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Misperception of sexual and romantic interests in opposite-sex friendships: Four hypotheses

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Abstract

Two online studies evaluated the misperception of sexual and romantic interests in established relationships and tested four hypotheses: a simple sex-difference hypothesis, a projection hypothesis, a mate value hypothesis, and a mediation hypothesis. Two hundred thirty-eight (Study 1) and 198 (Study 2) members of young adult opposite-sex friendship dyads indicated their sexual and romantic interests in their friend and their perceptions of their friend's sexual and romantic interests in them. Participants projected their own levels of sexual and romantic interests onto their opposite-sex friend, mediating the following effects: males overperceived and females underperceived their friends' sexual (but not romantic) interest and participants of both sexes misperceived the sexual (but not romantic) interest of friends depending on the friends' mate value.

Previous research has documented links between the misperceptions of sexual and romantic interests, sexual assault, and sexual harassment. In one study, misperception of sexual interest was the strongest predictor of number of sexual assaults, including rape (Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998), and other studies have shown that misperception of sexual interest may contribute to sexual harassment (Johnson, Stockdale, & Saal, 1991; Sigal, Gibbs, Adams, & Derfler, 1988). Misunderstandings regarding sexual and romantic interests are not limited to dating relationships but can also occur in the context of oppositesex friendships (O'Meara, 1989) and could potentially result in dissolution of such friendships. Approximately 15% of sexual assaults occur within opposite-sex friendships (Abbey et al., 1998). Therefore, greater understanding of misperception of sexual and romantic interests is a valuable topic for empirical research and theoretical understanding.

This article presents two studies that extend previous research in three ways. First, in these studies, we evaluated the misperception of sexual interest in long-standing relationship dyads, that is, opposite-sex friendships. Second, we examined misperception of romantic interest. Finally, we evaluated the mediation of sex differences in misperception of sexual and romantic interests by perceiver level of sexual and romantic interests, respectively. This article is organized as follows. After a brief literature review, we present two conclusions: (a) to demonstrate the misperception of sexual interest, researchers should compare perceived level of sexual interest with actual level of sexual interest and (b) previous researchers have focused on men's, and largely ignored women's, misperception of sexual interest. We then provide a rationale for differentiating sexual and romantic interests. Next, we identify opposite-sex friendships as useful subjects

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of study for misperception of sexual and romantic interests. We then review potential causes for misperception and articulate four hypotheses: the simple sex-difference hypothesis, the projection hypothesis, the mate value hypothesis, and the mediation hypothesis. We then present two studies designed to test these hypotheses.

11 Studies typically find that, compared to 12 women, men perceive both men and women 13 to have more sexual interest (e.g., Abbey, 14 1982; Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Fisher & 15 Walters, 2003; Goodchilds & Zellman, 1984; 16 Shea, 1993; Shotland & Craig, 1988). Re-17 searchers usually interpret these findings as 18 resulting from men's, rather than from wom-19 en's, misperceptions (e.g., Abbey, 1982; 20 Haselton & Buss, 2000; Johnson et al., 1991; 21 Saal, Johnson, & Weber, 1989; but see Abbey, 22 1987; Donat & Bondurant, 2003; Shotland & 23 Craig for exceptions). Logically, however, the 24 conclusion that misperception has occurred is 25 not justifiable when participants rate the sex-26 ual interest of hypothetical targets. Because 27 hypothetical targets do not exist, they do not 28 have levels of sexual interest that can be accu-29 rately or inaccurately perceived. That is, hypo-30 thetical targets do not have an actual level of 31 sexual interest that can be used as a standard of 32 comparison for determining overperception or 33 underperception. Instead, such results merely 34 demonstrate that men reliably perceive more 35 sexual interest in third party targets than do 36 women, or conversely, that women perceive 37 less sexual interest in third parties than do 38 men. Thus, studies using hypothetical targets 39 are limited to the identification of sex differ-40 ences in perception. Measurement of under-41 perception and overperception of sexual 42 interest per se, in contrast, requires actual lev-43 els of sexual interest to use as a comparison, 44 and thus actual targets.

45 To identify the misperception of sexual 46 interest, researchers can have each member 47 of actual male-female dyads rate their own 48 sexual interest in the other person and the sex-49 ual interest that they think the other person has 50 toward them. With the assumptions that par-51 ticipants (a) accurately perceive their own 52 sexual interest, (b) honestly report their per-53 ception of their own sexual interest, and (c) honestly report their perception of the sexual interest of the other person in them,¹ it is logical to conclude that when a man perceives a woman to have more sexual interest in him than she self-reports, he is overperceiving her sexual interest in him. Likewise, if a woman perceives a man to have less sexual interest in her than he self-reports, she is underperceiving his sexual interest in her.

The first published study to evaluate misperception of sexual interest employed a design with actual targets and found evidence that both men overperceive and women underperceive the sexual interest of opposite-sex targets (Abbey, 1982). In that study, a man and woman (the actors), who did not know each other, talked for 5 min and then rated their own and the other actor's sexual interest in each other. Hidden observers also rated the actors' sexual interest in each other. Men's ratings of the female actors' sexual interest were higher than those self-reported by the female actors, supporting an interpretation of men overperceiving women's sexual interest. Female actors and observers rated the male actor's sexual interest lower than male actors self-reported, which suggests that women underperceived the sexual interest of the male actors. Abbey (1982) did not explicitly recognize female underperception, instead concluding that men "read sexual intent into friendly behavior . . . because of a general male bias Evidently, females are not subject to this bias" (p. 838). This conclusion implies that men, but not women, misperceive sexual interest.

Researchers have replicated Abbey's (1982) seminal study at least five times. Each replication has provided evidence consistent

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These assumptions, implicit in almost all research on the misperception of sexual interest, are merely stated explicitly here (for alternative assumptions, see, e.g., Fisher & Walters, 2003 or Haselton & Buss, 2000). Nonetheless, there may be some degree of self-deception in the perception of one's own sexual or romantic interest (Paulhus, 1984; Trivers, 2000). Also, impression management may influence participant ratings of their own sexual and romantic interests, or those of another person (Fisher & Walters; Haselton & Buss; but see Abbey, 1982; Abbey, et al., 2000; Shea, 1993 for contradictory evidence). Empirical evaluation of these assumptions is critical to establish the validity of the corpus of sexual misperception research to date.

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with men overperceiving and women underperceiving the sexual interest of opposite-sex targets (Abbey, Zawacki, & McAuslan, 2000; Edmondson & Conger, 1995; Harnish, Abbey, & DeBono, 1990; Saal et al., 1989; Shea, 1993). Yet, in only two of these six studies using actual targets did the researchers explicitly mention women underperceiving the men's sexual interest (Abbey et al., 2000; Shea). Thus, while researchers of the misperception of sexual interest are beginning to recognize the possibility that women misperceive men's sexual interest, the standard interpretation appears to be that men, not women, misperceive levels of sexual interest. In order to evaluate the misperception of sexual interest by men and women, instead of just sex differences in perception, the current studies utilized actual targets of both sexes.

Extending misperception research to romantic interest

26 Mating relationships can be of varying tempo-27 ral durations, with short-term mating (e.g., 28 brief affairs or one night stands) anchoring 29 the short-lived end of this continuum and 30 long-term mating (e.g., marriage) anchoring 31 the other end (Buss & Schmitt, 1993). Studies 32 on the perception of sexual interest have con-33 founded short-term and long-term mating 34 strategies in various ways. Participants rated 35 target sexuality using the adjectives "roman-36 tic" and "sexy" (Abbey & Harnish, 1995); 37 participants used these four topics to indicate 38 degree of sexual interest: sexual attraction, 39 sexual-advance receptivity, interest in having 40 sex, and interest in dating (Abbey et al., 2000); 41 a mate value measure included both short-term 42 and long-term mate value (Haselton, 2003); and 43 a manipulation of mate-search motivation 44 included a first date movie that may have been 45 more sexual for men and romantic for women 46 (Maner et al., 2005). Sexual strategies theory 47 emphasizes the importance of differentiating 48 between short-term and long-term mating 49 strategies (Buss & Schmitt). Research on mate 50 value has empirically supported the impor-51 tance of the distinction between short-term 52 and long-term mating (Kenrick, Sadalla, 53 Groth, & Trost, 1990). Short-term and longterm mating appear to be distinct phenomenon; therefore, the current studies explicitly differentiate sexual and romantic interests.

To the authors' knowledge, almost no research has explored the misperception of romantic interest (see Haselton & Buss, 2000, for misperception of commitment intent). Therefore, we designed the current research to shed light on the misperception of romantic interest. Two factors limited the prediction of the effects of perceiver sex (i.e., maleness or femaleness). First, stereotypically, people expect women to be more interested in love than are men (Basow, 1992), yet one study found that men fall in love faster than do women (Rubin, Peplau, & Hill, 1981). Second, research based on Lee's (1973/1976) six styles of love has found that the sexes differ in their approaches to love, with neither men nor women dominant across all types of love. Erotic love, which includes early attraction, physical attraction, emotional intensity, and strong commitment to one's lover, is arguable the style of love most closely related to romantic interest. Studies have found levels of erotic love to be either the same for men and women (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1986; Hendrick, Hendrick, Foote, & Slapion-Foote, 1984) or higher for women (Sprecher & Toro-Morn, 2002). Together, these mixed findings do not allow a clear prediction of which sex will have greater romantic interest. We applied all hypotheses developed for sexual interest to romantic interest, but romantic interest predictions were nondirectional with regard to sex differences.

Opposite-sex friendships as subject of study in misperception research

Researchers may be able to arouse high levels of sexual interest in the lab, especially in men, but inducing passionate love in the lab is both difficult and unethical. One solution to this challenge is to utilize naturally occurring sexual and romantic interests. A brief review of the literature suggests that sexual interest is common in opposite-sex friendships. Sexual attraction is often an important component in the formation of opposite-sex friendships (Rose, 1985); a majority of participants in

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3 one study reported physical or sexual attrac-4 tion toward an opposite-sex friend (Reeder, 5 2000), and two of five students in one college 6 sample reported having had sexual intercourse 7 with at least one person who was their oppo-8 site-sex friend at the time (Afifi & Faulkner, 9 2000). Research has also found romantic inter-10 est between opposite-sex friends. Opposite-11 sex friendships often start with the hope that 12 the friendship will develop into a romantic 13 relationship (Kaplan & Keys, 1997); 52% of 14 participants indicated romantic attraction 15 toward an opposite-sex friend (Reeder), and 16 long-term mating potential was on the top 10 17 list of the most frequent aspects of opposite-18 sex friendships for both men and women (see 19 Bleske & Buss, 2000, Table 3, p. 141). The 20 prevalence of sexual and romantic interests 21 in opposite-sex friendships provides ample 22 opportunity for their misperception. Indeed, 23 Abbey (1987) found that half of all self-24 reported experiences of one's sexual interest 25 being misperceived occurred within an opposite-sex friendship. The high prevalence 26 27 of sexual and romantic interests in opposite-28 sex friendships suggests that opposite-sex 29 friendships might be useful alternatives to 30 actual or hypothetical strangers for the evalu-31 ation of the misperception of sexual and 32 romantic interests.

33 Most studies on the misperception of sexual 34 interest have been conducted in the lab and 35 have used strangers or hypothetical targets 36 (see Abbey, 1987 and Haselton, 2003 for 37 exceptions). We know of no reason to expect 38 patterns of misperception to be different 39 between opposite-sex friends as compared to 40 those between strangers. Replication of pat-41 terns of misperception of sexual interest 42 between individuals in established relation-43 ships would provide evidence for the external 44 validity of the cumulative laboratory findings 45 about the misperception of sexual interest. 46

Causes of misperception

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Although previous research has explored the
role of contextual factors on the misperception
of sexual interest, the literature does not converge on a single common causal pathway for
the misperception of sexual interest. Some

authors suggest that socialization, primarily through the media and stereotypes, produces men with traditional gender attitudes and values as well as cognitive schemas that depict a highly sexualized view of the world, which in turn result in men interpreting ambiguous information as sexual interest, especially in combination with men's lower accuracy than women at decoding nonverbal communication (e.g., Abbey et al., 2000; Kowalski, 1993). In line with this socialization view, researchers have suggested that men may have a lower threshold than women for perceiving sexual interest (e.g., Kowalski; Saal et al., 1989). Evolutionary theorists have suggested that men overperceive women's sexual interest so as not to miss mating opportunities, the primary constraint on men's reproductive success (Haselton & Buss, 2000). Evolutionary theory, in conjunction with self-fulfilling prophecy, the tendency for false beliefs to cause others to behave so as to make the belief come true (Merton, 1968), may be able to explain women's underperception of men's sexual interest. Women who perceive sexual interest in a man may inadvertently behave in ways that result in sexual interest and sexual advances from that man, which could be costly in terms of sexual harassment from that man or jealousy from her mate. A final proposed mechanism for the misperception of sexual interest is that men project their higher level of sexual interest onto women. That is, men assume women have the same level of sexual interest as they themselves have (Shotland & Craig, 1988).

The simple sex-difference hypothesis

Researchers have emphasized the perceiver's sex as a critical variable in the misperception of sexual interest for diverse theoretical reasons, including socialization (e.g., Abbey, 1982) and evolved sex differences in cognitive biases (Haselton & Buss, 2000). In her seminal study, Abbey (1982) proposed the basic logic for the socialization approach:

Certainly the stereotypes of our culture, as evidenced by the mass media's depiction of men and women, portray men as having greater interest in sexual matters than do

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women. Once men develop this sexual orientation, it may act as a generalized expectancy, causing them to interpret ambiguous information . . . as evidence in support of their beliefs (p. 837).

This socialization hypothesis predicts that men overperceive women's sexual interest. Presumably, socialization explanations can accommodate the complementary findings that women underperceive men's sexual interest by arguing that women are supposed to have less interest in sexual matters and, therefore, interpret ambiguous information as lack of sexual interest (Abbey & Melby, 1986). These theoretical considerations suggest the simple sex-difference hypothesis: men will overperceive women's sexual interest regardless of their degree of sexual interest in the target.

The projection hypothesis

28 Shotland and Craig (1988) first suggested that 29 the sex difference in misperception occurs 30 because people use their own level of sexual 31 interest to estimate the sexual interest of 32 others. Men assume women have the same 33 level of sexual interest as men, men have more 34 sexual interest than do women (for a review, 35 see Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001), thus 36 men overperceive women's sexual interest. 37 Maner et al. (2005) recently proposed a more 38 general model of projection, functional projec-39 tion, in which people's motivational states 40 lead them to overperceive others to be in emo-41 tional states that it is functional to overper-42 ceive. For example, a mate-search motive 43 increased men's perception of sexual interest 44 in attractive women and fear increased percep-45 tion of anger in potential antagonists. The 46 logic of functional projection is based on error 47 management theory (EMT; Haselton and 48 Buss, 2000), which argues that, over evolu-49 tionary time, overperceptions or underpercep-50 tions with less costs or more benefits were 51 likely to be selected and become species typ-52 ical. According to the projection hypothesis, 53 high levels of sexual interest should predict overperception of sexual interest, whereas low levels of sexual interest should predict underperception.²

The mate value hypothesis

Haselton (2003) found that people with higher attractiveness as a mate (i.e., mate value) were more likely to report that their friendly behavior had been misinterpreted by a member of the opposite sex as sexual interest. According to EMT, underperceiving the sexual interest of a high mate value target is more costly than overperceiving because missing a chance to mate with a high mate value individual (underperception) is more costly than wasted mating effort (overperception). Thus, the mate value hypothesis predicts that the sexual interest of targets with high short-term mate value will be overperceived, whereas the sexual interest of targets with low short-term mate value will be underperceived. Furthermore, it follows that the short-term and long-term mate values of the target individual may be an important variable beyond perceiver sex for evaluating the mediation hypothesis, to which we now turn.

The mediation hypothesis

A corollary of the projection hypothesis is that the perceiver's levels of sexual interest in the target may mediate the effects of perceiver sex and target mate value (Shotland & Craig, 1988). That is, for perceiver sex, overperception is the result of the higher level of sexual interest of perceivers who are men. For mate value, overperception is the result of higher levels of sexual interest toward targets

^{2.} One reviewer noted that it is unclear why self-fulfilling prophecies would not also explain such results. Self-fulfilling prophecies might explain how the perception that a friend has a high level of sexual interest would lead that friend to increase their level of sexual interest, and therefore be a proximal mechanism resulting in fitness benefits in addition to those suggested by EMT. Nonetheless, we are not here concerned with such effects. That is, we are looking at how a person's level of sexual interest, not how a person's level of sexual interest affects the friend's actual sexual interest.

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with higher short-term mate value. In sum, the mediation hypothesis predicts that controlling perceiver level of sexual interest will reduce the ability of perceiver sex and target mate value to predict misperception of sexual interest.

9 The current studies tested four hypotheses. 10 First, the simple sex-difference hypothesis 11 predicts that men will overperceive women's 12 sexual interest and women will underperceive 13 men's sexual interest, irrespective of level of 14 sexual interest of the perceiver. Second, the 15 projection hypothesis predicts that high levels 16 of perceiver sexual interest will result in over-17 perception of target sexual interest, whereas 18 low levels of perceiver sexual interest will 19 result in underperception of target sexual inter-20 est. Third, the mate value hypothesis predicts 21 that participants will overperceive the sexual 22 interest of targets with high short-term mate 23 value and participants will underperceive the 24 sexual interest of targets with low short-term 25 mate value. Finally, the mediation hypothesis 26 predicts that controlling for perceiver level of 27 sexual interest will reduce or eliminate the 28 effects of perceiver sex and target mate value 29 on misperception. We also applied each 30 hypothesis to romantic interest, excluding 31 directional predictions based on perceiver 32 sex. First, the simple sex-difference hypothesis 33 predicts sex differences in misperception of 34 romantic interest, irrespective of the per-35 ceivers' level of romantic interest. Second, 36 the projection hypothesis predicts that high 37 levels of perceiver romantic interest will result 38 in overperception of target romantic interest 39 and low levels of perceiver romantic interest 40 will result in underperception of target roman-41 tic interest. Third, the mate value hypothesis 42 predicts that participants will overperceive the 43 romantic interest of targets with high long-44 term mate value and participants will under-45 perceive the romantic interest of targets with 46 low long-term mate value. Finally, the media-47 tion hypothesis predicts that perceiver level of 48 romantic interest will mediated any effects of 49 perceiver sex or target long-term mate value. 50 Study 1 tested the simple sex-difference 51 hypothesis, the projection hypothesis, and the 52 mediation hypothesis. Study 2 replicated 53 Study 1 and tested the mate value hypothesis.

Study 1

The goal of the current project was to evaluate predictors of misperception of sexual and romantic interests. Using online questionnaires, members of opposite-sex friendship dyads (a) indicated their sexual and romantic interests in the other member of the dyad and (b) estimated that friend's sexual and romantic interests in them. This design allowed us to evaluate concurrently the unique predictive abilities of perceiver sex and perceivers' own interests.

Method

Participants. Participants were introductory psychology students at the College of William and Mary, a middle class, academically competitive, southeastern public university in the United States with a majority of Caucasian students, and their closest opposite-sex friend, whom each student recruited. Demographic data collected from students' opposite-sex friends did not include their occupation; thus, we do not know what proportion of them were also students at College of William and Mary. The use of a convenience and volunteer sample in the current study was necessary because students had to have an opposite-sex friend who would participate in the study and no sampling frame for such participants exists. Students participated in partial fulfillment of a course requirement for introductory psychology. The study's homepage provided the following information to participants: "Welcome to the Relationships & Sexuality study. We will be asking you to complete a number of online questionnaires regarding your beliefs, attitudes, and history in relationships." We excluded three dyads from analysis because at least one member was a gay male or lesbian. We excluded four additional dyads because the student's opposite-sex friend and their romantic partner had the same first name and therefore may have been the same person (the first names of romantic partners were collected as part of another study). In five cases, two students each had the other as their opposite-sex friend, resulting in duplicative data. We excluded

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one of each set of data at random. The final sample for Study 1 consisted of 68 female and 51 male students, each with a friend (238 participants total). The mean age of students was 18.79 years (SD = 1.25) and the mean friend-ship length was 31.16 months (SD = 33.92).

Note that *opposite-sex friend* refers to the friends recruited by the students to participate in this study and from the perspective of either member of the opposite-sex friendship dyad, the term refers to the other member. When used in the first meaning, it includes *students'* as a clarifier, for example, the students' opposite-sex friend. When used in the second meaning, it will be expressed without a clarifier, for example, the participants' romantic interest in their opposite-sex friend. *Participant* refers to both the students and the opposite-sex friends, which they recruited, since all were participants in the study.

24 Questionnaires. Participants completed 25 questionnaires on the Internet. Students pro-26 vided their own name and the name of their 27 friend. The Web pages embedded these names 28 in the questionnaires. After providing relation-29 ship history details, participants answered 30 questions about their sexual and romantic 31 interests in their opposite-sex friend and their 32 perceptions of that friend's sexual and roman-33 tic interests in them, resulting in four scales 34 (presented to participants in this order): per-35 ception of friend's romantic interest in self, 36 perception of friend's sexual interest in self, 37 romantic interest in friend, and sexual interest 38 in friend. Participants rated their friend's inter-39 est before their own, reducing the likelihood 40 that participants would be primed by the ques-41 tionnaire to use their own level of interest as 42 a reference point when estimating their 43 friend's level of interest. Each scale included 44 three questions designed to measure a concep-45 tually different component of sexual and 46 romantic interests (presented in this order): 47 behavioral, affective, and cognitive. An exam-48 ple of the behavioral question measuring sex-49 ual interest, using "John" as the friend's 50 name, follows: "If you and John were both 51 single, how likely is it that you would have 52 casual sex with John if John asked?" The cor-53 responding affective measure of sexual interest would be, "How much do you desire to have casual sex with John?" The cognitive measure of sexual interest would be, "How frequently do *vou* think about having casual sex with John?" On the topic romantic interest, questions asked about joining a long-term, committed romantic relationship instead of having casual sex. To evaluate perceptions of friend's interests, we reversed the name of the friend and the term "you." For example, the behavioral question probing perception of friend's romantic interest would be, "If you and John were both single, how likely is it that John would join a long-term, committed romantic relationship with you if you asked?" A 7-point response scale followed all questions. Anchors were appropriate to the question: For behavioral questions, anchors were very unlikely and very likely; for affective questions, anchors were none and very much; and for cognitive questions, anchors were never and very often. Cronbach alphas ranged from .92 to .94, demonstrating satisfactory reliability. Two principal components analyses with varimax rotations, one for selfreported interests and another for perception of friend's interests, each revealed two orthogonal (i.e., independent) components with eigenvalues above one. In both analyses, sexual and romantic interests were independent constructs.

The questionnaire also included the following relationship history questions. "How long have you been close friends with [opposite-sex friend's name]?" "How close are you to [opposite-sex friend's name]?" A 7-point response scale was provided with the anchors, not close and very close. "Have you and [opposite-sex friend's name] ever seriously discussed whether or not to begin a long-term, committed romantic relationship with each other?" Response options were no and yes. "Have you and [opposite-sex friend's name] ever been in an explicitly long-term, committed romantic relationship with each other?" Response options were no and yes. "How many times did you have sex (including manual, oral, anal, and vaginal sex) with [opposite-sex friend's name]?" Responses were provided in a text box. Students indicated their relationship status by which of two links they clicked to start the study: one link was for single participants and the other was for dating participants. Students' friends indicated their relationship status with a *no* or *yes* response to the following question: "Are you currently in a long-term, committed romantic relationship?" A question at the end of the study asked participants for comments or suggestions and included a text box for responses.

12 The following details about the two study's 13 online surveys are based on the Checklist for 14 Reporting Results on Internet E-Surveys 15 (Eysenbach, 2006). An online survey was pref-1 16 erable to a paper-and-pencil survey because it 17 provided easy access to the study for the stu-18 dents' friends, who may not be near campus. 19 We recruited students using Experimetrix 20 (Sona Systems Ltd., 2006), a Web-based sub-21 ject pool management service. Students vali-22 dated their identity by logging on to the 23 study's homepage using their student ID. Each 24 student's opposite-sex friend logged on using 25 the student's ID and the password generated 26 by the student. The Web pages automatically 27 logged student IDs with each response. In 28 cases of multiple responses to a page, we first 29 used submissions with the least missing data, 30 otherwise we used final submissions. The first 31 author wrote the Web pages using ColdFusion [2] markup language (Forta, 1998), a dynamic 32 33 scripting language closely related to hypertext 34 markup language. Data collection spanned 35 November and December 2004 for Study 1 36 and March and April 2005 for Study 2. We 37 did not calculate response rates because the 38 study was not open to the public. In order to 39 reduce socially desirable responding due to the 40 presence of participants' opposite-sex friends 41 or others, the first and final instructions on 42 each studies' first page were for participants 43 to "Complete questionnaires privately-with 44 no one else around (a dorm room is perfect)." 45 The instructions also informed participants 46 that a hidden, password-protected file accessi-47 ble only by the researchers would store their 48 data. Questions asked of students were on one 49 Web page with 20 questions. The 23 questions 50 asked of friends were on one Web page. Web 51 pages automatically required all participants to 52 respond to each question before continuing to 53 the next page. A no response option was available for each question. Questions were not randomized. Participants could change their answers with the browser's Back button. Students provided additional data for another study on attachment after completing Study 1.

Results and Discussion

Overall misperception by sex. See Figure 1 for mean ratings of participant sexual and romantic interests in their friend and participant perceptions of their friend's sexual and romantic interests in them. A mixed-model 2 × 2 analysis of variance (ANOVA), with sex of perceiver a between subjects variable and perception of friend's sexual interest and friend's self-reported sexual interest as within subjects variables, revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 222) = 12.10, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .05$, indicating that the pattern of misperception of sexual interest differed for men and women. Two planned contrasts evaluated misperception of



Figure 1. Mean levels $(\pm SE)$ of self-reported and perceived sexual and romantic interests of opposite-sex friends in one another in Study 1. (A) Sexual interest. (B) Romantic interest. *Note.* Inset *p* values are planned comparisons determined using paired samples *t* tests comparing self-reported interest with friend's perception of that interest.

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Misperception of mating interests

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men's and women's sexual interest. Replicating the key findings of previous researchers and providing evidence that the current operationalization of sexual interest (as casual sex) is comparable with those of previous studies, men overperceived women's sexual interest, t(111) = 2.37, p < .05, d = .22 and women underperceived men's sexual interest, t(111) =-2.56, p < .05, d = .24 (see Figure 1). The interaction and main effects were not significant (ps > .05) for a parallel mixed-model 2 × 2 ANOVA for romantic interest variables (see Figure 1), corroborating the results of previous 3 researchers (e.g., Buss & Schmitt, 1993) that short-term and long-term mating are distinct.

Regression analysis strategy. Previous sexual misperception research has failed to take into account that the levels of sexual interest of both the perceiver and the target can potentially influence the perception of the target's sexual interest because these perceptions occur within dyads. Fortunately, the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM; Kashy & AKenny, 2000), a multilevel statistical analysis strategy, allows researchers to estimate the effects of both the actor (actor effect) and their partner (partner effect) on the dependent variable. For example, in the current research, the actor effect is the effect of the perceiver's (actor's) level of sexual interest on the actor's perception of their friend's (partner's) sexual interest, controlling for their partner's level of sexual interest. The actor effect tests the projection hypothesis by evaluating the actor's perception of their partner's sexual interest while controlling for the partner's self-reported level of sexual interest. The partner effect is the effect of the level of the partner's sexual interest on the actor's perception of the partner's sexual interest. The partner effect can be interpreted as the degree of accuracy of the actor's perceptions of the partner's sexual interest.

We conducted the APIM analyses according
to Campbell and Kashy (2002) using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM; Raudenbush &
Bryk, 2002). We modeled all predictors at
Level 1, unless otherwise noted. We modeled
opposite-sex friendship dyads at Level 2. We
centered continuous variables around the

grand mean and entered dichotomous variables uncentered and contrast coded. Although multilevel models with random effects require nontraditional mediation procedures, the APIM uses fixed effects when estimating regression coefficients (although the error term for the intercept is allowed to vary randomly; Campbell & Kashy); therefore, traditional mediation procedures are appropriate (Kenny, Korchmaros, & Bolger, 2003). HLM provides unstandardized *b* values.

Tests of mediation include four steps (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Kenny, 2006). In Step 1, show that the initial variable is correlated with the outcome variable. To test the mediation hypothesis, perceiver sex is the initial variable and perception of friend's sexual interest is the outcome variable. If the path coefficient from the initial variable to the outcome variable when controlling for the mediator is opposite in sign from the product of (a) the path coefficient from the initial variable to the mediator and (b) the path coefficient from the mediator to the outcome variable, then Step 1 may not be met, but there may still be mediation. In this scenario, the mediator also acts as a suppressor variable (Kenny). In Step 2, show that the initial variable is correlated with the mediator (perceiver's level of sexual interest). In Step 3, show that the mediator is correlated with the outcome variable. In Step 4, show that the effect of the initial variable on the outcome variable is reduced or eliminated when controlling for the mediator. For all analyses in this article, we control for friend's selfreported sexual interest (the partner effect) as a covariate at each step so that other variables predict misperception, that is, perception of friend's sexual interest above and beyond their self-reported sexual interest. We apply the same logic to romantic interest as we applied here to sexual interest.

Correlations among primary variables. Table 1 shows the correlations among primary variables. Correlations for Study 1 are above the diagonal. Correlations for Study 2 are below the diagonal.

The simple sex-difference hypothesis. As can be seen in Figure 2, the unstandardized path

Variables	Perceiver sex ^a '	Perceiver sexual interest	Perceived sexual interest s	Actual exual interest	Perceiver romantic interest	Perceived romantic interest 1	Actual romantic intere	Short-term st mate value
Perceiver sex ^a		.35*	16*	35*	.11	04	11	
Perceiver sexual interest	.31*		.44*	.22*	.51*	.35*	.22*	
Perceived sexual interest	07	*04.		.63*	.26*	.56*	.30*	
Actual sexual interest	31^{*}	.40*	.65*		.22*	.36*	.51*	
Perceiver romantic interest	.08	.56*	.45*	.29*		*09'	.45*	
Perceived romantic interest	60.	.50*	.55*	.34*	.63*		.56*	
Actual romantic interest	08	.29*	.42*	.56*	.35*	.58*		
Short-term mate value	05	.28*	.28*	.21*	.28*	.19*	.14	
Long-term mate value	.04	$.16^{*}$.03	.03	.30*	.11	.06	.35*

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Figure 2. Path diagram for the mediation of the effect of perceiver sex on the misperception of sexual interest by perceiver level of sexual interest in Study 1.

Note. Unstandardized coefficients in parentheses are from two models: in one, perceiver sex predicted perceiver sexual interest; in the other, perceiver sex and friend's self-reported sexual interest (actual sexual interest) predicted perceived sexual interest. Coefficients outside parentheses are from a model in which perceiver sex, perceiver sexual interest, and friend's self-reported sexual interest. All variables represent perceiver data, except actual sexual interest, which the perceiver's opposite-sex friend provided.

*p < .05.

Female = -1, male =

.01

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* D

coefficient from perceiver sex to perceived sexual interest was not positive and significant (which would indicate that men overperceived and women underperceived) when controlling for perceiver's level of sexual interest and friend's self-reported sexual interest. The unstandardized path coefficient from perceiver sex to perceived romantic interest, controlling for perceiver's level of romantic interest and friend's self-reported romantic interest, was not significantly different from zero, b = -0.01, t(195) = -0.11, p > .05. Thus, the simple sex-difference hypothesis was not supported for sexual or romantic interest.

The projection hypothesis. Supporting the projection hypothesis, while controlling for perceiver sex and friend's self-reported interest, the path coefficient between perceiver level of interest and perceived level of interest is positive and significant for both sexual interest

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(see Figure 2) and romantic interest, b = 0.43, t(195) = 7.05, p < .05.

The mediation hypothesis. The mediation hypothesis predicts that men overperceiving women's sexual interest and women underperceiving men's sexual interest is the result of members of each sex projecting their different level of sexual interest onto their friend. As Figure 2 illustrates, for sexual interest, Step 1 was not met. Nonetheless, when controlling for the mediator and friend's self-reported sexual interest, the path coefficient for perceiver sex was opposite in sign from the product of (a) the path coefficient from the perceiver sex to the perceived sexual interest and (b) the path coefficient from perceiver sexual interest to perceived sexual interest, suggesting that perceiver sexual interest was acting as a suppressor as well as a mediator of the effects of perceiver sex (Kenny, 2006).³ Steps 2 and 3 24 are met. Evaluation of Step 4 suggests that perceiver level of sexual interest mediated the men's overperception and women's underperception of sexual interest found in the ANOVA reported above. A Sobel test confirmed that the effect of perceiver sex was significantly changed when we added perceiver level of sexual interest to the model, t = 4.40, p < .05. After controlling for perceiver level of sexual interest, the effect of perceiver sex is significantly different than zero, indicating that perceiver level of sexual interest partially mediated the effect of perceiver sex. The negative sign of the coefficient for perceiver sex suggests that there was an additional, suppressed effect of sex in which women overperceived and men overperceived their friends' sexual interests. Previous studies have

not used the necessary statistical analyses (or experimental designs) to find this effect of sex. Thus, perceiver level of sexual interest not only mediated men's overperception of women's sexual interest and women's underperception of men's sexual interest but also suppressed an additional effect of sex in which men underperceive and women overperceive the sexual interest of opposite-sex targets.

Parallel analyses for romantic interest found that perceiver sex was not a significant predictor of the perception of romantic interest in any step, ps > .05; therefore, there was no effect of perceiver sex to be mediated by perceiver level of romantic interest.

Accuracy of perceptions. Recall that, in these models, the partner effect can be interpreted as the degree of accuracy of the actor's perceptions of the partner's sexual and romantic interests. While controlling for perceiver sex and perceiver level of sexual interest, the path coefficient for the partner effect, termed actual interest, is positive and significant for both sexual interest (see Figure 2) and romantic interest, b = 0.31, t(195) = 4.47, p < .05. These findings suggest that perceptions of a friend's sexual and romantic interests in oneself are not pure fantasy, but to a substantial degree reflect that friend's actual interests.

Relationship history variables. To exclude the possibility that relationship history variables caused the current results, we reran the regression analyses with the additional relationship history variables as predictors, including sexual and romantic histories between friends. As seen in Table 2, coefficients for critical variables maintained significance when statistically controlling for relationship history variables. Furthermore, the meaningfulness of the distinction between romantic and sexual interest is indicated by the inability of perceiver romantic interest to account for the effect of perceiver sexual interest, and vice versa. This result also argues against the possibility that the results supporting the projection hypothesis could be explained by a common method effect (Kenny, 2006), that is, perceivers rating both their own level of interest (a predictor) and their perception of their friend's interest (the outcome variable)

^{3.} To verify that this result was not due to multicollinearity, the Level 1 data were imported into SPSS. Multi-9 collinearity analyses for this and all subsequent mediation models indicated that multicollinearity was not a problem, VIFs <.160. Also, as can be seen in 10 Table 1, the zero-order correlation between perceiver sex and perceiver sexual interest is positive and significant in both studies; thus, the reversal in the direction of the regression coefficient for perceiver sex from positive to negative when controlling for perceiver level of sexual interest is not a result of an initial negative correlation between perceiver sex and perceived sexual interest

	Sexual interest	Romantic interest		
Predictor variables	Unstandardized coefficient	Unstandardized coefficient	SE	
Actual interest	0.48*	0.07	0.29*	0.07
Closeness	0.22*	0.10	0.18*	0.09
Length of friendship ^a	-0.37	0.19	-0.34*	0.16
Romantic relationship with friend in past? ^{b, c}	0.30	0.25	0.23	0.25
Perceiver relationship status ^d	0.20	0.11	0.12	0.09
Discussed long-term relationship?	-0.10	0.15	0.03	0.13
Times friends had sex ^{b, e}	0.31	0.30	0.24	0.24
Perceiver sex ^f	-0.21*	0.09	-0.06	0.10
Perceiver romantic interest in friend	-0.03	0.06	0.35*	0.07
Perceiver sexual interest in friend	0.44*	0.07	0.11*	0.05

Table 2. Multiple regression analyses in Study 1 in which hypothesis variables and relationship history variables predicted the misperception of friend's sexual and romantic interests (i.e., the perception of friend's sexual and romantic interests in the perceiver while controlling for the friend's actual sexual and romantic interests in the perceiver, respectively)

Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients for hypotheses variables are italicized.

^aBecause length of relationship was positively skewed, it was log transformed.

^bThis variable was entered at Level 2.

^cNo romantic relationship in past = -1, romantic relationship in past = 1.

31 d Single = -1, in a romantic relationship = 1.

Because many participants chose to not reply to this question, a response from either member of the friendship was used
 for the sexual history of the friendship. Because times friends had sex was positively skewed, it was log transformed.
 ^fFemale = -1, male = 1.

*p < .05.

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because perceiver romantic and sexual interests were not equally able to predict the misperception of both romantic and sexual interests.

Study 2

43 Study 2 was a replication of Study 1 that also 44 tested the mate value hypothesis and the 45 mediation hypothesis with regard to mate 46 value. Also, Study 2 included several meth-47 odological improvements. First, because 48 someone's closest opposite-sex friend could 49 be a relative or a boyfriend or girlfriend (Hen-50 drick & Hendrick, 1993), and these relation-51 ships are not part of the traditional definition 52 of opposite-sex friendship (see, e.g., Mon-53 sour, 2002), the study instructions explicitly

prohibited participants from recruiting opposite-sex friends who were romantic partners or relatives. Second, because 3 participants in Study 1 indicated that one member of the opposite-sex friendship dyad was a gay male or lesbian, a question directly asked participants their sexual orientation. Finally, a question at the end of the study asked participants if their data should be excluded for any reason, with assurance that exclusion would be free from penalty.

Method

Participants. We excluded the data for five opposite-sex friendship dyads because one member was a gay male or lesbian. For five

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Misperception of mating interests

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other dyads, both members were students, resulting in duplicative data, so we excluded one of each set of data at random. Two participants indicated their data should be excluded, so we excluded it. The final sample for Study 2 consisted of 50 female and 49 male introductory psychology students at the College of William and Mary, each with a recruited friend (198 participants total). The mean student age was 18.85 (SD = .72) and the mean friendship length was 28.81 months (SD = 27.71).

15 Questionnaires. Questionnaires used in 16 Study 2 were identical to those used in Study 17 1. Chronbach alphas ranged from .93 to .95 for 18 self-reported and perceived sexual and roman-19 tic interest scales, showing satisfactory reli-20 ability. Two principal components analyses 21 with varimax rotations, one for self-reported 22 interests and another for perception of friend's 23 interests, revealed that romantic and sexual 24 interest items were independent constructs. 25 In addition, short-term mate value and long-26 term mate value questions were based on 27 Haselton (2003). The Web pages modified 28 the mate value questions by embedding the 29 friend's first name. For a participant whose 30 friend's name is John, the question assessing 31 short-term mate value would be, "Compared 32 with others you know who are the same sex as 33 you and about your age, how desirable do 34 members of the opposite sex find John as 35 a short-term mate or casual sex partner?" 36 The question assessing long-term mate value 37 included the words long-term mate or mar-38 riage partner instead of short-term mate or 39 casual sex partner. A 7-point response scale 40 with the anchors very undesirable and very 41 desirable followed each mate value question. 42

Results and Discussion

45 Overall misperception by sex. Figure 3 46 presents the mean ratings of participant sexual 47 and romantic interests in their friend and par-48 ticipant perceptions of their friend's sexual and 49 romantic interests in them. A mixed-model $2 \times$ 50 2 ANOVA, with sex of perceiver as a between 51 subjects variable and perception of friend's 52 sexual interest and friend's self-reported sexual 53 interest as within subjects variables, revealed



Figure 3. Mean levels $(\pm SE)$ of self-reported and perceived sexual and romantic interests of opposite-sex friends in one another in Study 2. (A) Sexual interest. (B) Romantic interest. *Note.* Inset *p* values are planned comparisons determined using paired samples *t* tests comparing self-reported interest with friend's perception of that interest.

a significant interaction, F(1, 186) = 18.76, p < .05, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, indicating that the pattern of misperception of sexual interest differed for men and women. Planned contrasts replicated the results of Study 1 and the key finding of previous research: men overperceived women's sexual interest, t(93) = 2.71, p < .05,d = .28, and women underperceived men's sexual interest, t(93) = -3.05, p < .05, d =.31 (see Figure 3). Parallel analyses for romantic interest variables produced a significant interaction, F(1, 190) = 7.75, p < .05, $\eta_p^2 =$.04. Men overperceived women's romantic interest, t(94) = 2.72, p < .05, d = .28; women did not misperceive men's romantic interest, t(96) = -1.26, p > .05 (see Figure 3).

The simple sex-difference hypothesis. As in Study 1, perceiver sex was not a positive predictor of perception of sexual interest while controlling for perceiver level of sexual interest and

friend's self-reported sexual interest, thus the simple sex-difference hypothesis was not supported for sexual interest (see Figure 4). Failing to replicate the finding of Study 1, perceiver sex was a positive, significant predictor of romantic interest while controlling for perceiver level of romantic interest and friend's self-reported 10 romantic interest, b = 0.22, t(161) = 2.40, p < .05; therefore, the simple sex-difference 12 hypothesis was supported for romantic interest. 13

14 The projection hypothesis. Consistent with 15 the projection hypothesis, perceiver interests 16 were positive, significant predictors of misper-17 ception of their friend's corresponding inter-18 ests while controlling for perceiver sex and 19 friend's self-reported interests, for both sexual 20 interest (see Figure 4) and romantic interests, 21 b = 0.48, t(161) = 7.88, p < .05, replicating 22 the findings of Study 1.



Figure 4. Path diagram for the mediation of the effect of perceiver sex on the misperception of sexual interest by perceiver level of sexual interest in Study 2.

40 Note. Unstandardized coefficients in parenthe-41 ses are from two models: in one, perceiver sex 42 predicted perceiver sexual interest; in the 43 other, perceiver sex and friend's self-reported 44 sexual interest (actual sexual interest) pre-45 dicted perceived sexual interest. Coefficients 46 outside parentheses are from a model in which 47 perceiver sex, perceiver sexual interest, and 48 friend's self-reported sexual interest predicted 49 perceived sexual interest. All variables repre-50 sent perceiver data, except actual sexual inter-51 est, which the perceiver's opposite-sex friend 52 provided. 53 *p < .05.

The mediation hypothesis. Recall that the mediation hypothesis predicts that men's overperception of women's sexual interest and women's underperception of men's sexual interest is the result of perceivers projecting their own level of sexual interest onto the target. As Figure 4 illustrates, Steps 1, 2, and 3 were met for sexual interest. Evaluation of Step 4 indicated that, replicating the results found in Study 1, perceiver level of sexual interest mediated the effect of sex and suppressed an additional effect of sex. The Sobel test confirmed that the ability of perceiver sex to predict the misperception of sexual interest was significantly changed when adding perceiver level of sexual interest to the model, t = 5.25, p < .05. Thus, the mediation hypothesis was supported for sexual interest.

Parallel mediation analyses for romantic interest found that, controlling for friend's self-reported romantic interest, perceiver sex was a significant predictor of perception of romantic interest before, b = 0.26, t(165) =2.22, p < .05, and after, b = 0.22, t(161) =2.40, p < .05, adding perceiver level of romantic interest to the model. Mediation Steps 2 and 4 are not supported and the Sobel's t is not significant (p > .05). Thus, the mediation hypothesis was not supported for romantic interest. This is the only analysis that does not support the hypothesis that an effect of perceiver sex is mediated by the projection of the perceiver's level of interest.

Mate value hypothesis. The next set of analyses evaluated whether friends' short- and longterm mate values predicted misperception of their sexual and romantic interests, respectively, and whether misperception of sexual and romantic interests due to friends' short- and long-term mate value was mediated by the perceiver level of sexual and romantic interests. As Figure 5 shows, while controlling friend's self-reported sexual interest, short-term mate value was a positive and significant predictor of perceived sexual interest, supporting the mate value hypothesis. All four steps necessary for indicating mediation were supported for short-term mate value. A Sobel test was also consistent with mediation, t = 2.70, p < .05. While controlling for friend's self-reported romantic interest,

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Figure 5. Path diagram for the mediation of the effect of friend's short-term mate value on the misperception of sexual interest by perceiver level of sexual interest in Study 2.

Note. Unstandardized coefficients in parentheses are from two models: in one, friend's shortterm mate value predicted perceiver sexual interest; in the other, friend's short-term mate value and friend's self-reported sexual interest in the perceiver (actual sexual interest) predicted perceived sexual interest. Unstandardized coefficients outside parentheses are from a model in which friend's short-term mate value, perceiver sexual interest, and friend's self-reported sexual interest predicted perceived sexual interest. All variables represent perceiver data, except actual sexual interest, which the perceiver's opposite-sex friend provided. *n < .05.

long-term mate value did not predict the misperception of romantic interest, b = 0.15, t(159) = 1.28, p > .05, failing to support the mate value hypothesis for long-term interest and indicating that there is not an effect of long-term mate value to be mediated by perceiver level of romantic interest. In sum, the results supported the mate value hypothesis and the mediation hypothesis for short-term mate value but not long-term mate value.

46 Accuracy of perceptions. As in Study 1, 47 while controlling for perceiver sex and per-48 ceiver level of interest, friend's self-reported 49 interest was a significant predictor of percep-50 tion of that interest for both sexual interest (see 51 Figure 5) and romantic interest, b = 0.37, 52 t(161) = 6.48, p < .05. These findings indicate 53 that participant perceptions of their friend's sexual and romantic interests, to a substantial degree, accurately reflected those interests.

Relationship history variables. Table 3 presents the results of regression analysis that include theoretically relevant variables as well as relationship history variables as predictors. Replicating the findings of Study 1, critical variables were in the same direction and maintained significance when statistically controlling for relationship history variables. Notably, many results for the relationship history variables themselves did not replicate across studies, thus deserving replication. Discussion of these inconsistencies is beyond the scope of the current article.

General Discussion

Two studies found that men overperceived women's sexual interest and women underperceived men's sexual interest, replicating the key finding of numerous studies (e.g., Abbey, 1982). Only men in Study 2 misperceived romantic interest. Further analyses in both studies provided evidence that perceivers projected their own levels of sexual and romantic interests onto their opposite-sex friend. Study 2 found that the short-term mate value of targets, but not their long-term mate value, also resulted in systematic misperception. Mediation analyses were consistent with the hypothesis that perceiver level of sexual interest in the target resulted in the effects of both perceiver sex (in Studies 1 and 2) and target short-term mate value (in Study 2); however, perceiver level of romantic interest did not mediate men's overperception of women's romantic interest in Study 2. Surprisingly, mediation analyses in both studies revealed that perceiver level of sexual interest was suppressing an additional effect of sex in which men underperceived women's sexual interest and women overperceived men's sexual interest.

The simple sex-difference hypothesis

Replicating numerous studies, the overall effect of sex (as indicated in Figures 1 and 3) was that men overperceived and women underperceived the sexual interest of an opposite-sex target.

	Sexual interest	Romantic interest		
Predictor variables	Unstandardized coefficient	SE	Unstandardized coefficient	SE
Actual interest	0.24*	0.07	0.24*	0.06
Closeness	-0.08	0.08	-0.08	0.10
Length of friendship ^a	0.02	0.16	-0.13	0.18
Romantic relationship with friend in past? ^{b, c}	-0.57*	0.15	0.11	0.10
Perceiver relationship status ^d	-0.17*	0.09	0.04	0.10
Discussed long-term relationship?	0.18*	0.06	0.20*	0.05
Times friends had sex ^{b, e}	0.66*	0.19	0.00	0.16
Perceiver sex ^f	-0.29*	0.08	0.19	0.10
Friend's mate value	0.02	0.06	-0.04	0.09
Perceiver romantic interest in friend	-0.01	0.06	0.39*	0.08
Perceiver sexual interest in friend	0.53*	0.06	0.06	0.07

Table 3. Multiple regression analyses in Study 2 in which hypothesis variables and relationship history variables predicted the misperception of friend's sexual and romantic interests (i.e., the perception of friend's sexual and romantic interests in the perceiver while controlling for the friend's actual sexual and romantic interests in the perceiver, respectively)

29 Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients for hypotheses variables are italicized.

^aBecause length of relationship was positively skewed, it was log transformed.

^bThis variable was entered at Level 2.

¹ °No romantic relationship in past = -1, romantic relationship in past = 1.

³² ^dSingle = -1, in a romantic relationship = 1.

³³ ^eMany participants chose to not reply to this question; therefore, a response from either member of the friendship was
 ³⁴ used for the sexual history of the friendship. Because times friends had sex was positively skewed, it was log transformed.
 ³⁵ ^fFemale = -1, male = 1.

35 Female = p < .05.

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38 Nevertheless, both studies found the reverse 39 effect when holding perceiver level of sexual 40 interest constant: women overperceived and 41 men underperceived the sexual interest of their 42 opposite-sex friend. No socialization or evolu-43 tionary theories known to the authors predicts 44 women's overperception and men's underper-45 ception of the sexual interest of opposite-sex 46 targets. A plausible explanation is that people 47 are aware that men have higher levels of sexual 48 interest than do women (Baumeister et al., 49 2001), and therefore, in ambiguous situations, 50 people may assume that a man has a high level 51 of sexual interest, whereas a woman has a low 52 level of sexual interest. That is, people may use 53 common knowledge about actual sex differences in levels of sexual interest to discount their estimates of women's sexual interest and increase their estimates of men's sexual interest. Thus, socially acquired knowledge that men have more sexual interest than women may lead to a sex-of-target effect resulting not in men overperceiving women's sexual interest (Abbey, 1982) but instead to the opposite: men underperceiving (and women overperceiving) of the sexual interest of members of the opposite sex.

The projection hypothesis

Researchers have interpreted functional projection (Maner et al., 2005) and EMT (Haselton & Buss, 2000) to support male, but not

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female, misperception of the sexual interest of opposite-sex targets. How can functional projection and EMT accommodate the current findings that level of sexual interest, not maleness or femaleness per se, best predicted misperception of both sexual and romantic 9 interests? Consider when sexual interest is 10 not aroused. An unknown woman with low 11 current reproductive potential, elderly, prepu-12 bescent, or very ill, for example, arouses little 13 sexual interest in most normal men. The more 14 indicators that a woman is fertile and of high 15 mate quality, the more sexually interested men 16 will be in her, and the more useful it is to over-17 perceive her sexual interest so as not to miss 18 the valuable mating opportunity. Compared to 19 men, the sexual interest of women is less easily 20 aroused (Baumeister et al., 2001), reflecting 21 women's greater discrimination of sexual part-22 ners (Trivers, 1972). Once women are sexually 23 aroused, women may benefit from overperceiv-24 ing the sexual interest of their target just like 25 men. This can be understood by thinking of 26 arousal of sexual interest as a sexual-opportunity 27 meter, that is, an indicator that a target is a 28 valuable potential mate whose interest would 29 be costly to miss, as in the affect-as-informa-30 tion model of emotions (see, e.g., Clore & 31 Storbeck, in press). From an evolutionary per-32 spective, men do not want to miss an opportu-33 nity to have sex with most women, and women 34 do not want to miss an opportunity to have sex 35 with a high mate value man, thus both men and 36 women may benefit from overperceiving the 37 sexual interest of those who activate their sex-38 ual interest. Similarly, passionate love may act 39 as a romantic-opportunity meter, indicating 40 that a target would be a worthwhile long-term 41 romantic partner, and therefore, missing the 42 valuable opportunity by underperceiving their 43 romantic interest would be more costly than 44 overperceiving their romantic interest. 45

The mate value hypothesis

48 Replicating the finding of Haselton (2003), 49 target short-term mate value predicted misper-50 ception of that target's sexual interest. This 51 finding corroborates the argument presented 52 above that it is functional to overperceive the 53 sexual interest of those with high short-term

mate value. The effect of mate value on misperception disappeared; however, once we held participants' own level of sexual interest constant, suggesting that the perceivers' own level of sexual interest may mediate the misperception of sexual interest related to shortterm mate value. The study used a single item to measure short-term mate value, however, so caution is warranted in concluding that mediation occurred. Long-term mate value did not predict the misperception of romantic interest, perhaps because, unlike casual sex, romantic love involves commitment (Frank, 1988; Gonzaga, Keltner, Londal, & Smith, 2001; 5 Ketelaar & Goodie, 1998) and therefore greater potential costs if someone were to exploit this commitment.

Limitations

First, as in all self-report data, but especially those about one's relationship with an opposite-sex friend (Monsour, Harris, Kurzwil, & Beard, 1994), socially desirable 6 responding, or self-deception (Paulhus, 1984) may influence the results. Second, these studies had high cancellation rates (23.6% in Study 1 and 13.2% in Study 2), perhaps because potential participants wanted to avoid discussing romantic or sexual interests with their opposite-sex friend (Afifi & Burgoon, 1998). Third, the use of naturally occurring mating interests provides evidence for the external validity of the existing research on the misperception of sexual interest, but necessitates correlational instead of experimental methods for evaluating causation. Experimental manipulation of perceiver's level of sexual interest is necessary to demonstrate the causal role of perceiver's level of sexual interest in the misperception of sexual interest. Fourth, the same survey measured level of sexual interest and perception of friend's level of sexual interest; thus, a common method effect may have caused the high correlation between the mediator and the outcome variable (Kenny, 2006), although Tables 2 and 3 present evidence against this possibility. Finally, the use of volunteer, convenience samples does not allow generalization to a known population. Future research should attempt to address these limitations.

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Conclusions

4 The current findings suggest a number of 5 research directions and practical implications. 6 First, if misperception of sexual interest is pri-7 marily due to projection of one's own level of 8 interest, then individual differences in level of 9 sexual interest may be a factor underlying risk 10 for perpetrating sexual assault, including 11 acquaintance rape. This assertion is supported 12 by the finding that men who have committed 13 acquaintance rape tend to be very sexually 14 active (Kanin, 1985). Similarly, if the percep-15 tion that another person is sexually interested 16 in oneself is increased by being sexually inter-17 ested in that person, then individuals with 18 a chronically high sex drive are at an increased 19 risk of unwittingly sexually harassing others. 20 Education about how people may project their 21 own level of sexual interest, about what level 22 of sexual interest is common for different 23 groups (e.g., women), and about valid indica-24 tors that may be used to ascertain another's 25 level of sexual interest may reduce the risk 26 for sexual aggression and harassment for 27 those with chronically high levels of sexual 28 interest. Finally, the current studies support 29 the advice given by others that men may need 30 to be skeptical of their perceptions of wom-31 en's sexual interest in them (Abbey & Har-32 nish, 1995). The current research also 33 suggests that a complementary set of advice 34 is warranted. That is, women may tend to 35 underperceive the sexual interest of men 36 who do not arouse their sexual interest and 37 therefore, experience an unreciprocated sense 38 of nonsexuality or friendliness, perhaps result-39 ing in a false sense of security. Furthermore, 40 women may be advised to use men's behav-41 iors, such as sexual innuendos or sexual 42 advances, as indicators not only that he is sex-43 ually interested in her but also that he may 44 think she is sexually interested in him. 45 Women should be careful not to discount esti-46 mates of men's sexual interest based on their 47 own lack of sexual interest. 48 49

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