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# Perceptions of Female Flirtatiousness as Influenced by Clothing and Perceiver Gender

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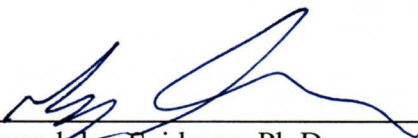
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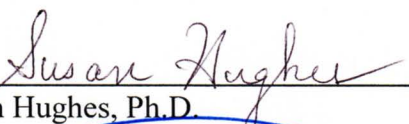
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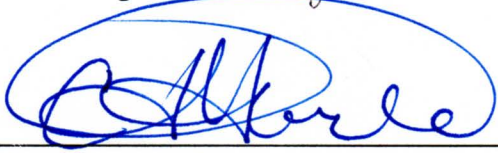
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Perceptions of Female Flirtatiousness as Influenced by Clothing and Perceiver Gender

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## Abstract

This study examined if clothing and perceiver gender can influence perceptions of female flirtatiousness. Research shows that men tend to misperceive female friendliness as flirtation and tend to view a provocatively dressed woman as being more flirtatious than a conservatively dressed woman. Eighty participants watched a short video of a man and woman interacting where the woman was dressed in a revealing or conservative outfit and evaluated the male and female actor. Results showed that participants viewed the woman in the revealing outfit as being more seductive than the conservatively dressed woman. No significant effects were found for ratings of flirtatiousness or promiscuity by both male and female raters. However, male raters rated the woman in the revealing outfit as being more likeable, attractive, and desired her friendship more. Female raters found the male actor more likeable when interacting with the woman in the conservative outfit.

Perceptions of Female Flirtatiousness as Influenced by Clothing and Perceiver Gender.

It has been shown that people are often poor at interpreting another's behavior. One realm in which these misunderstandings can occur may be when sending cues of sexual interest. These interpretations are extremely important as they allow us to have smooth romantic interactions. A misunderstanding of sexual intent could even have detrimental effects, and could lead to sexual harassment and assault. The current study examines perceptions of sexual intent/interest to see if a woman's sexual interests can be misunderstood in an ambiguous scene and if they are affected by how provocatively she is dressed.

Men in particular tend to misperceive the actions of women and view them in a more sexual manner. It has been shown that when viewing male and female interactions, men tend to view women as behaving more promiscuously, seductively, and flirtatiously (Abbey, 1982; Johnson, Stockdale, & Saal, 1991; Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak, 2012). This can be seen in dating scenarios in which men view women as more willing to engage in sexual relationships even after they have already said no. Women, however, do not view these interactions the same way. Their ratings of how flirtatious a woman appears are often significantly lower than men's.

Abbey (1982) examined this phenomenon by having male and female pairs interact and observe conversations. In this study, one male/female pair would discuss a topic for five minutes while the other pair observed their interaction. Following the conversation, each participant evaluated the pair for how flirtatious, promiscuous, and seductive they appeared to be. She found that both men (observer/actor) tended to view the woman as being more promiscuous and seductive than the observing woman viewed her to be. The female participating in the conversation also rated herself as being less flirtatious and friendlier toward the other male, showing that the males misinterpreted her intentions.

These misinterpretations of the woman's behavior seem to occur regardless of the role she is in and to what degree she is being harassed. Johnson, Stockdale, and Saal (1991) had participants view interactions between a professor and student in which the professor would sexually harass the student at different levels (no harassment, mild, moderate). They found that men viewed the female student and female professor as significantly more flirtatious than their male counterparts. Even when the female student rejected the male professor's advances, men still rated her as flirtatious and trying to behave in a sexy manner. These perceptions are not only limited to watching and participating in interactions but also in viewing still pictures of men and women. When looking at photos of smiling men and women, male participants rated the female pictures as smiling in a flirtatious manner significantly more than women rated them (Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak's, 2012)

This is a common occurrence for women, where men read sexual intent from their actions. Women report having men overperceive their intentions significantly more than underperceiving (Haselton, 2003); women tend to experience more false positives, where men misread sexual intentions from their behavior, than men do. There has been debate on whether these misperceptions are influenced by social norms, as Social Roles theory would explain, or if this is an innate behavior. If this were influenced by societal norms, then a country with more egalitarian practices should have an equal amount of overperceiving between men and women. Bendixen (2014) examined this idea by replicating Haselton (2003) using participants from the United States and Norway. Norway has been ranked in the top five of most egalitarian countries in the world, and men and women are far more equal there than in the United States. This comparison, however, showed that women from both countries reported equal amounts of instances where men read sexual intent from their actions, while men did not report as many

instances occurring. This finding supports the claim that these misperceptions of sexual intent may be innate because regardless of whether a society is egalitarian or not, women in both countries had experienced far more overperception than men.

These inherent perceptions, where men read more sexual intent from a woman, could be an evolved sex difference. From an evolutionary perspective, it is essential that men have as many sexual relationships as possible in order to increase their reproductive success, which means that they can be less selective. Women, however, need to be more selective in their sexual partners due to the fact that they invest more to the reproductive process and have fewer children over a lifetime than men do. Women also need to be sure they obtain a partner who can provide resources to support mother and child (Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak, 2012).

These natural tendencies could explain the biases men have when interpreting a woman's behavior. Error Management Theory, which helps to describe the pattern of errors that might occur in male and female interactions, proposes that the rules we use to interact with the opposite sex are in place to increase reproductive success. According to this theory, there are two types of errors that occur, Type I (false alarm) and Type II (incorrect rejection). These type I errors happen when an assumed event has not or will not take place and type II errors occur when an event is perceived as not happening when it really is occurring. Making the error of a missed sexual opportunity is costly for men, who are supposed to engage in many sexual relationships in order to increase their chances of reproduction. If they misinterpret a situation then they lose an opportunity to reproduce. Therefore, men become over responsive to female attention so as not to miss out on these opportunities by making an error (Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak, 2012).

Although there may be an innate component to these interactions, societal influences do play a role. Women are taught to play “hard to get” and that they are supposed to deny sexual advances from men when first offered. Men, therefore, are supposed to persist and be more aggressive in their attempts, which can then mean that men view a woman’s adamant refusal as mere coyness (Abbey, 1982). Men also are taught that their self-worth is related to how many sexual partners they have; the more sexual partners men have, the better they should feel. Therefore, men could view female interactions in a more sexualized manner for ego-enhancement. However, Abbey (1982) showed that a male actor participating in an interaction with a woman and a male observer, watching the interaction, view a woman as behaving more flirtatiously than women view her. These results show that this misinterpretation is due to a general masculine style rather than individual ego-enhancement because both the male actor and observer viewed the woman in a more sexual manner. Had the actor’s rating of female flirtatiousness been higher than the observer’s, ego-enhancement could have explained it.

There is one individual factor that could influence a person’s perceptions of flirtatiousness. Sociosexuality is a person’s willingness to engage in casual sexual relationships without any emotional attachment. Howell, Etchells, and Penton-Voak’s (2012) evaluated smiling faces of men and women and found that those with high scores on measures of sociosexuality, indicating a greater acceptance of casual sex, were more likely to view the smiling faces as flirtatious. According to error management theory, a person who wants to engage in casual sex would be more likely to overperceive a person’s interest in order to avoid making errors that result in the loss of a sexual opportunity for casual sex.

Although sociosexuality may close the gender gap a bit, men still rate women as being more flirtatious than women do (Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak, 2012; Abbey, 1982). One of

the cues that men may use to decipher sexual intent from a female is the clothing she wears. In particular, the color a woman wears can make her appear more sexually available to others. The color red may have this power, as men tend to view women wearing red as being more attractive and sexually desirable than women wearing other colors. Men are even more likely to stop for a female hitchhiker in red than any other color (Gueguen, 2012). Further, provocative clothing can also influence a man's behavior and his view of women. Research shows that men are more likely to approach a woman in a more revealing outfit and rate her as being more willing to go on a date with them and to have sex with them (Gueguen, 2011).

These beliefs, that a woman in certain types of clothing is more willing to have sex, may have detrimental effects on women. When people view provocatively dressed women as being more willing to have sex it reinforces rape myth beliefs. Rape myths (Whatley, 2005) are false, but widely held, attitudes that deny and justify male sexual aggression toward women. One of the most common myths is that a woman in revealing clothing deserves or is asking to be raped. When these attitudes are held, perpetrators of sexual assault are less likely to be held accountable and victims are increasingly blamed. In general, men tend to hold more rape beliefs than women, and these attitudes are evidenced throughout research. Whatley (2005) had participants read vignettes depicting marital rape in which the wife was dressed in either a tight, red dress or a baggy, brown shirt. It was found that both male and female participants attributed more blame to the wife when she was dressed provocatively, although men's ratings of blame did tend to be higher. Rape myth beliefs are even held by teenagers, as evidenced by Cassidy and Hurrell (1995). These researchers had teenage participants read a story describing a female student agreeing to a date and later being raped on the date. Participants were shown pictures of the girl in either a provocative or conservative outfit or no picture at all. When viewing the provocative

outfit, participants attributed responsibility to the victim, justified the assailant's actions, and did not call the scenario a "rape".

Both men and women tend to view women's clothing as revealing something about their intentions and women tend to police their outfits based on these assumptions (Montemurro & Gillen, 2013). Women, especially older women and mothers, have internalized many of the beliefs society portrays as acceptable. Particularly, older women, married women, and mothers, feel that they need to suppress their sexuality for fear that it will "give others the wrong idea." Many women report that they cannot dress provocatively because it could attract unwanted attention from men other than their husbands. They also say that they need to be a role model to their children who would be embarrassed to have a mother who wore revealing outfits. Society as a whole has reinforced the belief that good mothers dress conservatively and we have little sympathy for the mother or older woman who does not fit this norm, viewing her as cheap and desperate (Montemurro & Gillen, 2013).

While women are very much affected by these perceptions of revealing clothing, men do not seem to be. Abbey (1987) showed pictures of men and women in either conservative or revealing outfits who were either in same sex dyads or opposite-sex dyads interacting and were rated on a variety of traits, including flirtatious, seductive, and promiscuous. Abbey did show that women in the revealing outfits were seen as more flirtatious, seductive, and promiscuous, while men were not. This may be because we do not scrutinize male attire the way we do for women. The researchers even found it difficult to determine what a revealing outfit would be for men. Another interesting finding from this study was the effect revealing clothing had on perceptions of female personality. Women in revealing clothing were seen as less likeable than women in conservative clothing and this rating increased if the dyad included a conservatively

dressed woman interacting with a provocatively dressed woman. While similar in nature, the current study examines the effect of clothing on perceptions of female flirtatiousness using a video interaction instead of pictures.

Women's clothing can affect not only how their sexual intentions are viewed by men, but also how women interpret their behavior. Women may dislike women in revealing clothing because they could be potential mate poachers (Fink, Klappauf, Brewer, & Shackelford, 2014). These women are a threat to an existing relationship because they could lure the man away from his partner. This is more detrimental to women who have a greater need to compete with other women for male resources. They value these resources because they need to invest more into the reproduction process, which is why it is important to keep their partners. Men have their own set of actions for reproductive success which includes mating with as many women as possible. They tend to desire relationships with women with feminine faces, large breasts, and a low waist-to-hip ratio, which are all signs of possessing good genes. Women tend to view these kinds of women as a significant threat to their relationship (Fink, Klappauf, Brewer, & Shackelford, 2014). They also tend to use self-promotion and derogation of rivals to get rid of this threat. Self-promotion occurs most often through the use of cosmetics to enhance physical attractiveness. The derogation of rivals involves indirect aggression such as spreading rumors about the rival's infidelity, or excluding them from a group. Vaillancourt and Sharma (2011) showed that women often use such derogation tactics when confronted with an attractive and provocatively dressed woman. When women are paired with a friend, they are more likely to engage in indirect aggression, such as eye rolling, and comments about sexual availability, when a provocatively dressed woman leaves a room. They are also less likely to introduce a provocatively dressed woman to their boyfriend. Women may engage in this aggression as a way to punish the woman

in the revealing outfit and discourage her behavior. Because women have to compete for resources, this woman is more of a threat to their relationships.

### **Current Study**

The current research examines the many factors that influence perceptions of women. Participants in this study were asked to watch a short video of a man and woman interacting, where the woman was dressed either conservatively or provocatively. Gender differences were examined for how flirtatious, seductive, promiscuous and likeable a woman seems during an interaction. It was predicted that:

- (1) The woman in the more revealing outfit would be seen as being more flirtatious than the woman in the conservative outfit by both male and female participants but male participants' ratings of how flirtatious the woman appeared would be higher than women's.
- (2) Male raters would view the woman as more flirtatious than female participants, regardless of her attire.
- (3) Female participants would rate the woman in the revealing outfit as less likeable and would desire her friendship less than the woman in the conservative outfit.

### **Method**

#### **Participants**

Participants consisted of 40 female and 40 male undergraduate students, ranging in age from 18 to 28 years with an average age of 19.30 years and a standard deviation of 1.504, recruited from psychology courses at Albright College. Participants were told they could receive extra credit in their psychology classes for their participation.

## Materials

Participants were randomly assigned to watch one of two videos of a man and a woman interacting. The videos depicted a college aged man and woman sitting at a table a few feet apart from one another. The two have a conversation about the man's paper assignment on *Sherlock Holmes*. The conversation is friendly but not flirtatious. In these videos the woman wore either a revealing outfit (i.e., sleeveless white t-shirt and an above knee-length, short black t-shirt) or a conservative outfit (i.e., white t-shirt and black skirt at knee-length) (See Appendix). The interaction between the man and woman was identical in each video and only the female's outfit changed.

Three questionnaires were used to evaluate participants' perceptions of the actors. The first asked them to evaluate the woman in the interaction on how they think she behaved and what they thought her general personality was like. The questionnaire contained 7-point rating scales regarding how flirtatious, seductive, and promiscuous the woman appeared. It also contained filler questions, such as how considerate, intelligent and warm she appeared. The second questionnaire evaluated the same traits but for the man in the interaction. The final questionnaire was given based on the participant's gender. Male participants were asked to rate the female actor and female participants rated male actors using 7-point rating scales to assess how likely they would be to date the opposite sex actor, how attracted they are to him/her, if they would like to get to know him/her better and if they would like to become friends with him/her.

## Procedure

Participants were greeted by a female experimenter and asked to sit at a computer in the room. They were given an informed consent and told they were participating in an experiment that examines how participants view interactions and that they would be asked to watch a short

video of a man and a woman interacting. Upon completion of watching the videos, participants were asked to complete three questionnaires. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions which determined which video they would watch. Upon completion of the video, participants were asked to fill out three questionnaires (rating the female actor, male actor, and the opposite sex actor). At the conclusion of the study, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

### Results

In order to test the hypothesis that male and female participants would view the woman in the more revealing outfit as more flirtatious, seductive, and promiscuous than the woman in the conservative outfit, but that male participants' ratings will be higher than women's, a 2-way independent groups ANOVA was conducted for each variable. The independent variables were the participant's gender and clothing condition (revealing vs. conservative) and the dependent variables were the ratings for flirtatious, seductive and promiscuous. There was a significant main effect of clothing condition on seductiveness ratings, ( $F(1,76)=7.599, p=.007$ ). Results showed that participants viewed the woman in the revealing outfit as being more seductive than participants viewed the woman in the conservative outfit. (see Figure 1/Table 1). Contrary to predictions, there was no significant main effect of gender, ( $F(1,76)=0.501, p=.481$ ) and there was not a significant interaction between clothing condition and gender  $F(1,76)=0.289, p=.593$ ) for seductiveness ratings. Contrary to predictions, no significant main effects of gender ( $F(1,76)=2.496, p=.118$ ) or clothing condition ( $F(1,76)=0.846, p=.361$ ) were found for the ratings of flirtatiousness. There was also not a significant interaction between gender and clothing for ratings of flirtatiousness ( $F(1,76)=0.154, p=.696$ ). There were also no significant

main effects of gender ( $F(1,76)=0.588, p=.446$ ) or clothing condition ( $F(1,76)=2.404, p=.125$ ), and no interaction ( $F(1,76)=0.588, p=.446$ ) for ratings of promiscuousness.

In order to test the hypothesis that female participants would find the woman in the more revealing outfit less likeable, a 2-way independent groups ANOVA was conducted with gender and clothing condition as the independent variables and ratings for likeable as the dependent variable. Contrary to predictions, there was no significant main effect for gender ( $F(1,76)=0.108, p=.743$ ) or clothing condition ( $F(1,76)=0.108, p=.743$ ) in how likeable participants found the female actor. There was, however, a significant interaction between clothing and gender ( $F(1,76)=4.063, p=.047$ ). As can be seen in Figure 2, the male participants found the woman in the revealing outfit to be more likable than the woman in the conservative outfit. Female participants, however, found the woman in the conservative outfit to be more likeable than the woman in the revealing outfit. However, post-hoc independent t-tests showed that this effect was driven by the male participants, not the females. There was a marginally significant effect, that male participants tended to view the woman in the revealing outfit as being more likeable than the woman in the conservative outfit,  $t(38)=1.966, p=.057$ . However, the follow up test showed that clothing did not have a significant effect on how likeable female participants found the female actor,  $t(38)=1.051, p=.300$ . See Table 1 for means and standard deviations for this effect.

A 2-way independent groups ANOVA was also conducted with gender and clothing condition as the independent variables and ratings of likeability for the male actor as the dependent variable. No significant main effects for clothing were found ( $F(1,76)=.266, p=0.607$ ). However, there was a significant main effect of gender, where female participants found the male actor to be more likeable overall than male participants did,  $F(1,76)=11.844, p=.001$ . There

was also a significant interaction. As seen in Figure 3, female participants liked the male actor more when he interacted with the woman in the conservative outfit and males tended to like him more when he interacted with the woman in the revealing outfit,  $F(1,76)=4.311, p=.041$ . A post hoc independent  $t$ -test was conducted to examine this interaction. This test confirmed that female participants liked the male actor more when he interacted with the woman in the conservative outfit,  $t(38)=3.797, p=.001$ , but male participants likeability ratings were not affected by the clothing condition,  $t(38)=.993, p=.327$ . See Table 1 for means and standard deviations for this effect.

In the final questionnaire, participants were asked how attractive they found the opposite sex actor. In order to test this, a 2-way independent groups ANOVA was conducted with gender and the clothing condition as the independent variables and attractiveness ratings as the dependent variable. A significant main effect for gender was found with males overall viewing the female actor as being more attractive than women viewed the male actor,  $F(1,76)=5.530, p=.021$ . There was also a significant interaction between gender and clothing condition. As shown in Figure 4, male participants viewed the woman in the revealing outfit as being more attractive than the woman in the conservative outfit and female participants viewed the male actor as being more attractive when he interacted with the woman in the conservative outfit rather than the woman in the revealing outfit ( $F(1,76)=3.984, p=.050$ ). Post hoc independent  $t$ -tests were conducted to examine this relationship further. It was found that female participants attractiveness ratings for the male actor were not significantly affected by the conservative clothing condition ( $t(38)=3.797, p=.801$ ). Male participants, however, did find the female actor to be more attractive when she was in the revealing outfit than when she was in the conservative outfit ( $t(38)=3.049, p=.004$ ). See Table 1 for means and standard deviations for this effect.

To examine how much participants would like to get to know or be friends with the opposite sex actor, a 2-way independent groups ANOVA was conducted. Ratings from the questions regarding how much the participants would like to “get to know” or “be friends with” the opposite sex actor were combined to create a single scale and used as the dependent variable for this test. Gender and clothing condition were used as the independent variables. There were no significant main effects for gender ( $F(1,76)=0.961, p=.330$ ) or clothing condition ( $F(1,76)=0.408, p=.525$ ). However, there was a significant interaction. As can be seen in *Figure 5*, female participants wanted to get to know or be friends with the male actor when he interacted with the woman in the conservative outfit and male participants wanted to get to know or be friends with the female actor when she was in the revealing outfit ( $F(1,76)=4.608, p=.035$ ). Follow up independent t-tests were conducted to examine this interaction. It was found that male participants wanted to get to know or be friends the woman in the revealing outfit more than the woman in the conservative outfit ( $t(38)=2.104, p=.042$ ). Contrary to the original test, clothing condition did not have a significant effect on how much female participants wanted to get to know or be friends with the male actor ( $t(38)=1.133, p=.264$ ). See Table 1 for means and standard deviations for this effect.

In addition to the variables mentioned, distractor traits of how considerate, intelligent, and sincere were also included on the questionnaires. As expected, these ratings did not differ by condition or gender.

### Discussion

The current study examined the effects of clothing and perceiver gender on perceptions of female flirtatiousness. Part of Hypothesis 1 was supported by this study. Both male and female participants viewed the woman in the revealing outfit as being more seductive than the

woman in the conservative outfit. However, contrary to this prediction, there were no significant effects for ratings of how flirtatious or promiscuous the female actor appeared to be. Contrary to predictions, men did not view the woman as more flirtatious, seductive or promiscuous than women did, and the clothing effect was not greater for men. Contrary to hypothesis 3, the clothing condition had no significant effect on how likeable female participants found the female actor.

These findings are in contrast to previous research that shows male participants tend to view women as being more flirtatious than female participants view them (Abbey, 1982). These views have also been shown to be heightened when a woman is wearing provocative clothing (Abbey, 1987). The desired effects may not have occurred because participants were watching an interaction and not participating in one. Abbey's (1982) had participants interact with another participant when they made their ratings, whereas participants in the current study may not have viewed the conversation as flirtatious because they were only watching and did not have any investment in the outcome. The current study was also conducted over twenty years after the Abbey studies. Since then, there has been more education on harassment and issues of consent which may explain the absence of gender differences.

These results may have occurred because the clothing manipulation was not strong enough and the outfits may have been too similar. Previous studies examining the effect of clothing on perceptions of female behavior used extreme examples of revealing versus conservative clothing (i.e., a sexy, red dress vs. sweatpants and t-shirt) (Whatley, 2005). In the current study, in an attempt to avoid these confounding variables, the female actor wore a skirt that was either just below or just above the knee and either a t-shirt or tank top. This provided

additional control for the study, but also may have created a situation in which the clothing in the two conditions was too similar and not revealing or conservative enough.

The clothing condition did have some unexpected significant effects. For instance, males tended to find the woman in the revealing outfit more likeable and attractive and they were more likely to desire her friendship than the woman in the conservative outfit. As previous research has shown, men are more likely to approach women and view them as more willing to have casual sex when they wear revealing outfits (Gueguen, 2011). According to evolutionary theory, men want to have more causal sexual relationships in order to enhance their chances of reproductive success, so they may have these more positive views of the woman in the revealing outfit because this could give them an opportunity to reproduce (Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak, 2012). Evolutionary theory could also explain why female participants viewed the male actor as more likeable when he was interacting with the woman in the conservative outfit. Women tend to be more selective with their mate choices because they desire someone who will share their resources, since women need to invest more into each pregnancy (Howell, Etchells, & Penton-Voak, 2012). If they see a man interacting positively with a woman who does not appear sexual, they may view him as a desirable mate who would stay and share his resources with them.

Although the hypotheses were not completely supported, clothing could still have significant effects on how we view male and female interactions. The clothing manipulation in this study may not have been strong enough but other studies used too extreme clothing comparisons. Future research could examine how different types of clothing affect perceptions of female flirtatiousness. This study used a skirt and a shirt, but others used dresses, pants, and shorts. These types of clothing, in addition to how revealing they are, could carry different assumptions about the person with them and influence perceptions of their behavior. The lack of

gender differences may have also occurred because participants were not directly participating in the conversation. They may not have been as invested in the outcome of the conversation which may explain why they did not view it as flirtatious. In the future, having participants actually participate in the conversation could influence these perceptions. Also using clothing that is more provocative or having a conversation that is more flirtatious could influence these perceptions. In addition, this study was being conducted much later than the original studies. During this time, males may have become more attune to female behavior and do not assume she is flirting because she is talking to someone. This is an important topic to consider and further research is needed to determine the relative impact of clothing style and fit on perceptions of women's behavior in mixed sex interactions.

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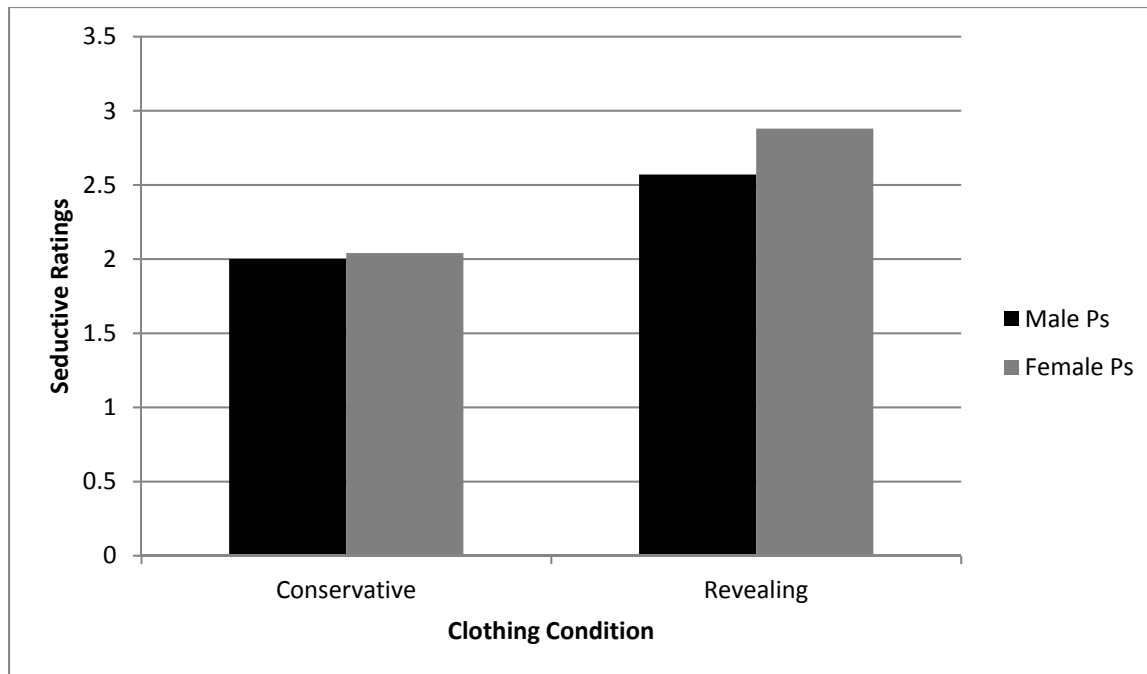
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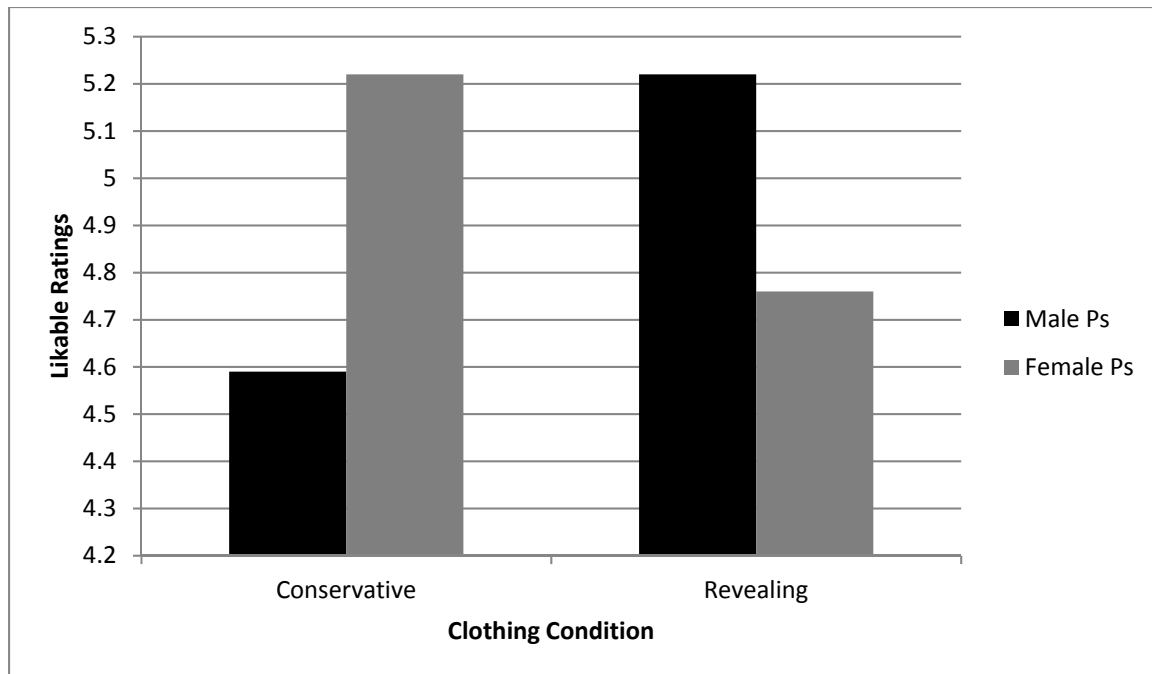
Table 1

*Means (Standard Deviations) for Actor Ratings by Participant Gender and Clothing Condition*

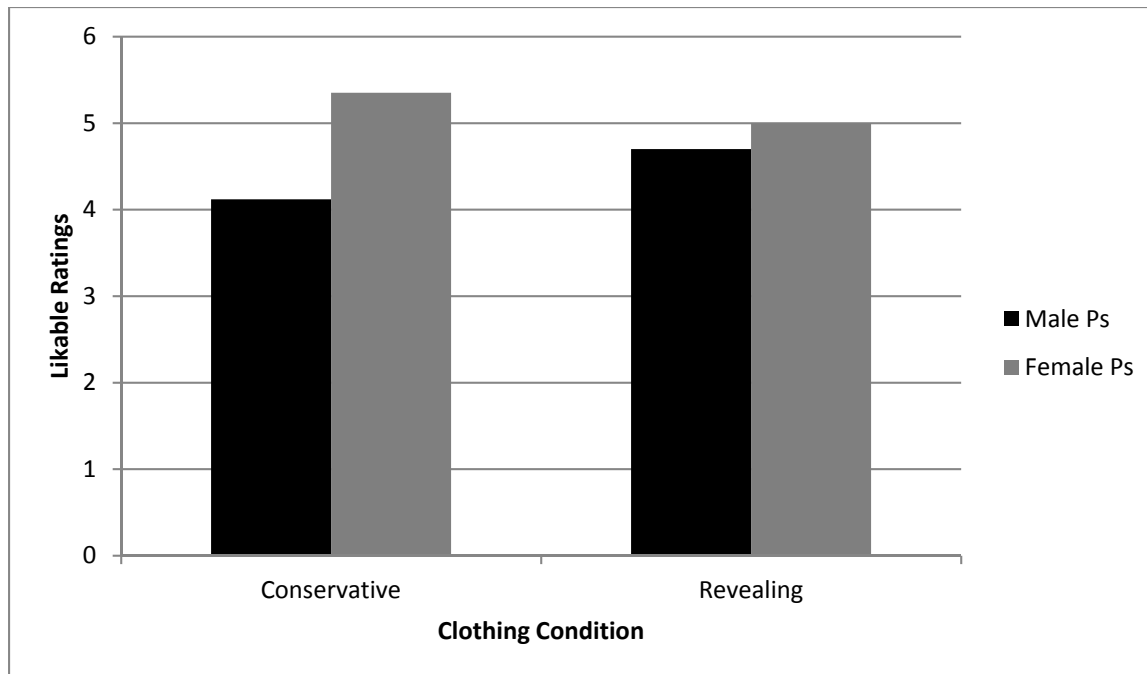
Dependent measure	Male	Male	Female	Female
	Revealing	Conservative	Revealing	Conservative
Female seductiveness	2.57 (1.037)	2.00 (1.173)	2.88 (1.219)	2.04 (1.107)
Female likability	5.22 (.951)	4.59 (1.064)	4.76 (1.300)	5.22 (1.380)
Male likability	4.70(1.063)	4.12 (.857)	5.00 (.791)	5.35 (1.112)
Female attractiveness	4.57 (1.080)	4.18 (.951)	3.47 (1.179)	4.09 (1.203)
Get to know/Friendship	4.826 (1.15)	4.118 (1.23)	4.529 (.926)	4.913 (1.14)



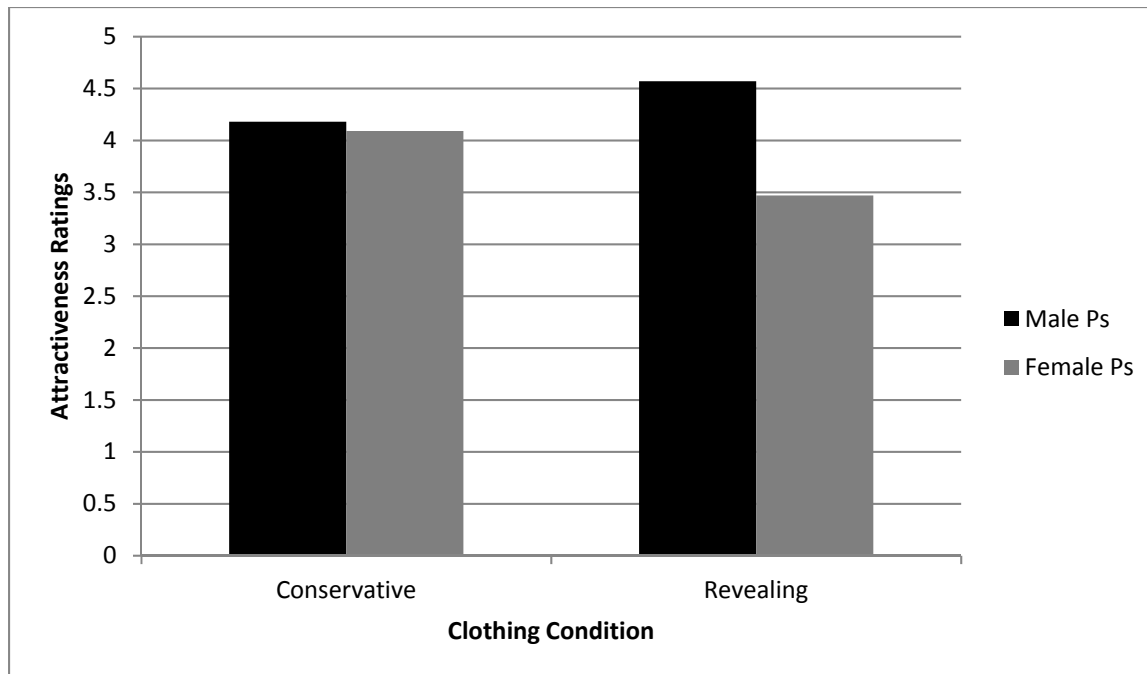
*Figure 1.* Mean ratings of female seductiveness for males and females viewing the conservative or revealing clothing condition.



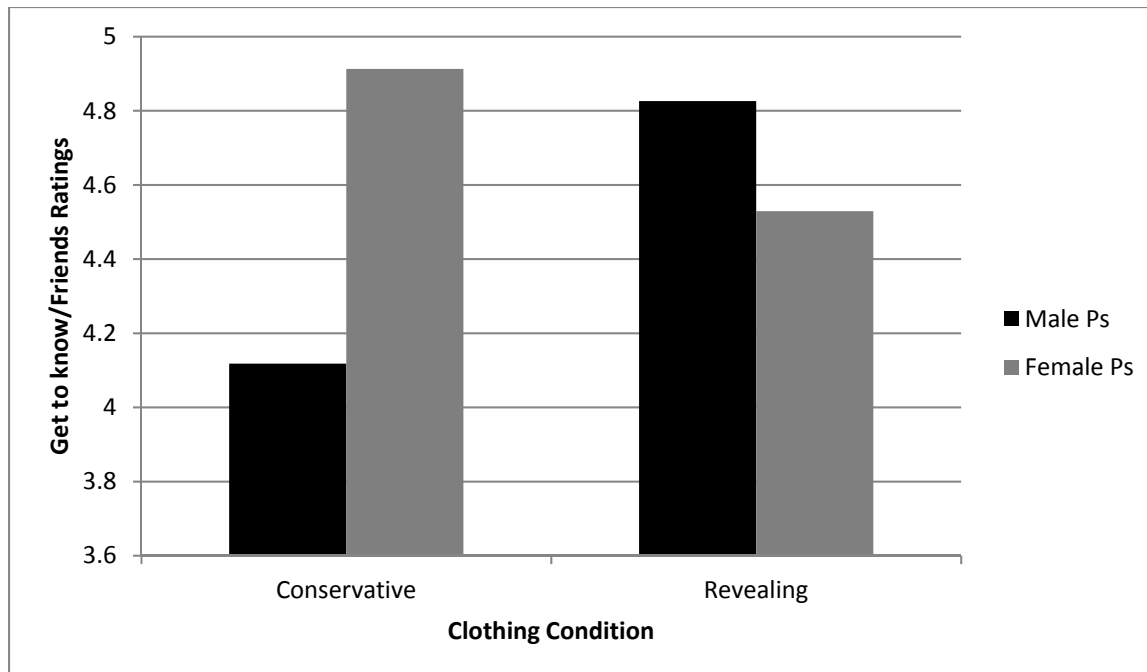
*Figure 2.* Mean ratings of female likeability for male and female participants viewing the conservative or revealing clothing condition.



*Figure 3.* Mean ratings of male likeability for male and female participants viewing the conservative or revealing clothing condition.



*Figure 4.* Mean ratings of how attractive male and female participants found the opposite sex actor in the conservative or revealing clothing condition.



*Figure 5.* Mean ratings for how much male and female participants would want to get to know or be friends with the opposite sex actor

Appendix



*Figure 1.* Image of male and female actors in the conservative outfit condition.



*Figure 2.* Image of male and female actors in the revealing outfit condition.