

EVOLUTIONARY MISMATCH AND ONLINE DATING

A THESIS

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By

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Acknowledgements.....	iii
II.	Abstract.....	v
III.	Introduction.....	1
IV.	The Social Psychology of Anonymity .....	4
V.	Construal Level Theory.....	10
VI.	Current Study.....	15
	Hypotheses.....	15
VII.	Method.....	17
	Participants.....	17
	Materials.....	18
	Procedure.....	19
	Analysis.....	20
VIII.	Results.....	21
IX.	Discussion.....	25
	Limitations and Future Directions.....	29
	Conclusion.....	30
X.	References.....	31
XI.	Appendix.....	34

## ABSTRACT

This study aimed to identify how individuals advertised themselves to socially familiar and socially anonymous audiences using online dating profiles. It was demonstrated that when male participants advertised themselves to a socially anonymous audience they placed a much higher emphasis on traits and qualities related to status than either males advertising themselves to a socially familiar audience or females advertising themselves to either a socially familiar or socially anonymous audience. Additionally, males emphasized their creativity and emotional awareness more so than females regardless of audience type.

In contrast female participants showed a tendency to emphasize traits and qualities related to faithfulness much more prominently than male participants. This effect was exaggerated when female participants advertised themselves to a socially familiar audience. It was also shown that male participants who advertised themselves to an anonymous audience emphasized their physical fitness and attractiveness more so than any other group. Together these findings suggest that audience and gender have profound influence over self-presentation in terms of romantic courtship.

## INTRODUCTION

Through an evolutionary perspective, mate selection is of fundamental importance to reproductive success. According to contemporary evolutionary psychology, humans have evolved various adaptive mating strategies that emphasize specialized traits that signal signs of fitness to prospective mates over evolutionary time; based on parental investment theory (Trivers, 1972), life history strategy (Figueredo et al., 2006), strategic pluralism (Gangestad & Simpson, 2000), and sexual strategies (Buss & Schmitt, 1993). The current study aimed to identify how individuals advertise themselves to particular audiences using online dating profiles, and sought to explain how the modern mate selection process may be viewed in terms of an evolutionary mismatch; from being a species that has historically selected mates from close-knit groups and communities to the new mating age of selecting romantic partners from the World Wide Web.

Previous research conducted by Tooke and Camire (1991); Buss (1998); Buss and Schmitt (2011); Benz et al (2005); Brase et al (2014); Benz et al (2005) have each demonstrated evidence for behavioral sex differences between males and females in relation to mate selection. Past findings have consistently shown that men have a tendency to advertise traits that emphasize characteristics that are integral to perceptions of their status and commitment, while females typically emphasize traits that are integral to perceptions of physical health and attractiveness (Barnacz et al, 2009; Buss, 1998; Brase, Adair, & Monk, 2014; Benz, Anderson, & Miller, 2005; Geher & Miller, 2007).

The theory of Sexual Selection proposed by Charles Darwin explains how different selection pressures between males and females led to the emergence of evolved differences in the mate selection process between men and women. Furthermore, Buss

(1998) argued that it is advantageous for the members of each sex to emphasize traits and behaviors that signal signs of fitness to the opposite sex, to effectively advertise an individual's mate value to a potential partner. Additional research has also suggested that within the confines of the typical sex differences in mating behavior, there is also a large degree of overlap between certain mating strategies used by men and women; particularly in the short-term of a relationship or courtship (Geher & Miller, 2007).

Examples of these shared strategies involve concealing negative emotions and behaviors, exaggerating positive personality traits and characteristics, and implementing selective blindness to the negative attributes of a potential mate (Geher & Miller, 2007). It was also argued by O'Sullivan (2007) that certain mating strategies are fundamental in maintaining the feeling of "being in love" and help individuals overcome the intense fear and suspicion of engaging in a physical relationship with non-kin (Geher & Miller, 2007).

Other researchers in the field have focused on replicating experiments that can offer additional support to the evolved differences in mating behavior between males and females (Benz, Anderson & Miller, 2005); (Brase, Adair & Monk, 2014); (Barnacz et al, 2009). In a study conducted by Benz, Anderson, & Miller (2005) it was found that participants would indicate that males would be more likely to exaggerate their status and intended commitment, whereas females would be more likely to exaggerate their physical attractiveness and health (Benz, Anderson & Miller, 2005).

Additionally, research conducted by Brase, Adair and Monk, (2014) showed significant sex differences to the reactions of jealousy in regards to infidelity between males and females. Males showed a tendency to view physical infidelity as more

distressing, whereas women showed a tendency to view emotional infidelity as more distressing (Brase, Adair & Monk, 2014). Taken together, these findings suggest that men and women prioritize different aspects of an intimate relationship, and as such, also implicate that men and women prioritize different aspects and criteria for the mate selection process.

In another study conducted by Buss (1989) it was demonstrated through a mass survey that males throughout 37 cultures tended to place a higher value on the physical attractiveness and physical health of a potential mate, while in contrast, females in the same 37 cultures tended to place a higher value on the status and resources of a potential mate. These findings neatly demonstrate that there are certain universal standards for mate selection within the human species that differ between men and women.

Moreover, research conducted by Tooke and Camire (1991) that used an extensive dating survey investigated the most common lies told during the first date, found that women believed men would be more likely to exaggerate their resources, status, and commitment, while men believed women would be more likely to exaggerate their physical health and attractiveness. These findings suggest that there is a level of awareness that men and women possess about the particular mating strategies used by the opposite sex and as a result expect and anticipate members of the opposite sex to advertise themselves in specific ways to make themselves appear attractive to potential partners (Tooke & Camire, 1991).

Lastly, work done by Toma, Hancock, and Ellison (2008) found that people strategically balance the deceptive opportunities presented by online self-presentation (e.g., the editability of profiles) with the social constraints of establishing romantic

relationships (e.g., the anticipation of future interaction). With this in mind, the present study investigated whether there is a difference in self-presentation in hypothetical online profiles when participants were asked to advertise themselves to different audiences. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (*socially familiar & socially anonymous*). Sex differences were also measured, and gender was used as a subject variable to determine if participants advertised themselves based on the adaptive mating-related traits that are specialized for each of the sexes.

### The Social Psychology of Anonymity

While the basis of this research focused on the effects of social distance and anonymity through an audience manipulation in a mating-relevant domain, the effects of the social psychology of anonymity and deindividuated behavior have been studied extensively in a general sense in non-mating contexts. As such, a blueprint of unethical, antisocial, and self-interested behavior among individuals when acting anonymously has been well documented throughout the literature and suggests that in mating contexts, anonymity may very well lead to the same types of behavior among individuals looking for romantic partners online.

Some such studies that have investigated these effects include past work by Kerr (1999); Zimbardo (1969); Diener, Fraser, Beaman & Kelem (1976); and Nogami (2009). The general findings from each of these studies has established that when individuals are presented with a larger degree of anonymity they are far more likely to behave in ways that are more unethical, selfish, and antisocial (especially in regards to vandalism, violent aggression, and when faced with the risk of social exclusion).

The experiment conducted by Diener et al (1976) investigated the propensity of theft among Halloween trick-or-treaters. Approximately 1,300 children from Seattle Washington were observed when trick-or-treating, and 27 homes throughout the city were utilized for the experiment (Diener et al, 1976). On Halloween night between the hours of 5:00 pm and 9:00 pm a female researcher would warmly greet children who approached one of the homes and would remark about their costumes (Diener et al, 1976). When the children entered the door of the home the researcher would tell them that they were allowed to take only one piece of colorfully wrapped candy from a bowl, which was directly next to a second bowl full of pennies and nickels (Diener et al, 1976).

The researcher would then exit the room while an unobtrusive observer would record the number of children who entered, whether a parent was present, how much candy was taken, and whether or not the children took money from the second bowl filled with pennies and nickels (Diener et al, 1976). Importantly if a group exceeding 7 children entered the home, or a second group of children approached the home while one group was already inside, the researcher would not leave the room and would give all children their candy before leaving (Diener et al, 1976).

The results of the study indicated that when children remained anonymous (whether alone or in a group) they were more likely to commit a transgression against the instructions of the researcher and would either take more than one piece of candy, would take money for the second bowl, or would take money and more than one piece of candy (Diener et al, 1976). When children were anonymous and alone they were about 14% more likely to transgress, whereas when children were anonymous and a part of a group

they were about 36% more likely to transgress (Diener et al, 1976). These findings indicate the anonymity has a strong influence over the ethical judgments people make, and when anonymity is coupled with a group it seems to heighten those effects.

Additionally, research conducted by Zimbardo (1969) had a group of female participants administer shocks of varying severity to confederates similar to the classic Milgram study. In the experiment, participants either wore large coats and hoods to conceal their identities or wore name tags and their normal clothes (Zimbardo, 1969). It was found that when participants were placed in the anonymous condition and wore the hoods and coats, they were far more willing to shock the confederate for a longer duration than participants wearing their normal clothes and name tags (Zimbardo, 1969). This again highlights the antisocial behavior and unethical acts people are more willing to commit when their identity is hidden and they feel somewhat less responsible and liable for their actions.

Similarly, research conducted by Nogami (2009) had participants complete a 4 page questionnaire that required them to fill out basic demographic information (department, sex, age, etc.) if they were assigned to the anonymous condition and identifying information if assigned to the non-anonymous condition (student ID and name). The participants then completed two fictitious flexibility tests that were timed with a stopwatch (Nogami, 2009). After participants completed these two filler tests, participants were tasked with a coin-flip assignment on page 4 of the questionnaire and were randomly assigned to a reward or no reward condition. In The instructions for the reward condition it was stated that the participants could win approximately 5 dollars as a supplemental reward

for their participation in the study, if they could manage to get two tails on each of their consecutive coin flips (Nogami, 2009).

Participants assigned to the no reward condition were also tasked with the coin flip assignment, but they were not told that they could win anything (Nogami, 2009). All participants were instructed to record their coin flip results on the bottom of the last page of the questionnaire and the type of coin that was used (Nogami, 2009). It was found in the results that the frequency of self-interested unethical behavior increased among anonymous individuals, even when that unethical behavior required active involvement on behalf of the participants (i.e. lying about their coin flip results) (Nogami, 2009).

Finally, Research conducted by Kerr (1999) demonstrated that there are important moderating effects for the influence of social anonymity, and suggested that certain criteria must be met before the effects of social anonymity are seen. First and foremost was their the idea of framing in the context of a social dilemma in which participants were tasked with playing a game that had them make a choice about a public investment (Kerr, 1999). Each participant of a 5 person group was given startup money and was allowed to either invest or keep their money. If all players invested, a cash bonus was awarded to all players (Kerr, 1999).

In the second condition the framing was altered slightly, rather than playing an investment game players were now tasked with a game of conservation (Kerr, 1999). The participants began their game with a pool of shared money and were allowed to either take a designated amount for themselves or could opt to leave the shared pool intact (Kerr, 1999). If all players left the money intact they would all be awarded with a cash

bonus. Next anonymity was manipulated in two ways (Kerr, 1999). In one condition people were told that their choices would not be shared with the fellow members of the group, in the second condition players were told that everyone's choices would be displayed after the end of the experiment (Kerr, 1999). Participants were separated from one another and completed the study in separate booths on computers in each of the conditions (Kerr, 1999).

It was demonstrated by the results that there was a basic main effect for framing, with individuals in the conservation condition being much more likely to cooperate than those in the investment condition (Kerr, 1999). However, there were no effects detected regarding social anonymity, and in particular there was no interaction between framing and social anonymity, which lead the researchers to suggest that perhaps their framing was ineffective in eliciting those effects (Kerr, 1999).

Next the researches ran a second study focusing on the role of social exclusion (Kerr, 1999). The researchers stated that for a social norm to effectively alter behavior, all individuals must be aware of the norm and that all sanctions for transgressions against the social norm must be made to be both certain and salient (Kerr, 1999). It is further postulated by the researchers that if any of these criteria are missing, social norms may lose their potency and as a result anonymity effects may be lost as well (Kerr, 1999). The second experiment was very similar to the first, but instead of an anonymity manipulation, researchers implemented a social exclusion manipulation.

In the first condition participants were told that someone would be randomly excluded from the game, and would receive the average earned by the 4 remaining

players and would neither be negatively impacted or positively impacted by the exclusion (Kerr, 1999). In the remaining three conditions participants were told that a participant would be excluded based upon their rankings of who they would like to continue to play with, meaning that the person with the lowest rank would be excluded (Kerr, 1999).

Importantly, the differences between conditions 2, 3, and 4 were in the payoff that the excluded person would receive (Kerr, 1999). In the second condition the excluded participant received the average amount earned by the 4 players just as was the case in the first condition (Kerr, 1999). In the third condition the excluded participant received nothing, making social exclusion have an economic cost (Kerr, 1999). Finally, in the fourth condition the excluded participant received the maximum amount earned by the remaining 4 players, making social exclusion have an economic gain (Kerr, 1999).

It was found that a risk of social exclusion elicited greater cooperation between group members even when they faced no economic costs for being excluded, but there needed to be a perception that the cooperative choices would have a strong impact on the group's overall welfare before they felt the threat of social exclusion from the group (Kerr, 1999).

Together these overall findings may well suggest that in mating contexts, deceptive tendencies that are self-serving and help to increase one's own mate value to romantic partners will be increased under anonymous conditions. Just as the threat of social exclusion plays on the evolved human psychology for social bounds, the threat of not being selected as a mate is equally distressing from an evolutionary perspective, and may suggest that under anonymous conditions, people will be willing to engage in more

unethical and self serving behavior to alleviate that distress by making themselves appear more attractive as a romantic partner.

### Construal Level Theory

While the current study specifically dealt with the theoretical implications of evolutionary mismatch as an explanation for the effects of audience type on self presentation in the context online dating profiles, there are several proximate psychological variables that likely pertain to the way that people acquire mates. Particularly, some variables likely moderate the way that social anonymity may pertain to self-presentation. Construal level theory as defined by Trope and Liberman (2010) as the relation between psychological distance and the extent to which thinking about external events and objects is either abstract or concrete, may well be one such variable.

As stated by the theory, *construals* are psychological constructs that shape how individuals perceive, interpret, and understand the world around them, especially in relation to external objects and the behaviors and actions of others (Trope & Liberman, 2010). It has been demonstrated by prior research that as psychological distance increases, (in space and time) construal levels increase, and lead to more abstract and idealized thinking (Trope & Liberman, 2010) (Liberman et al, 2007). In contrast, as psychological distance becomes more proximate, construal levels decrease, and lead to more concrete and pragmatic thinking (Trope & Liberman, 2010) (Liberman et al, 2007).

To further highlight the concept of construal level theory and how it has been evaluated and measured in non-mating contexts, research conducted by Stephan et al (2015) incorporated construal level theory in 3 experiments that sought to examine the role that temporal distance and trait self-esteem plays in motivating self-enhancement in

how individuals self-predicted or viewed themselves in the distant and near future. In accordance with construal level theory, the researchers hypothesized that greater temporal distance would lead to a higher degree of self-prediction positivity and confidence, as greater temporal distance displaces here and now constraints by activating a higher level construal (Stephan et al, 2015).

The first experiment took place online and was titled “The Self in the Future” with about 148 participants (Stephan et al, 2015). First the participants completed a 10 item self-esteem scale and were then introduced to the temporal distance manipulation, where they read instructions that asked them to describe “how you imagine yourself one month/three years from today.” (Stephan et al, 2015). Participants were then asked to rate how negative or positive their description of their future self was (Stephan et al, 2015). The researchers also measured confidence by asking the participants to indicate how meaningful or meaningless, informative or uninformative, likely or unlikely to happen, and likely or unlikely to affect behavior that their descriptions of their future self was (Stephan et al, 2015).

Lastly researchers asked the participants to indicate how much their future self reflected who they are, which the researchers referred to as the “gist” which was defined as a positive self concept, with positive attributes being hypothesized to be more central to a person’s self concept rather than negative attributes (Stephan et al, 2015). It was hypothesized that an increase in temporal distance would increase the reliance on attributes associated with a person’s “gist” (Stephan et al, 2015).

It was found that participants made more positive self-predictions for their distance future than their near future and this was not moderated by self-esteem (Stephan

et al, 2015). Additionally, it was found that participants were more confident about their distant future than near future which was also not moderated by self-esteem (Stephan et al, 2015). Lastly, participants indicated that their predictions about their distant future reflected their “gist” self more accurately than predictions about their near future (Stephan et al, 2015).

In their second experiment the researchers examined the valence of attributes and temporal distance on self-prediction rather than self-esteem (Stephan et al, 2015). About 77 participants took part in the experiment and were asked to list their present positive or negative attributes depending on the condition they were randomly assigned to (Stephan et al, 2015). The instructions the participants read were framed in terms of strengths and weaknesses (Stephan et al, 2015). If participants were assigned to the positive condition they were asked to “take a few minutes to think about your main personal strengths. What are your most positive qualities, as a person? Then, list your strengths below.” (Stephan et al, 2015).

In contrast, participants assigned to the negative condition were asked to “take a few minutes to think about your main personal weaknesses. What are your most negative qualities, as a person? Then, list your weaknesses below.” (Stephan et al, 2015). Next the researchers manipulated temporal distance in a similar manner as the first study asking them to “imagine and describe how the qualities you listed might affect your life one month/three years from now.” (Stephan et al, 2015). Similarly as in study 1, the researchers also had participants rate how positive or negative their description of their future self was and also measured their level of confidence (Stephan et al, 2015). Lastly the researchers utilized a manipulation check for the attributes participants listed on

valence and had participants rate how much the attributes they listed in the beginning of the study were “central in defining who they are,” “important in capturing who they are,” and “accurate in characterizing who they are” (Stephan et al, 2015).

It was found that participants had higher ratings for their attributes in the positive condition than in the negative condition (Stephan et al, 2015). It was also found that self-predictions were more favorable when they were based on positive rather than negative attributes (Stephan et al, 2015). The researchers also determined that self-predictions based on positive attributes were more favorable in the distant future compared to the near future (Stephan et al. 2015). Finally, it was also revealed in the results that participants were more confident about their predictions that were based on their positive attributes rather than their negative attributes, and that confidence in self-prediction was higher in the positive attributes condition in the distant future (Stephan et al. 2015).

The last experiment followed in the footsteps of the first two and extended into investigating the effects of temporal distance on positive and negative future self-attributes in comparison to one’s peer group, otherwise known as the “Better than Average Effect” (Stephan et al. 2015). About 180 participants took part in the last experiment, and were randomly assigned to two conditions (attribute-valence positive and negative, as in study 2) and temporal distance (near-future and distant-future). Just like the previous experiments participants’ first filled out a self-esteem scale, and were then asked to imagine themselves either a month from now or three years from now as the manipulation of temporal distance (Stephan et al, 2015). The participants then rated themselves in the future on 23 positive attributes and on 19 negative attributes and were

asked to make their ratings in comparison to their average peer of the same age and gender (Stephan et al, 2015).

It was found in the results that participants had a greater Better than Average Effect regarding the distant future as opposed to the near future, that is to say that participants in the distant future condition demonstrated a greater self-enhancing bias (Stephan et al, 2015). There were also significantly higher future self-ratings on positive attributes for the distant future (Stephan et al, 2015). Moreover, it was found that the predilection to view one's self as better than average when compared to peers seems to increase over time and holds true despite varying levels of self-esteem (Stephan et al, 2015).

Taken together, the results of each experiment by Stephan et al (2015) supported the main hypotheses regarding temporal distance, and found that positive attributes and a self-enhancing bias played a larger role for the participants' self-predictions when faced with a greater amount of temporal distance. This indicated that a more positive self concept is coupled with higher levels of construal, and in regard to the current study, may indicate that if social distance operates similarly to temporal distance, a more positive self view may have been presented by participants to potential romantic partners when they advertised themselves to a socially distant audience.

A primary reason why construal level was investigated and incorporated into the current study was due to the lack of empirical research regarding the interplay of construal level theory and online self presentation, specifically in a mating context. It was also a priority of this research to determine if a manipulation of social distance could have acted in a similar manner as a manipulation of temporal distance to elicit construal

level effects. It was for these reasons that the present study was focused on investigating whether increasing social distance would influence how people advertise themselves to prospective romantic partners, and if an increase in social distance would influence the participants' construal level in either of the two conditions. To test the level of construal, participant responses were assessed in terms of how abstract or concrete the content of their written profile advertisements were.

### Current Study

#### Hypotheses

The main hypotheses for this research project are presented herein:

H1: Male participants will emphasize traits related to status, resources, commitment, and creativity more prominently than female participants in both their written profile advertisements and on the 20-item budget allocation.

H2: Female participants will emphasize traits related to physical health, physical attractiveness, faithfulness, and emotional awareness more prominently than male participants in both their written profile advertisements and on the 20-item budget allocation.

H3: Participants in the *socially anonymous* condition will demonstrate higher degrees of advertising mating related traits in both their written profile advertisements and the 20-item budget allocation than participants in the *socially familiar* condition.

H4: Participants in the *socially anonymous* condition will provide more abstract information about themselves and what they seek in a romantic partner than participants in the *socially familiar* condition.

H5: Participants in the socially familiar condition will provide more concrete information about themselves and what they seek in a romantic partner than participants in the socially anonymous condition.

It is also being hypothesized that construal level effects may offer an additional explanation to the potential differences between groups. Specifically, participants assigned to the *socially anonymous* condition are being asked to advertise themselves to individuals who are socially unknown, which suggests a greater amount of social distance. In contrast, participants assigned to the *socially familiar* condition are being asked to advertise themselves to individuals who are socially known, which suggests a more proximate amount of psychological distance. If social distance acts in a similar manner as temporal distance, it is reasonable to suspect that the difference in audience type between the two conditions may influence the level of construal the participants are operating on.

As such, participants in the socially anonymous condition may be more likely to utilize a high construal level to interpret and present themselves to a socially distant audience, while participants in the socially aware condition may be more likely to utilize a low construal level to interpret and present themselves to a socially close-knit audience.

It is hypothesized that as a form of evolutionary mismatch, the increased social anonymity of online dating profiles may increase a person's reliance on emphasizing rudimentary adaptive mating-related traits as a means of attracting potential romantic partners, due to the inability of close-knit social circles from regulating personal exaggerations and falsehoods. Furthermore, with the previous research as a blueprint, it is expected that males and females will advertise traits and qualities that best signal their

respective mate value to prospective partners. However, the present study also sought to identify if those same traits were emphasized to a greater or lesser degree depending on the type of audience that was being advertised to on behalf of the participants.

## METHOD

### Participants

Participants were predominantly college aged males and females with a mean age of 22.6 years. Of the 172 participants, 29 identified as male, 138 identified as female, and 5 identified as non-binary. Additionally, of the 172 participants, 167 identified as heterosexual, while 3 participants identified as homosexual, and 2 participants chose not to specify their sexual orientation. Participants were recruited for this study through the psychology department subject pool, Facebook, and departmental email lists. Participants followed a link to the survey which was hosted by Qualtrics. There was a description of the study and it was explicitly stated that the participant consented by proceeding to the next page. A Facebook event page was also created to recruit additional participants. A snowballing procedure was implemented that enabled friends of the event to disseminate it to those they knew.

### Materials

All participants were first asked to complete an open-ended writing exercise which was implemented as a measurement of trait emphasis. During this writing task, participants were asked to create a hypothetical dating profile that would be posted to a hypothetical online dating service. The writing exercise randomly divided participants into two conditions; *socially aware* and *socially anonymous*. Participants in the *socially anonymous* condition were asked to “Please create an online dating advertisement

assuming that you're not currently in a committed relationship. Be sure that your profile is no more than 250 words in length. **Note that this ad will NOT be viewable by either individuals who you directly know nor by individuals who are connected to your social circles.**"

In contrast, participants in the *socially aware* condition were asked to "Please create an online dating advertisement assuming that you're not currently in a committed relationship. Be sure that your profile is no more than 250 words in length. **Note that this ad will be viewable by both individuals who you directly know AND individuals who are connected to your social circles.**" This differential wording across the two versions of the instructions was the primary mechanism by which the independent variable was manipulated. As a way to counteract potential confounds, participants were asked to discount any current relationships they may be involved in. Additionally, relationship status and sexual identity information was collected in the demographic information and was held constant for analysis.

A 20-item budget allocation followed the writing exercise; this scale was revised from prior research conducted by Tooke & Camire (1991) and was incorporated as a closed-ended scale for trait emphasis. Participants were asked to spend a total of 100 points on 20 traits that were the most personally relevant to them. Due to the nature of the budget allocation, items would only receive points if the participants thought it applied to them personally. The participants were also told to assume that the information they provided would be added to the profiles they've created as an addendum as to provide more information about themselves to potential partners. Each of the items were equally representative of the typical traits that males and females emphasize during romantic

courtship. For example: “I spend a lot of money on my romantic partners” and “I am very health conscious and take very good care of myself.”

Lastly, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale was presented to all participants. Participants were asked to give true or false responses to a set of 30 items. For example: “On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life” and “My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.” This scale was used as a means to ensure that socially desirability did not influence participant responses. Additionally, the scale was also incorporated as a way to measure any differences of self presentation between the conditions. If the manipulation was effective, it would be of particular interest to see if differences in trait emphasis extended to traits and behaviors that are not as pertinent to romantic courtship.

#### Procedure

Participants followed a link to the survey once it was activated on Qualtrics. They were presented with a description of the study and asked to fill out basic demographic information including: gender, age, relationship status, ethnicity, and sexual identity. Participants were first asked to complete an open-ended writing exercise, for which they created a hypothetical dating profile advertisement for either a socially familiar or a socially unknown audience. This was followed by a 20-item questionnaire of the revised Tooke & Camire (1991) dating scale, which was used as a measure to elicit more information about the participants themselves. Together, each of these items was used to measure trait emphasis. Lastly, participants were presented with the *Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale* to assess any potential differences in self presentation between conditions in terms of social desirability.

## Analysis

Two primary mechanisms for measuring trait emphasis were employed. The content of the open-ended profile descriptions were examined and evaluated by five independent judges and scores that represented the degree to which participants advertised certain qualities (e.g. physical attractiveness, status, faithfulness, etc.) were computed. To rate the content in participant advertisements, the judges used criteria based on work by DeBacker, Braekman, and Farinpour (2007) and Buss et al. (1990) who suggest that men and women differ in the traits they advertise to the opposite sex as well as in the traits they desire in partners.

The five independent judges rated the content of the participant advertisements on individual computer monitors and were separated by one seat between one another. The principle investigator selected a random sample of 60 advertisements, 30 from each condition, and presented them to the judges on a power point presentation. The judges were instructed to refrain from conversing with one another as soon as the PowerPoint had begun. Once the presentation had started, the raters were asked to raise their hands when they had finished scoring the advertisement that had viewed. At the time each rater raised their hand, the next slide was presented. Additionally, the raters were blind to the condition that each of the advertisements was selected from (Socially Familiar or Socially Anonymous).

After the judges had finished their ratings on a five point likert-scale, and interrater reliability was established, a tabulation of overall averages for each of the 6 rating categories were computed (e.g. abstract detail, concrete detail, signals of status, signals of health, signals of physical attractiveness, and signals of faithfulness). With the

exception of rater 2 on the abstract category, there was unanimous consensus among the judges on each category that was scored.

In addition, the ratings of the participants in terms of the degree to which they reported that they possessed various attributes (e.g., physical attractiveness, resources, etc.) via a 20-item budget allocation based on the revised Tooke and Camire (1991) dating scale were computed. The numerical scores on the revised Tooke and Camire (1991) scale were used in conjunction with the profile advertisements as a marker of trait emphasis. Lastly, participants were tasked with completing The *Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale* as a means of control against the potential influence of social desirability effects on self presentation.

## RESULTS

First a preliminary series of correlations were conducted to determine interrater reliability among the judges that scored the content of participant profile advertisements. Table 1 shows a summary of these correlations. Next, to test the effect of gender and audience on self presentation, the scores of each item on the revised Tooke and Camire (1991) dating scale were analyzed using a 2X2 independent ANOVA. The first factor was gender (male and female), and the second factor was audience (socially familiar and socially anonymous).

The 20 items in the modified Tooke and Camire (1991) scale addressed different facets of self-presentation in the mating domain – and the methodology utilized a budget-allocation process, such that participants allocated a certain number of mating points (of 100) to each item. The data could have been factor analyzed to see if multiple items mapped onto empirically distinct clusters. However, the variables were not all normally

distributed as they came from a budget-allocation process (which leads often to skewed frequency distributions). Given this fact along with the fact that the items were chosen conceptually partly as they were distinct from one another, the main analyses were conducted at the item level.

Significance was detected on several of the budget allocation scale items, consisting of numbers 4, 11, 14, 17, and 20. The ANOVA showed two significant main effects on items 14 and 17 respectively. On item 14, there was a significant main effect on gender  $F(1, 127) = 165.39, p < .05, \eta^2 = .011$ . A summary of these results are demonstrated on figure 3 and table 4. These results seem to demonstrate that males emphasized their emotional awareness more prominently than females regardless of condition, which contradicts hypothesis 2.

A significant main effect on gender was also detected on item 17,  $F(1, 113) = 265.56, p < .05, \eta^2 = .027$ . A summary of these results are shown on figure 4 and table 5. These results seem to indicate that males emphasized their creativity more so than females regardless of audience type which supports hypothesis 1. Additionally, the ANOVA also revealed multiple interaction effects, specifically on items 4, 11, and 20. On item 4 there was an Interaction between gender and audience,  $F(1, 106) = 8.27, p < .05, \eta^2 = .078$ . A summary of these results are demonstrated in figure 1 and table 2. These results illustrate that only when male participants advertised themselves to an anonymous audience, they were far more likely to emphasize their physical attractiveness, which ran counter to hypotheses 1 and 2.

A significant interaction was also revealed between audience and gender on item 11,  $F(1, 123) = 9.8, p < .05, \eta^2 = .079$ . A summary of these results are demonstrated in

figure 2 and table 3. These findings seem to indicate that only when male participants were advertising to an anonymous audience, they were much more likely to emphasize how physically attractive other people perceived them to be, which again ran counter to hypotheses 1 and 2.

Another significant interaction was found on item 20,  $F(1,122) = 6.53, p < .05, \eta^2 = .053$ . A summary of these results are demonstrated in Figure 5 and table 6. These findings seem to suggest that only when male participants were advertising themselves to an anonymous audience, they would place a greater amount of emphasis on how well they maintained their physical health, which was in contention with hypotheses 1 and 2. To explore the nature of these interactions, tests of the simple main effects were performed using a One-Way ANOVA. It was demonstrated that item 4 remained significant after the follow up test,  $F(3,109) = 2.92, p < .05, \eta^2 = .076$ . Item 11 also maintained its significance  $F(3, 126) = 3.34, p < .05, \eta^2 = .075$ . Lastly, the ANOVA also revealed that item 20 remained significant  $F(3, 125) = 2.71, p < .05, \eta^2 = .062$ .

Much like the last series of tests, a similar 2X2 between subjects ANOVA was conducted on the combined averages of categories that resulted from the scoring of the written content of participant advertisements. Of the 6 categories that were scored by the judges, significance was only detected on displays of status and of faithfulness in the written content of the participants' advertisements. This means that there was no support found regarding hypotheses 4 and 5, suggesting that the criteria employed to test for construal level effects in this study were ineffective.

There were two significant main effects for the displays of faithfulness, one on gender,  $F(1, 55) = 266.78, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ ; and one on audience,  $F(1, 55) = 180.75, p <$

.05,  $\eta^2 = .014$ . A summary of these results are shown on figure 6 and table 7. These findings reflect that female participants were much more likely to emphasize their faithfulness compared to male participants, and also suggested that female participants would tend to emphasize their faithfulness even more highly when presenting themselves to a familiar audience.

These findings lent partial support to hypothesis 2, but were in contrast to hypothesis 3. The ANOVA also revealed a significant interaction on displays of status,  $F(1, 55) = 4.2, p < .05, \eta^2 = .089$ . A summary of these results are demonstrated on figure 7 and table 8. These results suggest that males were far more likely to emphasize displays of status but only when advertising themselves to an anonymous audience which gives some support to hypothesis 3 and partial support to hypothesis 1.

An independent sample t-test was conducted to determine the effect of social desirability on self presentation,  $t(147) = .732, p NS .092$ . This test was not significant, suggesting that social desirability did not have an impact on how participants presented themselves. The socially desirable response set variable was included in a somewhat alternative manner. Typically, researchers use that variable as a subject variable to see if some participants are overly likely to give only socially desirable responses. In the current study, it was used as something of an outcome variable.

Specifically, participants across conditions encountered this measure as the very last measure. I was interested to see if the manipulation of audience would affect overall socially desirable responding (perhaps with participants in the socially anonymous condition being more likely to present in a socially desirable manner overall). The findings revealed that the manipulation did not affect overall tendencies toward socially

desirable responding (as the means for this variable were not different across conditions). As such, we may infer that the manipulation specifically affected self-presentation that was mating-specific.

## DISCUSSION

Recall that this study sought to examine the effects of audience type on self-presentation in online dating profiles. To accomplish this, a manipulation of social distance was utilized to determine whether individuals advertised themselves differently to potential romantic partners when they perceived a higher degree of social distance between themselves and the target audience or a more proximate degree of social distance between themselves and the target audience. The findings obtained in the current study connect with several past findings in the literature.

Most crucially, basic differences were observed between males and females suggesting that men and women prioritize different aspects of a mating relationship and consequently have established different criteria for the mate selection process when searching for romantic partners, which is consistent with findings from Buss (1989); Buss (1998); Buss and Schmitt (2011); Buss and Schmitt (1993); Figueredo et al (2006); Gangestad and Simpson (2000); and Trivers (1972).

As outlined previously, trait emphasis was operationally defined in terms of the presence of a relatively strong representation of mating related attributes on the part of the participants, (e.g., if participants rated their physical attractiveness higher in either condition, that was taken as a marker of emphasis). Following what was established by Tooke and Camire (1991) a set of 20 traits were modified for the purposes of this study

that represented male and female typical qualities related to dating and romantic courtship .

The *socially familiar* and *socially anonymous* conditions were manipulated in a way that expressed either a high or low degree of social distance with regards to potential romantic partners. This manipulation of social distance was investigated to determine the differences in self presentation among men and women when advertising themselves to potential romantic partners in a hypothetical dating website. Consistent with the research on social anonymity, and particularly, the work done by Kerr (1999) the current study found that males were much more likely to advertise themselves most positively when presenting to a social anonymous audience, however this was not true for females. This may indicate the in mating contexts social anonymity may have stronger effects on males in terms of self interested behavior than females. However, more research will be needed to determine how strong such an effect actually is with a larger sample size of male participants.

Additionally, it was thought that a manipulation of social distance may have inadvertently triggered construal level effects which may have influenced the ways by which participants presented themselves to either familiar or anonymous audiences, as was showcased by work by Stephan et al (2015) in non-mating contexts. In an attempt to test for this, judges were tasked with scoring the written content of participant advertisements for the amount of abstract and concrete details that the participants' provided about themselves and what they sought in a potential romantic partner. Furthermore, social desirability was assessed as a means of control and to also measure

the potential effects of the manipulation on self presentation in domains that are not as portent to romantic courtship.

Hypothesis 3 stated that participants in the *socially anonymous* condition would show overall higher degrees of emphasis on mating related traits than participants in the *socially familiar* condition on both their written profile advertisements and the 20 item budget allocation. Moreover, according hypothesis 1 males would be more likely to emphasize traits related to the domains of status, resources, commitment, and creativity while according to hypothesis 2 females would place more emphasis on traits related to the domains of physical health, physical attractiveness, faithfulness, and emotional awareness.

The results lent partial support to these hypotheses in a few instances. Specifically, it was found that when male participants presented themselves to an anonymous audience they were much more likely to emphasize signs of status in the content of their written advertisements. This shows partial support for hypothesis 1 as it was males who advertised their status more so than females, and clear support for hypothesis 3, because male participants emphasized their status more heavily when presenting to an anonymous audience.

In contrast, when female participants presented themselves to a familiar audience they were much more likely to display signs of faithfulness in the content of their written advertisements. This evidence shows clear support for hypothesis 2 because female participants advertised their faithfulness much more so than male participants, but it is in contention with hypothesis 3 due to the fact that female participants placed more emphasis in the socially familiar condition rather than the socially anonymous condition.

Support for hypothesis 1 was also demonstrated by the finding that indicated males emphasized their creativity more prominently than females regardless of condition.

In addition, one interesting set of findings pertained to a differential focus on emotional awareness across the sexes which were in contention with hypothesis 2. Interestingly, contrary to my prediction, males scored higher on this measure across both levels of the audience conditions. This finding is counter-intuitive as women tend to have more stringent criteria for the mate selection process compared to men. From my perspective having a true understanding of one's own feelings regarding both themselves and how they feel about the outside world would make optimal sense for the choosier sex, as it is integral for the higher investing sex to ensure the most advantageous judgment regarding mate selection, as they invest more heavily in terms of parental investment. If there is a lack of emotional awareness on behalf of the higher investing sex, it may suggest that that a poor decision was made when choosing a mate because they were not in touch with their emotions when the decision was made and were either confused or unsure about how they felt about the prospective partner.

A potential explanation for these findings could be that perhaps female participants felt there is a cultural influence that may paint females negatively when they advertise any sign of emotionality, even emotional awareness, and as a consequence avoided allocating points that highlighted that trait. In contrast, perhaps males felt the same type of cultural influence but in reverse, assuming that females seek partners who are in touch with their emotions, and as a result allocated points that would highlight that trait, both of the assumptions being based on the stereotypes of the culture.

Lastly, for each of the significant interaction effects, the results were in clear contention with hypotheses 1 and 2. While female participants in each condition advertised their physical health and physical attractiveness more highly than males had done in the socially familiar condition, it was males who emphasized these traits the highest when presenting to a socially anonymous audience. Virtually no support was found for hypotheses 4 and 5, this is most likely a result of ineffective measures to properly test for construal level effects in the present study.

#### Limitations and Future Directions

To address the reason why the opposite results were found instead what was originally hypothesized in regards to the apparent role reversal of male and female participants in terms of emphasizing physical attractiveness and physical health, and in terms of females emphasizing mating related traits more strongly to a familiar audience rather than an anonymous one, it would be particularly advantageous to design a follow-up study that effectively measured the mating strategies of the participants. It could very well be the case that in the original concept of this study the importance of context was overlooked.

As such, the ways by which males and females decide exactly on what traits and qualities to advertize and who to advertize them to could be fundamentally different depending on the environmental circumstances that they find themselves within. As previously stated in the introduction, males and females have a tendency to prioritize different aspects of a mating relationship, and also tend to signal what the opposite sex deems as most important. Stereotypically, this implicates things like status and resources for males and physical attractiveness and physical health for females. What was missing

from the original hypotheses revolves entirely around the mating strategies that each of the sexes tends to prefer and the faulty assumption that both sexes would always be more likely to exaggerate mating related traits to strangers.

Another place for improvement regards the integration of construal level theory. This study attempted to offer a possible alternative explanation for the effects of self presentation based on the idea of psychological distance changing our thought processes to understand and interpret future events as either more abstract and idealized or concrete and pragmatic. However, rather than a manipulation of time or spatial distance (as construal effects are typically elicited) this study sought to determine whether or not social distance acted in a similar manner. At this particular juncture, it has been made evident that the complexity of construal level theory and how context specific construals levels tend to be made measuring their effects next to impossible without a proper construal level manipulation. For these reasons it would be necessary to add a more traditional construal level manipulation to the study itself.

### Conclusion

While the present study offers evidence that reflects that males and females will present themselves differently depending upon the audience they are advertizing to in terms of a romantic courtship, and that males and females advertize different mating related qualities/traits to prospective partners. The jury is still out on just how potent the potential evolutionary mismatch is between our modern system of human mate selection and the human mating psychology we rely on to make these integral selection decisions.

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APPENDIX A

		Abstract 2	Abstract3	Abstract4	Abstract5
Abstract1	Pearson	.193	.524**	.499**	.551**
	Correlation	.140	.000	.000	.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	60	60	60	60
	N				
		Concrete2	Concrete3	Concrete4	Concrete5
Concrete1	Pearson	.513**	.582**	.498**	.672**
	Correlation	.000	.000	.000	.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	60	60	60	60
	N				
		Status2	Status3	Status4	Status5
Status1	Pearson Correlation	.502**	.714**	.673**	.592**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	60	60	60	60
		Health2	Health3	Health4	Health5
Health1	Pearson Correlation	.490**	.544**	.620**	.706**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	60	60	60	60
		Physical2	Physical3	Physical4	Physical5
Physical 1	Pearson	.466**	.255*	.331**	.414**
	Correlation	.000	.049	.010	.001
	Sig. (2-tailed)	60	60	60	60
	N				
		Faithfulness 2	Faithfulness 3	Faithfulness4	Faithfulness 5
Faithfulness1	Pearson	.539**	.484**	.692**	.485**
	Correlation	.000	.000	.000	.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	60	60	60	60
	N				

Table 1. Correlations of rater scores on participant advertisements.

APPENDIX B

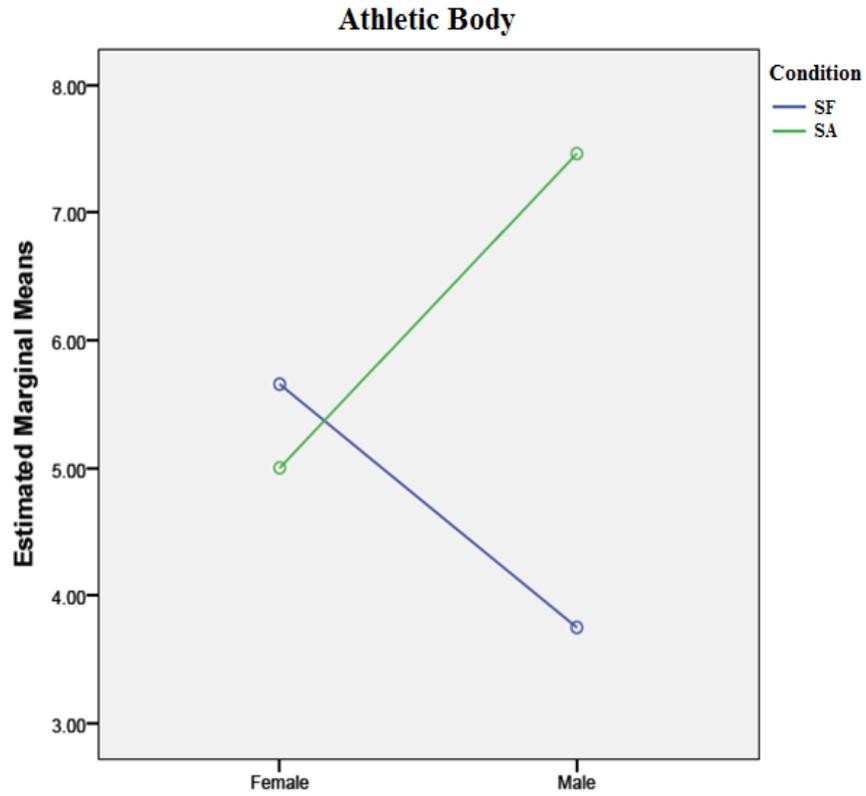


Figure 1. Males in the Socially Anonymous condition advertized how athletic their body was more prominently than any other group.

DV: All_4	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	1.49	1	1.49	.016	.919
Audience	45.012	1	45.012	.490	.611
Gender*Audience	91.92	1	91.92	8.27	.005
Error	1178.392	106			

Table 2.

APPENDIX C

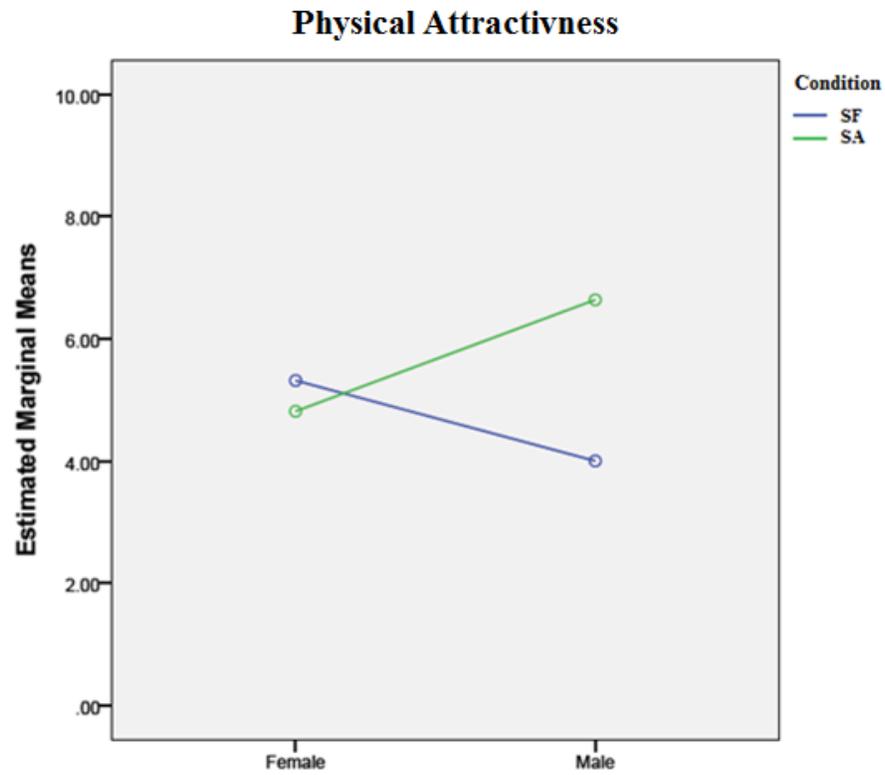


Figure 2. Males in the Socially Anonymous condition advertized their physical attractiveness more prominently than any other group.

DV: All_11	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	1.17	1	1.17	.026	.898
Audience	20.66	1	20.66	.462	.620
Gender*Audience	44.76	1	44.76	9.795	.002
Error	562.174	123			

Table 3.

APPENDIX D

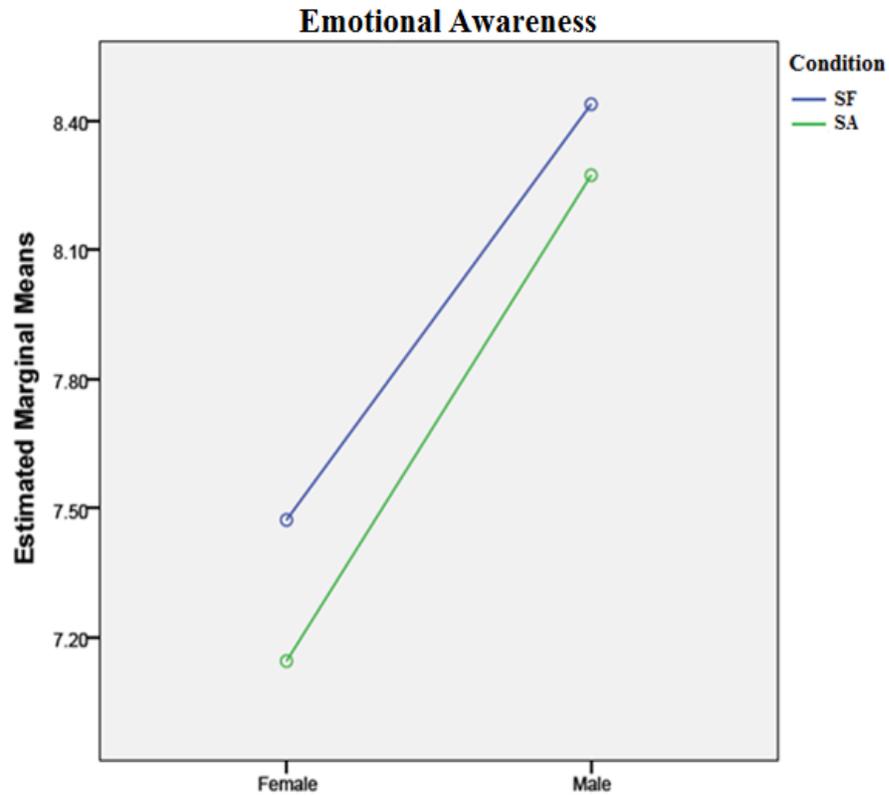


Figure 3. Males in both conditions advertized their emotional awareness more prominently than females.

DV: All_14	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	22.76	1	22.76	165.39	.049
Audience	1.26	1	1.26	9.16	.203
Gender*Audience	1.38	1	.138	.009	.926
Error	2018.808	127			

Table 4.

APPENDIX E

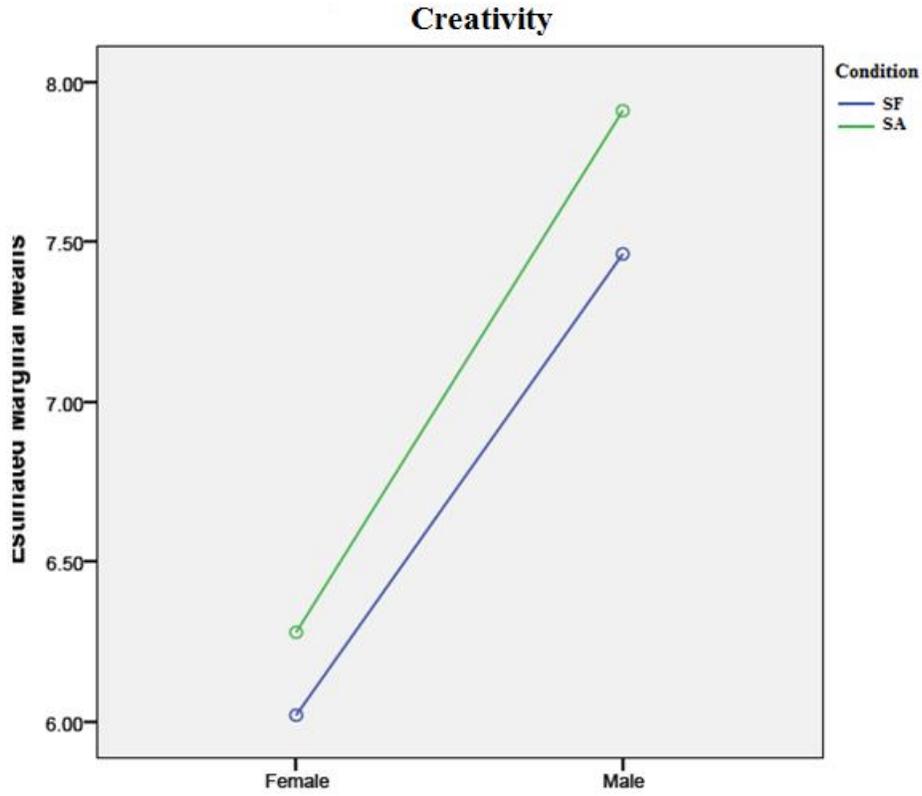


Figure 4. Males in both conditions advertized their creativity more prominently than females.

DV: All_17	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	44.7	1	44.7	265.56	.039
Audience	2.4	1	2.4	14.055	.166
Gender*Audience	.168	1	.168	.011	.915
Error	1661.771	113			

Table 5.

APPENDIX F

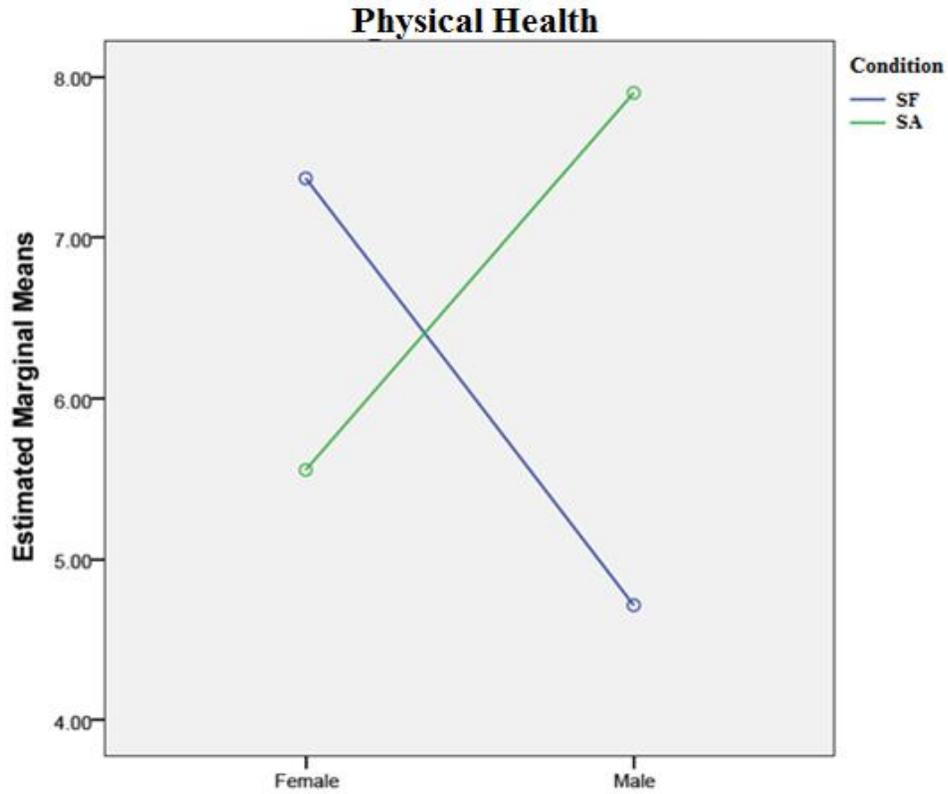


Figure 5. Males in the Socially Anonymous condition advertized their physical health more prominently than any other group.

DV: All_20	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	.454	1	.454	.004	.961
Audience	8.92	1	8.92	.075	.829
Gender*Audience	118.31	1	118.31	6.53	.012
Error	2210.131	122			

Table 6.

APPENDIX G

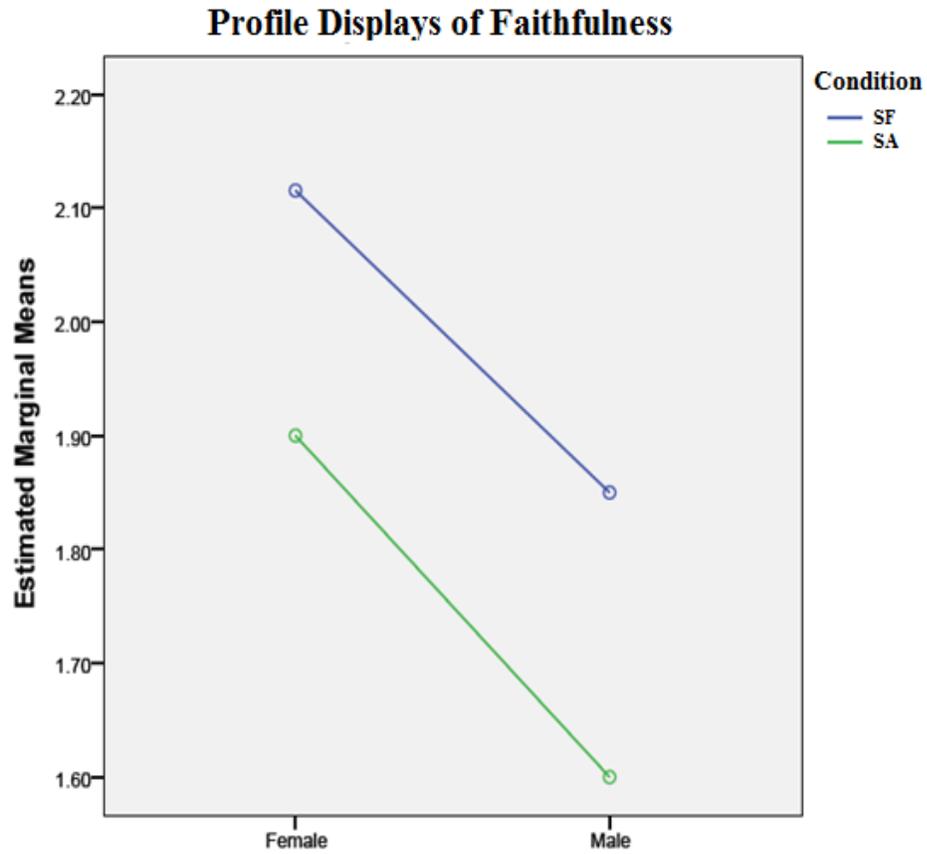


Figure 6. Females in the Socially Familiar condition advertized their faithfulness more prominently than any other group.

DV: Faithfulness_Avg	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	.711	1	.711	266.78	.039
Audience	.482	1	.482	180.75	.047
Gender*Audience	.003	1	.003	.004	.949
Error	35.124	55			

Table 7.

APPENDIX H

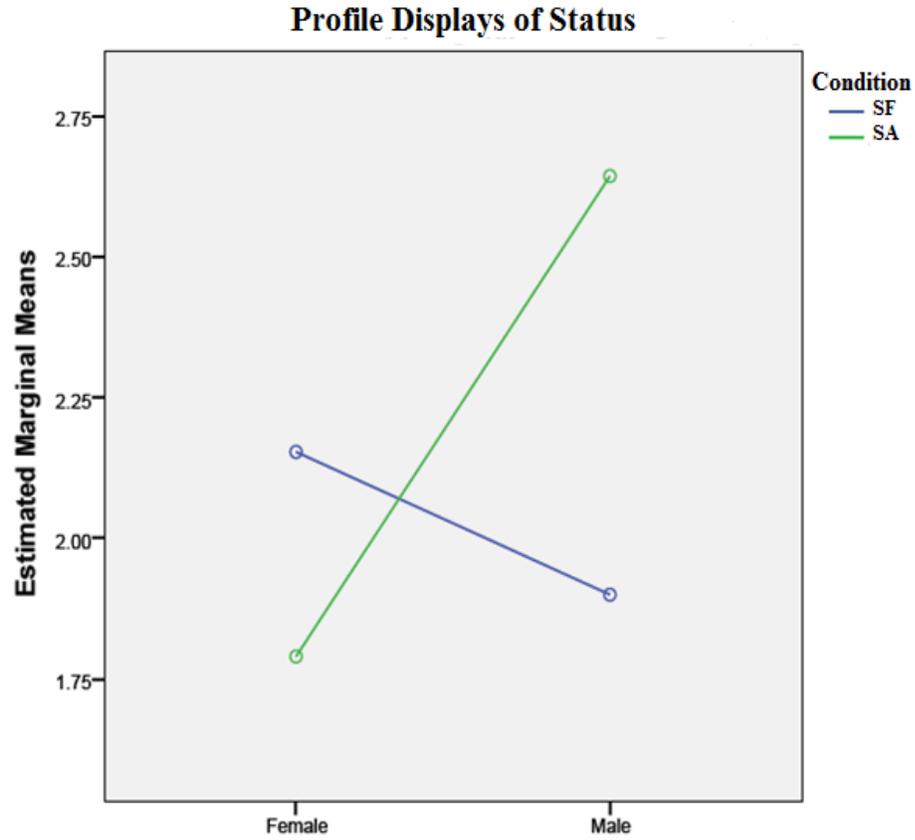


Figure 7. Males in the Socially Anonamous condition advertized their status more prominently than any other group.

DV: Status_Avg	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Gender	.802	1	.802	.294	.694
Audience	.322	1	.322	.118	.789
Gender*Audience	2.732	1	2.732	4.196	.031
Error	30.56	55			

Table 8.

## APPENDIX I

### Open-ended profile Descriptions

Please create an online dating profile assuming that you're not currently in a committed relationship. Be sure that your profile is no more than 250 words in length. **Note that this ad will be viewable by both individuals who you directly know AND individuals who are connected to your social circles.**

Please create an online dating profile assuming that you're not currently in a committed relationship. Be sure that your profile is no more than 250 words in length. **Note that this ad will NOT be viewable by either individuals who you directly know nor by individuals who are connected to your social circles.**

Now consider each of the following 20 items. Please assume that your scores for each of these items would be incorporated into your profile as to provide more information about yourself. You will need to rate how much each of these items describes you using an allocated 100 points. Please be sparing with your distribution to be sure that the items that are more applicable to yourself receive the highest ratings. Keep in mind you are advertising to individuals **who you directly know AND individuals who are connected to your social circles**. Be as honest as possible.

<u>Personal Characteristics</u>		<u>Score</u>
1.	I spend a lot of money on my romantic partners.	
2.	I have exceedingly high career expectations.	
3.	I enjoy "hooking up."	
4.	I have a very athletic body.	
5.	I love changing my hair style.	
6.	I am very confident and have very high expectations for success in all life dimensions.	
7.	I am very mature and wise for my age.	
8.	I love to wear clothes that highlight my body, especially when I go out.	
9.	I am a highly sexual person.	
10.	I am a very loyal to others.	
11.	People are often complimenting me on my looks.	
12.	I would never post photographs of myself to make myself appear more attractive than I am.	
13.	I have a naturally youthful face.	
14.	I am very in touch with my emotions.	
15.	I am definitely near the top of the status totem pole in my social circles.	
16.	I doubt that I'll ever be a huge financial success.	
17.	I'm definitely more creative than most people.	
18.	I really don't have a great body compared with other people I know.	
19.	I am taller than the average person.	
20.	I am very health conscious and take very good care of myself with regular checkups.	
		<u>Total</u>

Now consider each of the following 20 items. Please assume that your scores for each of these items would be incorporated into your profile as to provide more information about yourself. You will need to rate how much each of these items describes you using an allocated 100 points. Please be sparing with your distribution to be sure that the items that are more applicable to yourself receive the highest ratings. Keep in mind you are advertising to **neither individuals who you directly know NOR individuals who are connected to your social circles. Be as honest as possible.**

<u>Personal Characteristics</u>		<u>Score</u>
1.	I spend a lot of money on my romantic partners.	
2.	I have exceedingly high career expectations.	
3.	I enjoy "hooking up."	
4.	I have a very athletic body.	
5.	I love changing my hair style.	
6.	I am very confident and have very high expectations for success in all life dimensions.	
7.	I am very mature and wise for my age.	
8.	I love to wear clothes that highlight my body, especially when I go out.	
9.	I am a highly sexual person.	
10.	I am a very loyal to others.	
11.	People are often complimenting me on my looks.	
12.	I would never post photographs of myself to make myself appear more attractive than I am.	
13.	I have a naturally youthful face.	
14.	I am very in touch with my emotions.	
15.	I am definitely near the top of the status totem pole in my social circles.	
16.	I doubt that I'll ever be a huge financial success.	
17.	I'm definitely more creative than most people.	
18.	I really don't have a great body compared with other people I know.	
19.	I am taller than the average person.	
20.	I am very health conscious and take very good care of myself with regular checkups.	
		<u>Total</u>

THE MARLOWE-CROWNE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE  
Personal Reaction Inventory

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *true* or *false* as it pertains to you personally.

1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.
10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
11. I like to gossip at times.
12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
17. I always try to practice what I preach.
18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.

19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

THE MARLOWE-CROWNE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE  
Personal Reaction Inventory

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *true* or *false* as it pertains to you personally. Remember, you are advertising to **individuals who you neither directly know NOR individuals who are connected to your social circles.**

1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.
10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
11. I like to gossip at times.
12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.

17. I always try to practice what I preach.
18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.
19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.