# Arousal and Economic Decision Making 

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September, 2016


#### Abstract

Previous experiments have found that subjecting participants to cognitive load leads to poorer decision making, consistent with dual-system models of behavior. Rather than taxing the cognitive system, this paper reports the results of an experiment that takes a complementary approach: arousing the emotional system. The results indicate that exposure to arousing visual stimuli as compared to neutral images has a negligible impact on performance in arithmetic tasks, impatience, risk taking in the domain of losses, and snack choice although we find that arousal modestly increases risk-taking in the gains domain and increases susceptibility to anchoring effects. We find the effect of arousal on decision making to be smaller and less consistent then the effect of increased cognitive load for the same tasks.


[^0]Keywords: Dual System, Sexual Arousal, Impatience, Risk Taking, Behavioral Economics

JEL Codes: C91, D03, D81

## 1 Introduction

Dual-system theories (Kahneman, 2002, 2011) propose that people have a hot "emotional" system and a cool "reasoning" system that jointly interact in the decision making process. Insofar as the goals for these two systems conflict, seemingly small environmental factors that disproportionately activate one system over the other, can lead to big shifts in behavior. Experimental studies that have taxed the reasoning system, via a cognitive load task, find results consistent with such an implication: decision making shifts away from economically normative behavior as indicated by less risk-taking, more impatient behavior, and greater susceptibility to anchoring as well poorer math performance (see Deck and Jahedi, 2015). An alternative, but relatively unstudied, method by which to shift the balance between the two systems is to directly excite the emotional system. From a methodological standpoint, it is important to understand the magnitude of the effect and the response reliability from these two approaches to dual-system manipulation.

In this study, we test the whether exciting the emotional system, via exposure to sexually arousing images, has the same general impact on economic decision making as does taxing the reasoning system. Exposure to sexual images is a standard research approach that has been shown to be a particularly effective method of exciting the emotional system of the brain (Arnow et al. 2002; Kühn and Gallinant 2011; Wehrum-Osinsky et al. 2014). ${ }^{1}$ Moreover, given the fact that people scarcely tire from viewing sexual stimuli, such images are ideal for use in experimentation, since it is possible to maintain a continuous level of arousal for the study duration (Most, 2007; Sennwald et al., 2015).

Sexual images are pervasive in society: they are used extensively in advertising and entertainment in films, television and magazines; they are easily accessible in online collections; and they are exchanged frequently in personal telecommunications. In a state of arousal, it is reasonable to expect that the desire to pursue sex can cloud one's judgment, often at the expense of other objectives. ${ }^{2}$ The most direct effect of sexual arousal is likely to be on actions that increase the chance of having sex. Indeed, studies have shown that participants exposed to sexual stimuli are more willing to take larger sexual risks, such as not using condoms, and are more willing to engage in morally questionable behaviors or rape (e.g. Blanton and

[^1]Gerrard, 1997; Ditto et al. 2006; Ariely and Loewenstein, 2006).
There is some evidence that the effects of exposure to sexual stimuli spillover to decision making more generally. McAlvanah (2009), for example, found that viewing photographs of the opposite sex leads both males and females to engage in greater economic risk-taking as compared to viewing photographs of cars. Knutson, et al. (2008) found that young male participants who viewed erotic images were more likely to invest in risky stocks than individuals exposed to neutral pictures. In the field, Dreber, et al. (2013) found that males choose riskier strategies in their chess games against attractively-rated females, while Ronay and von Hippel (2010) found that young male skateboarders increased their level of physical risk taking in the presence of attractive females.

There are at least three papers that examine the impact of sexual arousal on impatience and all find that people become dramatically more impatient when sexually aroused. Wilson and Daly (2004) asked participants to make a series of choices for a payment made tomorrow or a payment made at some point in the future. Participants then rated images of either people or cars where the images had been pre-identified as being arousing or not. Finally, participants made another set of temporal payment choices. Males who observed pictures of "hot" women became significantly more impatient than men who observed pictures of less attractive women but the classification of the car images had no effect. Van den Bergh et al. (2008) found a similar result when showing men pictures of women in sexually alluring attire, but not when showing men pictures of landscapes. ${ }^{3}$ Finally, Kim and Zauberman (2013) presented male participants with 15 pictures of either lingerie models or neutral images before completing an impatience task. Again, males exposed to the sexual images were found to be more impatient.

Most experimental studies looking at arousal focus on a single task, have small sample sizes, and are for hypothetical stakes. We improve on this methodology by using real stakes, large sample sizes, and multiple tasks in a unified within-subject design. As our experiment closely follows Deck and Jahedi (2015), we can also compare the effect sizes arising from exposure to arousing stimuli (exciting System 1) to the effect arising from an imposition of cognitive load (overloading System 2) for a similar set of tasks and procedures. Lull and Bushman (2015) conducted a meta-analysis examining the old adage that "sex sells" and report that ads with more intense sexual content led to poorer recall and buying intentions. They argue that sexual cues demand more cognitive resources than non-sexual cues and that in essence people were paying attention to the sex and not the rest of the ad. If sexual

[^2]arousal siphons cognitive resources, then the effect of sexual arousal on decision making should impact behavior in the same direction as the cognitive load results of Deck and Jahedi (2015), and based on the results reported by Wilson and Daly (2004), Van den Bergh et al. (2008), and Kim and Zauberman (2013), a priori one might even expect the effect sizes to be larger than that for cognitive load.

The goal of the current study is to provide systematic evidence for the effect that sexual arousal has on basic economic behavior. Specifically, this paper reports the results of a controlled laboratory experiment, with salient incentives, in which subjects complete a variety of standard economic tasks, including arithmetic tasks, risk tasks, impatience tasks, anchoring tasks, and snack choice tasks. Prior to completing each task, participants are briefly exposed to either a neutral or arousing image, depending on their assigned treatment. ${ }^{4}$ In our study, images presented in the neutral treatment were rated to be much less exciting than images in the arousal treatment; however, arousing images had relatively little effect of on decision making. Performance on arithmetic tasks, risk taking in the loss domain, and patience over intertemporal money tradeoffs did not vary according to treatment. Performance in the risk taking for gains statistically improved in the arousal treatment (the higher expected value option was more likely to be chosen) whereas performance in the anchoring task statistically diminished in the arousal treatment although both effects are small in overall magnitude.

The results when participants are placed under low and high arousal differ substantially from the cognitive load results of Deck and Jahedi (2015). In the arousal treatment, participants are more likely to take risk whereas the opposite was true in the high cognitive load treatment. This is an important finding: it indicates that a tax on the reasoning system can cause a different directional change in behavior than that of stimulating the emotional system. Whereas dual system theory predicts that in both settings, the emotional system will guide the decision making process, the results show that in one case risk-taking increases and in the other case it decreases. For the remaining tasks, the effect of sexual arousal was generally smaller than the effect of increased cognitive load. Overall, inducting cognitive load appears to be a more reliable method for disrupting dual-system decision making.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the experimental design and describes choice of stimuli and the various economic tasks in more detail. Section 3 reports the effect of arousal on each task separately. Section 4 compares the results of arousal to that of cognitive load, and makes closing remarks.

[^3]
## 2 Experimental Design

### 2.1 Participants

The participants were 144 adult males who were registered in Duke University's Fuqua School of Business Behavioral Lab participant pool. Attention was restricted to males because prior evidence has shown that males are more clearly affected by sexually arousing images. Hamann, et al. (2004) found that sexually explicit images have a much larger effect among males and this difference can be identified at the neurological level. In another fMRI study, Klucken et al. (2009) presented a set of sexually arousing images to male and female participants and found that learning was substantially affected by sexual images and that neural activity was more acute for men than for women.

Potential participants were contacted via email and informed of the opportunity to complete the two part study. The recruitment email disclosed that study participants may be exposed to sexually explicit images. ${ }^{5}$ Participants were required to register for two sessions starting at the same time exactly one week apart. The first session lasted 60 minutes and the second session lasted 10 minutes. Participants received a $\$ 2$ payment for the first session and a $\$ 10$ payment for the second session. Participants were also informed that they could earn additional compensation based upon their choices during the first session.

### 2.2 Methods

Participants were seated at partially enclosed cubicles to ensure that they could not observe or interact with others. Fifty-three people were assigned to the neutral image condition and 91 were assigned to the arousal image condition. Neutral images included 80 pictures of everyday objects such as office supplies, tiles, and housewares. Arousal images consisted of 80 explicit images of women and heterosexual couples engaging in various sexual acts. Eight of the arousing images were selected from the Center for the Study of Emotion and Attention at the University of Florida's International Affective Picture System (IAPS) database. The remaining images were downloaded from the internet. ${ }^{6}$

[^4]The use of sexual images to increase sexual arousal is a standard procedure. Rolls (2005) argues that the brain can believe that there is a potential for sex when viewing such material. There is considerable evidence regarding how the brain responds to sexual imagery. Arnow et al. (2002) expose males to erotic videos and measure penile turgidity and brain activation and find clear relationships between the two. In a meta-analysis Kühn and Gallinant (2011) find that sexual arousal is associated with activation in both the emotional (amygdala, insula) and the cognitive (parietal cortex, ACC, thalamus, insula) parts of the brain among other regions. Wehrum-Osinsky et al. (2014) report that the neural response network for sexual stimuli is stable within subject.

As described below, participants completed a variety of decisions: Arithmetic, Risk, Impatience, Anchoring, and Snack Choice. Every participant initially read the computerized instructions privately and was allowed to practice sample versions of the tasks he would face in the study. Everyone was shown sample images that were similar in nature to the ones that he would see in the experiment. The sample pictures in the arousal condition were pixelated in the instructions with a disclosure stating that images in the study would not be pixelated. The participants were reminded that they could discontinue the study at any time. No participant withdrew from the study.

Before each decision, a participant was presented with a condition appropriate image for 6 seconds. During this time, no action could be made. With the image still on the screen, participants were then given 9 seconds to rate the image on a 10-point scale (from 1 being the least exciting to 10 being the most exciting). After rating the image or once time expired, the image was removed and the participant was presented with a randomly selected decision task, equally likely to be an arithmetic task, a risk task, an impatience task, a snack choice task, or an anchoring task. ${ }^{7}$ The random draw of tasks means that different participants observed different numbers of each type of decision task. It was also possible that a participant could see the exact same task more than once; though, the experiment was purposefully designed to have enough variation in tasks so that it did not happen frequently. ${ }^{8}$

Once the participant completed 80 decision tasks, a short computerized survey was administered. The survey included a question about the participant's level of sexual arousal during the study, the participant's sexual activities including pornography use, demographic information, and questions to assess cognitive ability. A copy of the directions and the sur-

[^5]Table 1: Experimental Tasks.

| MAIN TASK <br> sub-task | Description of how random tasks are generated. |
| :---: | :---: |
| ARITHMETIC | paid $\$ 12$ for correct answer. |
| Addition <br> Multiplication | Add $a_{1}+a_{2}$ where integer $a_{1} \sim U\{11, \ldots, 99\}$ and integer $a_{2} \sim U\{1, \ldots, 9\}$. <br> Multiply $m_{1} \times m_{2}$ where integer $m_{1} \sim U\{13, \ldots, 19\}$ and integer $m_{2} \sim U\{5, \ldots, 9\}$. |
| RISK | paid based on outcome. |
| in Gain Domain in Loss Domain | Typical question: Endowment of 2. Integer $g$ drawn from $\sim U\{6, \ldots, 13\}$. <br> Binary choice of guaranteed $g$ or $50 / 50$ chance of receiving $(2 g+2,0)$. <br> Additional question: Endowment of 2 . Guaranteed 12 or $50 / 50$ chance at 22 or 0. <br> Typical question: Endowment of $2 g+4$, where $g$ drawn from $\sim U\{6, \ldots, 13\}$. <br> Binary choice of guaranteed $-g-2$ or $50 / 50$ chance of receiving $(0,-2 g-2)$. <br> Additional question: Endowment of 24. Guaranteed -10 or $50 / 50$ chance at -22 or 0 . |
| IMPATIENCE | paid based on outcome. |
| less now vs. more later | Now: $\$ 10.00$ In one week: $\$ 10.25$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 10.00$ In one week: $\$ 10.50$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 10.00$ In one week: $\$ 10.70$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 10.00$ In one week: $\$ 11.00$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 10.50$ In one week: $\$ 11.00$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 11.00$ In one week: $\$ 11.50$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 11.50$ In one week: $\$ 11.75$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 11.50$ In one week: $\$ 12.00$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 12.00$ In one week: $\$ 12.50$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 12.00$ In one week: $\$ 12.75$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 12.00$ In one week: $\$ 13.00$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 12.00$ In one week: $\$ 14.00$ |
| more now vs. | Now: $\$ 10.00$ In one week: $\$ 9.50$ |
| less later | Now: $\$ 10.50$ In one week: $\$ 10.00$ |
|  | Now: $\$ 12.00$ In one week: $\$ 11.00$ |
| ANCHORING | paid for $\$ 12$ if within five of the accurate count. |
|  | A random number, $d \sim U\{0, \ldots, 99\}$, is shown on the top of the participant's screen. A 10 by 10 table consisting of 5 's and $S$ 's is flashed for two seconds to subjects after which participant is asked to guess whether the number of S's in the table are above or below the random number $d$. After the response, the subject is shown the table again and is given 6 seconds to guess the number of S's in the matrix. |
| SNACK CHOICE | paid based on outcome. |
|  | Healthy and Unhealthy Snack Pairs, with accompanying pictures (see Appendix). |

vey are included in the Appendix. Once the survey was completed, one task was picked at random and the participant was paid according to their choice in that task.

### 2.2.1 Arithmetic Tasks

Two types of arithmetic tasks were included. As detailed in Table 1, Addition tasks required the participant to add a two digit and a one digit number. Multiplication tasks required the participant to multiply a two digit and a one digit number. Participants had 10 seconds to answer the question. A participant's payoff for an arithmetic task was $\$ 12$ if the answer was correct and $\$ 0$ if the answer was incorrect.

### 2.2.2 Risk Tasks

Risk tasks were presented in both the domain of gains and the domain of losses. A risk task in the domain of gains gave the participant an endowment of $\$ 2$ and asked him to select between two options. One option was a fixed amount of money and the other was a lottery that paid $\$ 0$ with a 50 percent chance and some positive amount with a $50 \%$ chance. The dollar possible dollar amounts are shown in Table 1. The participant's earnings for the task were based on their choice. In total, there were 9 possible risk tasks in the gain domain. For eight of the tasks, the safe option had a lower expected value than the risky option. For one of the tasks, the safe option had a higher expected value than the risky option.

For risks in the loss domain, participants were presented a choice between a sure loss and a lottery in which they would lose a larger amount with a $50 \%$ chance and with a $50 \%$ chance would lose $\$ 0$. See Table 1 for the specific values. The endowment for risks in the domain of losses varied with the size of the lottery such that each risk choice in the loss domain was identical to a possible risk choice in the gain domain in terms of the final payoffs. ${ }^{9}$ This means that for eight of the risk tasks in the loss domain, the safe option had a lower expected value than the risky option while for the remaining task, the safe option had a higher expected value than the risky option.

Participants had 10 seconds to make a decision. Failure to answer resulted in $\$ 0$ earnings. The sure payment was shown visually as a circle with a dollar amount inside. To aid with comprehension, the sure payment was always presented on the left side of the screen. The lottery option was always presented on the right side of the screen in the form of a circle divided in half. The left semicircle had a small payment and the right semicircle had a large payment. The presentation was designed in this way to facilitate subject comprehension of

[^6]

Figure 1: Sample Risk task in gains and losses
the choices (Eckel and Grossman 2002; Deck and Schlesinger 2014). Figure 1 shows a sample task with the same expected value in the gain and loss domains.

### 2.2.3 Impatience Task

When asking participants to choose between immediate and future payments, it is important to minimize uncertainty regarding future payments in order to disentangle risk and impatience preferences. ${ }^{10}$ We reduced uncertainty about future payments in two ways: (1) we asked participants to sign up for a two-part study, taking place exactly one week apart so participants were aware of the expectation to return prior to signing up, and (2) we skewed the show-up payments to the future ( $\$ 2$ for the first part, $\$ 10$ next week), so that participants had an incentive to return. If subjects are confident that they will return in one week to complete the study, there will be less risk associated with collecting future payments.

The impatience task asked participants to select between being paid $\$ X$ today and $\$ Y$ in one week. The possible money pairs are summarized in Table 1. For most tasks $\$ X \leq \$ Y$; however, for three money pairs, participants were given an option where $\$ X>\$ Y$, so the

[^7]amount of money today is larger than the amount of money in one week. These three pairs are included as controls to verify that participants are paying attention to the numbers as the future payment was always presented on the right side of the screen to aid comprehension. The choice was presented to the participant using pictures of bills and coins totaling the corresponding amount in addition to a listing of the nominal amount. This was done to parallel the snack choice task described below. The participant's earnings for the task equaled the selected option. Participants had 10 seconds to make a decision. Failure to answer resulted in $\$ 0$ earnings.

### 2.2.4 Anchoring Task

The anchoring task involved two stages. In the first stage a randomly generated number was shown to subjects, equally likely to be any integer from 0 to 99 . Participant were then shown a randomly generated $10 \times 10$ matrix of letter " S " and number " 5 " characters for 2 seconds (known to be independent of the randomly generated number) and was asked: "Are there more " S " characters or fewer " S " characters in the matrix that flashes below than the following randomly generated number?" The random number remained on the screen and serves as the anchor. In the second stage, the participant was shown the same matrix again and had an additional 6 seconds to count and report the number of " $S$ " characters. The allotted time was insufficient for the typical participant to actually count the characters. If the participant's guess was within 5 of the correct answer the participant's earnings for the task were $\$ 12$. Otherwise the participant's earnings were $\$ 0$.

### 2.2.5 Snack Choice Task

The snack choice task presented two food options to the participant. The participant's earnings for the task equaled the selected option, which was provided one week later. Participants had 10 seconds to make a decision. Failure to answer resulted in no earnings for the task. Delaying the payment of the snack choice eliminated the need to hold multiple units of each snack choice in inventory. Each pair of snack options was selected so that the cost, category, and size were similar. The "healthy" snack in the pair was the one that contained fewer calories. A complete listing of the snack pairs is provided in the appendix.

### 2.3 Participant Characteristics

Table 2 provides summary statistics from the post-experiment survey. We test whether the mean or distribution of participant characteristics vary across treatment. For the questions that had categorical responses (e.g., race, relationship status, sexuality), we used the

Kolmogorov-Smirnov test to check the equality of distributions. This was done for questions $2,5,7,9$, and 10 . For the remaining questions, which consisted of numerical responses, we conducted unpaired $t$-tests to check for the equality of means. ${ }^{11}$

The success of the manipulation is evidenced by the highly significant difference in responses to Q1 "How sexually aroused were you during the study?" For no other characteristic did the two groups differ. Ten subjects reported their sexuality to be something other than heterosexual. The analysis presented in the next section includes all subjects regardless of their stated sexual preferences; excluding non-heterosexual individuals does not qualitatively change the findings.

## 3 Results

Data was collected from 144 participants, each of which rated 80 images and were shown 80 tasks. ${ }^{12}$ Figure 2 shows the average rating of images across treatments. The mean rating given to images in the neutral treatment was 2.18 out of a 9 -point scale while the mean rating given to images in the arousal treatment was 5.50. A two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test rejects the hypothesis that the two ratings come from the same distribution $(p<0.001) .{ }^{13}$

Table 3 provides basic summary statistics. For each task and in each treatment, the mean performance, the standard error, and number of observations are reported. The average image rating associated with each task is also reported, as is the average number of seconds spent. For the non-binary tasks such as Addition, Multiplication, and Anchoring, any unanswered questions were marked to be incorrect. For the binary-choice tasks such as the Risk, Impatience, and Snack Choice, unanswered questions were deliberately dropped. ${ }^{14}$

The stars in the first column of Table 3 represent results from a test on whether the mean performance for a task differed across treatment. For each task, a single regression was run on the mean performance in the task on a treatment dummy, with clustered standard errors at the participant level. The arousal treatment increases normative behavior for the Risk in Gains task (Wald test, $p=0.058$ ) and reduces normative behavior in the Anchoring task (Wald test, $p=0.046$ ). A similar Wald test was also conducted on whether the average

[^8]Table 2: Survey Responses (mean), by Treatment

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Neutral } \\ (N=53) \end{gathered}$ | Arousal $(N=91)$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Q1: | "How sexually aroused were you during the study? $1=$ least, $5=$ most" | 1.14 | 2.74 | *** |
| Q2: | "How would you describe your sexuality?" |  |  |  |
|  | - heterosexual | 98\% | 91\% |  |
|  | - homosexual | 0\% | 5\% |  |
|  | - bisexual | 2\% | 2\% |  |
|  | - other / prefer not to answer | 0\% | 2\% |  |
| Q3: | "How many minutes do you spend viewing pornography in a typical week?" | 34.4 | 40.3 |  |
| Q4: | "How many times have you experienced an ejaculation in the last month?" | 14.6 | 15.7 |  |
| Q5: | "Which of the following best describes your relationship status?" |  |  |  |
|  | - committed | 39\% | 45\% |  |
|  | - casual | 12\% | 10\% |  |
|  | - no relationship | 49\% | $45 \%$ |  |
| Q6: | "In what year were you born? (YYYY)" | 1987 | 1987 |  |
| Q7: | "What is your college class?" |  |  |  |
|  | - freshman | 8\% | 5\% |  |
|  | - sophomore | 17\% | 18\% |  |
|  | - junior | 15\% | 9\% |  |
|  | - senior | 23\% | 16\% |  |
|  | - graduate | 29\% | 40\% |  |
|  | - not in college | 8\% | 12\% |  |
| Q8: | "What is your college Grade Point Average?" | 3.49 | 3.45 |  |
| Q9: | "What is your race/ethnicity?" |  |  |  |
|  | - caucasian, non-hispanic | 31\% | 30\% |  |
|  | - Hispanic | 8\% | 5\% |  |
|  | - black or African | 17\% | 17\% |  |
|  | - Asian | 42\% | 40\% |  |
|  | - other / prefer not to answer | 2\% | 8\% |  |
| Q10: | "What was the total income for the HH where you lived when you were 17?" |  |  |  |
|  | - less than $\$ 25,000$ | 15\% | 14\% |  |
|  | - \$25,000-\$50,000 | $12 \%$ | 20\% |  |
|  | - \$50,000-\$75,000 | 21\% | $24 \%$ |  |
|  | - \$75,000-\$100,000 | $17 \%$ | $14 \%$ |  |
|  | - over \$100,000 | $35 \%$ | $27 \%$ |  |
| Q11: | "A bat and a ball cost $\$ 1.10$ in total. The bat costs $\$ 1.00$ more than the ball. How much does the ball cost?" (percent correct reported) | $33 \%$ | 43\% |  |
| Q12: | "If it takes 5 machines 5 minutes to make 5 widgets, how long would it take 100 machines to make 100 widgets?" (percent correct reported) | 35\% | 39\% |  |
| Q13: | "In a lake, there is a patch of lily pads. Every day, the patch doubles in size. If it takes 48 days to fill, how long for half?" (percent correct reported) | $54 \%$ | $54 \%$ |  |
| Q14: | "When you flip a penny, what is the probability of it landing heads-side-up?" (percent correct reported) | 94\% | 93\% |  |
| Q15: | "Good things come to those who wait. 1=disagree $5=$ agree" | 3.65 | 3.56 |  |
| Q16: | "Anticipation leads to greater enjoyment. 1=disagree 5=agree" | 3.67 | 3.85 |  |
| Q17: | "It is better to be safe than sorry. 1=disagree $5=$ agree" | 3.33 | 3.64 |  |
| Q18: | "Suppose that you earned $\$ 100 \mathrm{k}$ in a lottery. How much would you invest in an asset to either HALVE or DOUBLE in two years time with equal chance?" | 41\% | $39 \%$ |  |

*** denotes a significant difference at the $1 \%$ level in survey responses across treatments. A two-sample $t$ test was used for mean comparisons while a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to test equality of distributions.


Figure 2: Image Rating Reported Across Treatment
image rating and the average seconds spent differs by treatment as well. In every case, the average image rating differs significantly across treatment whereas the seconds spent on each task does not differ.

Below, we report regression results for each task separately. In all cases, a series of regression results are provided, where standard errors are clustered at the participant level. Model 1 simply includes an indicator variable for the arousal treatment, and mimics the analysis done in Table 3. The second specification includes a time trend to account for the possibility that the arousing images might have cumulative effects, that participants might become desensitized, or that there is learning in the tasks. The third specification controls for the image rating to test the effect of more arousing ratings on behavior. The fourth specification compares behavior in tasks with the most arousing images (upper median split) to behavior in tasks with the least arousing images (lower median split). Note that each image is paired with a random task so the number of tasks in Model 4 is not necessary half of the total number; though the sum across all tasks will be. Model 5 allows for taskfixed controls: a dummy for each of the different types of questions that participants might receive for that task. Model 6 controls for all the demographic characteristics gathered from the survey responses. Finally, the last specification adds in all the controls jointly.

Table 3: Summary Statistics by Task and Treatment. For each outcome (Performance, Image Rating, and Seconds Spent), a Wald test was conducted to test for treatment effects.

|  | Mean <br> Performance | Std. Error | Observations | Image Rating | Seconds Spent |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Addition: percentage correct |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 97.5\% | (0.8\%) | 403 | 2.19 | 2.7 |
| Arousal | 97.7\% | (0.6\%) | 730 | 5.49 (***) | 2.6 |
| Multiplication: percentage correct |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 80.8\% | (1.9\%) | 417 | 2.20 | 5.6 |
| Arousal | 79.7\% | (1.5\%) | 738 | 5.52 (***) | 5.6 |
| Risk in Gains: higher expected value, could be safe or risky bet |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 50.9\% | (2.5\%) | 389 | 2.17 | 4.1 |
| Arousal | 60.9\% (*) | (1.8\%) | 717 | 5.57 (***) | 4.3 |
| Risk in Losses: higher expected value, could be safe or risky bet |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 48.1\% | (2.5\%) | 403 | 2.19 | 4.2 |
| Arousal | 48.4\% | (1.9\%) | 686 | 5.45 (***) | 4.2 |
| Impatience: larger amount of money, could be in the future or immediately |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 62.5\% | (1.7\%) | 834 | 2.17 | 3.4 |
| Arousal | 63.7\% | (1.3\%) | 1440 | $5.50{ }^{(* * *)}$ | 3.4 |
| Snack Choice: choose the healthy snack |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 48.1\% | (1.7\%) | 896 | 2.17 | 3.6 |
| Arousal | 45.9\% | (1.3\%) | 1487 | $5.51(* * *)$ | 3.7 |
| Anchoring: guess is within range of S-value |  |  |  |  |  |
| Neutral | 44\% | (1.7\%) | 886 | 2.19 | 5.7 |
| Arousal | $38.6 \%$ (**) | (1.3\%) | 1468 | $5.51(* * *)$ | 5.3 |

[^9]A number of robustness checks were carried out to ensure stability in our estimates. All of the coefficients from the linear probability models (LPM) in Tables 4-10 have been replicated using probit models, where the marginal effects were compared. The results are either identical, or there is a tiny change in the coefficient values with no difference in statistical significance. There are two exceptions. For Model 7 of the Risk in Gains regressions, the Arousal Treatment parameter is significant at $1 \%$ for the probit model as compared to $5 \%$ for the LPM. For Model 7 of the Snack choice regressions, the Image Rating parameter is significant at $1 \%$ for the probit model as compared to $5 \%$ for the LPM. Nonetheless, we have chosen to report the Linear Probability Models in the paper as they are easier to interpret and they are comparable to analysis done in Deck and Jahedi (2015).

It is possible that participants receive the same question multiple times and respond based on their previous choice rather than respond anew. We have rerun all regressions to exclude cases where a participant faced duplicate problems. In Table A. 5 of the Appendix, we report the results of Model 1 for each of the separate tasks where we exclude all cases where a subject received one or more duplicates. In nearly all cases, the parameter estimate and significance level for coefficients are similar to the baseline estimates.

Finally, the treatment variable is highly correlated with the rating of images so we rerun Model 3 of each Table with and without the Treatment variable. The correlation coefficient between the variables is 0.60 , which is quite high. Yet it is low enough that we can include both in the regression without worrying about power issues. Tables A. 3 and A. 4 of the Appendix run the analysis described and find that the results do not change significantly. Given that ratings given to images can be endogenous whereas treatment is clearly not, we have chosen to report Model 3 with both variables included.

### 3.1 Arithmetic Tasks Results

Tables 4 and 5 analyze the effect of sexual arousal on addition and multiplication problems respectively. Overall, the participants answered $98 \%$ of the addition problems correctly; however, as revealed by the top row of Table 4, the performance does not differ between the arousal and neutral conditions, regardless of what controls are included.

Not surprisingly, overall performance on the multiplication task was lower than in the addition task (a Wald test of the baseline performance in Model $1, p<0.001$ ), indicating that it was a harder task with participants answering $80 \%$ of the problems correctly. In fact, a larger fraction of participants failed to provide an answer in the allotted time for the multiplication problems (5.0\%) as compared to the addition problems ( $0.1 \%$ ). Nonetheless, there is no effect of sexual arousal on multiplication performance (see Table 5) across any of
the specifications. Participants did exhibit a slight improvement in performance across the course of the experiment (see Model 2 and Model 7).

### 3.2 Risk Tasks Results

Almost everybody responded to the questions in the allotted time. Fewer than $0.5 \%$ of participants ran out time in the risk task and the rate was nearly identical for gains and losses. In the risk tasks, there were two gambles where the safe amount returned more in expected value than the risky amount (in the gain and loss frame: 12 for sure vs. 50/50 chance at 0 or 22). Behavior for these risk tasks did not differ significantly from the other tasks.

Tables 6 and 7 analyze the effect of sexual arousal on risk taking. A common way to define normative behavior in the literature is to examine whether participants choose the option with the higher expected value. For most specifications in Table 6, the Wald test shows that the arousal treatment is 10 percentage points more likely to choose the higher expected value option, at the $10 \%$ significance level. Hence, we do find at least weak evidence that sexual arousal leads to greater risk taking (at least in gains), consistent with Knutson, et al. (2008). In the loss domain, there is no statistical difference between the treatments for any of the specifications in Table 7.

Prospect theory predicts that people are risk-averse over gains and risk-loving over losses. In our experiment, this would translate into participants making more risky choices for tasks in the gains frame as compared to tasks in the loss frame. We find the opposite result: in the loss frame, $45 \%$ of participants choose the risky option whereas in the gains frame, $57 \%$ of participants choose the risky option. The mean difference in risk-taking behavior across the gain and loss frame is statistically significant at the $1 \%$ level. Tables A. 6 and A. 7 of the Appendix find similar results when the dependent variable is an indicator denoting whether the person took the risky choice.

### 3.3 Impatience Task Results

Before presenting the overall pattern of results for the impatience task, we report the results of three questions where participants were offered a choice between more money today vs. less money in the future. Indeed, $98 \%$ of choices were in favor of the more-sooner option, which serves as verification that participants were paying attention and not simply behaving randomly or automatically. As such, these questions do not provide any meaningful variation and we omit these observations from the analysis, though the results do not differ if we include them.

* significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$
Table 5: Multiplication Task

| Dependent variable is whether the multiplication problem was answered correctly. |
| :--- |
| OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |

Table 6: Risk in Gains Task

| Dependent variable is whether higher EV option was chosen. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Model 1 <br> b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 2 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 3 \\ \text { b/se } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Model 4 $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Model } 5 \\ \mathrm{~b} / \mathrm{se} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Model 6 b/se | Model 7 <br> b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | $\begin{aligned} & 0.100^{*} \\ & {[0.053]} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.101^{*} \\ & {[0.052]} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.108^{*} \\ & {[0.064]} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & 0.097^{*} \\ & {[0.052]} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.117 \\ {[0.072]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.125^{*} \\ & {[0.074]} \end{aligned}$ |
| Period |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ {[0.001]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ {[0.001]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Image rating |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.002 \\ {[0.009]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.006 \\ {[0.008]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Extreme image comparison |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.092 \\ {[0.061]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| task-fixed demographics |  |  |  |  | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{X} \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.509^{* * *} \\ {[0.043]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.495^{* * *} \\ {[0.049]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.513^{* * *} \\ {[0.045]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.507^{* * *} \\ {[0.049]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.618^{* * *} \\ {[0.056]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.825^{* *} \\ {[0.334]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.987^{* * *} \\ {[0.335]} \end{gathered}$ |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.009 | 0.010 | 0.010 | 0.008 | 0.023 | 0.156 | 0.167 |
| Observations | 1106 | 1106 | 1103 | 590 | 1106 | 1043 | 1041 |

* significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$
* significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$

Table 8 provides results from econometric tests examining the effect of the arousal treatment on impatience behavior. In no specification are the treatment effects even marginally significant. It is worth noting that in all specifications, the sign of the arousal coefficient is positive, in the direction of aroused participants being more patient. This stands in direct contrast to Wilson and Daly (2004), Van den Bergh et al. (2008), and Kim and Zauberman (2013). ${ }^{15}$

### 3.4 Snack Choice Task Results

Participants chose the healthy snack option slightly less than half of the time, but this did not differ by treatment as evidenced by Table 9. It is also worth noting that there is no time trend in snack choice. That is, the data do not indicate that participants experienced a depletion of their will power, contrary to previous work by Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999 and Baumeister 2002. The non-response rate was $4.6 \%$ for snack choices.

### 3.5 Anchoring Task Results

In the anchoring task, participants were flashed a random number, between 0 and 99, and then asked to guess the number of " S " characters in a matrix. Participants knew that the random number was not associated in any way with the task, yet the average guess of responses exhibited quite a bit of anchoring. The guess of respondents was twice as likely to be on the same side of the true number as the anchor rather than on the opposite side. That is, if there were 50 " S " characters in the matrix and the anchor was 10 , respondents were twice as likely to make a guess that was below 50 than to make a guess above 50. Similarly if there were 50 " S " characters in the matrix and the anchor was 90 , respondents were twice as likely to make a guess that was above 50 than to make a guess that was below 50 . This did not differ across treatments.

In Table 10, we define normative behavior in the Anchoring task as whether participants' guess was within the allotted range to receive payment. In the neutral treatment, $44 \%$ of responses were in the correct range whereas in the arousal treatment, $38.6 \%$ of guesses were in the correct range. The difference remains similar in magnitude and significance across most specifications, indicating that arousal caused participants to do worse on the Anchoring

[^10]task. It is important to note that a decrease in the anchoring performance does not imply that people are more susceptible to anchoring; rather, it may simply be the case that people in the arousal treatment are more distracted. ${ }^{16}$

There is a positive time trend, indicating that respondents improved their behavior over time. Interestingly, there is a negative coefficient on the image rating, indicating that images with higher ratings are associated with a worse performance. In Model 4, where we compare performance in the Anchoring task of those images rated lowest in the neutral treatment as compared to those images rated highest in the arousal treatment, we find that the effect size of the treatment grows to $9 \%$.

## 4 Discussion

We find rather minimal evidence that viewing erotic images has a consistent substantial impact on decision making. ${ }^{17}$ Contrary to previous studies, we find no evidence that sexual arousal leads to more impatience. We do however find evidence in favor of more risk-taking in the gain domain when viewing explicit images, although not as dramatically as in Knutson, et al. (2008). One possible explanation for why we do not find a large effect of arousal on preferences is that our study uses real incentives, rather than hypothetical choices as in several of the previous studies. It is possible that the incentive payments are large enough that respondents are motivated to make good decisions in spite of being exposed to arousing stimuli. Alternatively, it is possible that participants realize the effect that arousal might have on their decision making and take additional steps to self-regulate their decision making process. For instance, they may take more time on a question if they are exposed to an arousing image as compared to a neutral image so to ensure that they reach the correct answer. Based on the time spent on each task however, this does not appear to be the case (see Table 3). It is also possible that the IRB requirement that subjects be informed in advance about the use of sexually explicit images may have introduced a selection bias not present in studies that use milder images or that the effects of arousal are non-monotonic. ${ }^{18}$

The evidence also indicates that sexual arousal does not generate the same behavioral

[^11]Table 8: Time Preference Task

| Dependent variable is whether larger money option was chosen. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Model 1 <br> b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 2 \\ \text { b/se } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Model 3 <br> b/se | Model 4 b/se | Model 5 b/se | Model 6 <br> b/se | Model 7 b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | $\begin{gathered} 0.016 \\ {[0.075]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.016 \\ {[0.075]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.023 \\ {[0.085]} \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.019 \\ {[0.074]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.121 \\ {[0.109]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.132 \\ {[0.109]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Period |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ {[0.001]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ {[0.000]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Image rating |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.003 \\ & {[0.012]} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.004 \\ {[0.009]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Extreme image comparison |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.049 \\ {[0.080]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| task-fixed |  |  |  |  | X |  | X |
| demographics |  |  |  |  |  | X | X |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.536^{* * *} \\ {[0.059]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.529^{* * *} \\ {[0.062]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.542^{* * *} \\ {[0.065]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.512^{* * *} \\ {[0.065]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.449^{* * *} \\ {[0.074]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.704^{*} \\ {[0.405]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.720^{*} \\ {[0.415]} \end{gathered}$ |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.056 | 0.297 | 0.347 |
| Observations | 1818 | 1818 | 1810 | 882 | 1818 | 1718 | 1711 |

[^12]* significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$
Table 10: Anchoring Task

| Dependent variable is whether guess is within specified range of actual. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Model 1 b/se | Model 2 <br> b/se | Model 3 $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | Model 4 <br> b/se | Model 5 $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 6 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 7 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ |
| Arousal Treatment | $\begin{gathered} -0.054^{* *} \\ {[0.027]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.052^{*} \\ {[0.026]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.018 \\ {[0.031]} \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.053^{* *} \\ {[0.025]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.088^{* *} \\ {[0.035]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.045 \\ {[0.035]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Period |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.003^{* * *} \\ {[0.000]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.003^{* * *} \\ {[0.000]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Image rating |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.012^{* *} \\ {[0.005]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.012^{* *} \\ {[0.005]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Extreme image comparison <br> task-fixed <br> demographics |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.087^{* *} \\ {[0.034]} \end{gathered}$ | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{X} \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.440^{* * *} \\ {[0.022]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.332^{* * *} \\ {[0.027]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.468^{* * *} \\ {[0.025]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.458^{* * *} \\ {[0.027]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.925^{* * *} \\ {[0.066]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.420^{* * *} \\ {[0.123]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.892^{* * *} \\ {[0.139]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.003 | 0.018 | 0.006 | 0.007 | 0.156 | 0.061 | 0.214 |
| Observations | 2354 | 2354 | 2344 | 1163 | 2354 | 2203 | 2193 |

Table 11: Comparison of Treatment Effects

|  | Low Load | High Load | Change due to Cognitive Load | Neutral | Arousal | Change <br> due to <br> Arousal | Comparison of Baselines: Neutral vs. Low Load |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Addition | 97.8\% | 97.0\% | -0.8\% | 97.5\% | 97.7\% | 0.2\% | -0.2\% |
| Multiplication | 71.6\% | 55.9\% | -15.7\% | 80.8\% | 79.7\% | $-1.1 \%$ *** | 9.2\%*** |
| Risk in Gains | 59.5\% | 52.7\% | -6.8\% | 50.9\% | 60.9\% | 10.0\%*** | $-8.6 \%{ }^{* * *}$ |
| Risk in Losses | 45.7\% | 43.9\% | -1.8\% | 48.1\% | 48.4\% | 0.3\% | 2.4\% |
| Time Preference | 56.9\% | 50.0\% | -6.9\% | 62.5\% | 63.7\% | 1.2\%* | 5.6\%* |
| Snack Choice | 43.7\% | $39.4 \%$ | -4.3\% | 48.1\% | 45.9\% | -2.2\% | 4.4\% |
| Anchoring | 50.1\% | 40.9\% | -9.2\% | 44.0\% | $38.6 \%$ | -5.4\% | $-6.0 \%^{* *}$ |

${ }^{*}$ significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$
patterns as cognitive load. Of course, it is difficult to make strong comparisons between studies since there are differences in the protocols and procedures. While this study was designed to closely mimic Deck and Jahedi (2015) and the two studies use similar tasks, there are important differences. First, the cognitive load study was run at the University of Arkansas instead of Duke University. ${ }^{19}$ Second, the cognitive load study involved male and female participants. ${ }^{20}$ Finally one should keep in mind that the comparison is contingent on the specific form of cognitive load and sexual arousal manipulation used, with both of these studies using methods that are most often used in the respective literatures.

A comparison of results between the two studies is nonetheless informative. Table 11 shows that the baseline conditions of the two studies (low load and neutral images) are rather similar. In the last column, the baseline behavior of the cognitive load experiment (first column, low load) is compared to the baseline behavior of the arousal experiment (fourth column, neutral images). An unpaired t-test is used to compare the means of the two samples. Differences are denoted by stars in the last column. There is no significant difference between the two studies for the Addition, Snack Choice, and Risk in Losses tasks. The participants of this study, which consisted of male Duke students, did score statistically better on the multiplications questions and were statistically more patient when it came to money as compared to the male and female University of Arkansas students who participated in the cognitive load study. It is somewhat surprising that the Duke students scored worse on

[^13]the Anchoring task and that they exhibit statistically less normative behavior in risk taking, especially since males are often found to be less risk averse (see Eckel and Grossman 2008). However, none of the differences are very large in magnitude. The fact that the two studies, conducted at different institutions and using different gender compositions, have somewhat similar baselines suggests that the behavior in the tasks are broadly robust.

In the cognitive load study, normative behavior always decreased as a result of cognitive load (third column). In the arousal study, the effect of sexual arousal sometimes diminished normative behavior and sometimes improved normative behavior (sixth column). A second comparison is made between the two studies that tests whether the coefficient on the treatment variable differs across the two experiments. The results are denoted by stars in the second to last column. For each task, the null hypothesis is that the parameter on the treatment effects is the same across experiments is tested using a generalized Hausman specification test. The coefficients differ at the $5 \%$ significance level for the Multiplication task and for the Risk in Gains task; participants that were aroused were 10 percentage points more likely to choose the higher expected value outcome. This is a big contrast to the effect of cognitive load on the Risk in Gains task, where participants were 6.8 percentage points less likely to choose the higher expected value outcome. This difference is large and statistically significant. One implication of this finding is that a tax on cognition and the arousal of emotion do not have the same effect on risk-taking, despite the fact that they both conceivably diminish cognitive ability.

Overall, our findings suggest that manipulating dual-system decision making via increasing sexual arousal is less robust and generally has a smaller effect than increasing cognitive load. This suggests that cognitive load can serve as a more reliable paradigm for researchers wishing to study dual-system decision making. However, our work raises several interesting questions for future research. Is it a general property that System 2 is more easily and reliably manipulated than System 1? Why does the impact of sexual arousal on normative decision making vary so much between tasks and across studies? And do other methods that excite System 1 have similar effects as that shown by sexual arousal?

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## Appendix

This appendix contains information observed by the participant. The first section includes the directions for the neutral image condition. Directions for the arousal treatment are available upon request. The second section contains the post study survey and the third section presents the images used for the snack choice task.

## Participant Directions

## Instructions:

Welcome, and thank you for participating in this experiment.
The study will take place in two parts. The first part will last about 60 minutes. For participating in this part, you will be guaranteed a $\$ 2$ payment. The second part will take place exactly one week later and will last about 10 minutes and will pay a guaranteed show-up fee of $\$ 10$. You can earn additional money based on the decisions that you make, therefore it is important that you read the directions carefully. If you have any questions during the experiment, please raise your hand and wait for the experimenter to come to you. Please do not make noise or communicate with others for the duration of the experiment as this is grounds for dismissal. Note that you can leave at any point during the experiment, and you will be paid a $\$ 2$ show-up fee.

In this study, there will be 80 periods. In each period, you will be shown a picture and asked to rate it. Once you enter your rating, the picture will disappear and you will be given a decision task. Your goal will be to complete the decision task in the allotted time. The type of task will vary by period and will be described in more detail below. After all tasks are completed, one of them will randomly be chosen by the computer to count towards your final payment.


The Decision Tasks In each period, you will be given a decision task. The decision tasks vary from one period to the next, but can be categorized into 5 broad groups: (1) math problems, (2) counting problems, (3) a choice between lotteries, (4) a choice regarding your preference for money allocation across time, and (5) a choice between two consumption bundles. You will be allowed to practice each type of decision task on the following pages.

Decision Task: Math Problems For the math problems, you will be asked either addition or multiplication questions. If you get the problem correct, you will receive
$\$ 12$ for the task. If you get the problem incorrect or if you run out of time without answering, you will receive $\$ 0$ for the task. Please click Continue to practice some math problems.


Decision Task: Counting Problems Besides the math problems, you may also face counting problems. The counting problem consists of two parts. In the first part, you will briefly be shown a matrix of S characters and 5 characters and be asked to guess whether the number of S's in the matrix is more or fewer than a random generated
number. The randomly generated number has no association to the number of S's in the matrix.

Once you make your guess, you will be shown the same matrix again for ten seconds and asked to state the exact count of " $S$ " characters in the matrix. In order to get paid, your guess must be made in time and be within five of the actual amount of "S" characters in the matrix. If you meet this criteria, you will be paid $\$ 12$. Otherwise, you will be paid $\$ 0$. Please note that it is easy to run out of time for this question. Please click Continue to practice some counting decision problems.

| Period 1 of $80 \times$ Remaining time [s |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Are there more " S " characters or fewer " S " characters in the matrix that flashes below than the following randomly generated number? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5 | S | 5 | S | S | 5 | S | 5 | S | S |
|  | 5 | S | S | S | 5 | S | S | S | S | S |
|  | 5 | S | 5 | S | 5 | S | S | S | S | 5 |
|  | 5 | 5 | 5 | S | S | S | 5 | S | S | S |
|  | 5 | 5 | S | 5 | S | S | S | S | S | S |
|  | S | S | S | S | S | S | 5 | S | 5 | S |
|  | S | 5 | S | S | S | S | S | S | 5 | S |
|  | S | S | S | S | S | S | S | S | S | S |
|  | 5 | S | 5 | S | S | S | S | S | S | S |
|  | S | S | 5 | S | 5 | S | S | 5 | S | S |



Decision Task: Choice between Lotteries Besides the math and counting problems, you may also face a choice between lotteries. For the lottery problems, you will be given additional money (an endowment) to use towards your decision. You will always be asked to choose between two options: (1) a lottery that returns a sure outcome with certainty OR (2) a lottery that returns either a larger outcome or zero, with 50 percent chance.

Please click Continue to practice some lottery decisions. You will be asked some additional questions (that will not be on the actual lottery task) just to make sure that you understand your payoffs.


Decision Task: Time Allocation Problem Besides the math, counting, and lottery problems, you will also face choices about your preference for money allocation across time. You will be asked whether you prefer some amount of money today or a different
amount of money next week. For example, you may be asked to choose between $\$ 10$ today or $\$ 12$ next week. This question is for real stakes. So if you choose to receive money today, you will get it at the end of today's part of the experiment. If you choose to receive the money next week, it will be given to you along with your show-up fee next week. If you run out of time before reaching a decision, you will receive $\$ 0$ for the task. Please click Continue to practice some time allocation problems.


Decision Task: Consumption Bundles Besides the math, counting, lottery problems, and time-money preferences, you will be asked about your preference regarding two sets of goods. The two goods are consumption bundles, which will be awarded next week. So whatever you choose, it will be given to you along with your show-up fee next week. If you run out of time before reaching a decision, you will not receive anything next week. Please click Continue to practice consumption bundle problems.


Final Payoff Determination In total, you will make 80 decisions in this experiment, one in every period. Once all decisions have been made, you will be asked a few survey questions. After that, you will have completed the experiment. The computer will randomly select only ONE of the periods to be your "payoff determining task." The payoff determining task will be used to calculate your earnings for the experiment. Please note that since it is equally likely that any of the 80 decisions that you make are chosen to determine your payoff, it is important that you treat each decision as if it were the one that counts.

Your final payment will be the sum of your $\$ 2$ show-up fee today, your $\$ 10$ show-up fee next week, and the amount of money or the items of products that you made in the payoff determining task.

If you have any questions, please raise your hand and the experimenter will answer it. If there are no questions, you may continue to the experiment.

Table A.1: Snack Choice Pairs.


Continued on Next Page...

| Table A. 1 - Continued |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Snack Pair | Healthy Choice | Unhealthy Choice |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Post Experiment Questionnaire

1. On a scale of 1 to 5 , with 1 being not at all aroused and 5 being extremely aroused, how sexually aroused were you during the study? $\quad\{1,2,3,4,5\}$
2. How would you most accurately described your sexuality? \{heterosexual; homosexual; bisexual; other / prefer not to answer\}
3. How many minutes do you spend viewing pornography in a typical week?
4. How many times have you experienced an ejaculation in the last month?
5. Which of the following best describes your relationship status? \{Married or in a committed relationship; Not married or in a committed relationship, but in one or more casual relationships; Not in a relationship\}
6. In what year were you born? (YYYY)
7. What is your college class? \{Freshman; Sophomore; Junior; Senior; Graduate; Not in college $\}$
8. What is your college Grade Point Average?
9. What is your race/ethnicity? \{Caucasian, non-Hispanic; Hispanic; Black or African; Asian; Other/Prefer not to Answer\}
10. What was the total income range for the household where you lived when you were 17? $\quad$ LLess than $\$ 25,000 ; \$ 25,000-\$ 50,000 ; \$ 50,000-\$ 75,000 ; \$ 75,000-\$ 100,000$; Over $\$ 100,000\}$
11. When you flip a penny, what is the probability of it landing heads-side-up?
12. A bat and a ball cost $\$ 1.10$ in total. The bat costs $\$ 1.00$ more than the ball. How much does the ball cost?
13. If it takes 5 machines 5 minutes to make 5 widgets, how long would it take 100 machines to make 100 widgets?
14. In a lake, there is a patch of lily pads. Every day, the patch doubles in size. If it takes 48 days for the patch to cover the entire lake, how long would it take for the patch to cover half of the lake?
15. Suppose that you earned $\$ 100,000$ in lottery winnings. How much of the $\$ 100,000$ would you be willing to invest in an asset to either HALVE or DOUBLE in two years time with equal probability? $\quad$ None of it; $10 \% ; 20 \% ; 30 \% ; 40 \% ; 50 \% ; 60 \% ; 70 \%$; $80 \%$; $90 \%$; All of it $\}$

On a scale of 1 to 5 , with 1 being complete disagreement and 5 being complete agreement, how much do you agree with the following statements:
16. Good things come to those who wait. $\{1,2,3,4,5\}$
17. Anticipation leads to greater enjoyment. $\{1,2,3,4,5\}$
18. It is better to be safe than sorry. $\{1,2,3,4,5\}$
${ }^{*}$ significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$
Table A.2: Time Preference Task with More-sooner Questions Omitted

| Dependent variable is whether larger money option was chosen. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 1 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | Model 2 <br> b/se | Model 3 <br> b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 4 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | Model 5 <br> b/se | Model 6 $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | Model 7 b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | $\begin{gathered} 0.016 \\ {[0.075]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.016 \\ {[0.075]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.023 \\ {[0.085]} \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.019 \\ {[0.074]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.121 \\ {[0.109]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.132 \\ {[0.109]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Period |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ {[0.001]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ {[0.000]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Image rating |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.003 \\ {[0.012]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.004 \\ {[0.009]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Extreme image comparison |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.049 \\ {[0.080]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| task-fixed demographics |  |  |  |  | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{X} \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.536^{* * *} \\ {[0.059]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.529^{* * *} \\ {[0.062]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.542^{* * *} \\ {[0.065]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.512^{* * *} \\ {[0.065]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.449^{* * *} \\ {[0.074]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.704^{*} \\ {[0.405]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.720^{*} \\ {[0.415]} \end{gathered}$ |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.056 | 0.297 | 0.347 |
| Observations | 1818 | 1818 | 1810 | 882 | 1818 | 1718 | 1711 |

Table A.3: Model 3 for All Tasks Reported in the Paper

| Dependent variable is performance for each separate task, named on each column. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Addition <br> b/se | Multiplication b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Risk (gains) } \\ \text { b/se } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Risk (losses) } \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | Impatience <br> b/se | Snack Choice $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | Anchoring b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | -0.011 | -0.024 | 0.108* | -0.045 | 0.023 | -0.036 | -0.018 |
|  | [0.023] | [0.048] | [0.064] | [0.066] | [0.085] | [0.068] | [0.031] |
| Image rating | 0.004* | 0.004 | -0.002 | 0.016 | -0.003 | 0.003 | -0.012** |
|  | $[0.002]$ | $[0.009]$ | [0.009] | [0.010] | $[0.012]$ | [0.009] | [0.005] |
| Constant | $0.966^{* * *}$ | $0.796^{* * *}$ | $0.513^{* * *}$ | $0.446^{* * *}$ | $0.542^{* * *}$ | $0.477^{* * *}$ | $0.468^{* * *}$ |
|  | [0.018] | [0.043] | [0.045] | $[0.046]$ | $[0.065]$ | [0.052] | [0.025] |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.003 | 0.001 | 0.010 | 0.004 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.006 |
| Observations | 1128 | 1147 | 1103 | 1084 | 1810 | 2372 | 2344 |

Table A.4: Model 3 for All Tasks, with Treatment Variable Omitted

| Dependent variable is performance for each separate task, named on each column. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Addition <br> b/se | Multiplication b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Risk (gains) } \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Risk (losses) } \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | Impatience b/se | Snack Choice $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | Anchoring b/se |
| Image rating | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.010 | 0.011 | 0.000 | -0.001 | -0.014*** |
|  | [0.002] | [0.008] | [0.008] | [0.008] | [0.011] | [0.009] | [0.005] |
| Constant | $0.963^{* * *}$ | $0.791^{* * *}$ | $0.528^{* * *}$ | $0.438^{* * *}$ | $0.546^{* * *}$ | $0.472^{* * *}$ | $0.465^{* * *}$ |
|  | [0.017] | [0.042] | [0.043] | [0.044] | [0.059] | [0.047] | [0.024] |
| R-squared | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.005 |
| Observations | 1128 | 1147 | 1103 | 1084 | 1810 | 2372 | 2344 |

Table A.5: Model 3 for All Tasks, All Duplicate Questions Omitted

| Dependent variable is performance for each separate task, named on each column. OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Addition b/se | Multiplication b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Risk (gains) } \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Risk (losses) } \\ \text { b/se } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Impatience b/se | Snack Choice b/se | Anchoring b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | 0.002 | -0.027 | 0.125** | 0.028 | 0.011 | 0.027 | -0.054** |
|  | [0.020] | [0.044] | [0.059] | [0.057] | [0.079] | [0.065] | [0.027] |
| Constant | $0.975^{* * *}$ | $0.801^{* * *}$ | $0.534^{* * *}$ | $0.485^{* * *}$ | $0.544^{* * *}$ | $0.443^{* * *}$ | $0.440^{* * *}$ |
|  | [0.016] | [0.032] | [0.049] | [0.044] | [0.061] | [0.050] | [0.022] |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.015 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.003 |
| Observations | 1111 | 884 | 462 | 434 | 630 | 310 | 2352 |

[^14]Table A.6: Risky Choices

| Dependent variable is Risky Option (Gains). <br> OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Model 1 <br> b/se | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 2 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Model } 3 \\ \text { b/se } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Model 4 $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | Model 5 $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{se}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Model } 6 \\ \text { b/se } \end{gathered}$ | Model 7 b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | 0.077 | 0.076 | 0.078 |  | 0.073 | 0.070 | 0.075 |
|  | [0.066] | [0.066] | [0.078] |  | [0.066] | [0.089] | [0.090] |
| Period |  | -0.001 |  |  |  |  | -0.001* |
|  |  | [0.001] |  |  |  |  | [0.001] |
| Image rating |  |  | -0.001 |  |  |  | -0.006 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Extreme image comparison |  |  |  | 0.078 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | [0.070] |  |  |  |
| task-fixed |  |  |  |  | X |  | X |
| demographics |  |  |  |  |  | X | X |
| Constant | $0.524^{* * *}$ | $0.554^{* * *}$ | $0.528^{* * *}$ | $0.527^{* * *}$ | $0.634^{* * *}$ | 0.235 | 0.397 |
|  | [0.055] | [0.060] | [0.058] | [0.056] | [0.065] | [0.360] | [0.359] |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.007 | 0.005 | 0.006 | 0.019 | 0.247 | 0.260 |
| Observations | 1106 | 1106 | 1103 | 580 | 1106 | 1018 | 1016 |

Table A.7: Risky Choices

| Dependent variable is Risky Option (Losses). <br> OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by participant. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Model 1 <br> b/se | Model 2 <br> b/se | Model 3 <br> b/se | Model 4 <br> b/se | Model 5 b/se | Model 6 <br> b/se | Model 7 b/se |
| Arousal Treatment | $\begin{gathered} -0.005 \\ {[0.066]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.005 \\ {[0.066]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.068 \\ {[0.080]} \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.008 \\ {[0.066]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.022 \\ {[0.083]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.017 \\ {[0.092]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Period |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.001 \\ {[0.001]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.001 \\ & {[0.001]} \end{aligned}$ |
| Image rating |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.019 \\ {[0.012]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.002 \\ {[0.010]} \end{gathered}$ |
| Extreme image comparison |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.026 \\ {[0.072]} \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| task-fixed demographics |  |  |  |  | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{X} \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.457^{* * *} \\ {[0.053]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.495^{* * *} \\ {[0.057]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.416^{* * *} \\ {[0.057]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.447^{* * *} \\ {[0.058]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.444^{* * *} \\ {[0.064]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.279 \\ {[0.320]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.222 \\ {[0.342]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.007 | 0.001 | 0.005 | 0.316 | 0.321 |
| Observations | 1089 | 1089 | 1084 | 504 | 1089 | 989 | 984 |


[^0]:    *The authors would like to thank Colin Camerer, David Laibson, and George Loewenstein, as well as participants at the annual AEA meeting, George Mason University conference on experimental economics, the Economic Science Association meetings, the Southern Economic Association meetings, Tilburg University, Claremont Graduate University, and University of Alaska Fairbanks for their helpful comments. Valerie Spaink, Vlad Chituc, and Joseph Harvey provided valuable research assistance. We gratefully recognize the support provided by the University of Arkansas, the University of Alaska Anchorage, and Duke University. Finally, we wish to express our tremendous gratitude to Sharon Gaber for her support of academic freedom at the University of Arkansas.
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[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ In our study, we ask people to self-report their arousal level while viewing sexually explicit images. A more direct measure that has been used in previous studies is phallometry, or measurement of the penile erection response (Hanson and Bussiere, 1998). We did not elect to use this procedure as it seemed invasive and overly-cumbersome to implement in return for the additional precision it would offer, but the evidence suggests that sexually explicit images do elicit the desired physiological response.
    ${ }^{2}$ Deaner et al. (2005) find that even male rhesus monkeys are allured by images of female monkey posteriors, and are willing to take a cut in their fruit juice allowance to view these images. Sex, like hunger and sleep, is a fundamental desire. The physiological effects of sleep on decision making has been discussed by Dickinson, et al. (2014), while Ashton (2016) looks at the effects on hunger.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ In a second study, Van den Bergh et al. (2008) also found that men handling bras rather than t-shirts became more impatient for not only money but also for their willingness to wait for a larger quantity of food items.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Other methods exist for increasing sexual arousal, but this is the most common in academic research. It is possible the magnitude of arousal may differ across techniques and thus the resulting behavior may differ as well. Similarly, Deck and Jahedi (2015) rely on the commonly used number memorization tasks to increase cognitive load, but other techniques exist and may also lead to different behavior.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ To minimize the possibility of selection bias, we would have preferred to surprise subjects with the sexual images, but that was not allowed by the relevant IRBs. A priori, it is not clear how this bias might manifest. While it could be that people who are less sensitive to the effects of sexual arousal and thus believe they will do well in the experiment are more willing to participate, it could also be that those who are the most impacted are more likely to jump at the chance to participate.
    ${ }^{6}$ The IAPS images that were used are IAPS \#4085, IAPS \#4141, IAPS \#4290, IAPS \#4647, IAPS $\# 4658$, IAPS $\# 4672$, IAPS \#4800, and IAPS \#4810. For access to images in the IAPS database, interested readers should contact the Center for the Study of Emotion and Attention. Copies of the non-IAPS images are available from the authors upon request.

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ Almost everybody rated the image before time expired. In the neutral treatment, time lapsed before a rating was registered for 34 out of the 4230 images (approximately $0.8 \%$ ). In the arousal treatment, 43 out of 7280 images were not rated (approximately $0.6 \%$ ).
    ${ }^{8}$ For the addition, multiplication, and anchoring tasks, the fraction of individuals who had any repeated questions were $10 \%$ or lower. For the other tasks, it was about $25 \%$. Since the order in which the tasks are shown is completely random, a person that is given the same task multiple times is unlikely to be given it in back-to-back tasks, nor are they likely to recall the exact values for each previous task they have experienced.

[^6]:    ${ }^{9}$ Institutional restrictions did not allow participants to lose money they had prior to entering the laboratory.

[^7]:    ${ }^{10}$ Augenblick, Niederle, and Sprenger (2013) have a nice paper that argues impatience should be measured over effort tasks, rather than monetary rewards. The design of this study used monetary rewards for the express purpose of mirroring a previous cognitive load study, so that the results could be compared (Deck and Jahedi, 2015).

[^8]:    ${ }^{11}$ The results do not change if only t-tests were conducted on all treatment response differences or if the KS test was used on all treatment response differences.
    ${ }^{12}$ There were 8 observations that we failed to collect due to human error. The experimental program was accidentally exited before the study was set to record the very last image/task observation pair for 8 participants. In such cases, the data was not recorded. Since the task for the final period was set randomly, it is not likely to affect our results in a meaningful way.
    ${ }^{13}$ Neither the image ratings, nor any of the results, change if we drop the self-reported homosexuals from the sample.
    ${ }^{14}$ In total, there were 18 instances where the binary choice questions were left unanswered: 3 Risk in Gains, 13 Risk in Losses, and 2 Snack Choices. These cases were deliberately excluded from that analysis.

[^9]:    ${ }^{*},{ }^{* *}$, and ${ }^{* * *}$ denote significance levels at the $10 \%, 5 \%$, and $1 \%$ level, respectively.

[^10]:    ${ }^{15}$ The images in our study are more explicit than those used in these three studies, but not more explicit than Ariely and Lowenstein (2006) and Klucken et al. (2009). Initially, we ran a pilot study using similar stimuli to those papers, but found no treatment effect and thus increased the graphic nature of the images. As pointed out by a reviewer, it is possible that the effect of sexual arousal is non-monotonic with subtle images having a larger effect or perhaps the more explicit nature of the images cued the subjects into the intent of the manipulation and enabled them to offset the effect of the arousal.

[^11]:    ${ }^{16}$ While it is outside the scope of this study, one could design a method to differentiate the effect of distraction and arousal on anchoring performance. For instance, it is possible to gather distracting images for use in both the neutral and arousal group. If the result was due to a distraction, there should be no difference in behavior across the groups.
    ${ }^{17}$ The analysis in the previous section does not account for the fact that multiple hypotheses are being tested. If one applies a Bonferroni correction, there is even less evidence that sexual arousal has a meaningful effect on decision making.
    ${ }^{18}$ Pilot studies were conducted with images of women in lingerie, similar to Kim and Zauberman (2013), but no effect was identified and thus more extreme images were used.

[^12]:    * significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$

[^13]:    ${ }^{19}$ The then dean of the college would not allow the current study to be conducted in the same laboratory as Deck and Jahedi (2015).
    ${ }^{20}$ Unfortunately, gender data is not available for the participants in Deck and Jahedi (2015).

[^14]:    * significance at $10 \%,{ }^{* *}$ significance at $5 \%,{ }^{* * *}$ significance at $1 \%$

