my friends would agree that I am quite friendly. I am not one of those people who likes to be at the center of attention. I prefer to watch from the sidelines while others make the decisions. I'm certainly not the type to be elected as president of my graduating class, for example. I have a cousin who is one of those commanding, dominant people who can take charge of a social group, and people often say I'm the opposite of him, so it's certainly not something in my family's genes. But, all in all, I'm a pretty sociable person



Name: Richard Bonner
Hometown: Bakersfield, CA
Hobbies/Interests: Wind-surfing, Going to movies
Most Notable Accomplishment: Helped with the local blood drive.

I try to be someone who can be depended on, someone who's there for his friends whenever they really need him. That may be related to why I contribute a great deal of my time to charitable causes. In high school, my friends used to say that my middle name ought to be Modesty, because I certainly never drew attention to myself. I guess I'm not the sort of person that people tend to look up to; not one of those who gets chosen to run for this office or that. I think it's

worth noting, however, that, during the breaks, I volunteer to work behind the scenes assisting with the summer recreation program for the city of Fresno.



Name: Jason Williams
Hometown: Hillsboro, N.C.
Hobbies/Interests: Bicycling, Guitar
Most Notable Accomplishment: Tennis team

I think most people would agree that I am a warm person. And they'd probably say I'm really easygoing. I don't think I'm very well suited for politicking, winning offices, being the chief executive officer, or the head of the team, etc. Most people would never guess that I was on the tennis team when I was in North Carolina. I can handle the everyday decisions in my life, but I don't think my peers would regard me as any kind of leader. I do respect authority in others, however, particularly those who have tried hard to earn it.