

11

Speed Dating *A Powerful and Flexible Paradigm for Studying Romantic Relationship Initiation*

PAUL W. EASTWICK and ELI J. FINKEL

In all areas of scientific inquiry, the ideas that researchers pursue are constrained by the methods available to them. Thankfully, new and generative methodological paradigms are frequently born, often directly as a result of scientists' own ingenuity. Two prominent examples in psychology include Thurstone's (1928) insight that attitudes can be measured, a revelation that served as the foundation for the myriad self-report measures in use today, and Byrne's (1961) "bogus stranger" experiment, which became one of the most enduring paradigms in the study of attraction. In other cases, scientists have capitalized on the emergence of a new technology or some other product of our evolving culture. For instance, as millions of people currently have access to the Internet, a massive participant pool is available for studies that choose to harness this resource (Fraley, 2004). We have become increasingly enthusiastic about a promising methodological advance for researchers interested in attraction and relationship initiation: a providential gift from popular singles' culture known as *speed dating*.

Speed dating was conceived by Rabbi Yaacov Deyo in the late 1990s as an efficient means for Jewish singles in Los Angeles to meet one another. Since that time, it has rapidly become a fixture of pop culture, spreading throughout metropolitan areas in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia and recently emerging in nations as diverse as Japan and South Africa. In speed dating, individuals who are interested in meeting potential romantic partners pay to attend events (a typical price in Chicago in 2007 was US\$35) where they have a series of brief "dates" with other attendees. Each date lasts a set number of minutes, though the duration will vary from event to event (typically in the 3–8-minute range), as will the total number of dates. At the end of the evening, speed daters indicate (on either a short questionnaire or a website) whom they would ("yes") or would not ("no") be interested in meeting again. The host of the speed-dating event then provides a means for mutually interested parties to contact one another.

A speed date bears little resemblance to a traditional, presumably longer date; instead, speed-dating events are roughly analogous to parties, bars, or other social settings where single individuals might hope to connect with other singles. Speed dating possesses several unique advantages over these alternatives, including (a) the assurance that the people one meets are (to some extent) romantically available, (b) the fact that great confidence is not a prerequisite to approach the more desirable preferred-sex individuals present, and (c) the knowledge that any unpleasant dates will have a mercifully quick end. Speed dating is also a flexible concept; it has even been adapted for populations who generally disapprove of dating by allowing participants' parents to chaperone the events

(MacFarquhar, 2006). For these reasons, thousands of people have turned to speed dating as an efficient and promising means of meeting new potential romantic partners.

Recently, researchers have begun to recognize the potential for speed dating to reveal insights about relationship initiation processes (e.g., Eastwick, Finkel, Mochon, & Ariely, 2007; Finkel, Eastwick, & Matthews, 2007; Fisman, Iyengar, Kamenica, & Simonson, 2006; Kurzban & Weeden, 2005). Of course, when attraction research grew to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s, several ambitious researchers indeed recognized the scientific value of studying participants' impressions of real-life dating partners. In these live dating studies, researchers set participants on an actual date, collected impressions immediately after the date, and in some cases contacted participants later to see if any subsequent dating had taken place. Most famous of these was the "computer dance" study conducted by Elaine Hatfield (formerly Walster) and colleagues (Walster, Aronson, Abrahams, & Rottmann, 1966), which is especially well cited for unearthing the large association between physical attractiveness and romantic desirability. Even as recently as the 1990s, relationship scientists were generating new and creative ways to study men and women on actual dates (e.g., Sprecher & Duck, 1994). Speed dating continues this tradition of live dating research, but also draws from the literature on "thin slices" of behavior (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992), which has demonstrated that individuals can make accurate inferences about a target person after a very short observation of that target. For many research questions, therefore, it would not be necessary to send participants on full, evening-length dates; there is good reason to believe that participants can make accurate judgments about a potential romantic partner rather quickly. In this way, speed dating satisfies scholars' desire to understand romantic relationship initiation as it happens in real life while simultaneously maximizing data collection efficiency.

Elsewhere, we have provided a "rough-and-ready" manual that includes discussions of recruitment, payment, possible institutional review board (IRB) concerns, and various methodological issues for researchers who might wish to conduct their own speed-dating studies (Finkel et al., 2007). In this chapter, we discuss in detail the myriad benefits that speed dating can offer attraction and relationship initiation research. We note how speed dating takes advantage of several tried-and-true procedural features already familiar to those who study attraction and close relationships; as a result, speed dating imports the strengths of these literatures and essentially provides a "greatest hits" compilation of methods to researchers who study relationship initiation. To further illustrate why we have become excited about the potential of speed dating to lead attraction research in new and generative directions, we then present findings on a variety of topics—from ideal partner preferences to cross-race romantic desire—from the Northwestern Speed-Dating Study. Finally, we explore some potential limitations of speed-dating methods and propose how they might be rectified in future research.

WHAT WOULD AN IDEAL PARADIGM FOR THE STUDY OF RELATIONSHIP INITIATION LOOK LIKE?

Initial romantic attraction and early relationship development are complex processes that can be understood only through diverse empirical investigations. Nevertheless, it is interesting to muse about a comprehensive or ideal paradigm for the study of romantic relationship initiation. Given the lessons of previous findings and the generative paradigms of past and present, what features would attraction scholars *in principle* desire in an ideal empirical method? We describe eight features that would be included in such an ideal method; later, we argue that speed-dating procedures (and straightforward extensions thereof) can in principle incorporate all these ideal features, allowing investigators to address a wide array of research questions relevant to initial attraction and early relationship development.

Eight Features of the Ideal Paradigm

1. Study Real Relationships With a Potential Future Relationships characterized by a potential future (i.e., those that individuals hope or expect to persist) are qualitatively different from

those with no possible future. One compelling illustration is provided by research comparing participants' behavior during one-trial and iterated-trial prisoner's dilemma games, research tools designed to instill in participants conflicting motives to cooperate or compete. Although competitive behavior dominates most single-trial games, complex interpersonal phenomena, including cooperation and reciprocity, emerge during iterated games in which participants expect to interact with the same partner repeatedly (Axelrod, 1984; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Luce & Raiffa, 1957).

For logical reasons, close relationships researchers almost uniformly study relationships with a future, and several important phenomena would likely have gone undetected if scholars had studied only relationships that were hypothetical or limited to the duration of a single experimental session. One compelling example is research on the interpersonal nature of trust (e.g., Holmes & Rempel, 1989; for a review, see Simpson, 2007). Although trust had previously been conceptualized primarily as an individual difference, Holmes and Rempel argued that trust is best understood as a product of an evolving relationship. Another construct that is central to relationships researchers and is typically assessed within the context of an ongoing relationship is commitment (for a review, see Rusbult, Olsen, Davis, & Hannon, 2001), which explicitly includes beliefs about the future of the relationship (e.g., long-term orientation and an intent to persist). Intimacy (Laurenceau, Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998; Reis & Shaver, 1988) is yet another key construct that grew to prominence as researchers started to explore the relationships that genuinely held meaning and significance for participants. Indeed, most contemporary research on romantic relationships takes place within the context of ongoing relationships that participants hope or expect to persist.

Should attraction researchers similarly prioritize the study of relationships that have a potential future? Although attraction research can certainly be generative and informative without assessing participants' responses to real-life potential romantic partners, there are several reasons to consider such assessments to be a feature of the ideal attraction paradigm. Even at the most basic level, participants pay much closer attention to strangers with whom they have a likely future than to strangers with whom no such future is likely (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976). Furthermore, participants show unique biases when they expect future interaction with someone. For example, a recent study (Goodwin, Fiske, Rosen, & Rosenthal, 2002) found that participants successfully distinguished between the competent and incompetent work of an opposite-sex other with whom they did not expect to interact. However, when participants anticipated that they would date the person later in the week, they judged the work to be competent and coherent, regardless of its actual quality. In addition, if participants are interacting with and reporting on individuals with whom they could potentially form a relationship, it would likely increase the likelihood that participants will take the experiment seriously and thereby provide valid and meaningful data. Attraction researchers can therefore create a compelling paradigm by studying how participants evaluate real-life potential partners, whether such fledgling couples meet in or out of a laboratory setting. In fact, the computer dance study (Walster et al., 1966) is a paragon of social psychological research because, like other classics such as the Robber's Cave study (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1954/1961) and the Stanford prison experiment (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973), it exquisitely blurs the lines between research study and real life, and thus manages to capture the best features of both. By providing or allowing for a potential future in the relationships that attraction researchers study, it imbues them with additional power and meaning in the moment for participants.

2. Study Both Interactants The ideal paradigm for studying initial romantic attraction would also allow scholars to examine attraction as it emerges between two individuals. Because attraction is fundamentally a social process whereby two individuals simultaneously perceive and are perceived by one another, researchers may not detect important attraction phenomena unless they have the ability to consider the dyad as the unit of analysis. In fact, several inherently dyadic phenomena have been identified using the social relations model (SRM; Kenny, 1994) and the actor-partner interdependence model (APIM; Kashy & Kenny, 2000), two powerful techniques that are especially well suited to the study of attraction. For instance, these methods have revealed that strangers tend to reciprocate nonromantic liking for one another after only a brief initial encounter (Chapdelaine,

Kenny, & LaFontana, 1994) and that people tend to be happier in their relationships when they measure up to their partner's ideals (Campbell, Simpson, Kashy, & Fletcher, 2001). Later in this chapter, we will advocate the use of the social relations model in conjunction with speed dating; for now, it is sufficient to note that the ideal attraction paradigm has much to gain by analyzing romantic dynamics in situations where both individuals may be interested in one another (Kenny). Although research employing experimental confederates or other well-controlled stimuli will always remain important for discerning the processes underlying romantic attraction, there is a deep and desirable richness to be found in the data of naïve interacting dyads.

3. Maintain Experimental Control Initial romantic attraction is enormously complex. The ideal attraction paradigm would allow investigators to exert substantial methodological control over the romantic context in which potential partners meet one another. Although the dynamics of romantic attraction will surely remain complex even in a well-controlled environment, researchers will typically want to hold constant a large array of confounding factors such as location, lighting, food, music, and time of day. Of course, researchers can learn a great deal about relationship initiation by simply asking participants about their naturally occurring dating experiences, but the lack of control provided by such procedures could prove problematic. For example, if men's wealth correlated with their reported number of sexual partners, a researcher might want to argue that wealthy men are naturally romantically desirable (e.g., Perusse, 1993). However, if wealthy men experience less pressure to "punch in" at exactly 8:30 each morning, they might simply have more sexual opportunities as a consequence of this extra freedom to stay out late. A paradigm that allowed researchers to control for such factors would help rule out various alternative explanations for any results revealed by the study.

4. Give Participants Multiple Romantic Options Imagine two different high-quality studies of initial romantic attraction, each of which lasts 2 hours. In one, participants go on a date with one person for the allotted time (e.g., Walster et al., 1966). In the other, participants go on 12 brief dates during the allotted time (e.g., Finkel et al., 2007). Although a single-date study has many excellent features (e.g., the ability to observe romantic phenomena that might emerge only over the course of an evening), here we emphasize two especially exciting advantages of the multiple-date study. First, investigators can learn unique information about romantic attraction dynamics by examining the choices individuals make when they select among several potential partners as opposed to when they report their attraction to a single partner. For example, a study that sets participants on a single date can indeed inform scholars about participants' decisions to go out with their assigned partner again. A multiple-date study provides this information and additionally sheds light on why some partners *and not others* are more desirable to a particular individual. Of course, studies that have examined real-life dating dyads are some of the most impressive examples of attraction research (e.g., Byrne, Ervin, & Lamberth, 1970; Sprecher & Duck, 1994; Walster et al., 1966); what is exciting is that a multiple-date study can provide a new kind of insight into romantic choice processes while maintaining the identical time commitment for participants.

A second advantage of the multiple-date study (for both researchers and participants alike) is that it may be more successful at introducing participants to at least one person who is a good romantic fit for them. This point has not yet been addressed empirically, however, and it is certainly possible that the shorter dates necessitated by the multiple-date study are wildly ineffective at inspiring second dates among participants. Therefore, to get a cursory sense of speed dating's efficacy, we conducted the following analysis using data from the 163 participants who took part in the North-western Speed-Dating Study (NSDS). As part of the NSDS, we conducted a one-month longitudinal follow-up that required participants to answer questions every 3 days about each of their matches. Using these follow-up data, we determined that 33% of our speed-dating participants spent at least some time "hanging out" with a match whom they did not know well prior to the speed-dating event, and 21% of this subsample did so for at least two of their speed-dating matches. One could compare the 33% value with that obtained, for example, in a relatively recent study that set men and women

on single dates (Sprecher & Duck, 1994). Sprecher and Duck also included a follow-up component in their study and found that 14% of participants answered in the affirmative to the question “Did you ever go on a second date or get together again as friends?” Although such a cross-study comparison is certainly imprecise, it provides reason to suspect that researchers may be more successful at generating fledgling relationships if they introduce participants to a larger number of romantic eligibles, even if this requires making the interactions very short. (Intriguingly, this implication does not mean that investigators should try to force as many dates into an evening as possible, as Iyengar, Simonson, Fisman, and Mogliner, 2005, have reported that participants who had roughly 10 speed dates in an evening garnered *more* matches than participants who had roughly 20 dates.)

5. Get Background Characteristics Before Participants Meet The ideal methodological paradigm would assess a diverse range of background information on both members of the dyad before they ever meet one another. Many research questions necessitate such information, and most researchers are familiar with self-report techniques that assess background demographics, personality characteristics, ideal partner preferences, or self-evaluations. Although such measurements could certainly be assessed once potential romantic partners have already met one another, this approach could sacrifice explanatory clarity. One vivid illustration of this point is provided by Fletcher, Simpson, and Thomas (2000): Participants who held positive perceptions of their relationships were more likely to change their ideal partner preferences over a 1–2-month period to become more congruent with their current partner. This finding inspires caution against concluding, for example, that selecting a romantic partner who closely matches one’s ideal will result in greater relationship satisfaction unless those ideals were assessed before the partners met. In fact, relationship partners are known to change the self in myriad ways (Aron, Paris, & Aron, 1995; Drigotas, Rusbult, Wieselquist, & Whitton, 1999; Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 1996); if these changes can take place over time spans as short as one month (Fletcher et al.), attraction researchers need to be aware of such possibilities. Therefore, the ideal attraction paradigm would enable researchers to collect background data on potential romantic partners before they ever have a chance to influence each other and create explanatory confounds.

6. Implement Experimental Manipulations Depending on the researcher’s goals, he or she might choose to extend experimental control by incorporating experimental manipulations into the speed-dating event. For example, one might wish to manipulate how long individuals meet one another, how closely they sit next to one another, or whether they are listening to Black Sabbath or the Bee Gees. In fact, one classic live dating study (Byrne et al., 1970) manipulated whether participants went on a “Coke date” with either a similar or dissimilar opposite-sex participant. Moreover, one could in principle employ trained research confederates to enact different behavioral strategies while meeting naïve participants in a romantic context (assuming the associated ethical concerns associated with this deception could be addressed). Such procedures could allow for causal conclusions about which strategies are most effective at making good impressions on potential romantic partners. Of course, many researchers will initially be satisfied to observe the processes of romantic attraction without including experimental manipulations, but the option is likely to be useful to researchers as they hone in on the mechanism underlying an effect of interest.

7. Collect “Objective” Ratings of Participants A major difficulty of studying initial romantic attraction is that the degree to which scholars can trust individuals’ self-reports on the topic remains unknown. Although self-reports are certainly a useful way to gather data on individuals’ subjective experiences, they can frequently be inaccurate due to diverse self-report biases, including the tendency to deceive oneself (e.g., by believing that one is more desired by a partner than is actually the case; Paulhus, 1984), the desire to present oneself positively (Paulhus), and the failure to have accurate introspection regarding the motives underlying one’s own behaviors (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). The ideal paradigm for studying romantic attraction would provide scholars with the ability to collect “objective” ratings of independent or dependent variables of interest. The paradigm

could borrow procedures from the clinical psychology literature investigating couple conflict, in which scholars record the interaction and later code it according to objective criteria (for a review, see Heyman, 2001). In the initial romantic attraction domain, scholars could use similar procedures to record participants' interactions and train raters who were not at the session to code the participants for physical attractiveness, sense of humor, charisma, use of flattery or other romantic strategies, and so forth. Of course, investigators may not possess the resources for such a procedure (e.g., insufficient funds to collect video and audio data) or may be concerned that employing such assessments would undesirably alter the dynamics of romantic attraction. Even so, researchers could still collect "objective" ratings of physical attractiveness by simply taking a photograph of each participant either before or after the session and having raters code the attractiveness of the photos. Finally, a paradigm allowing ratings from both objective coders and the participants themselves has the additional advantage of comparing these two sets of ratings to one another, a comparison that could lead to novel insights into how involvement in a romantic interaction alters perceptions of it (see Loving, 2006).

One additional type of data that is not solely based on one participant's self-report is consensus data, which emerge when researchers (a) collect data on both interactants (see feature 2, above), and (b) have participants meet and rate multiple potential partners on various dimensions (see feature 3, above). Such ratings retain an objective quality because they are not subject to the biases of a single individual, yet they still provide an "inside view" of the romantic attraction process that nicely complements standard self-reports and the objective ratings provided by independent coders. In addition, the consensus ratings are an essential ingredient in the social relations model (Kenny, 1994), which is a powerful analytic tool in its own right.

8. Follow Potential Relationships Into the Future Previously, we discussed the importance of studying real relationships with a potential future (see feature 1). An ideal paradigm for studying initial romantic attraction would also allow investigators to follow relationships into that future, examining the processes taking place in the days, weeks, months, and even years following the initial meeting. There exist countless fascinating questions about the development of romantic relationships. For example, what factors distinguish relationships that evolve into long-term close relationships from those that never make it to that stage? Under what circumstances do individuals who had initially experienced little sexual desire toward a given partner develop increased desire over time (or vice versa)? Such questions parallel those asked by close relationships researchers who have used longitudinal designs for several decades to examine breakup (e.g., Bui, Peplau, & Hill, 1996; Gottman, 1994; Karney & Bradbury, 1995) and relationship growth and maintenance mechanisms (e.g., Drigotas et al., 1999). Because it is often difficult to recruit romantic partners for a study until they are officially a "couple," the span of time between the initial romantic encounter and relationship formation is one of the great untouched canvasses of social scientific research. Furthermore, there exists very little empirical overlap at the present time between research in the attraction tradition and in the close relationships tradition (see Finkel et al., 2007). The ideal attraction paradigm would allow researchers to (a) extend attraction principles into the domain of close relationships, and (b) use the theoretical orientations (e.g., attachment theory and interdependence theory) and relationship-specific constructs (e.g., trust, commitment, and intimacy) of close relationships research to connect these two disciplines. In this way, a longitudinal component provides a potent tool for scholars to examine a large array of important and largely unexplored questions regarding early relationship development.

Speed Dating Can Incorporate All Eight Features

Speed dating is a single method that can include all eight of these desirable features. By definition, a speed-dating event entails that participants meet real-life potential romantic partners (feature 1), that these meetings happen in dyads (feature 2) in a well-controlled setting (feature 3), and that participants are given multiple romantic options (feature 4). In addition, optional yet straightforward

extensions of the basic paradigm allow researchers to obtain background information before the event (feature 5), incorporate an experimental manipulation (feature 6), collect objective data by recording the speed dates (feature 7), and/or administer longitudinal follow-up questionnaires after the event (feature 8). In addition, speed-dating procedures could be adapted to incorporate other features that we have not thoroughly considered (e.g., recoding biomarkers such as blood pressure or cortisol levels) or that the field itself has yet to provide. As new theory and new methods for the study of attraction are continuously updated and innovated, speed dating may remain a valuable method that readily incorporates these developments.

To illustrate how speed dating makes use of the eight ideal features of an attraction paradigm that we have described, we present a hypothetical example. Imagine a researcher who is broadly interested in the predictors and consequences of passionate love (e.g., Hatfield & Sprecher, 1986): Would speed dating be an effective tool to explore such a research agenda? We suggest that the answer is “Absolutely.”

First, speed dating naturally introduces participants to real-life potential romantic partners and encourages them to obtain matches, thereby explicitly opening up the possibility of a future for each dyad (feature 1). Such a context is ideal for exploring passionate love; in fact, it is difficult to imagine that passionate love could emerge if feature 1 were not present. Although there are probably circumstances in which some individuals experience passionate love with no possibility of spending time with the love object (e.g., a movie star crush), it is probably exceedingly rare that passion would be aroused by anything other than an actual real-life person (as opposed to a hypothetical ideal or a character in a vignette). Second, researchers are sure to uncover wonderful insights about passionate love when it is studied as a dyadic process (feature 2). For example, Tennov (1979) described how limerence, a state roughly synonymous with passionate love, is spawned by a delicate balance of hope and uncertainty with regard to the love object's feelings for the self. Surely, Participant A's overtures of romantic interest (or lack of interest) toward Participant B will impact B's uncertainty, who may in turn engage in behaviors that impact A's level of uncertainty, and so forth. The dance of hope and uncertainty that characterizes fledgling relationships is exquisitely dyadic at its core. Third, the ability to control for confounding factors could aid researchers who desire an extra degree of confidence about the source of their effects (feature 3). The example provided above remains apropos: Wealthy individuals could hypothetically inspire more passionate love, or they could simply have more free time to frequent locations where people are eager for a passionate encounter. Fourth, if subsequent dating is more likely to occur when participants are provided with multiple romantic options (feature 4; see our previous analysis of this issue, above), it is plausible that such a feature would increase the odds that researchers will detect passionate love among their participants. Furthermore, if participants are meeting multiple possible targets for their romantic desire, it allows researchers to better explore why passionate love emerged in one particular case but not in another.

The optional speed-dating features could also be useful to scholars who wish to study passionate love. As a fifth example, using background information collected prior to the event (feature 5), researchers could examine which individuals are more likely to experience passionate love, which individuals are more likely to inspire passionate love in others, and what combination of characteristics makes two individuals more likely to feel passionate love for one another. Sixth, a researcher might try to inspire more passionate love by experimentally altering the nature of the speed dates themselves (feature 6). For example, one could convince participants to disclose more self-relevant information on some dates than on others; it is possible, if such elevated disclosure is experienced by the partner as an increase in intimacy, that this manipulation could inspire passionate feelings (see Baumeister & Bratslavsky, 1999). Seventh, a researcher could employ audiotaping or videotaping procedures, objectively code participants' behavior, and then examine what romantic strategies (e.g., humor or flattery) successfully inspire passionate love in participants' dates (feature 7). Of course, a researcher could simply ask participants to self-report on their strategies, but it is likely that most people are only partially aware of the strategies they employ to elicit romantic interest from the opposite sex. Eighth, and finally, passionate love is probably most likely to reach its full intensity as two participants start spending more time with one another in the wake of the speed-dating event.

Therefore, researchers could conduct a longitudinal follow-up to learn how passionate love develops (feature 8): Under what circumstances does it either increase or decline in the wake of the speed-dating event? Though scholars may choose to include or not include these four optional features, they are sure to provide additional valuable insights for many research endeavors.

AU: Pls. briefly specify which ones.

A SAMPLER PLATTER FROM THE NORTHWESTERN SPEED-DATING STUDY

We have argued that speed dating possesses many features that make it an ideal method for studying relationship initiation and that it is broadly relevant to an array of research questions. When we conducted the Northwestern Speed-Dating Study, we had several programs of research that we hoped could be informed by speed dating. We were not disappointed. Below, we describe four different sets of findings from the NSDS that are especially exciting for us. We hope that they illustrate some of speed dating's ideal features as well as the breadth of questions that can be addressed by such a method.

Before proceeding, we provide a few details on the general structure of the NSDS that pertain to the results discussed below (for greater detail, see Finkel et al., 2007). We recruited 163 undergraduate students (81 female and 82 males) to participate in one of seven speed-dating events held in the spring of 2005. First, upon signing up for the event, each participant completed a 30-minute *pre-event questionnaire* online. Next, at the event itself, participants had between 9 and 13 speed dates with opposite-sex participants (depending on event attendance); each speed date lasted for 4 minutes. At the end of each date, participants completed a brief 2-minute *interaction record questionnaire*. Later in the evening, participants recorded whom they would ("yes") or would not ("no") be interested in meeting again, and matches (mutual yesses) were given the ability to e-mail one another through a secure messaging website. Finally, every third day for a month following the event, participants completed a *follow-up questionnaire* that asked questions about their life in general, about each speed-dating match, and about any other romantic interests in their life whom they had met outside of speed dating ("write-ins").

Sex Differences in Ideal Partner Preferences

Sex differences readily emerge when men and women report on the importance they place on two particular characteristics in a romantic partner: physical attractiveness and good earning prospects (see Buss, 1989). Typically, men place more importance than women on physical attractiveness, and women place more importance than men on earning prospects. Support for these two sex differences has been robust in paradigms where participants state their preferences (Buss; Feingold, 1990, 1992; Sprecher, Sullivan, & Hatfield, 1994) or examine vignettes, photographs, or personal ads (e.g., Harrison & Saeed, 1977; Stroebe, Insko, Thompson, & Layton, 1971; Townsend & Wasserman, 1998). Curiously, evidence for these sex differences has proven equivocal in paradigms where participants actually meet and date one another. For example, physical attractiveness and earning prospects seem to be equally important determinants of popularity for men and women (e.g., Speed & Gangestad, 1997). In addition, across the studies that set men and women on actual dates (e.g., Walster et al., 1966), the meta-analyzed sex difference in the effect of physical attractiveness on desirability was very small and nonsignificant (Feingold, 1990). Noting this inconsistency in the literature, the NSDS had several features that were specifically designed to examine the nature of sex differences in the importance of physical attractiveness and earning prospects (Eastwick & Finkel, 2007b).

We asked our participants on the pre-event questionnaire to report the importance of physical attractiveness (assessed by the items *physically attractive* and *sexy/hot*) and earning prospects (*good career prospects* and *ambitious/driven*) in an ideal romantic partner (*ideal partner preferences*). This questionnaire also asked participants to estimate how much these same characteristics would matter in their decision to respond "yes" to someone after a speed date (*speed-date preferences*). As

expected, both the ideal partner and speed date preferences showed the expected sex differences, with men giving higher ratings to physical attractiveness than women did and women giving higher ratings to earning prospects than men did.

Given that these expected sex differences emerged among our sample of speed daters, one would anticipate finding these same sex differences in the characteristics that inspired men's and women's romantic interest at and after the speed-dating event. In other words, men (more than women) should demonstrate romantic interest in physically attractive individuals, and women (more than men) should demonstrate romantic interest in individuals with good earning prospects. We culled 17 different dependent variables from the NSDS data set to assess participants' romantic interest. Some of these dependent variables were assessed on the *interaction record*, including *romantic desire* (e.g., "I was sexually attracted to my interaction partner") and *chemistry* (e.g., "My interaction partner and I had a real connection"), whereas others were assessed on the follow-up questionnaires, such as *passion* (e.g., "[Name]^[1] always seems to be on my mind") and *date enjoyment* ("Corresponding / hanging out with [name] has been enjoyable"). Also on these same questionnaires, we asked participants to rate each speed date or match using the items mentioned above that assessed physical attractiveness and earning prospects. Finally, we calculated the overall association between romantic interest and these two characteristics separately for men and women.

The results were striking. We did indeed find a strong association between participants' reports of romantic interest in a speed date or match and physical attractiveness judgments of that speed date or match, $r = .43$ for men's reports and $r = .46$ for women's. However, these two correlations did not differ significantly and are, if anything, trending in a direction opposite of that predicted by the ideal partner and speed date preferences. In addition, no sex differences emerged in the association between romantic interest and earning prospects judgments, $r = .19$ for men and $r = .16$ for women. As we dug further into the data, we found no evidence of sex differences in the association between romantic interest and physical attractiveness or earning prospects when using (a) consensus ratings of these two characteristics (which showed considerable intersubject agreement, even for earning prospects) or (b) objective ratings of physical attractiveness assessed from participants' photographs. Finally, we similarly failed to find these sex differences when we examined participants' write-in reports, which suggests that these results did not appear to be a strange artifact of the speed-dating process.²

Though these results may seem odd at first, there is actually a compelling theoretical rationale for why sex differences would emerge in one context (i.e., stated reports) but not another (i.e., live dating). Nisbett and Wilson (1977) provided evidence that participants do not employ true introspection when asked the "why" question about their judgments or behavior; that is, participants judge only what elements of a stimulus might *plausibly* lead them to behave in a certain way. It is therefore possible that ideal partner preferences reflect participants' inaccurate a priori theories about what kind of person would inspire their romantic interest in the moment or why they would choose one partner over another (see also Sprecher, 1989).

To test this idea, we examined correlations between participants' stated preferences (for an ideal partner or a speed date) and the ratings they made of their 9–13 speed-dating partners. For example, some participants (male and female) were especially likely to romantically desire the speed dates they found physically attractive, whereas other participants were less romantically inspired by attractiveness; we refer to this individual difference as an *in vivo preference* (a preference revealed by one's live judgments at the speed-dating event). Both stated and in vivo preferences exhibited strong reliability. Nevertheless, as the Nisbett and Wilson (1977) framework predicts, stated and in vivo preferences did not correlate (average $r = .05$) for either the physical attractiveness or earning prospects characteristics (nor did they correlate for the characteristic *personable*, which was assessed by items such as *fun/exciting* and *friendly*). These findings suggest that people may have little insight into the characteristics that they truly desire in a romantic partner. Currently, we are collecting new data that explore *where* in the process of meeting and getting to know a potential romantic partner participants falter in comparing that partner with their stated ideals.

Not All Reciprocity Is Created Equal

Reciprocal liking, or the tendency for individuals to like those who like them, has long been considered one of the great principles of attraction (Berscheid & Reis, 1998; Berscheid & Walster, 1978; Kenny, 1994). In fact, reciprocity of liking is even found among strangers who are meeting for the first time (Chapdelaine et al., 1994). However, the volume of research examining reciprocity specifically within a romantic setting is somewhat meager. One oft-cited study indeed found that participants, when asked to recall a falling-in-love experience, reported that learning of another's affection inspired their own passionate feelings in return (Aron, Dutton, Aron, & Iverson, 1989). However, there is another possibility that in principle could be a more common occurrence: romantic partners becoming more desirable if they play "hard to get" by not making their romantic interest immediately apparent (for discussion, see Walster, Walster, Piliavin, & Schmidt, 1973). Therefore, we took the opportunity provided by the NSDS to examine reciprocity of liking in an explicitly romantic setting (Eastwick, Finkel, et al., 2007).

In the NSDS, each participant rated many speed-dating partners and was in turn rated by those partners; this enabled us to make use of the SRM (Kenny & La Voie, 1984), a statistical model that has provided some of the best evidence for reciprocity in nonromantic settings (see Kenny, 1994). SRM distinguishes between two types of reciprocity that are statistically and conceptually independent. The first is *dyadic reciprocity*, which is liking that is shared uniquely between two individuals, and the second is *generalized reciprocity*, which is the tendency for people who generally like others to be liked themselves. Both of these correlations tend to be positive in nonromantic settings. This is especially true for dyadic reciprocity (which ranges from $r = .26$ to $r = .61$, depending on the context), but even the generalized correlations are strong among individuals meeting for the first time (on average, $r = .43$; see Kenny). We hypothesized that dyadic reciprocity would remain positive in the romantic context provided by speed dating but that the generalized reciprocity correlation would be robustly negative. Platonic "likers" may indeed be likable themselves (Folkes & Sears, 1977), but romantic likers, we predicted, are likely to radiate unselectivity and desperation.

This is in fact what our SRM analyses revealed. If Laura experienced unique romantic desire for Brett, Brett was likely to reciprocate that unique desire for Laura (dyadic reciprocity; $r = .14$). However, Laura was *antidesired* to the extent that she generally desired all her speed dates (generalized reciprocity; $r = -.41$). Furthermore, we found that the negative generalized correlation was partially mediated by the date's *perceived unselectivity* as measured by the interaction record item "To what percentage of the other people here today will this person say 'yes'?" In other words, participants who desired everyone were perceived as likely to say yes to a large percentage of their speed dates, and this in turn negatively predicted their desirability.

These findings add a level of nuance to the principle of reciprocity as it occurs in fledgling romantic relationships: Whether one expresses romantic desire with either a selective or unselective "flavor" will have a big impact on whether that desire is reciprocated. In fact, the negative generalized correlation is quite distinctive, in comparison both to previous nonromantic studies (Kenny, 1994) and to laboratory-based studies that have specifically examined selective liking (Walster et al., 1973, Study 6). We have speculated that these findings reflect a need to feel special or unique in relationships, a need that is crucial even in the very opening moments of a romantic encounter.

Predicting "Breakoff" From Perceived Regard and Partner-Specific Attachment Anxiety

Close relationships researchers have revealed numerous predictors of relationship maintenance and well-being. One important predictor is *perceived regard*, or the belief that one's romantic partner values, accepts, and feels positively toward the self (for a review, see Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006). For example, individuals who do not feel positively regarded by their partners are more likely to feel threatened by their partner's negative behavior and devalue their relationship as a result (Murray, Bellavia, Rose, & Griffin, 2003). Although perceived regard has been almost exclusively

examined within ongoing romantic relationships, this construct is likely to encourage the development of fledgling relationships as well. In other words, participants should be more likely to pursue a romantic relationship with a potential partner if they believe that partner also regards them highly, a prediction that is reminiscent of a simple reciprocity hypothesis.

However, we hypothesized that fledging romantic relationships would show an interesting twist on this perceived regard effect. Recall that, according to Tennov (1979), romantic passion best flourishes when there is a combination of both hope (e.g., beliefs that the love interest desires the self) and uncertainty (e.g., doubt that the love interest desires the self). Perceived regard, assessed by items such as “I think that [name] is romantically interested in me” in the NSDS follow-up, is very similar to Tennov’s conception of “hope”³ and should positively predict one’s romantic interest in a potential partner. But what about Tennov’s “uncertainty”—the yin to hope’s yang? We suggest that Tennov’s uncertainty is essentially the construct we call *partner-specific attachment anxiety*, measured in the NSDS by items such as “I need a lot of reassurance that [name] cares about me” and “I worry that [name] doesn’t care about me as much as I care about him/her” (see Eastwick & Finkel, 2007a). Perhaps not surprisingly, perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety correlated negatively ($r = -.14$) in the NSDS, indicating that it was perhaps difficult for both to remain simultaneously entrenched in one individual’s psyche. Nevertheless, we follow Tennov in suggesting that the two are independent and critical ingredients that inspire the pursuit of a potential romantic relationship—the fact that perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety tend to repel one another exemplifies the delicate balance that fledging relationships must negotiate.

To explore these predictions, we examined participants’ reports of perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety from the 10-wave NSDS follow-up (Eastwick & Finkel, 2007c). We conducted a hazard model (Singer & Willett, 2003) to predict “breakoff”: the point at which a participant stops reporting that a speed-dating match or write-in has “romantic potential” (i.e., the prerelationship equivalent of a breakup). When both perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety were simultaneously (or independently) added to the hazard model predicting breakoff, both constructs were highly significant negative predictors. In other words, participants were more likely to stay romantically interested in a potential partner to the extent that they (a) thought the partner was interested in them and (b) were uncertain whether or not the partner was interested in them.

Figure 11.1 displays three examples of perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety trajectories that nicely demonstrate the precarious balance of these two constructs. Panel A reveals that participant 317 broke off the pursuit of a romantic relationship with partner 130 at wave 5. This breakoff may have happened because participant 317 felt insufficiently positively regarded by partner 130; his or her perceived regard dropped steadily from wave 3 to wave 5, possibly reflecting a sense of hopelessness about the future of this potential relationship. Contrast this breakoff with that shown in Panel B, in which participant 572 broke off a potential relationship with partner 244 at wave 9. Here, perceived regard was not the problem—rather, partner-specific attachment anxiety had been declining from wave 6 to wave 9. This probably indicates that participant 572 was insufficiently inspired to continue pursuing the relationship, perhaps because he or she no longer experienced any uncertainty about partner 244’s feelings (see Eastwick & Finkel, 2007a, for a theoretical discussion of why partner-specific attachment anxiety would encourage early relationship pursuit). Finally, Panel C presents participant 263’s reports of partner 41; these data are censored, which means that breakoff did not occur during the course of the study (in fact, these two participants were “dating casually” from wave 3 on). This panel nicely exemplifies the balance of hope and uncertainty as envisioned by Tennov (1979): Perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety ebb and flow and are visibly negatively correlated, but both are always present, and the relationship continues as a result. To be sure, these three examples are hand-picked and represent ideal cases, yet in conjunction with the hazard model results reported above, they illustrate how perceived regard and partner-specific attachment anxiety are jointly critical in inspiring the pursuit of a potential romantic relationship.

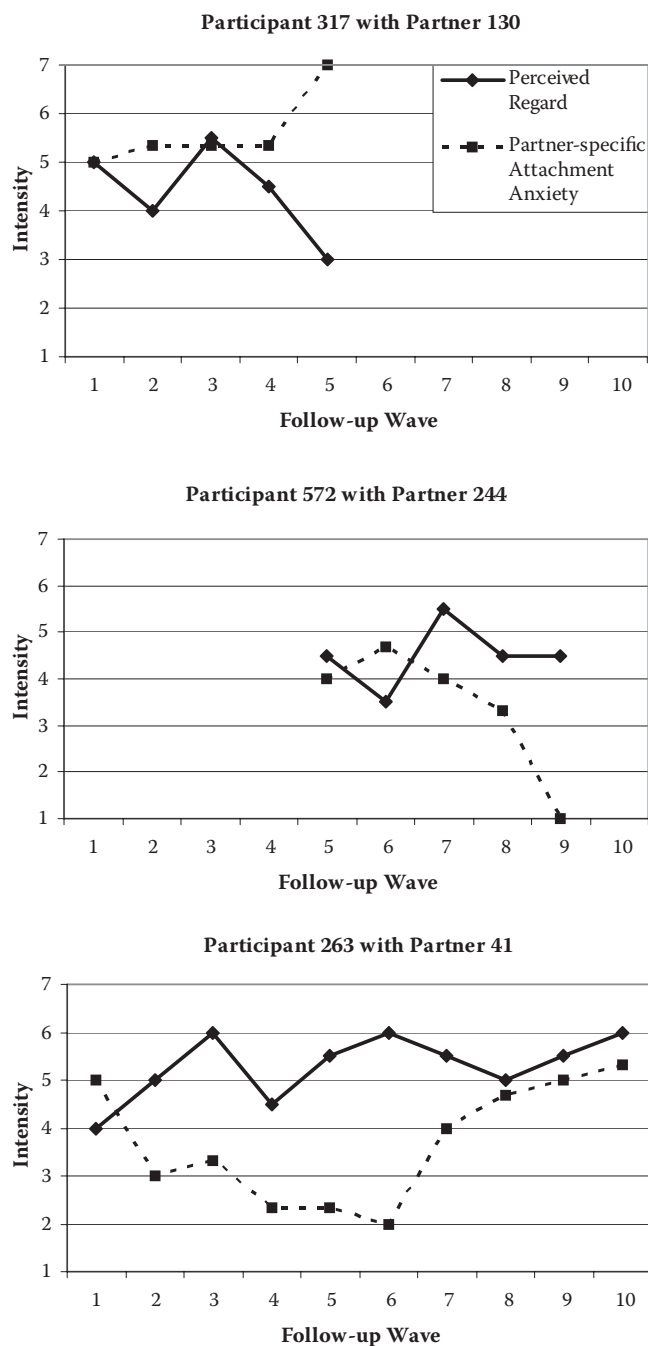


Figure 11.1 Three Example Trajectories of Perceived Regard and Partner-Specific Attachment Anxiety
Note: In Panel A, participant 317 broke off a potential relationship with partner 130 at wave 5. In Panel B, participant 572 broke off a potential relationship with partner 244 at wave 9 (participant 572 did not report that partner 244 had “romantic potential” until wave 5, hence the missing data). In Panel C, participant 263 did not break off a potential relationship with partner 41 during the 10 waves (i.e., these data are censored). *Source:* From Eastwick and Finkel (2007c).

Race and Political Ideology

Given the large volume of social psychological research on race and on romantic relationships, the meager crosstalk between these two topics is somewhat surprising. Existing research indeed reveals that individuals involved in interracial relationships experience stigma and disapproval (e.g., Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004), but it remains largely a mystery how such relationships coalesce in the first place. We hypothesized that political orientation could prove a powerful predictor of participants' interest in initiating an interracial romantic relationship (Eastwick, Richeson, & Finkel, 2007). On the *pre-event questionnaire*, we asked participants to report their race or ethnicity as well as their political orientation (e.g., "I endorse many aspects of conservative political ideology"). At the event itself, we examined White participants' interaction record reports of romantic desire as a function of their own political orientation and the race of their speed-dating partner (same race versus other race).

The results of this analysis are plotted in Figure 11.2. The data revealed a crossover interaction: White conservative participants experienced more romantic desire for White speed daters compared to other-race speed daters, whereas White liberal participants (i.e., those low in conservatism) experienced more romantic desire for other-race speed daters compared to White speed daters. The finding for conservatives is similar to those obtained by survey methods, which have revealed that political conservatism is correlated with unfavorable attitudes toward interracial marriage (e.g., Johnson & Jacobson, 2005). However, the finding that White liberals actually prefer *other-race* individuals is unique and somewhat unexpected; perhaps liberals are interested in dating individuals from a variety of backgrounds as a consequence of their greater openness. Alternatively, some evidence suggests that liberals are *more* likely than conservatives to experience heightened arousal during interracial interactions (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003), and it is possible that in the romantic context of speed dating, this arousal was misattributed as romantic desire (e.g., Dutton & Aron, 1974). Future work will be needed to tease apart differing explanations for this effect; for now, it indeed appears that political orientation may be an important factor that determines who is willing to initiate an interracial romantic relationship, despite their rarity and stigma.

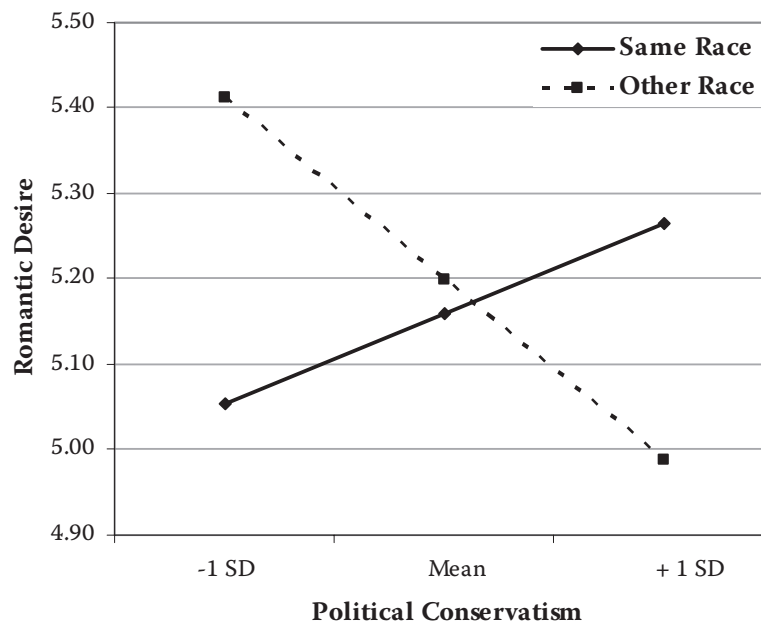


Figure 11.2 White Participants' Romantic Desire Toward an Opposite-Sex Speed-Dating Partner as a Function of Their Own Political Conservatism and the Partner's Race *Source:* From Eastwick, Richeson, and Finkel (2007).

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR SPEED-DATING RESEARCH

As speed dating is a relatively new addition to the methodological repertoire of social scientists, much about it still remains a mystery. Though we have been unabashedly sanguine about the potential of speed dating to shed light on romantic relationship initiation, it is also appropriate to exercise some measure of caution at the present time. In principle, this caution can come in one of two forms: concern about the generalizability of speed-dating *processes* and concern about the representativeness of speed-dating *participants*. Regarding the former, one could argue that speed dating is an unusual and artificial way to meet potential romantic partners. Speed dating does indeed have several unique features, as mentioned above (e.g., bad dates end mercifully quickly); however, we do not think it likely that speed dating differs so starkly from the myriad other ways that people meet potential romantic partners. Keep in mind that romantic partners meet at neighborhood cookouts, bars, classrooms, churches, dating websites (see Sprecher, Schwartz, Harvey, & Hatfield, this volume), and countless other settings that may or may not differ in systematic ways. Very little research has considered how romantic processes differ between settings, so to saddle speed dating alone with such a criticism is premature. In fact, researchers have often studied attraction in the laboratory using the get-acquainted paradigm (e.g., Insko & Wilson, 1977). When individuals meet in such a context, the processes at play are surely not the same as if the people were introduced by a friend, for example, but such a concern has not dampened the usefulness of such a paradigm (nor should it).

The second concern is that an individual who volunteers for a speed-dating study might not be representative of the broader population of single individuals. Again, this is not a concern unique to speed dating per se, but unfortunately applies broadly to most psychological studies that employ volunteer participants. Even still, this concern could be particularly acute if both (a) speed dating appealed only to a small subset of that population of willing volunteers, and (b) that small subset was unusual in its approach to dating and romantic relationships. At the present time, scholars simply do not have the data to know if both (a) and (b) are true. There is at least one reason to doubt point (a): Given that speed dating is probably more appealing for participants than a typical psychological experiment, it may attract a different, and perhaps broader, population of volunteers. Perhaps individuals who are unlikely to take a psychology class or participate for monetary compensation alone would eagerly volunteer for a speed-dating study. It is not clear a priori which sample, those who would consider speed dating or the standard psychology participant pool, is more unusual or less representative of the population as a whole. Finally, though point (b) is certainly plausible, a priori hypotheses about how exactly speed daters might be unique are often inconsistent. For example, a speed dater could be someone who enjoys spontaneously interacting with strangers (i.e., extroverts) or, alternatively, someone who needs help initiating a conversation with strangers (i.e., introverts).

Thankfully, these potential concerns can ultimately be addressed with data, and this marks one important future direction for speed-dating research. It would be valuable to know whether there is anything strange about meeting a potential romantic partner at a speed-dating event and whether speed-dating participants differ systematically from other research samples. In fact, the NSDS enabled us to partially address the former question using the follow-up questionnaire reports on write-ins (romantic interests met outside of speed dating). In many of our analyses, we have examined whether the psychological processes at play characterize both speed-dating matches and write-ins, and we have yet to find systematic differences as we have explored our particular research questions. One simple way that researchers could address the latter concern (participant sample) is by using surveys to identify important differences between individuals who would or would not volunteer for a speed-dating study. An especially constructive way to address this concern would entail recruiting community (or, better yet, representative) samples for speed-dating research; this would present a difficult challenge in terms of recruitment but would ultimately provide a sample more diverse than the standard university student pool.

Of course, there are many other future avenues for speed-dating research that go beyond addressing and resolving potential shortcomings. As mentioned earlier, a great wealth of data would be generated by videotaping and/or audiotaping each speed date. These interactions could be coded for countless features—from body language to conversational topics to romantic strategies—and researchers could explore what features positively or negatively predict dating success. Such a study would bring an unprecedented level of insight to the processes underlying romantic relationship initiation. Researchers might also want to consider the use of innovative measurement techniques: biological measures such as testosterone, oxytocin, or fluctuating asymmetry; implicit measures such as implicit racial beliefs or implicit attitudes toward members of the preferred sex; or even brain-imaging techniques such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) could be used to collect data before, during, or after the speed-dating event. For example, it would be fascinating to explore whether certain biomarkers, such as fluctuating asymmetry or testosterone, predict participants' romantic success and use of certain strategies at the speed-dating event. Finally, if researchers wanted to manipulate these processes experimentally, they could employ trained confederates to attend the speed-dating sessions. Employing a confederate does present a unique ethical challenge, but there could potentially be ways to implement such a procedure without compromising the speed-dating experience for the participants. In truth, we have faith that the IRB at most institutions would be receptive to one or another variant on all of these procedures, especially if researchers initiate dialogue with the IRB early in the process of planning a speed-dating study (for discussion, see Finkel et al., 2007).

Ultimately, the future of speed-dating research will be shaped by scholars' own ingenuity as they adapt their specific research questions to the flexible and comprehensive speed-dating paradigm. Although conducting a speed-dating study may be somewhat labor intensive, we have argued herein that the myriad strengths of this method should persuade scholars to consider whether speed dating could make a valuable addition to their current research programs (for how-to guidance on conducting speed-dating studies, see Finkel et al., 2007). Indeed, speed dating essentially capitalizes on paradigms, such as dyadic and longitudinal data collection, that are already familiar to many attraction and relationships researchers. We are therefore hopeful that researchers will increasingly embrace speed dating as an important methodological innovation, and that new and exciting insights into the dynamics of initial romantic attraction will follow accordingly.

NOTES

1. "[Name]" indicates that the website inserted the target person's first name.
2. Some evolutionary models would predict that sex differences in the importance of physical attractiveness and earning prospects are diminished to the extent that men and women are interested in a short-term (versus a long-term) relationship (e.g., Buss & Schmitt, 1993). However, we could not find any evidence that this short-term/long-term distinction moderated any of our effects, despite the fact that we assessed this construct in several different ways.
3. Our perceived regard item is akin to the construct "hope" given that "[name]" refers to an individual toward whom one experiences romantic interest.

REFERENCES

- Ambady, N., & Rosenthal, R. (1992). Thin slices of expressive behavior as predictors of interpersonal consequences: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111, 256–274.
- Aron, A., Dutton, D. G., Aron, E. N., & Iverson, A. (1989). Experiences of falling in love. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 6, 243–257.
- Aron, A., Paris, M., & Aron, E. N. (1995). Falling in love: Prospective studies of self-concept change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 1102–1112.
- Axelrod, R. (1984). *The evolution of cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.

- Baumeister, R. F., & Bratslavsky, E. (1999). Passion, intimacy, and time: Passionate love as a function of change in intimacy. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 49–67.
- Berscheid, E., Graziano, W., Monson, T., & Dermer, M. (1976). Outcome dependency: Attention, attribution, and attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34, 978–989.
- Berscheid, E., & Reis, H. T. (1998). Attraction and close relationships. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 193–281). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Berscheid, E., & Walster, E. H. (1978). *Interpersonal attraction* (2nd ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bui, K.-V. T., Peplau, L. A., & Hill, C. T. (1996). Testing the Rusbult model of relationship commitment and stability in a 15-year study of heterosexual couples. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 1244–1257.
- Buss, D. M. (1989). Sex differences in human mate preferences: Evolutionary hypotheses tested in 37 cultures. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 12, 1–49.
- Buss, D. M., & Schmitt, D. P. (1993). Sexual strategies theory: An evolutionary perspective on human mating. *Psychological Review*, 100, 204–232.
- Byrne, D. (1961). Interpersonal attraction and attitude similarity. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 62, 713–715.
- Byrne, D., Ervin, C. R., & Lamberth, J. (1970). Continuity between the experimental study of attraction and real-life computer dating. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 16, 157–165.
- Campbell, L., Simpson, J. A., Kashy, D. A., & Fletcher, G. J. O. (2001). Ideal standards, the self, and flexibility of ideals in close relationships. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 447–462.
- Chapdelaine, A., Kenny, D. A., & LaFontana, K. M. (1994). Matchmaker, matchmaker, can you make me a match? Predicting liking between two unacquainted persons. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 83–91.
- Drigotas, S. M., Rusbult, C. E., Wieselquist, J., & Whitton, S. W. (1999). Close partner as sculptor of the ideal self: Behavioral affirmation and the Michelangelo phenomenon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 293–323.
- Dutton, D. G., & Aron, A. P. (1974). Some evidence for heightened sexual attraction under conditions of high anxiety. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 30, 510–517.
- Eastwick, P. W., & Finkel, E. J. (2007a). *The attachment system in developing relationships: An activating role for attachment anxiety*. Unpublished manuscript, Northwestern University.
- Eastwick, P. W., & Finkel, E. J. (2007b). *Sex differences in mate preferences revisited: Do people know what they initially desire in a romantic partner?* Unpublished manuscript, Northwestern University.
- Eastwick, P. W., & Finkel, E. J. (2007c). *The tenuous balance of perceived regard and attachment anxiety in developing relationships*. Unpublished manuscript, Northwestern University.
- Eastwick, P. W., Finkel, E. J., Mochon, D., & Ariely, D. (2007). Selective versus unselective romantic desire: Not all reciprocity is created equal. *Psychological Science*, 18, 317–319.
- Eastwick, P. W., Richeson, J. A., & Finkel, E. J. (2007). *Is love colorblind? Political orientation moderates cross race romantic desire*. Unpublished manuscript, Northwestern University.
- Feingold, A. (1990). Gender differences in effects of physical attractiveness on romantic attraction: A comparison across five research paradigms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 981–993.
- Feingold, A. (1992). Gender differences in mate selection preferences: A test of the parental investment model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 112, 125–139.
- Finkel, E. J., Eastwick, P. W., & Matthews, J. (2007). Speed-dating as an invaluable tool for studying initial romantic attraction: A conceptual and methodological primer. *Personal Relationships*, 14, 149–166.
- Fisman, R., Iyengar, S. S., Kamenica, E., & Simonson, I. (2006). Gender differences in mate selection: Evidence from a speed dating experiment. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121, 673–697.
- Fletcher, G. J. O., Simpson, J. A., & Thomas, G. (2000). Ideals, perceptions, and evaluations in early relationship development. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 933–940.
- Folkes, V. S., & Sears, D. O. (1977). Does everybody like a liker? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 13, 505–519.
- Fraley, R. C. (2004). *How to conduct behavioral research over the Internet: A beginner's guide to HTML and CGI/Perl*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Goodwin, S. A., Fiske, S. T., Rosen, L. D., & Rosenthal, A. M. (2002). The eye of the beholder: Romantic goals and impression biases. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 38, 232–241.
- Gottman, J. M. (1994). *What predicts divorce? The relationship between marital processes and marital outcomes*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Haney, C., Banks, W. C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1973). Interpersonal dynamics in a simulated prison. *International Journal of Criminology and Penology*, 1, 69–97.

- Harrison, A. A., & Saeed, L. (1977). Let's make a deal: An analysis of revelations and stipulations in lonely hearts advertisements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 257–264.
- Hatfield, E., & Sprecher, S. (1986). Measuring passionate love in intimate relationships. *Journal of Adolescence*, 9, 383–410.
- Heyman, R. E. (2001). Observation of couple conflicts: Clinical assessment applications, stubborn truths, and shaky foundations. *Psychological Assessment*, 13, 5–35.
- Holmes, J. G., & Rempel, J. K. (1989). Trust in close relationships. In C. Hendrick (Ed.), *Close relationships: Review of personality and social psychology* (Vol. 10, pp. 187–220). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Insko, C. A., & Wilson, M. (1977). Interpersonal attraction as a function of social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 903–911.
- Iyengar, S. S., Simonson, I., Fisman, R., & Mogliner, C. (2005, January). *I know what I want but can I find it?* Examining the dynamic relationship between stated and revealed preferences. Paper presented at the Society for Personality and Social Psychology annual meeting, New Orleans, LA.
- Johnson, B. R., & Jacobson, C. K. (2005). Contact in context: An examination of social settings on whites' attitudes toward interracial marriage. *Social Psychology*, 68, 387–399.
- Karney, B. R., & Bradbury, T. N. (1995). The longitudinal course of marital quality and stability: A review of theory, methods, and research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 118, 3–34.
- Kashy, D. A., & Kenny, D. A. (2000). The analysis of data from dyads and groups. In H. T. Reis & C. M. Judd (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in social psychology* (pp. 451–477). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelley, H. H., & Thibaut, J. W. (1978). *Interpersonal relations: A theory of interdependence*. New York: Wiley.
- Kenny, D. A. (1994). *Interpersonal perception: A social relations analysis*. New York: Guilford.
- Kenny, D. A., & La Voie, L. (1984). The social relations model. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 18, pp. 141–182). New York: Academic Press.
- Kurzban, R., & Weeden, J. (2005). Hurrydate: Mate preferences in action. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 26, 227–244.
- Laurenceau, J. P., Barrett, L. F., & Pietromonaco, P. R. (1998). Intimacy as an interpersonal process: The importance of self-disclosure, partner disclosure, and perceived partner responsiveness in interpersonal exchanges. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1238–1251.
- Loving, T. J. (2006). Predicting dating relationship fate with insiders' and outsiders' perspectives: Who and what is asked matters. *Personal Relationships*, 13, 349–362.
- Luce, R. D., & Raiffa, H. (1957). *Games and decisions*. New York: Wiley.
- MacFarquhar, N. (2006, September 19). It's Muslim boy meets girl, but don't call it dating. *New York Times*, p. A1.
- Miller, S. C., Olson, M. A., & Fazio, R. H. (2004). Perceived reactions to interracial romantic relationships: When race is used as a cue to status. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 7, 354–369.
- Murray, S. L., Bellavia, G. M., Rose, P., & Griffin, D. W. (2003). Once hurt, twice hurtful: How perceived regard regulates daily marital interactions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 126–147.
- Murray, S. L., Holmes, J. G., & Collins, N. L. (2006). Optimizing assurance: The risk regulation system in relationships. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132, 641–666.
- Murray, S. L., Holmes, J. G., & Griffin, D. W. (1996). The self-fulfilling nature of positive illusions in romantic relationships: Love is not blind, but prescient. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 1155–1180.
- Nail, P. R., Harton, H. C., & Decker, B. P. (2003). Political orientation and modern versus aversive racism: Tests of Dovidio and Gaertner's (1998) integrated model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 754–770.
- Nisbett, R. E., & Wilson, T. D. (1977). Telling more than we can know: Verbal reports on mental processes. *Psychological Review*, 84, 231–259.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1984). Two-component models of socially desirable responding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 598–609.
- Perusse, D. (1993). Cultural and reproductive success in industrial societies: Testing the relationship at the proximate and ultimate levels. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 16, 267–322.
- Reis, H. T., & Shaver, P. (1988). Intimacy as an interpersonal process. In S. Duck (Ed.), *Handbook of personal relationships* (pp. 367–389). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Rusbult, C. E., Olsen, N., Davis, J. L., & Hannon, P. A. (2001). Commitment and relationship maintenance mechanisms. In J. H. Harvey & A. Wenzel (Eds.), *Close romantic relationships: Maintenance and enhancement* (pp. 87–113). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). *The robber's cave experiment: Intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. (Original work published 1954)
- Simpson, J. A. (2007). Foundations of interpersonal trust. In A. W. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: A handbook of basic principles* (2nd ed., pp. 587–607). New York: Guilford.
- Singer, J. D., & Willett, J. B. (2003). *Applied longitudinal data analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Speed, A., & Gangestad, S. W. (1997). Romantic popularity and mate preferences: A peer-nomination study. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 928–936.
- Sprecher, S. (1989). The importance to males and females of physical attractiveness, earning potential, and expressiveness in initial attraction. *Sex Roles*, 21, 591–607.
- Sprecher, S., & Duck, S. (1994). Sweet talk: The importance of perceived communication for romantic and friendship attraction experienced during a get-acquainted date. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 391–400.
- Sprecher, S., Sullivan, Q., & Hatfield, E. (1994). Mate selection preferences: Gender differences examined in a national sample. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 1074–1080.
- Stroebe, W., Insko, C. A., Thompson, V. D., & Layton, B. D. (1971). Effects of physical attractiveness, attitude similarity, and sex on various aspects of interpersonal attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 18, 79–91.
- Tennov, D. (1979). *Love and limerence*. New York: Stein and Day.
- Thurstone, L. L. (1928). Attitudes can be measured. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33, 529–554.
- Townsend, J. M., & Wasserman, T. (1998). Sexual attractiveness: Sex differences in assessment and criteria. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 19, 171–191.
- Walster, E., Aronson, V., Abrahams, D., & Rottmann, L. (1966). Importance of physical attractiveness in dating behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4, 508–516.
- Walster, E., Walster, G. W., Piliavin, J., & Schmidt, L. (1973). “Playing hard to get”: Understanding an elusive phenomenon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 26, 113–121.