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THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

CHRISTINA J. TAYLOR

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1985

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1/17/85
date

Stanley Milgram (G.K.)
Chairman of Examining Committee

January 17, 1985
date

Herbert D. Salzman
Executive Officer

Irwin Katz

Florence Denmark

Suzanne Ouellette

Alden Wessman

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

Christina J. Taylor

Advisor: Professor Stanley Milgram

The purpose of this thesis was to elucidate beliefs about marital fidelity and extramarital sex. Two investigations were carried out which were aimed at examining how the social evaluation of extramarital relationships is affected by three situational factors - sex of the extramarital actor, the actor's physical attractiveness, and the frequency of the actor's involvement in extramarital affairs (i.e., extramarital experience). A total of 526 (265 females, 261 males) subjects ($M = 34.7$ years of age) participated in Experiment 1. Subjects responded to a scenario about a husband/wife who had the opportunity to engage in an extramarital affair, but did not (no affair condition), or who was engaging in their first affair (first affair condition), or who was engaging in another affair after several previous ones (many affairs condition). Photographs portrayed the actors as attractive or very attractive. Results showed that the actors were evaluated most favorably in the no affair condition, less favorably in the first affair condition, and least favorably in the many affairs condition. Males tended to evaluate husbands' extramarital affairs as more justifiable than those of wives. However, subjects did not find involvement in an extramarital affair to be very justifiable for either husbands or wives. In Experiment 2, 94 (56

females, 38 males) subjects ($M = 38.3$ years of age) viewed one of two videotapes of a Hollywood film about an extramarital affair. In one, information that the female character had a previous extramarital affair was included, in the other, this information was deleted by editing the film. Extramarital actors were perceived as less moral and honest than their faithful spouses. Findings also showed that subjects perceive an extramarital affair to be justifiable for a wife stuck in a bad marriage, but less justifiable when she has had a previous extramarital affair. The pattern of findings from both studies showed that marital dissatisfaction is regarded as the only justifiable reason for engaging in an affair. Observers thus construed marital fidelity in contractual terms.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Extramarital sexual relationships have been an enduring subject of concern throughout the course of western culture. The issue has been primarily one of social control, as evidenced by the strong religious, legal, social, and psychiatric sanctions traditionally directed against digressions from the monogamous ideal. In regulating the monogamous marriage code, society has thus implemented an extensive array of institutionalized controls to buttress the system. Even the traditional word for extramarital relations - adultery, with its negative etymology from the Latin word "adulterare," meaning "to pollute" or "to defile" (Clanton, 1977, p. 114), lends support to society's prohibition of extramarital sexual relations. Adultery has thus been looked upon in our society as immoral, illegal, deviant, and abnormal.

There are signs present in society today, however, which indicate that the traditional strictures against extramarital relations have been weakened and that the social control of such relationships has been greatly diminished. The purpose of this thesis is therefore: To examine the traditional controls on extramarital relations, to review the evidence which substantiates a shift from our previous cultural outlook, and to present new social psychological research which will clarify the values, norms, and codes of conduct regarding extramarital relations which have emerged in contemporary society.

Institutional Religious Control of Extramarital Relations

The Judeo-Christian tradition has been a profoundly important force

in the institutionalization of monogamous marriage, the code of sexual fidelity to one's spouse, and the imposition of penalties for transgressions of these ideals (Cole, 1969; de Rougement, 1974). The Old Testament law not only forbade adultery, but in some cases exacted the death penalty from those who committed it (Abbott, Gilbert, Hunt, & Swain, 1969). Strictures against extramarital relations were, of course, carried over into Christian teaching. Indeed, by extending the proscription to include both extramarital acts and desires (Matthew 5:27-28), the Christian religion attempted to impose the burden of guilt as a barrier and punishment for temptations as well as actions. Calvin, who was evidently unconvinced of the power of guilt to hold human desires in check, did, however, attempt to reinstate the Old Testament death penalty during the Protestant Reformation (Cole, 1969).

As strict as the religious strictures against extramarital relations appear to have been, they were not always imposed with equal severity on men and women. In ancient Judaism, for example, a woman who engaged in sexual relations with any man other than her husband was considered guilty of adultery and could consequently be put to death (Abbott et al., 1969). For males, on the other hand, a less stringent definition of adultery was employed.

There was no law forbidding the male to have coitus with a female not under the protection of some man, either father or husband. Adultery was understood, not as the sexual relations of a married man, but rather as the violation of another man's wife . . . So long as the male avoided offending another male, he was free to act, with few restraints. (Cole, p. 55)

Thus was the freedom of the male and the constraint of the female in the domain of extramarital sexuality codified into law. Clearly, its

origins were bound to the male's concern with paternity and to a view of women as property (Cole, 1969). And while the formal codification of the double standard passed out of existence, its origins help to explain its persistence into the twentieth century. Indeed, the remarks of Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard from their 1953 book, Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, exemplify its well entrenched status in our society:

Like the true mammal that he is, the male shows himself more disturbed and jealous and more ready to take drastic action if he discovers that his wife is having extramarital relations . . . the reconciliation of the married individual's desire for coitus with a variety of sexual partners, and the maintenance of a stable marriage, presents a problem which has not been satisfactorily resolved in our culture. It is not likely to be resolved until man moves more completely away from his mammalian ancestry. (p. 436)

These authors of a mid-twentieth century social science work thus proposed a biological rationale, compatible with popular beliefs about sex differences, for the social realities of the double-standard.

The Christian tradition has been no less affected by a dual standard in the area of extramarital sexual relations. Whereas adultery on the part of either husbands or wives had been condemned in the New Testament, the teachings of Church authorities were not always consistent with the single standard directive of the Gospel. The same Church Fathers of early Christianity who railed vehemently on the immorality of sexual desires, and who only barely found sex within marriage acceptable ("for the privilege of procreation and to quiet the lust of the spouse") (Cole, 1969, p. 59) found room in their theology, however grudgingly, for male extramarital sexual relations (Bullough, 1974; McLaughlin, 1974). Both Augustine and Thomas Aquinas viewed

prostitution as sinful, for example, but in keeping with the medieval belief that the "male nature requires such a safety valve" (McLaughlin, p. 226), they held it to be a "lawful immorality" (Cole, p. 60). And in a curious feat of moral calculus, Thomas Aquinas was able to conclude that females who engaged in extramarital sexual relations were guilty of three sins, whereas males were guilty of just two (Cole, 1969).

Religious authority to wield any sanctions at all against extramarital sexual activity has, of course, been greatly attenuated in the modern world. The great religions must depend nowadays on the individual consciences of their followers rather than on the imposition of constraints and punishments for compliance to the ancient code of sexual ethics. The historical presence of the double standard within this code, makes clear, however, that judgments of the morality of extramarital sex have not been consistently absolutist. Indeed, a trend toward a more general moral relativism, and even a positive view of the morality of extramarital sexuality, can be identified among some of the modern theological thinkers in both the Christian and Jewish traditions (Bernard, 1977; Cole, 1969).

Some of them, the more conservative, would argue that only the most unusual and extreme circumstances would justify extramarital coitus. And all of them would agree that mere erotic arousal and mutual attraction are insufficient ground for tumbling into bed with someone other than one's marriage partner. There must be, first of all, genuine Christian love, an outgoing, sacrificial concern for the other's welfare. There must be an absence of any selfish exploitation or abuse of another person, and the act must be totally mutual, expressing in the flesh a union of two personalities (Cole, 1969 p. 63)

This particularistic approach, known as situation ethics

(Fletcher, 1966), thus represents a radical departure from the traditional religious condemnation of extramarital sexual relations.

Of further note, Bernard (1977) has pointed out that a parallel can be drawn between situation ethics, with its emphasis on "sincerity and emotional authenticity," and "the creed professed and practiced by a certain segment of the younger population today," for both tend "to make the criterion for judging a relationship the way people feel rather than objective sanctions" (Bernard, 1977, p. 139). Indeed, this outlook on life is contained in the ethic of self-fulfillment which Yankelovich (1981a; 1981b) argues currently grips American society, and which he says sprang in part from the human potential movement in American psychology and Maslow's self psychology.

The self-fulfillment ethic is defined by a philosophy of living that says: "live for the moment, regard the self as a sacred object, be more self-assertive . . . [and] hold nothing back" (Yankelovich, 1981a, p. 46). It thus involves an orientation to life which emphasizes personal autonomy, freedom of choice, need satisfaction, and an almost limitless array of possibilities by means of which to attain this satisfaction. Of greatest import in terms of the present discussion, within this ethic:

The meaning of "right" and "wrong" (which underlies all norms) has itself undergone transformation. Traditional concepts of right and wrong have been replaced by norms of "harmful" or "harmless." If one's actions are not seen as penalizing others, even if they are "wrong" from the perspective of traditional morality, they no longer meet much opposition. (Yankelovich, 1981b, p. 88)

It thus appears that secular and religious trends toward greater tolerance of previously sanctioned conduct, including extramarital

sexual activity, have converged to a certain extent in the current social climate.

The Legal Proscription of Extramarital Sexuality

American law, which has as its basis Jewish, Roman, Catholic, and English codes, has generally restricted extramarital sexuality (Kinsey et al., 1953). Hence, in most states extramarital sexual relations are considered an illegal act and the individuals involved can be subjected to criminal penalties ranging from fines to imprisonment (Bernard, 1977; Hunt, 1969; Kinsey et al., 1953). Such legal sanctions are, of course, anachronistic in the sense that they are only rarely implemented, and when they are it appears that the attention of the law is often sought as an act of revenge over matters independent of the extramarital behavior (Kinsey et al., 1953). Herein, Sheppard reported (cited in Bernard, 1977) an incident of a black minister in Vermont arrested for adultery in the late sixties, which was in reality an instance of racism. The legal proscription of extramarital sexual relations thus appears to be largely defunct in today's society. There is one major exception, however, for adultery is still considered grounds for divorce in 35 American states (Dolmatch, 1982). With the liberalization of divorce laws and the trend toward no fault divorce (Wright & Stetson, 1978), however, the legal undergirding of marriage as a sexually exclusive relationship will be significantly abridged.

The Social Control of Extramarital Relations

Social sanctions against extramarital sexual activity, perhaps best exemplified in our cultural consciousness by the scarlet "A" affixed to Hester Prynne in Hawthorne's (1850; 1948) fictional

description of a real colonial practice, have traditionally made discovery of such actions "socially and professionally hazardous" (Hunt, 1969, p. 24). In colonial America, public disapproval of adultery, intimately connected as it was to the strict Puritannical code of sexual ethics, was severe -the accused subjected to shame and stigmatization in pillories or through public brandings or whippings (Hunt, 1969; Ryan, 1979). And as noted previously, the treatment of women's violation of the monogamous code has traditionally been harsher (Bullough, 1974).

Social constraints on extramarital relationships, while they have lessened over the years, did not, however, completely disappear with the pillories. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin (1948) reported, for example, that more upper class males refused to cooperate in their survey for fear that their extramarital experiences would become known than for concern about any other sexual practice. Noting that "legal penalties for such sexual activity are rarely enforced," Kinsey et al. concluded that "only the fear of the social (as opposed to the legal) consequences adequately explained their reticence" (p. 585). Moreover, the evidence suggests that fear of social censure, especially for public figures, has not been ungrounded.

Earlier in this century, for example, John Watson's extramarital involvement with his laboratory assistant led to the Founder of Behaviorism having to resign his academic post from Johns Hopkins University, never again to return to academia (Schultz, 1981). And more recently, the suggestion that Freud carried on an extramarital relationship with his sister-in-law, whether true or not, has been used

to disparage Psychoanalytic theory (Elms, 1982; Gelman, 1981).

Finally, the extensive media attention given recently to the ostensive extramarital relationship between a male corporate executive and the female executive he hired, which led to the woman's resignation, is further proof that an extramarital involvement, or even the hint of one, may still evoke social disapproval (Bernstein, 1980).

Certainly, the social control of extramarital relationships is no longer as stringent as it once was, nor as uniform in its application. This trend reflects the general shift of our culture toward greater freedom and privacy in sexual matters. In fact, Yankelovich (1981b) extensively documented these changes in his analysis of personal interview data and national survey statistics on the lives of contemporary Americans:

Over the past several decades the rules of social behavior have expanded, moving us from a society with relatively homogeneous definitions of family, sex roles and working life toward an explosive pluralism on these and other fronts. Virtually all the recent normative changes in America have moved toward greater tolerance, openness, choice and a wider range of acceptable behavior. The shifts are not uniform and stable . . . But there is a clear pattern of change. From universally held prescriptions of what is and is not appropriate behavior . . . most norms have shifted toward looser, freer codes of behavior. In the past, and the recent past at that, one could hardly escape the icy disapproval of friends and neighbors for even small infractions of social norms - a man who failed to mow the lawn, or a woman who told dirty jokes. Now it is easy either to ignore the neighbor's disapproval, or to move a few blocks or states away and find new neighbors who will remain benignly neutral to social behavior that would have scandalized most Americans just a decade or two earlier. (pp. 87-88)

Although clearly overstated, Yankelovich's observations explain why in many (or even most) instances today, public expressions of disapproval over extramarital relationships either do not occur at all, or are

greatly restrained. As his analysis suggests, the microprocesses of the social order which have in the past constrained individuals from engaging in extramarital sexual activities have been diminished. Concomitantly, the self-fulfillment philosophy which Yankelovich argues underlies this behavior, and which he says affects 80 percent of the American population to one degree or another, signifies that many more Americans may be more favorably disposed toward extramarital relationships than have been in the past.

In this regard Yankelovich (1981) states that the most profound change in outlook on extramarital sexuality has occurred among those Americans who have most deeply embraced the ethic of self-fulfillment. This group, about 17 percent of the working population, who tend to be younger, more liberal, well educated, and professional:

See themselves through categories of thought borrowed from theories of self psychology. They speak the tongue of "need" language: they are forever preoccupied with their inner psychological needs. They operate on the premise that emotional cravings are sacred objects and that it is a crime against nature to harbor an unfulfilled emotional need. (Yankelovich, 1981a, p. 59).

These most committed self-fulfillment seekers have thus abandoned "the old self-denial rules" (Yankelovich, 1980a p. 78) which have traditionally defined a successful life in terms of "material well-being, family life . . . (and) symbols of respectability (Yankelovich, 1980a, p. 51). They have in turn adopted a philosophy of living in which "no moral virtue is attached any longer to the idea that it is good to curb the imperatives of the self" (Yankelovich, 1981b, p. 78).

Most importantly, the philosophy of the self-fulfillment ethic legitimizes expectations about marriage that do not mesh with the

traditional expectancy of sexual exclusivity. As Yankelovich (1981b) noted:

Those in hot pursuit of self-fulfillment do not wish to deprive themselves of the exhilarating freedom and adventure that comes with sexual openness. The old restrictions seem to make little sense in light of the duty-to-self ethic. To insist implacably on monogamy appears hypocritical or old-fashioned or stubbornly possessive. The old double standard made a restricted concession to the male: his transgressions must be limited in number, they must never be flaunted, appearances must be maintained and responsibilities toward the family must not be jeopardized. The new ethos abhors this outlook as hypocritical and demeaning to women and it is thoroughly rejected. (pp. 76-77).

In theory then, this endorsement of sexual freedom for marital partners of both sexes appears to signify a total rejection of established marital mores. Yankelovich (1981b) points out, however, that in actual practice, "the new as-long-as-it-doesn't-hurt-anyone norm does not appear to work very well when it comes to extramarital affairs" (p. 77).

It thus appears that Americans are now caught in a compelling clash between old and new values with regard to marriage and extramarital relationships. On the one hand, the ethos of self-fulfillment legitimizes the right of the individual to fulfill certain needs and desires through the pursuit of extramarital relationships. On the other hand, such relationships remain a violation of a moral norm. They are, therefore, along with "mental disorder, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempt, and radical political behavior," what Goffman (1963) calls a "blemish of character," or a type of characterological stigma (p. 4). The conflict between these two opposing norms can be seen in the ambivalence and strain experienced by the individuals at the forefront

of the cultural transition, and in the society as a whole it is seen in the more tolerant reaction to extramarital relationships. In terms of the present discussion of the social control of extramarital sexuality, this means that there are no longer clearly defined norms governing these controls. As such, the social response to extramarital relationships, whether censure or tolerance, is much more particularisticly based today than ever before in our cultural history.

Psychological/Psychiatric Controls

Since the mental health establishment generally operates in service to the values, laws and mores of the culture at large, it is understandable that clinical theory and practice have traditionally lent support to the monogamous ideal by appending diagnostic labels to those who deviate from this norm. The origin and significance of this form of social control has been aptly stated by Whitehurst (1969):

Society in part is formed and maintained on a moral basis reflecting behavior which must be sanctioned and held as appropriate for most members. One of the means by which society sanctions behavior and operates is by the use of certain boundary-maintaining mechanisms . . . The monogamous base of American society is in part maintained by defining as deviant certain acts and people who do not fit the ideal prescribed. Since adultery cannot be openly tolerated in this system, it is necessary to have tags and procedures to identify the deviants and . . . develop social solidarity and a sense of identity for those who remain true to the ideal. It is suggested here that the boundary-maintenance reasons constitute one of the major bases for acceptance of psychological and psychiatric definitions of the adulterer in America. (p. 130)

The clinical opinion put forth over the years has thus held that extramarital sexual behavior is not only aberrant and problematic, but indicative as well of emotional immaturity (Bartusis, 1978; Maslow, 1953; Masters & Johnson, 1974; Moulton, 1977; Saul, 1967), neurosis

(Bergler, 1963; Feldman, 1964; Freud, 1910; 1912/1959; Horney, 1937; Streaun, 1976; 1980), and character disorder (Caprio, 1953; Ellis & Harper, 1962, Lee & Lusfig, 1974; Salzman, 1972; Spalt, 1975). These are indeed powerful labels, what Whitehurst calls "psychiatric curse word usage" (p. 130), and they illustrate the punitive force that has been wielded by psychology and psychiatry as arms of society in regulating the monogamous code.

Freud, (1910; 1912/1957) whose theory of healthy and mature psychological functioning is predicated on conformity (Hall & Lindzey, 1978), provided the groundwork for the clinical perspective on extramarital sex, and its attendant focus on etiology and treatment (Elbaum, 1981; Masters and Johnson, 1974; Moulton, 1977; Peck, 1975). In his essays, Contributions to The Psychology of Love I and II, Freud (1910; 1912/1957) explained his viewpoints on the etiology of extramarital sexual behavior. In essence, he postulated that individuals who seek sexual involvements outside their marriage do so because of unresolved Oedipal and Electra strivings. They are inhibited from achieving sexual satisfaction with their spouse because the spouse, as a symbol of their own parent and an object of love and affection, cannot also be an object of erotic desires. It is then this split between "affection and sensuality" (p. 181), between "sacred and profane love," (p. 185) which according to Freud (1921/1957), impels the individual to seek sexual satisfaction with extramarital partners.

Of further note are Freud's (1912/1957) comments suggesting that the human draw to extramarital sexual relations is a universal tendency grounded in human anatomical structure and physiological function:

The damage caused by the initial frustration of sexual pleasure is seen in the fact that the freedom later given to that pleasure in marriage does not bring full satisfaction. But at the same time, if sexual freedom is unrestricted from the outset the result is no better. It can easily be shown that the psychical value of erotic needs is reduced as soon as their satisfaction becomes easy. An obstacle is required in order to heighten libido; and where natural resistances to satisfaction have not been sufficient men have at times erected conventional ones so as to be able to enjoy love. This is true of individuals and of nations . . . It is my belief that, however strange it may sound, we must reckon with the possibility that something in the nature of the sexual instinct itself is unfavorable to the realization of complete satisfaction . . . This may explain the inconstancy in object-choice, the 'craving for stimulation' which is so often a feature of the love of adults. (pp. 187-189)

Freud thus addressed what he believed to be the central dilemma confronted by society in its prohibition of nonmonogamous relationships - the very fact of prohibition heightens the attractiveness of such relations, but without the prohibition society would not exist as we know it. As a social conformist Freud clearly saw the need for the prohibition, and to this end his psychoanalytic theory provided for its rationale.

Clinical writers and opinion makers of various theoretical persuasions have, over about the last twenty years, increasingly called into question the traditional proscription on extramarital relationships and the concomitant view that they are axiomatically unhealthy (Block, 1978; Coleman, 1977; Francis, 1977; Libby & Whitehurst, 1977; Myers & Leggitt, 1975; Neubeck, 1969; Spotnitz & Freeman, 1964; Sprenkle & Weis, 1978; Weil, 1975; Ziskin & Ziskin, 1973). As Bernard (1977) has noted, "the current trend seems sometimes to be, in fact, not only in the direction of tolerance but even, in some cases, of advocacy" (p. 139). This is a significant shift of

opinion given the remarks of Kinsey et al. in 1948 that "only an occasional writer suggests that there may be .pa values in such experience which can be utilized for human needs" (p. 591).

In a recent survey of a small nationally drawn sample ($N = 190$) of marriage and family counselors, for example, a significant percentage of the counselors stated that they were professionally supportive of clients' involvement in open marriage (43% vs. 16%) and clandestine extramarital relationships (33% vs. 25%) (Knapp, 1975). Moreover, those counselors who had themselves been involved sexually with partners outside their marriage were found to be the most acceptant and "to see sexually nontraditional clients as normal in personality, unlike counselors who had not participated in outside sex . . . who had a strong tendency to judge such clients as neurotic, personality disordered, and antisocial (Knapp, 1975, p. 511). This liberalization of attitudes toward extramarital activities has consequently made it possible for individuals who are engaging in these practices both to avoid perjorative psychiatric labels and to legitimize their conduct through contact with a like minded and sympathetic therapist. In fact, the point has been made that such individuals have a right to a "particular kind of nonjudgmental understanding from the therapist" (Coleman, 1977, p. 76) and that therapists whose values conflict with this posture should advise clients of their bias, and perhaps, even recommend that the clients go elsewhere for therapy (Knapp, 1975; Margolin, 1982). A further and particularly cogent illustration of this acceptant trend in counseling is found in the fact that therapeutic strategies have been devised to help resolve interpersonal

conflicts within extramarital pairs themselves so as not to "impede future growth of the relationships" (Coleman, 1977, p. 76). And a psychiatrist has recently authored a book in which he provides extensive guidelines for selecting an appropriate extramarital partner (McGinnis, 1981).

The most pointed illustration of the acceptance of extramarital sexual relationships that has occurred in the psychological/psychiatric community comes, however, from those works in which the authors argue that these relationships are an essential aspect of living (Kieffer, 1977; Myers, 1977; Neubeck, 1969), that they enhance marital relationships and contribute to their permanence (Francoeur & Francoeur, 1977; Mazur, 1977; Weil, 1975), and that they are themselves a sign of healthy psychological functioning (Ellis, 1968; 1969 Ellis & Harper, 1961). For example, in his article entitled, "Healthy and Disturbed Reasons for Having Extramarital Relations," Ellis (1969) stated that:

The man who resides in a large urban area and who never once, during thirty or more years of married life, is sorely tempted to engage in adultery for purpose of sexual variety is to be suspected of being indeed biologically and/or psychologically abnormal; and he who frequently has such desires and who occasionally and unobtrusively carries them into practice is well within the normal healthy range. (p. 492)

This is certainly quite a reversal of the clinical views which have traditionally prevailed. It is interesting to note, however, how strongly Ellis's view resembles the double-standard (in an earlier article, Ellis, 1962, did, in fact, describe women's extramarital activities as symptomatic of character disorder), which makes it appear in turn as little more than a psychological rationale developed to

explain pre-existing social facts. Indeed, this points up a problem which has pervaded the clinical literature since Freud - given the dearth of substantive research on extramarital relationships, clinical theoreticians and practitioners have frequently masqueraded their own values, experience, and everyday observations as psychological and biological truths. Despite this flaw, it is still important to consider the newly formulated perspective on extramarital sexuality since there is an obvious reciprocal relationship between cultural and psychological/psychiatric values and practices.

Ellis's (1969) explication of the "healthy" and "disturbed" reasons for engaging in extramarital relations exemplifies the pluralistic nature of current clinical thinking about extramarital relations (p. 153). Herein, he proposed that individual motivation for engaging in an extramarital relationship is the major determinant of its healthy/unhealthy nature. In accordance with this, he specified seven 'healthy' reasons for engaging in a sexual relationship with someone other than one's spouse - sexual variety, romantic love, acquiring new experience, adventure, curiosity about sex, social approval, and sexual deprivation. The 'unhealthy' reasons he listed, of which there were eight, were low tolerance for frustration, hostile feelings toward the spouse, depreciation of self, ego bolstering, general escapism, marital escapism, disturbed sexuality, and needs for excitement.

Certainly there are problems with Ellis's very subjective analysis. How does one distinguish, for example, between needs for romantic love and marital escapism? What is most significant is,

however, the theme of personal and psychological need fulfillment which underlies his list of healthy motives. His commentary in this regard is instructive:

Loving, courting, going to bed with, and maintaining an ongoing relationship with a member of the other sex are all interesting and gratifying experiences, not only because of the elements of sex and love . . . but also because the sex-love partners learn a great many things about themselves and . . . because they experience thoughts, feelings, and interchanges that would otherwise probably never come their way . . . The healthy, experience-hungry married individual, therefore, will be quite motivated, at least at times during his conjugal life, to add to the experiences which he is likely to obtain through marriage itself. (p. 493)

Ellis thus employs the language of the self-fulfillment ethic to describe healthy motivation for an extramarital relationship. Indeed, it reflects what Yankelovich says many Americans have come to believe - that it may actually be unnatural, immoral, or unhealthy not to fulfill their various and sundry needs and desires. And this adds up, of course, to a rather compelling argument in favor of sexual relations outside marriage. This is, in fact, a major theme woven throughout the positive conceptualization of extramarital relations which has emerged in the clinical literature (i.e., references cited previously).

The "advocacy" by clinicians of extramarital relations, of which Bernard (1977, p. 139) spoke, is thus predicated to a large extent on a psychological need fulfillment model of human growth and functioning (which is ironic in light of Maslow's 1953 report that self-actualizers are less likely to engage in extramarital relationships). Of greatest import in terms of the present discussion, the commitment of at least some psychological professionals to this advocacy stance, and to the model on which it rests, signifies that the system of psychological/

psychiatric controls imposed on extramarital relations has been significantly ruptured. Support of the monogamous code from this particular social institution has consequently been partially withdrawn.

Conclusion

In sum, the evidence reviewed demonstrates that the traditional institutional controls of extramarital relationships - religious, legal, social and psychiatric - have been markedly attenuated in contemporary society. As such, violations of the monogamous code no longer inexorably result in either the actual, or symbolic stigmatization, or ostracism of the violators. In the broad scheme of American culture, such a shift in conduct and customs may be considered to reflect a changing ethic of both marriage and extramarital sexuality. Yankelovich (1981a; 1981b) believes, in fact, that American society is currently undergoing a "genuine cultural revolution" which is profoundly altering the social mores and codes which define human lives, relations, and institutions (p. 36). It is within this context then, the enormous cultural change currently afoot in our society, that one must look for the place that extramarital relations now occupy in the collective and individual lives of Americans. To begin to achieve this understanding, discussion will now turn to a survey of the social science literature on extramarital relationships. Against the backdrop of this literature, the chapter will conclude with a presentation of the rationale and hypotheses of the current investigation.

Literature Review

Extramarital sexual relations have received relatively little

attention in social psychology. To date, the preponderance of the research on this significant area of social behavior has been distinctively sociological and clinical in nature. Investigations include studies of what may be termed 'conventional' patterns of extramarital relations that are conducted without the knowledge and/or approval of the marriage partner, as well as studies of 'unconventional' patterns, in which relationships are carried on with the spouse's knowledge and/or approval (Clanton, 1977). These unconventional patterns, variously known as "consensual adultery" (Clanton, 1977), "open marriage" (Ziskin & Ziskin, 1973), "swinging" (Gilmartin, 1976; McCauley, 1974), "group marriage" (Constantine & Constantine, 1977), "mate sharing" (Gilmartin, 1977), and comarital sex (Libby, 1979), will not for the most part be included in the literature review which follows. As Reiss (1980) has observed, although clandestine extramarital relationships are the "most common types of affairs," they have attracted "the least" research attention because "researchers often choose types that interest themselves and this often involves a focus on a minority pattern of behavior" (p. 304).

Since the clinical research (and opinion) has already been discussed, sociological and social psychological investigations will be the focus of this review. For this purpose, the literature has been organized into the following categories:

1. Large scale surveys focused on incidence rates and predictor variables (e.g., age, religion, sex).
2. Large and small scale studies of extramarital sex attitudes and their predictors.

3. Small sample studies, based on questionnaire and interview data, of the attributes, personalities, and phenomenological experience of extramarital actors and the nature of their relationships.

4. Social psychology studies of actor/observer perceptions and cognitions regarding extramarital sexual behavior.

Discussion of each of these categories now follows.

The Incidence of Extramarital Relations

Kinsey's major reports (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) provided the first information about the occurrence of extramarital behavior in a large and relatively heterogeneous sample of Americans. Kinsey et al. found that 50% of the males and 26% of the females in their samples had experienced extramarital intercourse by forty years of age. Various demographic and background variables were also shown to be linked to extramarital sexual experience.

For both men and women, religiosity was negatively correlated with extramarital sex. And for males particularly, urban residence was positively related to extramarital experience. An interaction between educational level and age also occurred for the males. Extramarital activity appeared earlier in the marriages of males at lower educational levels, and then declined in frequency. Among college educated males, however, this pattern was reversed, extramarital activity began later in marriage and increased in frequency.

A different pattern of correlations emerged for the females in Kinsey's sample. Both age and socioeconomic status were found to be positively correlated with extramarital experience. A relationship was

also identified between extramarital experience and decade of birth. Among women born before 1900, 22% had an extramarital experience by 40 years of age, compared to a 30% rate of incidence for women of the same age born after 1900. Kinsey et al. (1953) attributed the higher incidence among the later generation to the "increased acceptance of sexual activities which began in this country . . . after the turn of the century" (p. 422).

The Kinsey et al. data can be faulted on two principal grounds - validity and generalizability. First, the interview methodology employed in the research left room for participants to cover over or give inaccurate and incomplete accounts of their extramarital experience. Recall that Kinsey et al. (1948) found upper class males especially reluctant to participate in their survey. Thus, Kinsey himself estimated that the occurrence of extramarital sexual behavior may have actually been "10 to 20 per cent" higher than indicated by the published data (Kinsey et al., 1948, p. 585).

Refusals to participate are related to the second flaw associated with the research - the nonrepresentative nature of the samples. The participants were all volunteers and the sample as a whole was biased toward a young, college educated, white, Protestant, urban, and northern population (Kim, 1969, Libby, 1977). The findings were not, therefore, generalizable to the population as a whole. Although this limitation is important to keep in mind because the Kinsey et al. data have served as baseline information for all the surveys which followed, it should also be noted that no study of the incidence of extramarital sex has yet been carried out with a random sample of the American

population.

Despite the failings in validity and generalizability, Kinsey and his colleagues, in addition to providing an informative quantitative analysis, also supplied a rudimentary analysis of the nature, causes, and outcomes of extramarital sexual relations. Kinsey et al. (1953) identified, for example, six causes of extramarital relations - sexual fulfillment with new or better partners, social status, independence, emotional satisfaction, and retaliation against the spouse - thus pointing up at least some of the motivational diversity underlying extramarital activities - a topic which, incidentally, has yet to be fully empirically explored. The investigators additionally noted that there were a wide range of outcomes associated with extramarital relationships, which, depending on the particulars of the relationship, did, or did not, involve marital difficulties, separation, or divorce. In addition to proposing that extramarital relationships need not negatively affect a marriage, as long as they are not emotionally involving and are kept secret, Kinsey further noted that they may sometimes actually have the effect of improving the marital relationship.

Further information about outcomes was based on participants' estimates of how important a role their, or their spouse's, extramarital activity had played in their divorce. When judging their own extramarital activity, 29% of the women and 27% of the men said that it played either a major or moderate role in their own divorce (Kinsey et al., 1953, p. 445). In contrast, fully 76% of the women, and 83% of the men reported that their spouse's extramarital sexual

activity played either a major or moderate role in their divorce (p. 445). Although this discrepancy in the perceptions of the causative role of extramarital relationships in divorce cannot be conclusively interpreted, it does appear to indicate that the actors in affairs may not fully recognize, and may even defensively deny, the impact of their extramarital relations of their marriages. Interestingly, except for one study by Whitehurst (1971), there has not as yet been any in depth social science investigation of spousal reactions to marital partner's extramarital sexual activities.

There is little question that the Kinsey et al. research was a landmark investigation in the history of social science's attempts to unravel the cloak of ignorance surrounding extramarital sexuality. Aside from providing the first large scale analysis of extramarital relations, the Kinsey et al. work pointed up some of the complexities of the phenomenon, and raised many of the questions which were to be pursued, and have yet to be pursued, in the later research. Less tangibly, the nature and character of the report, and its dissemination to the American public, may have itself contributed to our changing sexual values.

Over the last decade, there have been several large scale surveys of the incidence of extramarital sex. Under the auspices of the Playboy Foundation, Hunt (1974) collected information via questionnaire from a representative sample of 2,026 men and women from 24 cities and suburban areas across the United States. Hunt encountered the same problem as Kinsey did in enlisting participants' cooperation - only 1 in 5 of the prospective participants who were contacted by phone agreed

to participate. In comparison to the Kinsey data, Hunt's figures revealed no change in the incidence of extramarital sex for the population as a whole. He did, however, find an increase in incidence over the Kinsey figures in the under 25 group, a 5% increase for the males and a notable 16% for the females.

These changes suggest, as Hunt himself concluded, that there is a trend for extramarital sex to occur earlier in people's lives and that the women's extramarital practices are becoming more and more like the men's. The double standard, at least on a behavioral level, would thus appear to be on the wane. Of further note, Hunt found little change from the Kinsey analysis in terms of the more qualitative aspects of extramarital relationships - most respondents said they would disapprove of their spouses engaging in extramarital activity, and those who were involved kept them secret from their spouse.

The increasing and earlier incidence of extramarital sex among women was corroborated in a survey conducted by Bell, Turner, & Rosen (1975). Their sample was comprised of 2,262 married women obtained by means of an "availability snowball technique" (Libby, 1977, p. 99) in which questionnaires were distributed to participants via a network of marriage and family professionals. The sample was consequently not random and compared to married women in general it was biased toward younger, well educated, working women. Findings revealed that 26% of the women had extramarital sexual experience by 35 years of age in comparison to the Kinsey data which showed the same percentage by age forty. The authors projected, in turn, that the 30 year old and under women in their sample would eventually reach an incidence rate of

extramarital sex between 40% to 50%.

The Bell et al. findings further showed that the women tended to maintain relatively long term extramarital sexual relations, only 16 percent of the women having reported a single extramarital sexual experience. Finally, happiness of the marriage was identified as the best predictor of extramarital sex, 55% of the women who rated their marriage as fair to very poor reported having at least one extramarital sexual relationship, compared to only 20% of the women who rated their marriage as good or very good. But the authors stressed that many happily married women also reported having extramarital experience. This suggests that a full account of the determinants of extramarital sexual behavior must involve a whole range of variables, including cultural (e.g., social, legal, and religious norms), personal, demographic, psychological (e.g., values and attitudes), marital, and situational (e.g., opportunity and incentives) factors.

Another survey with women, carried out through a questionnaire published in Redbook magazine, attracted more than 100,000 mailed in responses (Tavris & Sadd, 1977). The sample, which was not, of course, representative, reflected the typical characteristics of volunteers in so far as participants were younger, more highly educated, and more affluent. The incidence of extramarital sex, higher than that reported by Kinsey, is in accordance with the more recent survey data previously cited. Thirty percent of the entire sample reported having extramarital sexual experience and the highest rate for all age groups, 38%, was reported by women 35 to 39 years of age.

Once again, the incidence of extramarital sex was found to be

related to marital happiness - the highest rate occurring among women who evaluated their marriage as very poor (65%), and the lowest rate occurring among those who evaluated their marriage as very good (19%). These rates are, of course, very similar to those reported by Bell et al., (1975). And in line with Kinsey's et al. findings, religious devoutness was found to be "the strongest inhibiting force against" extramarital sex, only 15% of the very religious versus 36% of the nonreligious wives having reported extramarital experience (Tavris & Sadd, 1977, p. 117).

Most interestingly, because of its causal implications for the diminishing difference in the extramarital sexual activity of men and women, employment outside the home substantially increased the likelihood of a married woman having an extramarital relationship. In the 35 to 39 year old group, for example, 53% of the wives employed full-time, in comparison to 24% of the housewives, had reported engaging in extramarital sex. That this difference was due to the fact that work outside the home provided more opportunities to meet appropriate sexual partners was also substantiated by the data. To this point, "the rates for part-time workers and for housewives who do volunteer work fell exactly between the rates for full-time workers and full-time housewives" (p. 117).

The incidence of extramarital sexual behavior has also been reported in a survey based on the responses of 20,000 men and women to a questionnaire published in Psychology Today (Athanasiou, Shaver, & Tavris, 1970). While noting the unrepresentative nature of the sample (young, liberal, educated, affluent, and nonreligious), the overall

results showed that 40% of the husbands versus 36% of the wives reported having extramarital sex. These results are, of course, consistent with the previously cited research on equally unrepresentative samples. Unique to this study, respondents were questioned about their romantic attitudes (e.g., "being in love gives us meaning and direction") (Athanasίου et al., 1970, p. 41), which led in turn to the findings that romanticism (as it was measured) was related to happier marriages and that high romantics were less likely to become involved in extramarital relationships. The results suggest, of course, that romanticism simply served as an index of marital happiness. Marital happiness may thus have also mediated the finding of a follow-up study (Athanasίου & Sarkin, 1974) which showed that romanticism was inversely related to number of extramarital partners for the husbands in the sample. Of further note a correlation was found between premarital and extramarital experience for both sexes in this follow-up study. Kinsey et al. (1953) had reported this relationship for his female sample only (13% vs. 29%).

A third follow-up study (Glass & Wright, 1977), based on a 1 in 10 random sample of the original 20,000 respondents, involved an examination of the relationship between marital satisfaction and extramarital involvement. Fundamentally, the findings showed that this relationship varied for husbands and wives according to the length of their marriage. Men and women who had extramarital involvements were found to report lower marital satisfaction, with the exception of women in young marriages and men in older marriages. In accounting for these findings, it may be, as the authors speculated, that extramarital

relations conducted within the context of a satisfying marriage are motivated more by sexual than emotional reasons. Thus, according to this analysis, the younger women and older men may have been involved in sexually, rather than emotionally oriented, relations outside their marriage.

More recent data from a Psychology Today survey (Hassett, 1981), based on the replies of more than 24,100 readers, provides evidence for a rather dramatic increase in the incidence of extramarital sex among women. Overall, 45% of the married respondents reported having engaged in extramarital sexual activities. Most remarkably, there was little discrepancy in the rates for men and women - 49% and 44% respectively. Compared to the 36% rate of incidence for women reported in the 1970 Athanasiou et al. study, this is, of course, an increase of 8% for women (versus only a 4% increase for the men). Despite the fact that these findings cannot be generalized to the population as a whole, they do corroborate the trend for a high incidence of extramarital sex among the young, well educated, upper socioeconomic status members of the population. And they also bespeak the reality of equality between the sexes in this aspect of socio-sexual behavior.

The 1981 Psychology Today survey, actually a questionnaire study of moral choices and values in everyday life, is of additional interest because it is the only empirical study specifically focused on responses to extramarital sexual relations within the context of ethics. Most pointedly, "roughly a third of those who answered an optional question about their most troubling moral dilemma described a situation involving sex, usually an extramarital affair" (Hassett,

1981, p. 34). High rates of extramarital sex notwithstanding, these findings indicate (as Yankelevich observed) that many individuals are conflicted about their sexual involvements outside of marriage. Indeed, 84% of those who reported engaging in extramarital sex said that they felt guilty about their behavior. This finding takes on added significance when considered against the fact that 54% of the sample said they would owe money to the government if their tax statements were audited, although 59% of the sample reported that they felt guilty about their income tax returns.

Four main conclusions can be drawn from the overall pattern of findings on the incidence of extramarital sex: (a) extramarital sexual activity appears to be a frequent occurrence among married Americans, (b) extramarital relations are often, but not always associated with an unhappy marital relationship, (c) the rate of participation among women has demonstrably increased since Kinsey et al. (1953) made their report on frequencies, and (d) among the younger, better educated, and higher socioeconomic status members of the population, there is trend toward near equality in the rates of married men and women.

This latter finding has been substantiated most recently by a survey carried out through a questionnaire published in Playboy magazine (Petersen, Kretchmer, Nellis, Lever, & Hertz, 1983). Data were based on the responses of 65,396 men and 14,928 women (40% of whom were married) to the questionnaire. Although the findings have limited generalizability because of the sexually avant garde nature of the Playboy readership, they do elucidate the nature of sexual conduct among the more permissive "younger, more educated and more affluent"

(p. 108) members of the population.

Overall, 48% of the men and 38% of the women reported that they had an extramarital relationship. The data on incidence are most interesting, however, when broken down by age: (a) 21-29 years - 25% of the men vs. 34% the women, (b) 30-39 years - 54% of the men vs. 50% of the women, and (c) 40-49 years - 71% of the men vs. 65% of the women (p. 244). These findings are truly remarkable in terms of the high overall incidence and the higher rate for women in the twenty year old age group. And although it should be underscored that the findings cannot be applied to the general population, they do signify a prodigious shift away from traditional standards of conduct for at least this one segment of the population.

Finally, it should be noted that the large scale surveys on incidence have not generally provided a great deal of systematic information on the more qualitative aspects of extramarital sexual relationships. Most notably, since the Kinsey et al. (1948; 1953) research, minimal evidence on the effects and outcomes of extramarital relationships has been added to the literature. How often and under what circumstances do these relationships enhance or detract from the marital relationship? What effects do they have on the actors, marital partners, and children? And when do they result in dissolution of the marriage? These are questions which all remain to be definitively answered with sound empirical data. Certainly there is some interesting and even excellent writing on these topics, Evelyn Berger's (1971) book, for example, is a cogent analysis of the emotional impact of extramarital relationships on the uninvolved partner (especially

wives), the marriage and the children. But this book is, in the main, a therapeutic guide based on the clinical experience of the author, and it is, by definition, anecdotal and impressionistic. Objective research is thus called for to support such endeavors.

A second issue of import, the secrecy involved in carrying on extramarital relationships which are not sanctioned by the spouse (which appears to be the majority of these relationships, see Hasset, 1981; Hunt, 1974; Kinsey et al., 1948; 1953; Tavris & Sadd, 1977) has only been touched on lightly in this literature. In the Psychology Today survey of moral issues (Hasset, 1981), for example, next to concerns about sexual conduct (especially extramarital relationships), respondents most often reported that lying represented one of the most ethically troubling aspects of their lives. Exactly how extramarital actors and their spouses are affected by the duplicitous aspects of extramarital relations thus appears to merit objective attention. It is unclear in this regard, how extensively and successfully such secrecy is ordinarily maintained; how many spouses develop suspicions about a partner's extramarital involvement (9% of the women in Kinsey's et al. sample reported that their husbands suspected), and how spouses act in response to such suspicions - do they confront their partner, or do they adopt a false front before their spouses, families, and community, which masks their suspicious awareness. There are, therefore, a host of social, psychological, interpersonal, and ethical questions pertaining to secrecy which need to be explored.

Attitudes Toward Extramarital Relationships

Information about attitudes toward extramarital sex, collected

from national samples, indicates that there is a great split between what Americans say and actually do about extramarital relationships, for as a collectivity, Americans do not approve of extramarital sex for either married women (79%) or married men (76%) (Yankelovich, 1981b). Americans' profession of belief in the monogamous code, despite the evident prevalence with which it is violated, thus lays bare the nature of the conflict which now exists between new and old values. This is underscored by the findings of the General Social Surveys, conducted yearly by the National Opinion Research Center between 1972 and 1977, which show a clear majority of Americans ($\bar{M} = 71.3\%$) consistently holding the view that extramarital sexual relations are "always wrong" (Glenn & Weaver, 1977, p. 113). In contrast, only a small percentage ($\bar{M} = 3.5\%$) reported that they were "not wrong at all" (p. 113).

Data from two older, but large scale surveys of women in Britain (Chesser, 1956) and France (French Institute of Public Opinion, 1961) indicate that European women's attitudes, at least in the past, have been similarly disapproving (although the French women were shown to disapprove less of men's than women's extramarital activities). More recent data regarding the attitudes of Europeans, although based on university students, is interesting because it involves both cross-cultural and intra-cultural comparisons (Christensen, 1962; 1973). In his 1962 study Christensen reported on the extramarital sex attitudes of students from a Danish university, an American university in the midwest, and a Mormon oriented university in the western United States. While the majority of students disapproved of extramarital sex, Danish students were found to be the most permissive, whereas students from

the Mormon school were the most restrictive.

Christensen (1973) replicated this investigation ten years later with samples from the same three universities and additional samples of students from Sweden, a Catholic university in Belgium, Taiwan, two southern black colleges, and a Catholic and a Mennonite college in the midwest. More than half the students disapproved of extramarital sex, but again Danish students were found to be the most permissive, followed in order by the Swedish, Black, and Belgian students. The most restrictive attitudes were held by the Mennonites, American Catholics, Mormons, and Taiwanese.

Gender differences were also identified; females in all cultures were more disapproving than males, while males were far more likely than females to endorse the double standard. Southern black males were in fact the strongest supporters of the double standard. Not surprisingly, perhaps, disapproval of extramarital sex was also found to be lower among sexually experienced students. As to attitude change over time, Christensen did find a trend for greater permissiveness over the ten years, the greatest change having occurred in the Danish samples.

Christensen (1973) also asked subjects the extent to which they would approve of a married man's or woman's extramarital sexual relationship in each of three commitment conditions: (a) if the individual felt the need for sexual release during a long separation from his/her spouse (e.g., with prostitutes), (b) if the individual fell in love with an unmarried individual, and (c) if the individual fell in love with someone who was married. Approval of extramarital

sex decreased with each assumption of greater involvement in all three cultures. It was highest for a married person seeking sexual release during absence from the spouse, and the lowest for a married person falling in love with another married person. In addition, the influence of the double standard on approval decreased as the level of commitment increased.

While disapproval of extramarital sex appears to be the normative attitude in both American and European cultures, there also exists, as the evidence already suggests, some measure of variability in attitudes toward extramarital relationships. Using data from the 1974 National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey's, Singh, Walton, & Williams (1974) examined extramarital attitudes in relation to respondents' age, sex, race, social class, marital status, premarital sex attitudes, religiosity, liberality, and family satisfaction. Of all these factors, extramarital permissiveness was found to be most strongly associated with premarital permissiveness. Approval of extramarital sex was less strongly linked with being liberal, unmarried, black, male, and less religious. Of further note, age, social class, and marital satisfaction were not found to be significantly related to extramarital sex attitudes.

Glenn and Weaver (1979) reported the results of an analysis similar to the Singh et al. investigation using 4 years of NORC survey data from the mid-seventies. The profile of those more likely to approve of extramarital sex showed that they tended to be Jewish, nonreligious, young, and highly educated. A somewhat different pattern of correlates thus emerged in comparison to the Singh et al. study.

Glenn and Weaver did report, however, that those people who were more permissive with regard to extramarital sex, tended also to be more permissive regarding premarital and homosexual relations. Taken together, the two studies thus suggest that attitudes toward extramarital relations are a function of general sexual permissiveness or liberalism.

Reiss, Anderson & Sponaugle (1980) tested a model of the factors affecting extramarital permissiveness using the 1977 NORC data and partial data from the 1973, 1974, and 1976 surveys. Results showed that marital happiness, premarital sexual permissiveness, and education directly affected extramarital permissiveness; linking approval once again with high education and liberal premarital sex attitudes. In addition, sex, age, religiosity, political liberalism, and gender equality were shown to exert their effects on extramarital permissiveness indirectly through the three major variables.

The findings of the 1970 Psychology Today survey on sex buttress those based on the NORC data (Athanasidou, Shaver, & Tavris, 1970). In their sample of over 20,000 politically liberal, young, well-educated, and high socioeconomic status individuals, 70% of the respondents endorsed the view that men and women should be free to make their own decisions about extramarital sex, and only 22% reported it "wrong whatever the reason" (p. 43).

Alston (1974) focused specifically on how Protestant and Catholic religious affiliation affected attitudes toward extramarital sex. Based on the 1965 NORC survey, he reported that both Protestants and Catholics disapprove of extramarital sex more strongly than premarital

sex. Of note, Glenn & Weaver (1979) found that Catholics were somewhat less restrictive than Protestants in extramarital sex attitudes.

Some of the most interesting information about attitudes comes from the Psychology Today survey (Hassett, 1981) of ethical choices which was mentioned earlier. The respondents' attitudes toward a fantasized extramarital involvement demonstrated that even among a liberal sample of young, upscale Americans, extramarital relations may be viewed through the lens of conventional morality. In answer to the question of what they would do, given the opportunity to have sexual relations with a nonmarital partner, 37% of the respondents said either that they would or probably would, although 68% said that doing so was probably unethical. Interestingly, given the conditions that they probably would not be caught, the number willing to engage in extramarital sex increased to 42%, and given that their extramarital partner was very attractive, the number increased even more, to 50%. At this point, these are rather unique findings in the empirical literature on extramarital relationships, which are notably discrepant from the more permissive attitudes expressed by the respondents to the 1970 Athanasiou et al. survey. This discrepancy could be due to the contrasting content and focus of the surveys (sexual behavior versus ethical issues), however, rather than a turn toward conservatism among the latest group of respondents.

The literature on attitudes toward extramarital sex also includes several investigations with college student populations. A study (Andrus, Redfering, & Oglesby, 1977) of a volunteer sample of 100 southern college students found that more positive extramarital sex

attitudes were associated with actual extramarital experience and a lower need for social approval. In addition, over 70% of the students reported that they desired to have an extramarital experience, with greater desire expressed on the part of the males.

Taking a somewhat different approach, Bukstel, Roeder, Kilmann, & Laughlin (1978) asked a sample of over 500 unmarried undergraduates and graduate students from a southern university, if they foresaw engaging in extramarital sex after marriage. A correlation was found between number of premarital sex partners and the expectancy of extramarital sexual activity. Premarital permissiveness thus appeared once again as a significant influence on extramarital sexual involvement. This study is of further interest because the authors reported some of the students' thoughts and expectancies about the nature of extramarital relationships:

The more certain individuals were that they would engage in EMS behavior, the more they expected EMS involvement to have rewarding consequences. Individuals who expected to engage in EMS behavior expected to find EMS involvement more emotionally and sexually satisfying than marital relations. They expected that EMS behavior would be more adventurous and would increase feelings of inner security. The subjects also expected that EMS involvement would increase their social status and afford them the opportunity to feel very independent. (p. 339)

Although as the authors pointed out, one cannot discount the role of cognitive dissonance in producing such a positive portrait of extramarital relations, these students' beliefs are instructive precisely because they provide some insight into the cognitions that may predispose an individual to engage in extramarital sex.

Weiss & Slosnerick (1981) studied the attitudes toward extramarital sexual relationships of undergraduates from a New England

university. The majority of the students were found to disapprove of extramarital sex. Approval was in turn associated with being male, being Jewish, approving of premarital sex, a tendency to separate love-sex-marriage, marital dissatisfaction, and what the authors vaguely defined as personal motivations for extramarital sex. The best predictors of approval were premarital permissiveness, dissociation of sex-love-marriage, and gender.

More recently, attitudes toward extramarital sexual behavior were studied in a group of 200 southern undergraduates (Medora & Burton, 1981). While most students disapproved of extramarital sex, males (39%) were more approving than females (22%). Students also overwhelmingly disagreed with the notion that extramarital sex could strengthen a troubled marriage. Religiosity, defined in terms of church attendance, was also found to be negatively correlated with permissive attitudes regarding extramarital sex. Another aspect of this survey, although poorly conceptualized and operationlized, involved an attempt to assess justifications for extramarital relationships. Herein, males were more likely than females to endorse all of the justifications - including absence from the spouse, marital dissatisfaction, falling in love, and physical unattractiveness or physical malfunctioning of the spouse. It also appeared that there was some tendency among the small number of females who approved of extramarital sex to justify it on the basis of love rather than problems with a spouse, whereas the reverse held true for the males.

Finally, in the survey with professional marriage counselors (Knapp, 1975) discussed earlier, data were obtained linking

characteristics of the counselors with their attitudes toward extramarital relationships. Those counselors who were most approving of EMS were profiled as males holding doctorates in medicine, sociology, or education who had themselves actually engaged in EMS.

The preceding discussion of attitudes toward extramarital sexual relationships largely omitted consideration of the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Maykovich (1976) specifically addressed this issue in a cross-cultural study of 200 middle class, middle aged, married women from the United States and Japan. Significantly more American (56%) than Japanese (31%) women were found to approve of extramarital sex. And American women showed a somewhat higher incidence of extramarital sex than did the Japanese women (32% vs. 27%).

Of note, approval was more often associated with experience among the Americans (22%) than among the Japanese (6%); whereas disapproval was associated with experience more often among the Japanese (21%) than the Americans (10%). Thus, the relationship between attitudes and behavior is by no means one to one, but the association does appear stronger in the American sample - a finding which may be due, as the author suggested, to "the absence of restrictive norms and presence of opportunity" in the more permissive culture of America (p. 694). If this is, in fact, a valid explanation, then 34% of the American women who approved of extramarital sex, but who had not reported an extramarital involvement, may have simply lacked opportunities.

In sum, data from national and cross-national samples and subsamples consistently show that disapproval of extramarital

relationships is the majority view. The findings further demonstrate that attitudes toward extramarital relationships are linked to a variety of variables, including: (a) attitudes toward premarital sex (Reiss et al., 1980; Singh et al., 1974; Weiss et al., 1981), (b) premarital sexual experience (Bukstel et al., 1978; Christensen, 1962; 1973), (c) religious background (Alston, 1974; Christensen, 1962; 1973; Glenn & Weaver, 1979; Medora & Burton, 1981; Reiss et al., 1980, Singh et al., 1974), (d) liberal attitudes (Glenn & Weaver, 1979; Reiss et al., 1980; Singh et al., 1974), (e) education (Athanasίου et al., 1970; Glenn & Weaver, 1979; Reiss et al., 1980), (f) cultural, racial and ethnic background (Christensen, 1962; 1973; Medora & Burton, 1981; Reiss et al., 1980; Weiss & Slosnerick, 1981), (g) marital happiness (Reiss et al., 1980; Weiss & Slosnerick, 1981), (h) extramarital experience (Andrus et al. Knapp, 1975), and (i) situational factors such as type of extramarital involvement (Christensen, 1962; 1973; Medora & Burton, 1981).

Whether these variables, singly or taken together, can predict extramarital involvement is, however a moot point. In general, social psychology has shown that the attitude-behaviour relationship is not very consistent, and Maykovich's (1976) research has demonstrated this with regard to extramarital relationships. Further research is thus needed to clarify the predictive power of the range of variables delineated above. As Edwards (1973) has suggested, this would be an initial step toward developing a sociological theory of extramarital involvement.

Small Scale Studies

The small scale research on extramarital relationships represents a very mixed bag of investigations in terms of content and methodology. Neubeck & Schletzer (1962), in a rather dated study, examined the relationship of marital satisfaction and strength of conscience (i.e., score on the Psychopathic Deviate Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) to actual and fantasized extramarital involvement. He reported that: (a) subjects who were low in strength of conscience were more likely to be involved in extramarital sexual activity, and (b) subjects low in marital satisfaction were more likely to engage in fantasized rather than actual extramarital involvement. Unfortunately, the small sample of 40 couples precluded statistical analysis of the interaction between strength of conscience and marital satisfaction; this limitation combined with the dubious appropriateness of the conscience measure, make it difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions about the results. The use of a projective measure of extramarital involvement, essentially a scenario depicting varying degrees of involvement, was, however, an innovative approach which Johnson (1970a; 1970b; 1972) later employed in his research.

Johnson, (1970a; 1970b; 1972) carried out a study of actual and fantasized extramarital involvement with a sample of middle aged, middle class couples. In the sample, only 20% of the husbands and 10% of the wives reported having extramarital sexual experience. However, the importance of opportunity as a determinant of extramarital involvement was shown by two types of data. First, given the opportunity to interact with someone of the opposite sex while their

spouse was away, 69% of the husbands and 56% of the wives said they would be inclined to do so. This does not indicate that they would engage in extramarital sex, but as Johnson pointed out, it does, more or less, set the stage for the activity.

Second, Johnson found that extramarital sex was linked to perceived opportunities. In this regard, he reported that in 28% of the marriages, either the husband or wife reported an extramarital involvement, however, this rate increased to 40% in marriages where the husband or wife reported opportunities for extramarital sex. It is also of note that among respondents reporting no opportunities, 48% of the husbands versus only 5% of the wives said they would like to have a sexual experience with someone other than their spouse. Overall, these findings underscore the importance of opportunity as a mediating factor in extramarital involvement.

Whitehurst (1969) has reported the results of a study on the relation of alienation to extramarital sexual activity among a sample of upper middle class, midwestern males ($N = 112$). Alienation was defined in terms of scales which putatively tapped "powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, and social isolation" (p. 138). He found that 33% of the men had engaged in sex outside their marriages and that "80% of all the extensive extramarital involvement," as well as the "isolated and passing affairs . . . (and) short affairs" were "indulged in by the high alienation group" (p. 139). Those high in alienation were also found to score especially high on powerlessness and social isolation. According to these results then, needs for both power and intimacy appeared as important motives in the men's pursuit

of extramarital relationships.

Whitehurst also took account of opportunity as a determinant of extramarital involvements. Noting that only 41% of the men in his sample reported opportunity as a "crucial factor in determining fidelity" (p. 140), he offered this analysis:

This response . . . may . . . indicate, however, that males become conditioned to the problem of opportunity, and that our social structure in general does not provide great . . . opportunity for extramarital expression . . . It also means that opportunity is conditioned by the social structure. Opportunity appears to be dependent upon the social situation in which the male operates. For example, the nature of the significant others one is involved with are either supportive of extramarital activities or in some significant ways tend to limit opportunity severely. If reference group support is lacking (and, most significantly, from male peers) a male will be less likely to find opportunity unless he is a singular deviant . . . Possibly, those scoring low in alienation avoid opportunities for EMS by enveloping themselves in a social structure which supports conformity . . . this creates an impossibility for deviation extramaritally because of the web of social control with which this kind of person surrounds himself. (p. 140)

Whitehurst thus recognized that a reciprocal interaction between individuals and their social situation underlies the presence or absence of opportunity for extramarital sexual relationships. And his analysis cogently demonstrates the need to take into account personal and marital factors, as well as the social surround, in explaining extramarital sexual behavior.

Whitehurst (1971) reported the results of another study focused on husbands' potential for violence in response to their wives extramarital sexual relationships. Data were based on over 100 court cases, a survey of students and middle-class adult males ($N = 142$), and counseling material from a group of 20 couples in open marriages. The court cases observed typically involved lower class husbands who had

physically abused their wives. And in most of the cases, husbands justified their assaults against their wives by accusing them, usually unjustifiably according to Whitehurst, of a sexual involvement with another man.

That a significant number of middle class men may also be prone to violence in an extramarital sex situation was also revealed by the data. A majority of the males (62%) surveyed disagreed at some level with the statement that "no EMS situation created the justification for acting violently against the spouse," and over half said that if their wife became involved sexually with another man, "they could not help responding with jealousy and felt they would be prone to respond with some sort of violent reaction against the spouse" (p. 689). While these findings can by no means be generalized to males in general, they certainly convey the grave consequences that can result from the double standard in combination with male aggressiveness.

Several of the smaller scale studies which have employed interview methodologies, although unsystematic and impressionistic, are especially interesting because they provide a vivid and personal account of extramarital sexual relationships from the actor's point of view. As such, they are an important source of information about the meaning and practice of extramarital sexual relationships in the everyday life of the individual. The earliest of these studies involved interviews with a nonrandom sample of over 400 middle aged, upper class Americans (Cuber, 1969; Cuber & Harroff, 1965). Although the investigation was not initially focused on extramarital relationships, their frequent occurrence among the participants led to a

descriptive analysis of the relationship between extramarital involvements and marriage.

Essentially, the investigators identified three types of relationships - those which compensate for a defective marriage, those which take place in the context of separation from the spouse, and those which take place with the mutual approval of spouses who do not accept the monogamous code. Most interesting, perhaps, are the significant parallels observed between extramarital relationships and marriage:

We were struck by the sizeable group of people who were involved in adulterous relationships of many years standing, who were enriched and fulfilled through the relationship in much the same way that intrinsically married people are . . . the relationship often is monogamous, continuous "until death . . ." . . . In both cases relationships move from vitality and a strong erotic accent to a more matter-of-fact, comfortable kind of interaction. Surprisingly enough, many "affairs" have settled into a kind of apathy which makes one wonder why they go on, since there are no institutional obligations involved. But perhaps sentiment and a quiescent kind of attachment may be stronger bonds than external social sanctions. (pp. 194-195)

Cuber's observations are particularly interesting because they elucidate what the "extra" in extramarital often signifies. In this regard, "extra" marital involvements often appear to be just that, a monogamous (Atwater, 1978; Kinsey et al., 1948; 1953; Hunt., 1969; McGinnis, 1981) relationship resembling marriage in many ways, which lasts in some cases for years side by side with the legal marriage. In many cases then, it appears that marital and extramarital relationships represent two mutually exclusive commitments which together provide individuals with the opportunity to express different aspects of themselves, to fulfill different needs, and to enjoy a variety of

experiences; all of which would not, of course, be possible to do in either one of the relationships by themselves. In other words, it is a practice which comes close to what is ordinarily known as bigamy, without, of course, the legal commitment.

Hunt (1969) conducted interviews with 91 white, middle class and middle aged individuals, among whom were included "eighty unfaithful men and women, four aggrieved spouses, and seven unmarried people who had or were having affairs with men or women" (p. 305). He also collected questionnaire responses from what he described as a similar sample (N = 360). His book, The Affair: A Portrait of Extramarital Love in Contemporary America, is essentially a richly detailed, journalistic, account of his respondents' experiences. And although the book is somewhat overburdened with melodramatic narratives, it offers the single most comprehensive phenomenological account of extramarital sexuality available.

In effect, Hunt rendered the experiences of his participants into a chronology of extramarital involvement - from its beginning, in desire, flirtation, opportunity, and decision - through its middle stage, where practical difficulties are encountered in conducting and maintaining a secret relationship - to its ending and aftermath, which vary depending on the individuals, their circumstances, and the type of extramarital involvement. Interestingly, most of the extramarital relations Hunt depicted did eventually come to an end (through loss of interest, guilt, or detection and pressure from the spouse), only a handful culminating in marriage.

Hunt also brought to bear a socio-historical perspective on his

evidence, his analysis resting on the notion that individual patterns and responses in extramarital activity can be understood in terms of the distinction between two conflicting cultural traditions - the "Pagan-Courtly" versus the "Puritan-Bourgeois". In the "Pagan-Courtly" tradition inherited from the Romans, Greeks, and medieval code of romantic love, extramarital relationships, especially for males, are both expected and accepted because marriage is essentially viewed as a utilitarian relationship. The "Puritan-Bourgeois" tradition, on the other hand, as a blend of Jewish and Catholic values with Protestantism, holds a romantic and idealistic view of marriage whereby extramarital relationships are seen to detract from the purpose and fulfillment of the marital relationship.

Given this "schizoid" cultural inheritance (p. 23), Hunt argued that individual orientations to extramarital relations tend to reflect one of the other of these traditions. To wit, followers of the "Pagan-Courtly" tradition tend to view extramarital relations in a casual and compartmentalized fashion - as entertaining diversions which fulfill "a perfectly normal desire for variety and newness" (p. 110), and which by definition do not impinge on the security of their marriages. For "puritan-romantics" (p. 178), in contrast, extramarital relations represent both a conscience trying event and a search for emotional fulfillment that is often disruptive to their marriages. Although simplistic, Hunt's typology is, in fact, congruent with evidence previously cited regarding casual versus serious patterns of involvement. More research is necessary, however, to definitively link such patterns to individual and cultural values.

Atwater (1978) has more recently presented a highly readable sociology dissertation on the phenomenology of extramarital relationships. Findings were based on interviews with forty feminist women with extramarital experience, who volunteered in response to an ad in Ms magazine. Given the small, self-selected, and special nature of the sample, the findings have limited generalizability. Caution must also be exercised in interpreting the results because their presentation and analysis are filtered through an obviously positive bias toward women's participation in extramarital relationships. This is somewhat ironic since the author excoriated other researchers for allowing traditional moral values to bias their analyses, failing in turn to recognize that the positive values permeating her discourse can be similarly construed as a source of bias. These limitations, notwithstanding, the study presents some very interesting and provocative descriptive data on the women's extramarital experiences.

The central focus of Atwater's investigation was the inherent meaning and definition of extramarital relationships from the social actor's point of view. In her exposition she ranged over almost all the major aspects of extramarital relationships: the process of getting involved and the motives for doing so, the issue of concealment versus openness, justifications and excuses, the effects of involvement on marriage, husband, and children, the double standard, the impact of changing sex roles, and the interpersonal and sexual nature of involvements outside marriage.

Highlighting some of these findings, the women's responses to questions about the extramarital involvement process corroborated the

previously cited research (Kinsey et al., 1953; Anthansiou & Sarkin, 1974) which showed that premarital sexual activities are an important precursor of extramarital involvement. More interestingly, the interview data which chronicled the process of involvement revealed that "men played the role of inadvertent socialization agents, other women served as role models, and the involved women often . . . talked with someone as a test of acceptability of this behavior" (p. 265). In fact, over half the women reported that having discussions with friends about extramarital relationships, and knowing a woman who had engaged in such a relationship, had significant effects on their own behavior. As the author pointed out, such events seemed to have helped the women to believe that an extramarital involvement was both possible and feasible.

Respondents' accounts of the reasons for their extramarital involvements are also of interest. Consistent with the indications of previous research (Kinsey et al., 1948; Tavris & Sadd, 1977) only half the women said that they were involved emotionally, and only four women stated they were "in love" with their partner prior to becoming extramaritally involved (p. 79). Also consistent with previous research (Bell et al., 1975; King et al., 1948; 1953; Tavris & Sadd, 1977) dissatisfaction with their marriage was mentioned as a reason by only half the women. For a significant percentage of the women then, the motivation for their extramarital relationships derived neither from the nature of their marriage, nor the qualities of their extramarital partner, but rather from their own "personal needs for growth, knowledge and sex" (p. 81). As one of Atwater's respondents

remarked, for example: "It's made me a happy person because I'm doing what I feel without worrying about someone's rules. I'm the last person that people would think would break a rule . . . I don't believe in waking up at sixty-five years old and regretting the chances that you never took" (p. 135). Herein, it is of interest to take note of Atwater's reponse to the view of her respondent, for she says that it: "Reflect[s] contemporary attitudes toward adding greater expressiveness to our private lives through additional primary interactions. Whether it is done in an organized fashion through encounter groups . . . or individually through EMRs . . . is an empirical difference of degree, not kind" (p. 135). It thus appears that these findings, as well as the view of both author and respondents, are in keeping with Yankelovich's thesis that the self-fulfillment ethic may guide the pursuit of extramarital relationships for many individuals in today's society. That women are included in the 'many' who may be so guided, is underscored by Atwater's investigation.

As this survey has demonstrated, the small scale studies of extramarital relationships generally provide a richer, more complex, and more personal portrayal of extramarital relationships than that of the large scale surveys. The actual findings of these studies are scattered and limited in scope, however. The two investigations of personality factors (Neubeck & Schletzer, 1962; Whitehurst, 1969) and opportunity (Johnson, 1970a; 1970b; 1972) have only scratched the surface in terms of identifying and exploring factors that influence participation in extramarital sexual activities. Similarly, spouses' responses have barely been explored (Whitehurse, 1971). And although

the Cuber & Haroff (1965; Cuber, 1969), Atwater (1978), and Hunt (1969) investigations provide broad and deep coverage of extramarital relationships, they are also limited: the Cuber & Harroff study is impressionistic and dated, the Atwater findings are confined to women and limited by a methodology which did not include a control group, and the Hunt study is fundamentally an unsystematic journalistic exercise. Perhaps as the increasing incidence of extramarital activities among both women and men becomes more widely known, greater effort will be made to systematically examine the phenomenon through more rigorous empirical methodologies.

Social Psychological Studies

Only a handful of social psychology investigations have been concerned with extramarital relationships, although if some of the sociological studies of a more psychological nature (Atwater, 1978; Johnson, 1970a; 1970b: 1972) were added, the number would be increased somewhat. That social psychologists have not directed attention to this particular form of social behavior is understandable, however, in so far as the study of personal and intimate relationships is a relatively recent undertaking in the field. Of the investigations which have been conducted, there is one focused on the application of equity theory to extramarital relationships (Hatfield, Utne & Traupmann, 1979; Walster, Traupmann, & Walster, 1978), and two which examine these relationships within a person perception paradigm (Hartnett, Mahoney, & Bernstein, 1977; Vallacher, Note 2).

Since Equity theory had contributed to understanding behavior in a variety of exchange relationships (e.g., exploiters and victims,

philanthropists and recipients), Walster, Traupmann, & Walster (1978) were led to explore its applicability to intimate relationships. They did so by reanalyzing data ($N = 2000$) from a Psychology Today survey (Berscheid, Walster, & Bohrnstedt, 1973) to examine the hypothesis that extramarital involvement may be used as an equity restoring device by marital partners who feel they are inequitably treated by their spouses. They specifically predicted that respondents who reported that their spouse was "slightly or much less" socially desirable than themselves would be more likely to engage in extramarital sexual behavior (Walster et al., p. 136). Support for their hypothesis was shown by the fact that this group did engage in extramarital relations sooner in their marriage (after 9 to 11 years) and with more partners (1 to 3) than the equitably treated or overbenefited groups (0 to 1 partners after 12 to 15 years of marriage).

As a correlational study actually very similar to sociological explorations of the relationship between marital dissatisfaction and the occurrence of extramarital sexual behavior, the Walster et al. investigation does not allow for any definitive conclusions about the order of events leading to extramarital encounters. Feelings of inequitable treatment and/or marital dissatisfaction could in this regard, either precede or follow an extramarital involvement. Levinger's (1976) and Udry's (1981) exchange analysis of marriage helps to clarify this issue, however. Walster et al. had suggested that spouses perform consciously or otherwise, what amounts to a costs/benefits analysis of both their own and their mate's desirability (e.g., physical attractiveness, economic security, expressions of love,

liking and admiration, etc.) in deciding to pursue relations outside their marriage. This meshes with Levinger's analysis in which he posited that there are three factors which independently contribute to the cohesiveness of a marriage - "alternative attractions" (p. 21), marital satisfaction, and barriers to leaving the marriage.

Among the alternatives to one's marriage would, of course, be included actual or potential extramarital partners. And it is Levinger's belief that, "the more one samples alternative relations, the more likely one is to find outcomes that appear to exceed those currently obtainable, even if one's present mate is very attractive" (p. 27). The perception of inequity in a marital relationship is thus, at least, partially grounded in what Thibaut & Kelly (1959) term an individual's "comparison level for alternatives" (Levinger, p. 27). Inequity may therefore be viewed as a product of a rather fluid gestalt affected in an ongoing way by factors within and without the marriage. What this signifies about the nature of marriage in contemporary society has been pointedly summarized by Udry (1981):

Every adult can be thought of as permanently available as a marital partner, regardless of the fact that the individual is presently married. Each person is continuously comparing his or her marital bargain with other marital bargains which he or she might be able to negotiate with other persons, and with his or her potential benefits from not being married at all. If an individual's present marital partnership is strikingly less favorable than the alternatives, he or she will opt for one of the alternatives if the cost of the exchange (barrier) does not obliterate the advantage to be obtained. (p. 889)

This social psychological perspective on marriage and extramarital relationships in terms of exchange theory is thus congruent with Yankelovich's (1981a; 1981b) suggestion that current approaches to life

and interpersonal relationships reflect the influence of a self-fulfillment ethic. It also suggests the need for future social psychological work to clearly explicate the rules and circumstances under which extramarital relations are considered appropriate and legitimate exchanges.

The person perception studies of Hartnett, Mahoney, & Bernstein (1977) and Vallacher (Note 2) provide some evidence regarding the factors which affect the social evaluation of extramarital relations. Hartnett et al. gave college students two types of scenarios to read which involved extramarital relationships. In the first, either the husband or wife was portrayed as having an extramarital involvement with a younger woman or man with whom they had fallen in love. Interestingly, both the male and female subjects were found to view both the husband and wife most favorably when they, rather than their spouses, were involved in an extramarital relationship. And they viewed them least favorably when it was their spouses who were involved extramaritally. In addition, male subjects were found to rate the "other man" and the "other woman" more favorably than did the female subjects (Hartnett et al., p. 748).

The second scenario was exactly like the first except that no mention was made of the spouse falling in love. And this produced exactly opposite results to those of the first scenario - subjects rated spouses less favorably when they were involved in an extramarital relationship, and more favorably when it was their husband or wife who was involved outside the marriage. Once again, however, male subjects gave more favorable ratings than the female subjects to the third

party, particularly the 'other woman'.

The results of this study indicate that college students were more favorably disposed to married individuals involved in an extramarital relationship when they were described as being in love. In other words, love appears to have justified all. The results also show that the marital partner whose spouse is involved in an extramarital relationship is perceived unfavorably, perhaps because, as the authors suggest, they are "seen as role incompetent" (p. 749). Most importantly, this study demonstrates that the particulars of an extramarital relationship do affect people's perceptions. For one, the results cogently suggest that an extramarital involvement motivated by romantic love may be greeted with sympathy and even approbation. The study has as well uncovered gender differences in the perceptions of the third party involved with a married person, and perhaps, more surprisingly, found little evidence for a double standard. While all of these results are interesting, they represent only the beginning of what can be explored and are limited in generalizability by the young, relatively inexperienced, and largely unmarried sample of college students who served as the subjects in the investigation.

In Vallacher's study, which was focused specifically on the double standard, college students were presented with a scenario in which a married woman or man had a 'one night' sexual encounter with someone of the opposite sex whom they had met in a bar. The married individuals were also portrayed as either the active or the passive agent in pursuing the sexual engagement. Results showed that subjects did differentially evaluate actors and their actions on the basis of sex.

Compared to ratings of the married man, subjects rated the married woman's traits more negatively, her behavior as more immoral, and assigned her greater responsibility for her behavior. Effects were also obtained for the active/passive manipulation; individuals who initiated the encounter were seen as more immoral, as having greater choice and responsibility for their behavior, and as more likely to engage in such behavior in the future. Females, whether active or passive, were, however, perceived as having less choice about their behavior.

Again, findings indicate that subjects' perceptions of extramarital actors and relationships vary depending on the particular circumstances surrounding the involvement. The results regarding the double standard are, of course, contrary to those obtained by Hartnett et al., but the obvious difference in the scenarios employed in the two studies may account for this contradiction. In effect, Vallacher's scenario described a sexual encounter with a stranger, or what in popular usage would be termed a 'one night stand' or 'pick-up'. And this is a profoundly different situation from the more personal involvement described in the Hartnett et al. vignette. Consequently, it may be that the tendency to judge in terms of the double standard operates more strongly nowadays in situations of less personalized sexual intimacy. Finally, it should be also noted that the findings of this study were also based on a college student sample and therefore of limited generalizability. It is thus the purpose of this study, to expand, and explore, and analyze further the network of factors which determine how social observers process and assimilate knowledge of

extramarital involvements.

Research Rationale

This study will focus specifically on the social perception and evaluation of the most common type of extramarital involvement (Reiss, 1980), and the one that has been the principal concern of this discussion - the clandestine extramarital relationship that is carried on without the approval of the marital partner. Although there are an almost unlimited array of variables that could presumably affect the social perception of extramarital relationships, if one adopts the perspective of a social observer who acquires 'knowledge' of such a relationship through casual observation, gossip, or both, it seems likely that there are a few relatively straightforward factors which might critically influence their judgments.

The pervasiveness of the double standard in our society (Kinsey et al., 1948; 1953; Whitehurst, 1971; Levinger, 1976) suggests, for example, that sex of the actor is fundamentally important in the social evaluation of an extramarital involvement. As noted previously, however, the findings have been inconsistent - Hartnett et al. found no effect for sex, whereas Vallacher did. The suggestion was made, of course, that the critical difference in the scenarios employed - a long term relationships versus a 'pick-up' - could account for the contradictory findings. At any rate, clarification of this issue will be sought in the present study by examining how subjects respond to a married woman or man involved in a relatively long term extramarital relationship.

Previous research (Hartnett et al., 1977; Medora & Burton, 1981)

has shown that the motivation for an extramarital relationship may have a profound effect on the judgments of observers. But again the findings are contradictory. Hartnett et al. found that their subjects viewed a husband or wife more positively if they were in love with their extramarital partner. The results of Christensen's (1973) attitude study showed, on the other hand, that subjects were more disapproving of an extramarital relationship involving love between the actors.

In the present study, the effects of motivation will be examined in two ways. First, subjects will be directly asked why actors engage in extramarital affairs. Second, motivation will be indirectly studied by providing subjects with information about an actor's history of extramarital experience. In this regard, it is hypothesized that in everyday life observers may use knowledge of an actor's extramarital affair history to draw inferences about the justifiability of his/her extramarital affairs. It is certainly more readily accessible information than declarations of love between extramarital actors. Simply, a first affair compared to a second (or third or fourth, etc.) may be perceived to be more "innocently" motivated.

Although the research has shown that the physically attractive are evaluated and treated favorably across a wide variety of situations (e.g. dating, Krebs & Adinolfi; 1975; Mathes, 1975; job performance, Dipboye, Fromkin, & Wiback, 1975; social influence, Norman, 1976; Chaiken, 1979; education, Adams, 1977; Lombardo & Tocci, 1979; psychotherapy, Cash, Kehr, Polyson, & Freeman, 1977), there is also evidence showing that they sometimes engender feelings of envy and

resentment and that they are unfavorably treated. Dermer & Thiel (1975) reported, for example, that both men and women characterized attractive women in terms of a bourgeois orientation (i.e., status conscious, snobbish, materialistic, and unsympathetic to oppressed peoples), saw them as vane and egotistical, and most interestingly, believed that they were more likely to become involved in an extramarital relationship. The researchers also found that women below average in attractiveness did not evaluate attractive females as favorably as did women of average and above average attractiveness; a phenomenon which they labeled the "jealousy effect" (p. 1173).

Other investigators have also reported evidence of envy in the response to the highly attractive. Krebs & Adinolfi (1975) found that the most attractive women and men were the least liked among a group of college students, whereas the attractive, but not most attractive, students were the most popular. There is also evidence showing that same sex evaluations may be especially vulnerable to jealousy. Kaplan (1978) found that males evaluated the poorly written essay of an attractive female author more positively, but females evaluated the essay somewhat more positively when written by an unattractive female. And Anderson & Nida (1978) reported that authors of medium attractiveness were rated highest by same sex subjects, whereas authors of high attractiveness were rated highest by opposite sex subjects.

Paralleling the Dermer & Thiel (1975) jealousy effect which indicated that one's response to the attractive is determined in part by one's own level of attractiveness, other findings have demonstrated that the response may also hinge on one's level of self-esteem. Graham

& Perry (1976) reported that low self-esteem women, in comparison to those high in self-esteem, rated a woman who committed a transgression more negatively, and blamed her transgression more on enduring negative qualities when she was attractive versus unattractive. And high self-regard men were found to rate women's attractiveness more positively, but men's attractiveness less positively than did low self-regard men (Morse, Gruzen, & Reis, 1976).

It thus appears that people respond ambivalently and competitively to the attractive. This is also evident in the findings of a simulated jury study carried out by Sigall & Ostrove (1975). They reported that subjects punished attractive defendants less harshly (i.e., lighter sentences) for a burglary, but more harshly for a swindle. The authors predicted that such an interaction would occur because a crime such as a swindle could be facilitated by good looks (an attractiveness related crime), whereas a crime such as a burglary would be unaffected by looks (attractiveness unrelated). Thus, the attractive swindler was punished more harshly than the unattractive swindler because subjects presumably thought that he took advantage of his beauty in committing the swindle.

Finally, note should be taken of the finding which showed that men and women believe that physically attractive women are more likely to engage in an extramarital relationship, for this belief may contribute to a tendency for subjects to frown upon the women's extramarital relationships, not out of feeling morally offended, but rather out of feelings of envy. Indeed, there is relevant evidence from a study of casual and serious dating couples (White, 1980), which suggests that the physically attractive may, in fact, be more likely to engage in

extramarital relations. Level of physical attractiveness was positively related to the number of "available" opposite sex friends, and negatively related to worry that one's partner would become sexually involved with another. In addition, among males, greater attractiveness was found to be associated with the desire to have sexual or romantic relationships outside of their current relationship.

Although these findings are not based on married couples, they support the validity of subjects' expectancies that the attractive, because they have greater opportunities, may be more likely to participate in extramarital relationships. In Farber's (1964) terms, they may be (and know that they are) 'more permanently available' because they represent such attractive exchanges in the interpersonal marketplace. Considering the interpersonal power which the attractive obviously wield, it is easy to understand why they are envied and resented. The findings of the Psychology Today survey of morality in everyday life (Hassett, 1981) showed, for example, that although respondents generally thought that engaging in an extramarital relationship was unethical, more were willing to do so given the condition that their extramarital partner was physically attractive.

The picture drawn of the impact of physical attractiveness on social perception and interaction demonstrates the presence of two conflicting tendencies - high regard and favoritism on the one hand (Adams, 1977; Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Taylor, Note 1), and rejection and resentment on the other (Dermer & Thiel, 1975; Graham & Perry, 1976; Krebs & Adinolfi, 1975; Sigall & Ostrove, 1975). It is thus difficult to predict exactly how the physical attractiveness of the

actors involved in an extramarital relationship, as well as that of the uninvolved spouse, might affect the response of observers to the actors' relationship. The physical attractiveness literature does provide some clues, however.

If one accepts the premise that an extramarital relationship represents a transgression of a social and moral norm, and that it is an act which may be facilitated by good looks, then the Sigall & Ostrove (1975) findings suggest that observers may be more likely to negatively sanction an attractive versus a less attractive individual for their norm violation. Furthermore, because physical attractiveness exerts more influence on evaluations of women than of men, and because men have traditionally been given more latitude with regard to extramarital activities, there may be a greater tendency to negatively sanction attractive women than attractive men.

This investigation is thus aimed at examining how the social evaluation of extramarital relationships is affected by three factors - sex of actor (husband/wife), extramarital history, and physical attractiveness of the extramarital actors and the uninvolved spouse. In addition to these three manipulated variables, account will also be taken of how subject characteristics influence the perception of extramarital relations. The literature on attitudes shows that approval of extramarital activity is associated with a variety of personal and demographic factors, among which are included cultural, ethnic, and racial background (Christensen, 1962; 1973), premarital permissiveness (Reiss et al., 1977; Singh et al., 1974), sex (Christensen, 1962; 1973; Reiss et al., 1977), religion (Singh et al.,

1974; Glenn & Weaver, 1979), extramarital experience (Knapp, 1975), and marital status (Singh et al., 1974). Only one of these, sex of subject, has, however, been examined to any extent in the two previous person perception studies of extramarital relationships (Hartnett et al., 1977; Vallacher, Note 2). In the present study, three subject characteristics - sex, religiosity, and extramarital experience will be included in the analysis. Although subjects will not be preselected in terms of these factors, the heterogeneous nature of the continuing education student population from which subjects will be drawn, should allow for an adequate post hoc analysis of their impact on the evaluation of extramarital relations. Indeed, because continuing education students tend to be a more varied population in terms of age and marital status than regular college students, their participation as subjects will allow for greater generalizability of the findings in comparison to the previous research (Hartnett et al., 1977; Vallacher, Note 2) with younger college students.

To extend understanding of how personal and situational factors interact in determining the social evaluation of extramarital relationships, a test of moral judgment will also be administered to the participants in the investigation. No previous study has attempted to delineate the specific relationship between moral judgment and the social perception of extramarital relationships. In fact, there are only two empirical studies in the entire literature on extramarital relations which dealt at all with the ethical aspects of these relationships. Neubeck and Schletzer (1962) had attempted to identify the relationship between conscience and participation in extramarital

activities, but their conscience measure was less than adequate (i.e., the Psychopathic Deviate scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory). And Hassett's (1981) Psychology Today survey included a question about the ethics of participation in extramarital relationships, but his analysis did not extend much further.

There has thus been conspicuous neglect of moral attitudes and thinking in the literature, which is probably a reflection of the positive bias toward extramarital relations which has prevailed among the sociological writers who have dominated the research in this area (See Libby & Whitehurst, 1977 & Atwater, 1978). And while researchers have explored the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward extramarital activities there has been no exploration of the social evaluation of extramarital relationships as a function of stage of moral judgment. This study will therefore involve the first serious exploration of the effects of moral development on the social evaluation of extramarital relationships. To this end, the Defining Issues Test (Rest, 1979), which is an objective measure of Kohlberg's stages of moral development, will be administered to the participants in the study.

Two separate, but related experiments are planned to explore the effects of the independent variables. The first will employ a person perception paradigm not unlike those used in the Hartnett et al., 1977 and Vallacher (Note 2) studies. Subjects will be presented with a written scenario about an extramarital relationship and then will be asked to respond to a series of scales, questions, and other measures dealing with their response to the people and circumstances presented

to them in the scenario. Except for physical attractiveness, which will be manipulated by means of photographs accompanying the scenario, the other variables will be manipulated by altering the details presented in the scenario.

In the second experiment, a motion picture (Quine, 1960) about an extramarital relationship will be used in place of a written scenario. Although the use of verbal stimuli is standard fare in social psychological research, written accounts to which subjects are asked to respond possess a somewhat one dimensional and abstract quality. Especially with regard to extramarital relationships, a method which adds further dimension to their portrayal is highly desirable because these relationships always occur between particular individuals whose lives are blended in very concrete surroundings. Thus, in order to deal with the limitations of the written scenario approach and to enlarge the scope of the study, subjects' reactions to a more richly textured and nuanced account of an extramarital relationship will be explored through the introduction of a film as the experimental stimulus in Experiment 2.

In this second study, the effects of extramarital experience will be examined through editing the film and presenting a different version of the film to two different groups. In addition, sex of actor effects will be explored because the film portrays an extramarital relationship between a married man and a married woman. All the subject variables, including stage of moral development will also be examined in Experiment 2. Note should be taken, however, that although Experiment 1 and 2 are related, they are not completely comparable because unlike

the written scenarios in which the extramarital actor's marriage is portrayed in a neutral to positive light, the film story is about a happily married man and an unhappily married woman becoming involved in an extramarital affair.

Hypotheses

In accordance with the previous research and the analysis of cultural change presented earlier in the discussion, the following hypotheses were formulated for testing.

The effect of extramarital spouse. In comparison to their response to husbands involved in extramarital activities, social observers tend (a) to perceive wives less favorably (Hypothesis 1), (b) to evaluate their extramarital activities as less justifiable (Hypothesis 2), and (c) to assign them greater responsibility for their extramarital involvement (Hypothesis 3).

The effect of physical attractiveness. In comparison to their response to husbands and wives of average attractiveness involved in extramarital relationships, social observers tend (a) to perceive physically attractive husbands and wives less favorably (Hypothesis 4), (b) to perceive the extramarital activities of attractive men and women as less justifiable (Hypothesis 5), and (c) to assign them greater responsibility for the extramarital involvement (Hypothesis 6).

The effect of extramarital experience. In comparison to their response to husbands or wives with a history of one extramarital experience, social observers tend (a) to perceive husbands and wives who have been involved in several extramarital relationships less favorably (Hypothesis 7), (b) to perceive their extramarital activities

as less justifiable (Hypothesis 8), and (c) to assign them the greater responsibility for an extramarital involvement (Hypothesis 9).

The attractive wife hypothesis. Social observers tend (a) to perceive attractive wives who have been involved in several extramarital relationships the least favorably (Hypothesis 10), (b) to perceive their extramarital relationships as least justifiable (Hypothesis 11), and (c) to assign them the greatest responsibility for an extramarital involvement (Hypothesis 12).

The attractive husband hypothesis. With the exception of their evaluation of attractive wives who have been involved in several extramarital relationships, social observers tend (a) to perceive attractive husbands who have been involved in several extramarital relationships the least favorably (Hypothesis 13), (b) to perceive their extramarital relationships as least justifiable (Hypothesis 14), and (c) to assign them the greatest responsibility for an extramarital involvement (Hypothesis 15).

The effect of no extramarital experience. Social observers tend to perceive attractive and moderately attractive husbands and wives who have no history of extramarital experience the most favorably (Hypothesis 16).

The average looking husband hypothesis. In comparison to all other actors with extramarital experience, social observers tend to perceive husbands of average attractiveness who have had one extramarital experience the most favorably (Hypothesis 17).

The most justifiable extramarital relationship. In comparison to their evaluations of all other extramarital relationships, social

observers tend to perceive a single extramarital relationship on the part of a husband of average attractiveness as the most justifiable (Hypothesis 18).

The perception of "the other man/other woman." Social observers tend to evaluate the woman who is involved with a married man more negatively than the man involved with a married woman (Hypothesis 19).

The attractive "other woman" hypothesis. Of all the men and women involved in a relationship with a married person, physically attractive women will be perceived least favorably by social observers (Hypothesis 20).

The effect of subject variables. Across all experimental conditions, nonreligious male subjects with extramarital experience will tend to perceive extramarital relationships as more justifiable than other subjects (Hypothesis 21).

Of the above hypotheses, all of which were to be examined in Experiment 1, Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16 and 21 were tested in Experiment 2. Finally, it should be noted that no hypotheses were formulated with regard to the perceived effects of extramarital relationships on children or of moral judgment on the social evaluation of extramarital relationships, this phase of the research is to be regarded as exploratory and as a source of hypotheses for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Experiment 1

MethodSubjects

A total of 526 (265 females and 261 males) individuals from colleges, universities and corporations in southwestern Connecticut and New York City participated in Experiment 1. Subjects were recruited in groups from classrooms or alone in institutional offices and dining rooms to participate in the author's dissertation research.

Age and marital status. Subjects ranged between 18 and 74 years of age with a median age of 31.79 years ($M = 34.73$ years). A total of 279 subjects were married (53.04% of the sample), 164 were single (31.30%), 46 were separated or divorced (8.74%), 16 were living with a lover (3.04%), 10 were widowed (1.90%), 9 were divorced and remarried (1.71%), and 2 were of unknown marital status (.38%).

Education. The subjects' educational background broke down as follows: 1 reported some high school (.20%), 15 were high school graduates (2.9%), 171 reported some college (33.6%), 82 were college graduates (16.1%), 157 reported some graduate school (30.8%), 83 possessed graduate degrees (16.3%), and 17 were of unknown educational status (3.23%).

Religious affiliation and religiosity. A total of 321 of the subjects were Catholic (61.03%), 125 were Protestant (23.76%), 35 were Jewish (6.65%), 17 were "other" (3.23%), 12 had no religious affiliation (2.28%), and 16 provided no information about religious affiliation (3.04%). On religiosity, 7 of the subjects described

themselves as very religious (1.33%), 69 as moderately religious (13.12%), 152 as slightly religious (28.89%), 223 as not at all religious (42.39%), 59 as antireligious (11.22%), and 16 provided no religiosity information (3.04%).

Extramarital experience. Married (or previously married) subjects were asked if they had ever had an extramarital relationship, and if so, how many they had. As shown in Table 1, only 74 subjects, or 32.03% of the 305 subjects who answered this question, reported ever having been involved in an extramarital relationship. Those married

Table 1

Frequency of Extramarital Relationships Among Married or Previously Married Subjects

Sex of subject	Number of affairs				
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or more
Males	127	15	7	8	15
Females	104	15	6	3	5
Total	231	30	13	11	20

subjects who said they had never been involved in an extramarital relationship were also asked to indicate whether they ever had the desire to have an extramarital relationship. Of the 238 subjects who

responded to this question, 74 said yes (31.09%), 98 said no (41.17%), and 66 said maybe (27.73%). Over half of the married or previously married subjects who had never been involved in an extramarital relationship thus reported having experienced some degree of a desire to become involved in one. Single participants were asked, if they were to marry, would they have an extramarital relationship? Of the 222 subjects who responded to this question, 4 said yes (1.8%), 149 said no (67.12%), and 69 said maybe (31.08%).

Procedure

Subjects, whether contacted alone or in classrooms, were asked to volunteer for participation in a study of "Person Perception." The subjects were told:

I would like to enlist your help in some research I am doing. Previous research has shown that people process and remember information differently depending on whether they read it or see it on television. All of this previous research has dealt with information about academic subjects, however, and not with information about people, their lives, and their relationships. In this study, I am specifically concerned with the perception of people involved in a relationship. Thus, some subjects in my research will be given short stories to read and respond to, and others will be asked to watch a videotape presentation of the same stories. I can then determine the effects of a written versus television presentation on the process of person perception.

You (your group) will receive a written short story. If you would like to participate in this research, I will give you a booklet which contains a short story and a set of photographs of the people you will read about in the story. You will then be asked to answer some questions about the people and to provide some information about yourself. You will not be asked to put your name on your booklet because it is important that you give honest and frank answers to the questions you will be asked. The answers that you give will be completely anonymous so that you can report your honest perceptions and reactions to the people in the story.

Those who agreed to participate received booklets and were told that if they decided at any time not to continue participation, they

should return the incomplete booklet to the experimenter.

Each subject read a scenario (see Appendix A) about a married couple which had one of three endings: (a) a husband/wife with no history of extramarital experience had an opportunity to become involved in an extramarital relationship, but decided not to become involved, (b) a husband/wife with no history of extramarital experience became involved for the first time in an ongoing extramarital relationship, (c) a husband/wife with a history of several extramarital relationships became involved in another ongoing extramarital relationship. Photographs of the married couple and the "other man/other woman" accompanied the scenario. Subjects then answered questions (See Appendix B) about the scenario and provided some background information about themselves. When subjects finished their questionnaire, booklets were collected and the subjects were debriefed.

Design and Manipulation of Variables

The experiment was a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) factorial design. The Extramarital Spouse (husband/wife) and Extramarital Experience (no affair, first affair, many affairs) variables were manipulated as indicated above, by altering the information presented in the scenarios (see Appendix A). Except for these details, the scenario was the same for all experimental conditions.

Physical attractiveness was manipulated by means of photographs which had been rated for attractiveness on 7-point scales by a group of 40 independent raters (23 females and 17 males) drawn from undergraduate continuing education classes at Sacred Heart University.

A total of 80 photographs were rated from which two sets of photographs were selected for each of the two attractiveness levels (attractive, moderately attractive). Each set consisted of a husband, wife, and "other man/other woman." The mean ratings for the attractive stimulus persons were: (a) husbands, $\underline{M} = 5.07$ ($\underline{SD} = .67$), $\underline{M} = 4.90$ ($\underline{SD} = .88$); (b) "other men," $\underline{M} = 5.00$ ($\underline{SD} = .75$), $\underline{M} = 5.17$ ($\underline{SD} = .93$); (c) wives, $\underline{M} = 5.57$ ($\underline{SD} = .89$), $\underline{M} = 5.67$ ($\underline{SD} = .90$); (d) "other women," $\underline{M} = 5.25$ ($\underline{SD} = .97$), $\underline{M} = 5.5$ ($\underline{SD} = .97$). For the stimulus persons of moderate attractiveness the mean ratings were: (a) husbands, $\underline{M} = 4.17$ ($\underline{SD} = 4.25$ ($\underline{SD} = .94$); (c) wives, $\underline{M} = 4.0$ ($\underline{SD} = .85$), $\underline{M} = 4.02$ ($\underline{SD} = .76$); (d) "other women," $\underline{M} = 3.95$ ($\underline{SD} = .58$), $\underline{M} = 4.02$ ($\underline{SD} = .79$).

Experimental Conditions

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the 12 experimental conditions depicted in Table 2.

Table 2

Experimental Conditions

Physical Attractiveness	<u>Wife as extramarital spouse</u>			<u>Husband as extramarital spouse</u>		
	No affair	First affair	Many affairs	No affair	First affair	Many affairs
Moderately Attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6
Attractive	7	8	9	10	11	12

Experimental questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix B) in which subjects responded to the scenario contained the following five dependent measures:

1. Perception of husband, wife, and the "other man/other woman" - on 7-point scales ranging from extremely to not at all, subjects rated the degree to which each actor possessed 7 socially desirable and 7 socially undesirable traits, including a rating of each actor's physical attractiveness.

2. Justifiability of the extramarital relationships - on a single 7-point scale ranging from extremely to not at all, subjects rated how justifiable it was for the spouse to engage or not engage in an extramarital relationship. This was followed by an open ended question which asked subjects to briefly explain why they answered as they did concerning the justifiability of the extramarital involvement.

3. Responsibility assignment for extramarital involvement - on 7-point scales ranging from extremely to not at all, subjects rated the responsibility of the actors and the situation for the husband/wife engaging, or not engaging in a extramarital relationship.

4. Causal attributions for the extramarital relationship - subjects responded to an open ended question asking them to state the single most important reason for the spouse engaging or not engaging in an extramarital relationship.

5. Effects on children - on a 7-point scale ranging from extremely positively to extremely negatively, subjects indicated how the children were/would be affected by their mother's/father's extramarital relationship(s).

Moral Judgment

The Defining Issues Test of moral judgment was also included in the experimental booklets received by the subjects.¹ The DIT is an objective test of Kohlberg's three level (Preconventional, Conventional, Postconventional), six stage theory of moral judgment (Obedience, Instrumental Egoism, Interpersonal Concordance, Law and Order, Social Consensus, and Individual Principles of Conscience) (Rest, 1979). These stages are presumed to represent a developmental sequence marked by an increasing capacity to conceptualize the complexities of moral issues. Stage 1, which is characteristic of children, is thus not relevant to the present discussion. Rest (1979) himself has not included it in his research.

The DIT, which is correlated with Kohlberg's test ($r = .60 - .70$), consists of six stories about moral dilemmas to which the subject responds by rating and ranking a set of items regarding the moral issues in the stories. The test yields a score indicative of an individual's stage of moral judgment in terms of the six stages outlined above. Because the six story version of the DIT takes 40 minutes to administer, the three story version was administered to subjects in order to save time.² Although the reliability of the test is decreased somewhat (by approximately .10) with the three story version, Rest (1979) has stated that the shorter version is appropriate for studies involving group means. For a complete discussion of the test's psychometric properties, see Rest's (1979) book length explication of the theory behind the test and the extensive body of research collected around the test.

Footnotes

¹Because of Rest's (1972) Copyright, the test is not included in an appendix.

²The three story version involves responses to the following moral dilemmas: (a) "Heinz and the Drug," (b) "Escaped Prisoner," and (c) "Newspaper."

CHAPTER 3

Experiment 1

ResultsPhysical Attractiveness Manipulation Check

As a check on the physical attractiveness manipulation, separate 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) analyses of variance were performed on the physical attractiveness ratings assigned to the husbands, the wives, the "other women" and the "other men." The main effect for Physical Attractiveness on ratings of the husbands, $F(1, 523) = 41.85, p < .0001$, indicated that the husbands in the two attractiveness groups were rated significantly differently from one another ($M = 5.03$ vs. $M = 5.59$). The only other significant effect which emerged from this analysis was a main effect for Extramarital Spouse, $F(1, 523) = 8.17, p < .004$, which demonstrated that the husbands were rated higher on attractiveness when they were portrayed as the bystanding (faithful) spouse versus as the extramarital spouse ($M = 5.45$ vs. $M = 5.18$).

The ANOVA performed on the attractiveness ratings of the wives also produced a main effect for Physical Attractiveness, $F(1, 523) = 102.94, p < .0001$, which showed that one group of wives was rated significantly higher than the other group ($M = 5.06$ vs. $M = 5.94$). In addition, a main effect for Extramarital Spouse, $F(1, 523) = 2.96, p < .05$, demonstrated that the wives were rated somewhat higher on attractiveness when portrayed as the extramarital spouse ($M = 5.58$) versus as the bystanding spouse ($M = 5.42$).

The ANOVA results for the "other men" yielded a main effect for Physical Attractiveness, $F(1, 251) = 51.40, p < 0.0001$, which showed that one group was perceived as significantly more attractive than the other ($M = 4.76$ vs. $M = 5.71$). A main effect for Physical Attractiveness also emerged from the ANOVA performed on the ratings of the "other women's" attractiveness, $F(1, 270) = 5.65, p < .02$. The two attractiveness groups thus differed significantly from one another ($M = 5.14$ vs. $M = 5.46$). A Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness interaction also emerged from this analysis which indicated that the males did not perceive one group of "other women" as more attractive than the other group ($M = 5.35$ vs. $M = 5.32$), whereas the females did ($M = 5.60$ vs. $M = 4.94$), Duncan, $p < .05$.

With the exception of the male's perception of the "other women," the ANOVA results thus showed that two attractiveness groups were produced by the physical attractiveness manipulation. The manipulation itself was, however, a qualified success, having resulted in attractive and very attractive groups of stimulus persons. As to why the intended moderate attractiveness level was not obtained, the context of the 80 photographs in which the pre-experimental judges made their ratings may have caused the judges to make relativistic rather than absolute judgments. Downgraded ratings of persons slightly above average in attractiveness may have been the result.

Social Evaluation Scores

The reliability of the evaluations on the fourteen traits was examined in order to construct a single social evaluation score for each stimulus person. Alpha coefficients were computed on these

ratings for the stimulus persons in each experimental condition. These coefficients, which appear in Appendix C, indicated adequate reliability for the ratings to be combined into a single score. This was accomplished by rescaling the 7 socially undesirable items in the socially desirable direction and computing an average score (the social evaluation score) based on all fourteen items.

Results Obtained with Different Picture Sets

To check on the generalizability of the results produced by the two picture sets used for each of the two attractiveness levels, the results obtained with one attractive versus very attractive set were compared with those on the second attractive versus very attractive set for the main dependent measures. In this manner, two 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) analyses of variance were carried out on David's (the husband's) social evaluations for each picture set. The results of the analyses for the two picture sets, shown in Appendix D, were similar except for a significant main effect for Sex of Subject, $F(1, 257) = 4.33, p < .04$, which occurred in one picture set and not the other. The results of similar ANOVAs on Susan's (the wife's) social evaluation scores for the two picture sets produced virtually identical results (see Appendix D), except for a nearly significant 4-way interaction, $F(2, 242) = 2.69, p < .07$, which occurred in one picture set and not the other.

Similar comparisons between picture sets were made on the justifiability of the extramarital relationship measure. Two separate 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical

Attractiveness) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) analyses of covariance, with religiosity as a covariate,¹ were carried out on the justifiability ratings. The full results obtained from each analysis are shown in Appendix D. The pattern of results obtained with one was the same, or in the same direction, as the other. Specifically, as is shown in Appendix D, each ANCOVA produced a significant main effect for Extramarital Experience, $F(2, 249) = 5.22, p < .006$ versus $F(2, 255) = 3.27, p < .04$. And while the analysis of the first picture set produced a significant Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse interaction, $F(1, 249) = 4.18, p < .04$, the second produced a nonsignificant interaction in the same direction, $F(1, 255) = 2.19, p < 0.14$. The only difference between the two was a significant 4-way interaction, $F(2, 255) = 3.26, p < .04$, which occurred in one picture set but not in the other. Given the similar nature of the results obtained from the analyses of the major dependent measures, the data from the two picture sets were combined.

Perceptions of Extramarital Actors

The mean social evaluation scores for each actor -- husband, wife, "other man" and "other woman" - are presented in Table 3. These means were examined through a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 3 (Character) repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance, with repeated measures on the last factor.² The analysis yielded a highly significant main effect for Extramarital Experience, $F(2, 501) = 203.23, p < .0001$, which demonstrated that more favorable evaluations of the actors were given in the no affair ($M = 5.48$) in comparison to the first affair ($M =$

Table 3

Mean Social Evaluation Scores for Each Actor by Condition

Actor	Wife as extramarital spouse			Husband as extramarital spouse		
	No affair	First affair	Many affairs	No affair	First affair	Many affairs
Attractive						
Susan	5.59	4.07	3.62	5.59	5.35	5.24
David	5.27	5.31	5.45	5.66	4.03	3.71
Other ^a	5.09	3.80	3.73	5.11	3.58	3.76
<u>n</u>	41	40	47	45	47	44
Very attractive						
Susan	5.78	4.24	3.68	5.63	5.43	5.26
David	5.62	5.25	5.31	5.69	4.21	3.81
Other ^b	5.29	3.78	3.77	5.48	3.92	3.95
<u>n</u>	44	42	41	43	43	48
Total						
Susan	5.69 _a	4.16 _c	3.65 _d	5.61 _a	5.33 _b	5.25 _b
David	5.45 _b	5.27 _b	5.38 _b	5.68 _a	4.11 _c	3.76 _d
Other ^c	5.19 _a	3.79 _b	3.73 _b	5.29 _a	3.75 _b	3.86 _b
<u>n</u>	85	82	88	88	91	92

Note. Means in a given row with dissimilar subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level according to the Duncan Multiple Range Test.

^{abc}Other refers to the "Other Man" in the Wife as Extramarital Spouse condition, and to the "Other Woman" in the Husband as Extramarital Spouse condition.

4.40) and many affairs ($\underline{M} = 4.27$) conditions, Tukey, $p < .05$. Significant Character x Extramarital Spouse, $F(2, 1002) = 210.32$, $p < .0001$, and Character x Extramarital Experience, $F(4, 1002) = 15.08$, $p < .0001$, interactions also occurred, but these were qualified by a significant triple interaction for Character x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience, $F(4, 1002) = 99.48$, $p < .0001$.

The basis for the triple interaction can be seen clearly in Table 3. The data indicate that David, the husband, was perceived the most favorably when he decided not to engage in an extramarital affair (no affair condition, $\underline{M} = 5.68$), Duncan, $p < .05$. He was also evaluated very favorably in each of the conditions in which he was portrayed as a faithful (bystanding) spouse ($\underline{M} = 5.45$; $\underline{M} = 5.27$; $\underline{M} = 5.38$). On the other hand, he was evaluated significantly less favorably in the first affair condition ($\underline{M} = 4.11$), and least favorably of all in the many affairs condition ($\underline{M} = 3.76$), Duncan, $p < .05$. Faithful husbands, those who were actively tempted to engage in an affair and did not, and those who stood faithfully by a faithful/faithless wife, were thus perceived more favorably than unfaithful husbands.

With regard to Susan, the wife, she was evaluated the most favorably when she decided against an affair ($\underline{M} = 5.69$), or was married to a man who decided against one ($\underline{M} = 5.61$), Duncan, $p < .05$. Susan, unlike David, thus received social evaluation credits for being married to a man who resisted the temptation to become involved in an affair. And in like manner to David, she was evaluated very favorably in the two other conditions in which she was portrayed as the (faithful) bystander spouse ($\underline{M} = 5.33$; $\underline{M} = 5.25$), significantly less favorably

when engaged in her first affair ($\underline{M} = 4.16$), and least favorably when she had been involved in many affairs ($\underline{M} = 3.65$), Duncan, $p < .05$.

Both spouses were thus perceived very favorably when they chose not to become involved in an extramarital affair and when they faithfully stood by a faithful/faithless spouse, less favorably when involved in their first affair, and the least favorably when they had been involved in many affairs. Hypothesis 16, that husbands and wives who have no history of extramarital experience are perceived the most favorably was thus strongly supported. The data also strongly supported Hypothesis 7 that husbands and wives who have been involved in many extramarital affairs are evaluated less favorably than husbands and wives who have had only one extramarital affair.

Very surprisingly, the means in Table 3 and the MANOVA results failed to support the hypothesis (1) that wives involved in extramarital relationships are perceived less favorably than husbands involved in extramarital relationships (first affair condition: wife, $\underline{M} = 4.16$ vs. husband, $\underline{M} = 4.11$; many affairs condition, wife, $\underline{M} = 3.65$ vs. husband, $\underline{M} = 3.76$). Nor was support obtained for the hypothesis (19) that a woman involved with a married man is perceived more negatively than a man involved with a married woman (first affair condition, "other woman," $\underline{M} = 3.75$ vs. "other man," $\underline{M} = 3.79$; many affairs condition, "other woman," $\underline{M} = 3.86$ vs. "other man," $\underline{M} = 3.73$). Hypothesis 17, according to which it had been expected that 'average' looking husbands with one extramarital experience would be perceived the most favorably, was not supported either. No evidence for a double standard was thus obtained, either in the evaluation of husbands versus

wives or the "other man" versus the "other woman."

The MANOVA also yielded a significant main effect for Physical Attractiveness, $F(1, 501) = 5.21, p < .03$, such that the actors were evaluated slightly more favorably in the very attractive ($M = 4.78$) versus attractive condition ($M = 4.65$). The predicted interaction effects between physical attractiveness, extramarital spouse, and extramarital experience which had been expected to result in less favorable evaluations of physically attractive actors (especially attractive females) involved in affairs did not occur in the analysis. Hypotheses 4, 10, 13, 17 and 20 were thus not supported.

Justifiability of Extramarital Relationships

The mean ratings of justifiability assigned to the extramarital relationship in each experimental condition are shown in Table 4. Most notable is the fact that the ratings are low across all conditions. These ratings were examined by means of a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) analysis of covariance, with religiosity as the covariate. The significant Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse interaction, $F(1, 505) = 5.37, p < .02$, produced by this analysis identified a tendency for male subjects to perceive a husband's involvement in an extramarital relationship as more justifiable than a wife's ($M = 1.61$ vs. $M = 1.97$), Duncan, $p < .05$. Female subjects, on the other hand, rated the justifiability of a husband's and wife's extramarital involvement similarly (husband, $M = 1.83$ vs. wife, $M = 1.71$). Hypothesis 2, that the extramarital activities of wives are perceived as less justifiable than those of husbands, was thus supported only for

Table 4

Mean Justifiability Ratings for the Extramarital Relationship Across
Conditions

Sex of subject	Extramarital Spouse					
	Wife			Husband		
	No affair	First affair	Many affairs	No affair	First affair	Many affairs
	Attractive stimulus persons					
Males	1.25	2.05	1.66	1.84	1.81	2.04
Females	1.95	1.41	1.77	2.00	1.68	1.57
Total	1.60	1.70	1.73	1.91	1.74	1.81
<u>n</u>	40	40	44	45	46	42
	Very attractive stimulus persons					
Males	1.25	1.95	1.57	1.70	2.32	2.07
Females	1.53	2.42	2.00	1.85	1.47	1.80
Total	1.37	2.17	1.79	1.77	1.92	1.93
<u>n</u>	43	41	39	40	41	45

Note. Means are based on 7-point scale ratings, higher numbers indicating greater justifiability.

all male subjects. However, because no other effects in the analysis were significant, the other hypotheses concerned with the effects of physical attractiveness (5, 11, 14, 18) and extramarital experience (8, 18) were not supported.

The absence of significant effects in the analysis of the justifiability ratings can be partly attributed to the "floor effect" which occurred in these ratings. This "floor effect" can in turn be accounted for by the portrayal of David's and Susan's marriage as a relatively happy one. Evidence for this comes from the analysis of responses to the two open ended questions in which subjects explained their justifiability ratings and stated the "single most important reason why" the spouse did, or did not, become involved in an extramarital relationship.

Justifiability Explanations

The author developed five categories for coding the justifiability explanations. Because explanations for a not at all justifiable answer (1) on the justifiability scale were qualitatively different from explanations for slightly to extremely justifiable answers on the scale (2 to 7), the explanations of nonjustifiability were categorized separately from explanations of justifiability. Two judges coded the nonjustifiability explanations into two categories with 98% agreement, and the justifiability explanations into three categories with 95% agreement. The category definitions with illustrative answers were as follows:

1. Marital satisfaction (nonjustifiable) - answers which indicated that engaging in an extramarital relationship was not

justifiable because the husband/wife had a good marriage/spouse, a happy family/home life, and/or concern about damaging their marital/family relationships:

It would not be justifiable because Susan gives him everything there is to give in a marriage. There is variety in his life with Susan and therefore any motive for routine and boredom would be unrealistic. (25 year old, single male)

It is not justifiable at all because he is running the risk of breaking up an obviously wonderful relationship with his wife. It is one thing to have a one night stand but a relationship of duration is asking for trouble. (29 year old, single female)

Husband has kept romance in marriage relationship thereby attempting to keep spice and interest alive. (38 year old, separated male)

No indication of an unhappy home life to cause her to look for love or satisfaction elsewhere. (27 year old, married male)

2. Commitment/values/ethics (nonjustifiable) - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was not justifiable because of the commitment to marital fidelity and/or religious/ethical values and beliefs.

At what point in life can one honestly say they have everything they want? Temptation will always be a challenge and I do not believe we will ever not be challenged by it. Some of us are quick to jump at an interlude however there are many who keep the promise they made before God and will not ever violate their responsibilities. (65 year old, married male)

There is no justifiable reason for sex outside the marriage. You want to screw around then stay single. But that's immature and irresponsible. (32 year old, single female)

She has established a bond of trust and love with David. If she can't hold up her end the honest and mature thing to do would be to discuss the matter frankly with David and accept the responsibility for dissolving the relationship with him if they could not resolve the situation together. (40 year old, married male)

Because the Bible says Thou shalt not Commit Adultery. It's just that plain and simple. (40 year old, married male)

3. Extramarital partner/relationship (justifiable) - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was justified because of the attraction to the extramarital partner, the extramarital partner's qualities, and/or the benefits associated with the extramarital relationship.

David may have never truly loved someone else. Ellen is someone who he may like to know better and could possibly have a good relationship with. (33 year old, single female)

Working together - having same pressures. Understanding one another. A need for one another. Time spent together. (36 year old, single female)

Under certain circumstances, considering their mutual interests in work it is moderately justifiable. They can share interests and ideas that are important to them and this sharing often causes relationships to go beyond the business one to a personal one. (37 year old, married female)

4. Marital dissatisfaction (justifiable) - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was justified because of an unsatisfactory spouse and/or marital relationship.

Well, there must have been something lacking between he and Susan. I think they were moving backwards in an effort to capture old romantic times instead of growing ahead. Maybe, they were a bit bored. (36 year old, divorced and remarried female)

Susan turned to Michael for something that was lacking in her relationship with her husband. (26 year old, separated male)

People should be able to determine their own destiny - plus the only reason to do so is because of something missing in his marriage - one must justify such an action as it relates to the individual and not to others or outside influences. (36 year old, married male)

Susan's husband may be partly responsible by not being loving, attentive, supportive, etc. (54 year old, married male)

5. Ambivalent justifiability - answers which both justified the affair and expressed concern about its negative consequences or ethical

acceptability.

Slightly justifiable by the fact that they were so attracted to each other. But that was outweighed by her responsibilities to her family. (32 year old, married male)

Maybe only slightly to really find out what their true feelings about each other are. But in all fairness to David's Wife, it wouldn't be justifiable. (38 year old, married female)

Although it may be somewhat human, David is being dishonest with Susan. An affair that has lasted 3 years is not just a fling - a slip-up - or a goof. What Susan doesn't know won't hurt her, but at this point David should re-evaluate the situation. Susan obviously suspects something. Who is more important to David - Susan or Ellen? (26 year old, living with lover, female)

Human relationships, and human emotions, are highly complex. It would be unhealthy for Susan to deny her strong feelings for Michael, although this is no excuse to engage in a relationship which, if discovered, could cause great emotional upheaval in the members of Susan's family. (23 year old, single male)

The percentage of explanations coded into the five categories for each extramarital spouse in each extramarital experience condition is depicted in Table 5. The data show that marital dissatisfaction was infrequently cited as a rationale for the justifiability of either a wife or husband engaging in an extramarital relationship. And this was evident across all three extramarital experience conditions. Indeed, in the no affair condition, a majority of subjects said that it was marital satisfaction which made an extramarital relationship unjustifiable for both a wife (63.86%), χ^2 ($df = 4$, $N = 83$) = 97.57, $p < .001$, and a husband (51.76%), χ^2 ($df = 4$, $N = 85$) = 54.19, $p < .001$. And among the subjects ($n = 151$) in the first affair and many affairs conditions who did find a wife's/husband's extramarital relationship justifiable, subjects were more likely to offer an ambivalent explanation of justifiability (58.94%) than one based on the

Table 5

Categorization of Explanations for Justifiability Ratings

Category	<u>No affair</u>		<u>First affair</u>		<u>Many affairs</u>	
	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband
	(<u>n</u> =83)	(<u>n</u> =85)	(<u>n</u> =81)	(<u>n</u> =88)	(<u>n</u> =86)	(<u>n</u> =89)
Nonjustifiable						
Marital satisfaction	63.86%	51.76%	18.52%	21.59%	32.56%	20.23%
Commitment/ values/ethics	10.84%	9.42%	35.81%	31.82%	32.56%	31.46%
Justifiable						
Extramarital relationship/ partner	8.44%	17.65%	11.11%	15.91%	5.82%	7.86%
Marital dissatisfaction	3.61%	5.88%	6.17%	9.09%	9.30%	6.74%
Ambivalent	13.25%	15.29%	28.39%	21.59%	19.76%	33.71%

extramarital partner/relationship (23.18%) or marital dissatisfaction (17.88%), χ^2 ($df = 2$, $N = 151$) = 45.19, $p < .001$. Taken as a whole then, these findings demonstrate that subjects did not generally perceive Susan's and David's marriage to be dissatisfactory, a fact which was underscored by examination of the reasons they gave for the spouses' extramarital relationships.

Causal Attributions for Extramarital Relationships

Subjects were asked to state "the single most important reason why" the spouse did (first affair and many affairs conditions), or did not (no affair condition), become involved in an extramarital relationship. The causal attributions for choosing not to engage in an extramarital relationship were independently categorized by two judges with 94% agreement into three categories defined by the author. These categories, with examples, were as follows:

1. Marital satisfaction - answers which focused on the satisfactory nature of the marriage/spouse as the primary reason for not engaging in an extramarital relationship.

Because of her relationship with her husband and her role as a good wife and mother. She probably considered the consequences of an extramarital relationship and the effect it would have on herself, her husband, the children and the "other man." Everyone feels some hurt, some joy, some satisfaction and some pain. (25 year old, single female)

His commitment as a husband and father and his relationship with his wife in being a friend, lover and mistress. His good rapport with children. (36 year old, single female)

2. Extramarital spouse - answers which cited the tempted spouse's personal qualities, beliefs, or values as the primary reason for not engaging in a extramarital relationship.

Because she is a level headed wife, mother and a person of character. (43 year old, married female)

It was a loving, conscious decision - putting the "other" over self-fulfillment. (38 year old married male)

Integrity, sense, strength (37 year old, married female)

Once David expressed himself, I feel he was not secure enough that Ellen would respond in a positive way. (38 year old, married male)

3. Extramarital partner/relationship - answers which cited the qualities of the extramarital partner or relationship as the primary reason for not engaging in an extramarital relationship.

I believe the primary reason there was not an extramarital relationship was Michael's lack of action. I think Susan was wavering and if Michael had shown any interest she might have done it. (26 year old, married male)

David and Ellen obviously are aware that the relationship would hurt all parties involved, the relation (affair) would not warrant such damage to David's family life or the guilt by Ellen. (31 year old, married male)

The causal attributions for engaging in an extramarital relationship were also coded into three author defined categories by two judges with 92% agreement:

1. Marital dissatisfaction - responses which cited dissatisfaction with the spouse/marriage as the primary reason for engaging in an extramarital relationship.

He is having the affair because his wife probably can't supply all the needs that David wants within a relationship. Ellen supplies companionship and a sharing through the work relationship. Susan fulfills those needs of David's which come with a wife and a homemaker. (37 year old, married female).

2. Extramarital spouse - responses which cited the extramarital spouse's personal qualities, beliefs, or values as the primary reason for engaging in an extramarital relationship.

Because she is immature and immoral. (54 year old, married male)

He is immature and probably feels satisfaction in Ellen's commitment and considers himself a dominant personality. (53 year old, married male)

3. Extramarital partner/relationship - responses which cited the attraction to the partner and/or the benefits of the extramarital relationship as the primary reason for engaging in an extramarital relationship.

He probably finds it somewhat exciting - different. It's a change of pace. Although he probably loves Susan, he also loves Ellen in a different way. (26 year old, living with lover female)

After 10 years of marriage she's renewing her desirability, ego (am I still attractive to other men?) Curiosity - will sex with someone else be exciting. (48 year old, married male)

The percentage of causal attributions classified into each category in each extramarital experience condition is presented in Table 6. For clarity's sake, the percentages were collapsed over the two attractiveness conditions. As can be seen in Table 6, marital satisfaction was the principal attribution made for both a wife (63.85%) $\chi^2 (2, N = 83) = 38.84, p < .001$, and husband (70.45%), $\chi^2 (2, N = 88) = 53.46, p < .001$, choosing not to engage in an extramarital relationship in the no affair condition.

In the first affair condition, marital dissatisfaction (18.68%) was cited significantly less frequently than either the extramarital partner/relationship (43.95%) or the extramarital spouse (37.36%) as the cause of a husband's extramarital relationship, $\chi^2 (2, N = 91) = 9.38, p < .01$. Although there were no significant differences in the categorization of the causes for the wife's extramarital involvement in this condition, $\chi^2 (2, N = 82) = 3.61, N.S.$, only about a third of the

Table 6

Classification of Participants' Causal Attributions for Affairs

Category	Extramarital spouse	
	Wife	Husband
	No affair	
	(<u>n</u> = 83)	(<u>n</u> = 88)
Marital satisfaction	63.85%	70.45%
Extramarital spouse	28.92%	19.32%
Extramarital spouse/ relationship	7.23%	10.23%
	First affair	
	(<u>n</u> = 82)	(<u>n</u> = 91)
Marital dissatisfaction	34.15%	18.68%
Extramarital spouse	41.46%	37.36%
Extramarital partner/ relationship	24.39%	43.95%
	Many affairs	
	(<u>n</u> = 87)	(<u>n</u> = 92)
Marital dissatisfaction	32.18%	21.73%
Extramarital spouse	51.72%	55.43%
Extramarital partner/ relationship	16.09%	22.83%

subjects (34.15%) attributed her affair to marital dissatisfaction. And in the many affairs condition, most subjects attributed both a wife's affair (51.72%), $\chi^2 (2, N = 87) = 16.62, p < .001$, and an husband's affair (55.43%), $\chi^2 (2, N = 92) = 20.24, p < .001$, to the extramarital spouse herself or himself, rather than to marital dissatisfaction (wife, 32.18%; husband 21.73%) or the extramarital partner/relationship (wife, 16.09%; husband, 22.83%). On the whole, the evidence thus suggests that subjects viewed David's and Susan's marriage as fairly satisfactory, if not happy, which is probably why they did not see their involvement in extramarital relationships as very justifiable.

Of additional note, is the difference in the causal attributions for a husband's and wife's extramarital relationship in the first affair condition. The extramarital partner/relationship was more frequently cited as the cause for a husband's (43.95%) than a wife's first affair (24.39%), $\chi^2 (2, N = 173) = 8.91, p < .02$. That a husband's rather than a wife's first affair tends to be viewed as the result of an outside attraction reflects, of course, traditional gender stereotypes about male and female extramarital sexual behavior, namely, males may engage in extramarital sexual activities because of sexual needs which have little or nothing to do with marital happiness. Females, on the other hand, have traditionally been presumed not to have such needs (or at least not to exhibit them), which may have been the reason why subjects did not attribute the wife's affair to the extramarital partner/relationship. This is somewhat surprising, however, given that Michael, the "other man," was so attractive. It is

also important to note that no difference occurred in the pattern of causal attributions for husbands and wives in the many affairs condition $\chi^2 (2, N = 179) = 1.01, N.S.$ (see Table 6). Repetitive extramarital involvements, at least within a seemingly satisfactory marriage, thus appear to be attributed to the extramarital spouse, whether husband or wife.

Responsibility for Extramarital Relationships

The mean responsibility ratings assigned to the husband, wife, "other man"/"other woman," and to circumstances for the spouse engaging/not engaging in an extramarital affair are shown in Table 7. The means were analyzed through a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) x 4 (Locus of Responsibility) repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance, with repeated measures on the last factor. The analysis produced significant main effects for Locus of Responsibility, $F (3, 2075) = 170.09, p < .0001$, and Extramarital Experience, $F (2, 518) = 10.83, p < .001$. However, these effects were qualified by the significant interactions which also emerged from the analysis: Extramarital Spouse x Locus of Responsibility, $F (3, 2075) = 170.09, p < .0001$, Extramarital Experience x Locus of Responsibility, $F (6, 2075) = 6.96, p < .0001$, Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience x Locus of Responsibility $F (6, 2075) = 3.64$, and Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience x Locus of Responsibility, $F (6, 2075) = 2.69, p < .02$.

The triple interaction for Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience x Locus of Responsibility can be understood by inspection of

Table 7

Mean Responsibility Ratings by Condition

Locus of Responsibility	Extramarital spouse					
	Wife			Husband		
	No affair	First affair	Many affairs	No affair	First affair	Many affairs
	Attractive					
Susan	5.36	5.03	4.89	3.63	2.76	2.93
David	4.29	2.47	3.36	5.58	5.17	5.23
Other	4.39	4.86	4.40	4.81	5.17	4.75
Circumstances	3.34	3.92	3.70	3.81	3.86	3.59
<u>n</u>	41	38	47	43	46	44
	Very attractive					
Susan	5.42	5.12	5.71	4.00	3.04	2.83
David	4.04	2.97	2.56	5.51	4.93	5.18
Other	4.53	5.17	5.17	5.02	4.75	4.89
Circumstances	4.16	3.78	3.93	3.91	3.82	3.72
<u>n</u>	43	41	41	43	44	48

the means in Table 8. The means show that as extramarital spouses, David and Susan were each rated high on responsibility across the three affair conditions (Susan, $\underline{M} = 5.39$, $\underline{M} = 5.07$, $\underline{M} = 5.27$; David, $\underline{M} = 5.55$, $\underline{M} = 5.05$, $\underline{M} = 5.21$). When portrayed as bystanding (faithful spouses), in contrast, both David and Susan were assigned significantly higher responsibility in the no affair condition versus the first affair and many affairs condition (David, $\underline{M} = 4.16$ vs. $\underline{M} = 2.73$ and $\underline{M} = 2.98$; Susan, $\underline{M} = 3.81$ vs. $\underline{M} = 2.90$ and $\underline{M} = 2.88$), Duncan, $p < .05$. The bystanding (faithful) spouses were thus viewed as more highly responsible for their spouses not engaging in an extramarital affair than they were for their spouses engaging in an extramarital affair. Indeed, the results of the Duncan test depicted in Table 8 show that compared to the extramarital spouses, the "other man/other woman," and circumstances, the bystanding spouses (David, $\underline{M} = 2.73$, $\underline{M} = 2.98$; Susan, $\underline{M} = 2.90$, $\underline{M} = 2.88$) were held to be the least responsible for their partners' extramarital activities in both the first and many affairs conditions.

The four way Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience x Locus of Responsibility interaction is shown in Table 7. It occurred because the very attractive wife in the many affairs condition was rated significantly more responsible for engaging in an extramarital relationship than her attractive counterpart in the many affairs condition ($\underline{M} = 5.71$ vs. $\underline{M} = 4.89$), Duncan, $p < .05$. Interestingly, in this same condition, the increase in Susan's responsibility was accompanied by a decrease in her husband's responsibility from the attractive to the very attractive condition (\underline{M}

Table 8

Mean Responsibility Ratings Collapsed over the AttractivenessConditions

Locus of Responsibility	Extramarital spouse					
	Wife			Husband		
	No affair (<u>n</u> =84)	First affair (<u>n</u> =79)	Many affairs (<u>n</u> =88)	No affair (<u>n</u> =86)	First affair (<u>n</u> =90)	Many affairs (<u>n</u> =92)
Susan	5.39 _a	5.07 _a	5.27 _a	3.81 _c	2.90 _c	2.88 _c
David	4.16 _b	2.73 _c	2.98 _d	5.55 _a	5.05 _a	5.21 _a
Other	4.46 _b	5.02 _a	4.76 _b	4.92 _b	4.96 _a	4.83 _a
Circumstances	3.76 _c	3.85 _b	3.81 _c	3.86 _c	3.84 _b	3.66 _b

Note. Means in a given column differ at the $p < .05$ significance level according to the Duncan Multiple Range Test.

= 3.36 vs. \underline{M} = 2.56), Duncan, $p < .05$. Husbands of very attractive women thus appear to be held less responsible for their wives' affairs than husbands of attractive women.

The greater responsibility assigned to the very attractive wife in the many affairs condition thus partially supports the hypothesis (6) that physically attractive husbands and wives are assigned greater responsibility than less attractive husbands and wives for engaging in extramarital relationships. In addition, the fact that the very attractive wife in the many affairs condition received the highest rating of responsibility given to either husbands or wives in the first and many affairs condition is consistent, although not significantly so, with Hypothesis 12. According to this hypothesis (the attractive wife hypothesis), it was expected that attractive wives who engage in many extramarital affairs would be assigned the greatest responsibility for their extramarital activities.

In contrast to wives, husbands ratings of responsibility were not affected by attractiveness. Very attractive husbands were not assigned more responsibility than attractive husbands for engaging in affairs in either the first affair (attractive, \underline{M} = 5.17 vs. very attractive, \underline{M} = 4.93) or the many affairs condition (attractive, \underline{M} = 5.23 vs. very attractive \underline{M} = 5.18). Nor did the repeated measures MANOVA results support the other hypotheses concerned with responsibility for extramarital affairs. Wives (Hypothesis 3) were not assigned more responsibility than husbands for engaging in affairs (wives, \underline{M} = 5.17; husbands \underline{M} = 5.13). And spouses involved in many affairs were not assigned greater responsibility than those involved in their first

affair (Hypothesis 9). For as the means in Table 8 show, the ratings of responsibility for both spouses in the first affair condition were not significantly different from the ratings in the many affairs condition (Susan, first affair $\underline{M} = 5.07$ vs. many affairs, $\underline{M} = 5.27$; David, first affair, $\underline{M} = 5.05$ vs. many affairs, $\underline{M} = 5.21$), Duncan, N.S.

Of additional note, the MANOVA on the responsibility ratings produced a significant Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience interaction $F(2, 518) = 3.01, p < .05$, which was based on the female subjects' tendency to give higher ratings of responsibility than the males in the no affair condition (females, $\underline{M} = 4.60$ vs. males, $\underline{M} = 4.38$), Duncan, $p < .05$. The significant 3-way interaction between Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience showed, however, that it was only in the husband no affair condition that the females gave higher ratings of responsibility (females, $\underline{M} = 4.77$ vs. males, $\underline{M} = 4.30$), Tukey, $p < .05$.

In sum, examination of the responsibility ratings (see Table 8) showed that at least in satisfactory marriages, social observers hold the actual actors in an affair - the extramarital spouses and their partners - to be more responsible for the affair than bystanding spouses. Bystanding or faithful spouses, on the other hand, were held more highly responsible for spouses not engaging in an affair than both the spouse who was tempted to engage in an affair and the man/woman with whom they were tempted to do so. Finally, as had been predicted, a very attractive woman who has been repeatedly involved in extramarital affairs was held more responsible for doing so than a less (albeit) attractive woman.

Effects of an Extramarital Relationship on Children

Subjects' responses to the question about how David's and Susan's children were (or would be) affected by their parent's extramarital relationship are shown in Table 9. These means indicate that subjects generally perceived the effects of an affair on children to be very negative (scale values ranged from 1, extremely negatively, to 7, extremely positively). A 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Physical Attractiveness) x 2 (Extramarital Spouse) x 3 (Extramarital Experience) analysis of variance conducted on these means did not, in fact, produce any significant effects. Interestingly, the analysis did yield a marginally significant effect for Physical Attractiveness, $F(1, 523) = 2.94, p < .09$, which revealed a tendency for subjects to perceive the effects on children as somewhat less negative in the very attractive ($M = 2.42$) versus attractive condition ($M = 2.22$). And a marginally significant 3-way interaction between Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness $F(1, 523) = 3.04, p < .08$, also showed a tendency for males to rate the effects on children less negatively for very attractive versus attractive wives (attractive, $M = 2.07$ vs. very attractive $M = 2.63$), whereas females tended to rate the effects on children less negatively for very attractive versus attractive husbands (attractive, $M = 2.19$ vs. very attractive, $M = 2.44$). Thus, heterosexual attractiveness appeared to influence the subjects' perceptions of how an extramarital affair affects children.

Subject Variables

An attempt was made to examine how subject variables - including age, sex, religiosity, extramarital experience, and moral reasoning -

Table 9

Mean Ratings of the Effects of Parents' Extramarital Affairs on Their Children

Subjects	Extramarital spouse					
	Wife			Husband		
	No affair	First affair	Many affairs	No affair	First affair	Many affairs
	Attractive					
Males	2.05	2.00	2.16	2.07	2.66	2.28
<u>n</u>	21	18	19	26	21	21
Females	2.16	2.27	2.39	2.10	2.23	2.23
<u>n</u>	19	22	28	19	26	22
	Very Attractive					
Males	2.62	2.54	2.73	3.00	1.95	2.25
<u>n</u>	24	22	19	20	22	28
Females	2.35	2.40	2.00	2.30	2.50	2.55
<u>n</u>	20	20	22	23	22	20

affect judgments about the justifiability of an affair. Unfortunately, examination of the moral reasoning variable was limited by the small percentage of usable results on the Defining Issues Test. In this respect, DIT scores were obtained from only 128 subjects, or 24.33% of the sample.³ This was attributed partly to the complexity of the test, the fact that subjects had to follow written instructions on their own for completing the DIT, and the fairly lengthy time it required for completion (on average, 25 minutes). In light of these difficulties, correlational results obtained with the DIT must be regarded as tenuous.

The results of the correlational analysis carried out among the justifiability ratings and subject variables are shown in Table 10. There it can be seen that subjects' P scores, which represent the extent to which moral judgments are made on the basis of principled morality (stage 5 and 6 reasoning), were not significantly correlated with perceived justifiability, or any of the other variables for that matter. However, perceived justifiability was found to be significantly negatively correlated with religiosity, $r(506) = -.17$, $p < .0001$, and significantly positively correlated with extramarital experience, $r(304) = .27$, $p < .0001$. The data in Table 10 also showed that subjects with extramarital experience tended to be less religious, $r(304) = -.14$, $p < .005$, and male, $r(305) = -.10$, $p < .04$. Less religious subjects in turn, tended to be younger, $r(510) = .08$, $p < .02$. Thus, the overall pattern of findings showed that younger, less religious, male subjects, with extramarital experience, tended to perceive the spouses' extramarital affair (or potential affair) as more justifiable. Hypothesis 21 was thus supported.

Table 10

Correlations Illustrating the Interrelationships Among the
Justifiability Ratings and Subject Variables

Variable	Variable				
	Justifiability	P score	Religiosity	Extramarital experience	Sex experience
P Score	.01				
<u>n</u>	128				
Religiosity	-.17*****	.05			
<u>n</u>	506	124			
Extramarital experience	.27*****	-.04	-.14***		
<u>n</u>	304	78	304		
Sex	-.00	.02	.03	-.10*	
<u>n</u>	522	128	510	305	
Age	.03	.07	.08**	.07	-.14*****
<u>n</u>	522	128	510	305	526

Note. P score correlations were based on a sample of 128 reliable scores. All other correlations were based on the entire sample, N = 526. Smaller ns indicate missing information on one of the variables. *p < .04. **p < .02. ***p < .005. ****p < .001. *****p < .0001.

Footnotes

¹Pearson correlations carried out on the justifiability ratings and religiosity showed that the two variables were significantly negatively correlated, $r(506) = -.17$, $p < .0001$.

²BMDP software, Model 4V, was used to carry out the repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance. Because this program eliminated a subject's data entirely if he/she failed to rate just one character on even one trait, which represented a loss of 86 subjects (18.25%), the social evaluation scores used in the analysis and reported in Table 3, were based on number of traits rated. Most importantly, the results of a multivariate repeated measures analysis of variance conducted on scores based on 14 trait ratings for each actor produced the same results as those reported in the text.

³Rest's (1979) reliability criteria for the three story version of the DIT were followed in purging the sample of unreliable scores. In this manner, tests with M scores of four or higher, or those which did not pass the consistency checks because they had (a) more than eight rating-ranking inconsistencies in a single story, or (b) more than two stories with rating-ranking inconsistencies, or (c) nine items rated the same in more than one story, were eliminated from the sample. Attempts to use less stringent criteria and thereby increase sample size, which Rest suggests should be tried, did not yield different results in the correlational analysis. Consequently, only the results with the most reliable scores were reported.

CHAPTER 4

Experiment 1

Discussion

The results of Experiment 1 must be interpreted in terms of two unanticipated findings. The first, and most disappointing, was the failure to obtain the planned attractiveness levels. Consequently, the hypotheses concerned with attractiveness were not actually tested as intended; comparisons were made between attractive versus very attractive stimulus persons instead of attractive versus moderately attractive stimulus persons. The relative lack of support obtained for the hypotheses concerned with the effects of physical attractiveness may have been due to this methodological wrinkle. In any case, it is important to note that those original hypotheses remain to be investigated.

The second, and not wholly unanticipated, finding was that across all of the experimental conditions, subjects were shown to hold a fairly positive view of David's and Susan's marriage. Evidence for this came, as discussed in Chapter 3, from both the justifiability explanations and the causal attribution data. This benign view of David's and Susan's marriage appeared to account, in turn, for the low perceived justifiability of either spouse participating in an extramarital affair. Concomitantly, the truncation effect in the justifiability ratings obviated the possibility of exploring how justifiability might have varied as a function of the situational variables under examination. On the other hand, the truncated nature of the ratings, was, in and of itself, a resoundingly clear finding,

showing as it did that affairs on the part of a spouse in a happy marriage are not generally condoned by social observers.

Of the situational variables examined in Experiment 1, the extramarital experience manipulation produced the strongest and most consistent support for the hypotheses under investigation. As had been predicted (Hypothesis 7), social observers evaluated husbands and wives who had been involved in many affairs more negatively than those who were involved in their first affair. Also as predicted (Hypothesis 16), spouses without extramarital experience were evaluated more favorably than those who had such experience. This latter finding was particularly interesting because it was demonstrated in two ways. First, the evidence showed that faithful spouses were evaluated consistently favorably in all three bystanding spouse conditions - whether their mate had been tempted to engage in an affair and had resisted, or was engaged in their first affair, or was engaged in one more in a series of affairs. Second, the evidence showed that those spouses who remained faithful to their mates despite a strong extramarital attraction and the opportunity to engage in an affair, were also viewed very favorably. In fact, a husband who demonstrated this type of staunch fidelity was actually evaluated more favorably than in those conditions in which he was portrayed as the "faithful spouse standing by a faithful/faithless wife. This is a very interesting twist on cliched notions about the double standard (such as the disconfirmed Hypotheses 17 and 18 formulated by this author) according to which it might be expected that a husband's social standing is enhanced by participation in extramarital affairs. Thus,

contrary to this perhaps outdated stereotype of the "macho" male, these findings demonstrated that a husband's image was enhanced by avoidance of, rather than an involvement in, an extramarital affair.

The social credit a husband received for deciding against an extramarital involvement appeared to rub off on his wife as well. In contrast, no such credits were awarded to the husband of a wife who resisted an extramarital involvement. This may have occurred because as the double standard would dictate, fidelity is expected more from wives than husbands. Consequently, when a wife resists an affair, although both she and her husband are viewed very positively, she has not done anything that a wife should not do ordinarily, and therefore her husband is not deserving of any special credit. Similar behavior on the part of a husband is, however, both unexpected and extraordinary, therefore his wife receives credit because an "extraordinary husband" must be paired with an "extraordinary" wife.

Despite the above suggestion that the double-standard may have had some influence on the perceptions of faithful spouses, Experiment 1 actually provided little evidence for a differential evaluation of extramarital activities on the part of husbands versus wives and "other men" versus "other women." In fact, only two clear cut instances of gender bias were observed throughout all the findings: (a) the tendency of males to perceive husbands' affairs as more justifiable than wives' affairs, and (b) the tendency to assign more responsibility in the many affairs condition to very attractive versus attractive wives, but not to very attractive versus attractive husbands. The absence of any other effects illustrative of the double-standard is

really a remarkable finding and it makes the two effects which did occur stand out all the more. These vestiges of bias indicate that the double standard in regard to extramarital affairs may now be a very situation specific phenomenon. Such situational specificity is supported by some of the social psychological research discussed in Chapter 1. Those findings demonstrated, for example, that college students judged a married woman's "one night stand" more harshly than a married man's (Vallacher, Note 1), but that a married woman's involvement in a more personal extramarital relationship was not judged any differently from a married man's (Hartnett et al., 1977).

Most strikingly, perhaps, the results of Experiment 1 revealed a fairly traditional and conservative portrait of extramarital affairs. Given the circumstances of what appeared to be a happy marriage, social observers were not inclined to find an extramarital affair very acceptable for either marital partner. Thus, contrary to the argument made in Chapter 1 that contemporary views of extramarital affairs have shifted toward a more liberal and acceptant outlook, these results showed that the ethic of marital fidelity is alive and well in the minds of ordinary social observers. At the same time, however, the results suggested that observers tend to subscribe to the fidelity ethic because of pragmatic rather than ethical considerations. This was shown by the analysis of the explanations for the justifiability ratings, particularly in the no affair condition where the majority of subjects said that an affair on the part of David or Susan would not be justifiable because of concern about damaging a happy marriage as opposed to concern about violating the code of marital fidelity. This

indicates that social observers do not generally construe sexual fidelity to one's spouse as an universal rule to be obeyed or followed under all circumstances, but rather as a prescription for how a spouse is expected to behave in a satisfactory marriage. Experiment 2 made it possible to put this proposition to the test.

CHAPTER 5

Experiment 2

MethodSubjects

Ninety four (56 female, 38 male) continuing education students, alumni, and staff from Sacred Heart University in Fairfield, Connecticut were recruited, along with their spouses and friends, to participate in the author's dissertation research.

Age and marital status. Subjects ranged between 19 and 64 years of age with a median age of 38 ($M = 38.33$). Fifty-two were married, 20 were single, 12 were divorced, 4 were divorced and remarried, 3 were separated, 2 were living with a lover, and 1 was widowed.

Educational status. The subjects educational background broke down as follows: 19 possessed graduate degrees, 9 reported some graduate school, 21 were college graduates, 39 were in college, 5 were high school graduates, and 1 reported some high school.

Religion and religiosity. Religious affiliation of the subjects was as follows: 72 were Catholic, 19 were Protestant, 2 were Jewish, and 1 had no religious affiliation. On religiosity, 15 said that they were very religious, 37 said moderately, 27 said slightly, 14 said not at all, and 1 said antireligious.

Extramarital experience. A total of 69 currently or previously married subjects ($n = 72$) provided information about their own extramarital experience: 41 said they never had an extramarital relationship, 10 reported having one affair, 1 reported having two affairs, and 7 reported having four or more affairs. A total of 18

subjects (26.08%) thus reported having extramarital experience.

Married or previously married subjects with no extramarital experience reported whether or not they had ever had a desire to become involved in an extramarital relationship. Of the 42 subjects who responded, 7 said yes, 22 said no, and 13 said maybe. Slightly less than half (47.62%) thus reported having some degree of desire to have an extramarital affair.

Single subjects were asked if they were to marry, whether or not they thought they would have an extramarital relationship? None said yes, 10 said maybe, and 13 said no. A total of 43.5% thus believed that they might engage in an extramarital relationship.

Procedure

Subjects attended one of two scheduled showings of a film for an experiment in "Person Perception." On arrival, subjects were seated in two separate rooms on the pretense that the group was too large (which it was) to fit in one room. Subjects were given the same instructions as in Experiment 1 (see Chapter 2), except for being told they would watch a videotape presentation instead of read a story about personal relationships. They were also told that if at any time they no longer wished to participate, they should return their incomplete booklet to the experimenter.

At each of the two sessions the subjects viewed one of two versions of a videotaped film entitled Strangers When We Meet (Quine, 1960), featuring Kirk Douglas (Larry) and Kim Novak (Maggie) as suburban marrieds (he in a seemingly happy marriage, she in an unhappy one) who become involved in an extramarital relationship. In one film

version, information about the female character's (Maggie's) previous extramarital experience was deleted by editing two scenes from the film. The end of the film, which revealed the break-up of the extramarital affair between Maggie and Larry, was not shown to either group. After viewing the film, subjects responded anonymously to a questionnaire. Following collection of the completed questionnaires, subjects were debriefed. No subjects reported that they were aware of or suspicious about the experimental manipulation.

Conditions

Subjects were randomly assigned to two experimental conditions. In the previous affair condition subjects were provided with information about the female actor's (Maggie's) prior extramarital experience. In the no previous affair condition, subjects were not given this information.

Experimental Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix E) was similar in design to the one used in Experiment 1. It contained the following dependent measures:

1. Perceptions of extramarital actors and spouses. On 7-point scales, subjects rated the degree to which each character in the film, Maggie and Larry, and their respective spouses, Ken and Eve, possessed 7 socially desirable and 7 socially undesirable traits.

2. Justifiability of the extramarital relationship. On two separate scales, subjects rated the justifiability of Maggie's and Larry's respective extramarital involvement with one another. Each scale was followed by an open ended question which asked subjects to

explain why they answered as they did.

3. Causal attributions for the extramarital relationship.

Subjects responded to two open ended questions which asked them to state separately for Maggie and Larry "the single most important reason" for her/his involvement in an extramarital relationship.

4. Responsibility assignment for the extramarital relationship.

On 7-point scales, subjects rated the responsibility of each of the four film characters and circumstances for Maggie's and Larry's extramarital relationship.

5. Effects on children. On 7-point scales ranging from "extremely positively" to "extremely negatively," subjects indicated how the children of each couple were likely to be affected by the extramarital relationship between Maggie and Larry.

In addition to the above measures, subjects provided background information about themselves and completed the Defining Issues Test.

CHAPTER 6

Experiment 2

ResultsPerceptions of Actors

The mean ratings on the 14 traits for the extramarital actors and their spouses are shown in Table 11.¹ Table 12 contains the means for each character in each condition. These means were examined through a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Experience) x 4 (Character) multivariate analysis of variance, with repeated measures on the last factor. As can be seen in Table 13, all the effects in the multivariate analysis were significant except for the Character by Sex of Subject interaction and the Sex of Subject main effect which just missed significance. The univariate results from this analysis, which are shown in Tables 14 and 15, were used to test the hypotheses that Maggie would be evaluated less favorably than Larry (Hypothesis 1), that Maggie would be evaluated less favorably in the previous affair versus no previous affair condition (Hypothesis 7), and that the extramarital spouses would be evaluated less favorably than the faithful spouses (Hypothesis 16).

As shown in Tables 14 and 15, the univariate results produced a significant main effect for Actor (Character) on all the traits except the vain item. The results of the Duncan test, $p < .05$, (see Table 11) showed that Maggie was perceived as the most unhappy ($\underline{M} = 6.03$), the most emotionally needy ($\underline{M} = 6.54$), the least self-fulfilled ($\underline{M} = 1.65$), and the least insensitive ($\underline{M} = 2.78$) of all the characters. And in comparison just to Larry, she was evaluated as less kind (Larry, $\underline{M} =$

Table 11

Mean ratings on 14 Traits for Each Film Character

Trait	Character			
	Maggie (<u>n</u> =89)	Larry (<u>n</u> =86)	Ken (<u>n</u> =87)	Eve (<u>n</u> =91)
Self-fulfilled	1.65 _b	4.66 _a	4.79 _a	4.46 _a
Kind	4.47 _b	5.06 _a	2.95 _c	4.22 _b
Physical Attractiveness	6.16 _a	5.22 _b	4.67 _c	5.35 _b
Moral	3.61 _b	3.44 _b	5.22 _a	5.02 _a
Responsible Friend	3.71 _c	4.09 _b	3.62 _c	4.50 _a
Loving Mate	4.34 _a	3.56 _b	2.08 _c	4.34 _a
Honest	3.67 _c	3.42 _c	4.24 _b	4.71 _a
Immature	3.93 _a	3.01 _b	4.05 _a	2.63 _b
Selfish	3.72 _c	4.46 _b	5.39 _a	4.02 _c
Unhappy	6.03 _a	4.68 _b	3.10 _d	3.83 _c
Vain	3.73 _a	3.79 _a	3.85 _a	3.34 _a
Emotionally Needy	6.54 _a	5.21 _b	2.67 _d	3.93 _c
Insincere	3.30 _a	3.14 _a	3.25 _a	2.64 _b
Insensitive	2.78 _d	3.35 _c	5.79 _a	3.89 _b

Note. Means in a given row with dissimilar subscripts differ at $p < .05$ by the Duncan's multiple range test.

Table 12

Mean Ratings on 14 Traits for Each Film Character by Condition

Trait	Experimental Conditions							
	Previous Affair			No Previous Affair				
	Maggie (<u>n</u> =45)	Larry (<u>n</u> =45)	Ken (<u>n</u> =46)	Eve (<u>n</u> =47)	Maggie (<u>n</u> =44)	Larry (<u>n</u> =41)	Ken (<u>n</u> =41)	Eve (<u>n</u> =44)
Self-fulfilled	1.64	4.77	4.52	4.53	1.66	4.54	5.09	4.38
Kind	4.31	5.00	3.06	4.29	4.63	5.14	2.83	4.14
Physically Attractive	6.24	5.55	4.69	5.29	6.09	4.85	4.66	5.40
Moral	3.35	3.33	5.02	4.97	3.86	3.56	5.44	5.06
Responsible Friend	3.73	4.06	3.67	4.59	3.68	4.12	3.56	4.40
Loving Mate	4.31	3.46	1.86	4.55	4.36	3.68	2.31	4.11
Honest	3.37	3.13	4.13	4.87	3.97	3.73	4.36	4.54
Immature	4.08	3.20	3.82	2.65	3.77	2.80	4.29	2.61
Selfish	3.75	4.46	5.28	3.97	3.68	4.46	5.51	4.06
Unhappy	6.26	4.66	3.11	4.11	5.79	4.71	3.09	3.54
Vain	3.82	4.20	3.63	3.51	3.63	3.34	4.09	3.16
Emotionally Needy	6.44	5.06	2.65	4.04	6.63	5.36	2.70	3.82
Insincere	3.44	3.46	3.08	2.27	3.15	2.78	3.43	2.54
Insensitive	3.15	3.55	5.73	3.72	2.40	3.12	5.85	4.07

Table 13

Repeated Measures Multivariate Analysis of Variance Results for 14Trait Items

Effect	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Character	42,692	41.31	.0001
Extramarital Experience	14,232	2.28	.006
Sex of Subject	14,232	1.73	.06
Character x Extramarital Experience	42,692	1.72	.004
Character x Sex of Subject	42,692	.92	.61
Extramarital Experience x Sex of Subject	14,232	2.23	.007
Character x Extramarital Experience Sex of Subject	42,692	1.51	.02

Table 14

Results of Analysis of Variance on 7 Desirable Traits

Trait	Main Effects			Interactions			
	Actor	Cond.	Sex of Subject	Actor x Condition	Sex of Subject	Sex of Subject	Actor x Cond. x Sex of Subject
Self-Fulfilled							
<u>F</u>	120.50	.00	3.60	1.80	2.98	4.93	.72
<u>p</u>	.0001		.06		.04	.03	
Kind							
<u>F</u>	50.95	.06	6.67	1.12	1.47	1.14	2.35
<u>p</u>	.0001		.01				
Physically Attractive							
<u>F</u>	50.88	3.97	.86	4.46	.57	.03	.98
<u>p</u>	.0001	.05		.004			
Moral							
<u>F</u>	46.79	4.80	.55	.63	.85	.02	.22
<u>p</u>	.0001	.03					
Responsible Friend							
<u>F</u>	10.24	.34	.30	.16	1.19	8.72	1.01
<u>p</u>	.0001					.003	
Loving Mate							
<u>F</u>	53.50	.38	4.79	1.63	2.22	1.81	1.31
<u>p</u>	.0001		.03				
Honest							
<u>F</u>	17.23	3.64	4.65	2.49	.51	2.95	.37
<u>p</u>	.0001	.06	.03	.06			

Note. Probability levels below $p < .06$ were omitted.

Table 15

Results of Analysis of Variance on 7 Undesirable Traits

Trait	Main Effects			Interactions			
	Actor	Condition	Sex of Subject	Actor x Condition	Sex of Subject	Actor x Cond. x Sex of Subject	Actor x Cond. x Sex of Subject
Immature							
<u>F</u>	21.63	.24	.85	1.68	.40	2.95	.78
<u>p</u>	.0001						
Selfish							
<u>F</u>	21.77	.07	.61	.20	1.52	.88	4.45
<u>p</u>	.0001						.005
Unhappy							
<u>F</u>	87.99	2.80	1.93	1.61	1.27	1.88	.00
<u>p</u>	.0001						
Vain							
<u>F</u>	14.27	4.82	.08	19.29	2.92	3.73	5.53
<u>p</u>				.06			
Emotionally Needy							
<u>F</u>	174.50	.87	5.32	.66	.11	.18	1.34
<u>p</u>	.0001		.02				
Insincere							
<u>F</u>	4.09	1.69	.06	1.93	.52	.34	1.24
<u>p</u>	.007						
Insensitive							
<u>F</u>	63.75	1.63	.03	2.22	.43	.07	1.37
<u>p</u>	.0001						

Note. Probability levels below $p < .06$ were omitted.

5.06 vs. Maggie, $\underline{M} = 4.47$), as more immature (Larry, $\underline{M} = 3.01$ vs. Maggie, $\underline{M} = 3.93$), and as a less responsible friend (Larry, $\underline{M} = 4.09$ vs. Maggie, $\underline{M} = 3.71$). On the other hand, Maggie was rated more favorably than Larry on physical attractiveness (Maggie, $\underline{M} = 6.16$ vs. Larry, $\underline{M} = 5.22$), loving mate (Maggie, $\underline{M} = 4.34$ vs. Larry, $\underline{M} = 3.56$), and selfish (Maggie, $\underline{M} = 3.72$ vs. Larry, $\underline{M} = 4.46$). On the moral item (Maggie, $\underline{M} = 3.61$ vs. Larry, $\underline{M} = 3.44$) and honest item (Maggie, $\underline{M} = 3.67$ vs. Larry, $\underline{M} = 3.42$), Maggie and Larry were not rated significantly differently, but they were rated significantly lower than their spouses, $p < .05$. Finally, Table 11 shows that none of the characters were rated significantly differently on the vain item.

The pattern of results found in Table 11 thus showed that neither Maggie nor Larry (nor their spouses for that matter) were evaluated consistently favorably or unfavorably. What emerged instead was evidence that each character was perceived as a unique individual, with their own complex of favorable and unfavorable qualities. Subjects thus did not evaluate Maggie more or less harshly than Larry on the basis of being a married woman as opposed to a married man involved in an extramarital relationship. Hypothesis 1 was thus not supported. However, both extramarital spouses (Maggie and Larry) were evaluated more harshly than their faithful spouses on the two items related to ethical behavior - moral and honest. This is consistent with Hypothesis 16, that spouses with no extramarital experience are evaluated more favorably than those with such experience, as well as with the findings of Experiment 1 regarding the effects of extramarital experience. Most importantly, this finding indicates that extramarital

experience may affect the process of social evaluation primarily on ethical behavioral dimensions.

The univariate results (Tables 14 and 15) did not uphold the prediction that Maggie would be evaluated less favorably in the previous affair versus no previous affair condition (Hypothesis 7). As the results in Tables 14 and 15 demonstrate, the effects of the extramarital experience manipulation (previous vs. no previous affair for Maggie) on subjects' evaluations were few and scattered. Table 14 shows that a main effect for Condition (Extramarital Experience) occurred on the moral item, $F(1, 92) = 4.80, p < .03$, such that lower ratings on moral were assigned when subjects were aware of Maggie's previous affair ($M = 4.18$) than when they were not ($M = 4.48$). As previously noted, of course, the extramarital actors were rated significantly less moral than the faithful spouses.

A main effect for Condition (Extramarital Experience) also occurred in the univariate analysis on the physical attractiveness item, $F(1, 92) = 3.97, p < .05$. It occurred within the context of a significant Condition x Character interaction, $F(3, 92) = 4.46, p < .004$, which showed that Larry was perceived as significantly more attractive in the previous ($M = 5.55$) versus no previous ($M = 4.85$) affair condition, Tukey, $p < .05$. Exactly why this occurred is somewhat unclear. It implies that his attractiveness was enhanced by the knowledge that Maggie's involvement with him was not her first extramarital experience. Whether this was so in the subjects' minds is open to question.

The univariate analysis also produced significant Sex of Subject x

Condition interactions for self-fulfilled, $F(1, 92) = 4.93, p < .03$, and responsible friend, $F(1, 92) = 8.72, p < .003$. On the self-fulfilled item (see Table 12), males were shown to give higher ratings than females in the previous affair condition (males, $M = 4.22$ vs. females, $M = 3.65$), Tukey, $p < .05$, whereas the males' and females' ratings were not significantly different in the no previous affair condition (males, $M = 3.85$ vs. females, $M = 3.91$). And on the responsible friend item, females assigned higher ratings in the previous affair ($M = 4.28$) versus no previous affair ($M = 3.75$) condition, Tukey, $p < .05$, whereas the males did not (previous affair, $M = 3.84$ versus no previous affair, $M = 4.08$).

Finally, the significant Sex of Subject x Condition x Character interaction on selfish, $F(3, 92) = 4.45, p < .005$, signified a fairly complicated pattern of results. In the previous affair condition, females rated Ken ($M = 5.55$) and Larry ($M = 4.51$) high on selfish, with Ken rated significantly higher than both Maggie ($M = 3.82$) and Eve ($M = 3.61$), Tukey, $p < .05$. Males, on the other hand, did not rate the characters significantly differently on selfish (Ken, $M = 4.89$; Eve, $M = 4.53$; Larry, $M = 4.38$; and Maggie, $M = 3.65$). In the no previous affair condition, a different pattern emerged. Females' ratings of Ken ($M = 5.75$) and Eve ($M = 4.55$) did not differ, but Ken was seen as significantly more selfish than Larry ($M = 4.12$) and Maggie ($M = 3.73$), Tukey, $p < .05$. Males, in contrast, rated Ken ($M = 5.17$) and Larry ($M = 4.94$) significantly more selfish than Maggie ($M = 3.61$) and Eve ($M = 3.29$), Tukey, $p < .05$. To put this more simply, female subjects tended to view the male characters as selfish when Maggie had a previous

affair; males did so when they thought Maggie had not had a previous affair.

In sum, examination of the trait ratings provided no consistent evidence for a less favorable evaluation of a married woman than a married man involved in an extramarital relationship (Hypothesis 1). Nor did the analysis of these ratings show support for the hypothesis (7) that a wife who has had a previous extramarital experience is evaluated less favorably than one involved in her first affair. It is interesting to note though, that subjects did give lower overall ratings on moral when Maggie's involvement with Larry represented her second extramarital experience. Finally, the fact that the extramarital actors were evaluated as less moral and honest than their spouses provided support for Hypothesis 16 that spouses with extramarital experience are evaluated less favorably than spouses without such experience.

Justifiability of The Extramarital Relationship

The mean ratings of justifiability for Maggie's and for Larry's respective involvement with one another are shown for each condition in Table 16. The results of a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Experience) x 2 (Character) repeated measures analysis of variance with repeated measures on Character, confirmed the trends evident in Table 16. A significant main effect for Extramarital Experience, $F(1, 92) = 9.22, p < .003$, indicated that Larry's and Maggie's involvement with each other was perceived as more justifiable in the no previous affair ($M = 3.83$) versus previous affair condition ($M = 3.34$). That the subjects perceived Maggie's and Larry's extramarital relationship as

Table 16

Mean Ratings of Justifiability for Maggie's and for Larry's Affair by Condition

Character	Experimental Condition	
	No previous affair (<u>n</u> =46)	Previous affair (<u>n</u> =47)
Maggie	4.54	4.13
Larry	3.11	2.55

Note. Higher numbers indicate greater perceived justifiability.

more justifiable when it was believed to be Maggie's first supported Hypothesis 8. Moreover, the tendency to perceive the extramarital relationship as more (or less) justifiable for both actors suggested evidence for a "spread effect," such that one extramarital partner's "past," or absence of one, affected the perceived justifiability of the other's involvement. Contrary to Hypothesis 2, that wives' extramarital affairs are perceived as less justifiable than husbands', the significant main effect for Character, $F(1, 92) = 88.58, p < .0001$, which also emerged from this analysis, indicated that Maggie's extramarital involvement was seen as more justifiable than Larry's ($M = 4.33$ vs. $M = 2.83$). There were no other hypotheses concerned with the justifiability measure and no other effects in the analysis were significant.

In contrast to the results on the justifiability measure in Experiment 1, the results of Experiment 2 showed that perceived justifiability varied as a function of a spouse's history of extramarital experience. A singular (albeit long term) extramarital affair was perceived as more justifiable if one of the married extramarital partners had not had a previous extramarital experience. The results also demonstrated a strong tendency for subjects to view Maggie's affair with Larry as more justifiable than his affair with her. Although these results were exactly opposite to what had been predicted, they are not incompatible with those of Experiment 1. The consistently low ratings of justifiability assigned to an extramarital relationship in Experiment 1 had been shown to occur because of the satisfactory nature of the extramarital spouse's (husband's or wife's)

marriage. In Experiment 2, however, the film portrayed Maggie's marriage as unsatisfactory whereas Larry's was presented as, at least, reasonably satisfactory. Given that subjects perceived their marriages this way, the difference in the justifiability ratings assigned in Experiments 1 and 2 makes perfect sense. The key variable which affects perceived justifiability (in addition to extramarital experience, of course) is marital satisfaction. Evidence for this came from analysis of the causal attributions subjects gave for Maggie's and Larry's respective involvement with one another, discussion of which follows.

Causal attributions

The reasons or causal attributions subjects offered for each actor becoming involved in an extramarital relationship were coded into four categories devised by the author. Two independent judges carried out the coding with 94% agreement. The categories with examples were:

1. Marital Dissatisfaction - answers which cited dissatisfaction with the marriage and/or spouse as the single most important reason for the extramarital affair.

Her husband is a bore, straitlaced, prudish and a dolt. If you were living with him wouldn't you have an affair? Maggie needs to be told she is loved, constantly. (33 year old, married male who reported having one extramarital relationship)

Because she is not getting the attention at home that she desperately needs. (25 year old, single male)

Her husband was a total zero in the romance department. He didn't know her needs at all. She wanted someone to love, excite her. All he (Ken) wanted was a clean home, cooked meals, etc. (38 year old, married female)

Maggie, quite simply, isn't getting it at home. She clearly has a history, according to her mother, of not being open or

communicative. She finds it hard to give and to receive love, and perhaps has married a similar person. When she meets someone who forces her - breaks down her defenses, she is attracted and becomes involved. (41 year old, divorced female)

Husband is a male-chauvinist, selfish, self infatuated rat-fink. (28 year old, divorced-remarried female who reported having two extramarital relationships)

Larry does not find his wife sensitive to his desires and dreams of what he desires to be and to do. She is extremely satisfying as a wife and mother but is lacking in complete understanding of anything except reality. (64 year old, married female who reported having one extramarital affair)

He is looking for some support. He needs someone who will appreciate his work and his worth. His wife seems to take him for granted. (42 year old, married female who reported having "four or more" extramarital relationships)

Trying to recreate a triumph from 1952. The house is just an external sign of his frustration with with own marriage. Maggie has made him `reach for the brass ring'. (33 year old, married male who reported having one extramarital affair)

2. Ego Enhancement - Answers which cited the value or benefit of the affair for the actor's ego, self-esteem, or feelings of self-worth.

Maggie is a woman who sees herself as `ugly" because of her mother's affairs. She needs constant affection and reassurance to feel she is worthwhile. (27 year old, single female)

To reassure herself of her value as a person. She seemed to have no other means to do so. (38 year old, married female)

Reassurance that someone finds her attractive. (38 year old, single female)

Poor self-image - Larry elevates this low self-esteem. (38 year old, married male)

Maggie is having the affair because she doubts her attractiveness and femininity. (36 year old, divorced female)

Ego strokes - The excitement of building something new - house - relationship (someone to share the excitement without the dreary monetary considerations). (30 year old, single male)

Ego. Someone to bolster his ego by paying all their attention to him. He is selfish and emotionally immature because he cannot

resist Maggie and sees only his career and his dreams as the purpose in life. (40 year old, divorced male)

Because he thinks of her as an object - property - an achievement. (29 year old, married female who reported having "four or more" extramarital relationships)

3. Physical/Emotional Attraction - Answers which cited a physical, sexual, emotional, or romantic attraction between the two extramarital actors as the single most important reason for the affair.

She is attracted to him, and lo! Somebody really cares for and appreciates her on many levels. She feels important and loved. (34 year old, married female)

Physical attraction and escape from everyday lifestyle [In reference to Maggie]. (38 year old, married male)

As Walter Matthau said, for romance. The children's play of young couples, the excitement of someone new and beautiful. (32 year old, married female)

He fell in love with her. (51 year old, divorced male who reported having "four or more" extramarital relationships)

Larry has a physical attraction toward Maggie. He is the type of person who goes after what he wants regardless of who he hurts. (36 year old, divorced female)

He is physically attracted to her. (46 year old, married female)

He responded to her directly as a person needing love once he passed beyond her immediate physical attraction. He sees beyond her cold exterior to the potentially warm person inside. (38 year old, married male)

4. Need Frustration/Fulfillment - Answers which cited an age crisis, unfulfilled desires, or feelings of stagnation, failure, or disenchantment as the single most important reason for the affair.

His frustration with his work - he was stagnating and the meeting with Maggie coincided with his new project . . . the two grew together. (37 year old, married male)

Larry is trying to fulfill himself. His career has not skyrocketed, he feels he's becoming older, his wife is becoming interfering and he feels he needs to reach his dreams - both in his

personal and professional life. (27 year old, single female)

I believe Larry is entering some kind of Mid Life Crisis; the fact that he designed Alter's house as "what I feel." I think he is reevaluating the past -- perhaps feels trapped in the rut of life and sees Maggie as something to spice up life. (19 year old, single female)

Dissatisfaction with a stalled career. (35 year old, separated female who reported having one extramarital relationship)

His life was stagnant. He was doing (building) for others and he wanted something for himself. Something or someone exciting. (33 year old, living with lover male)

Because he feels a need to communicate with someone that would allow him to express his feelings about what is meaningful to him as a person. (46 year old, married female)

Attraction to beauty, parallels his house, restlessness toward something new. (31 year old, single female)

He is looking for the opportunity to breakout of the very rigid parameters in which he lives his everyday life. (48 year old, married male)

Maggie never knew who she was - she always did what was proper - this affair fulfilled a need to awaken. (42 year old, married female)

The categorization of the causal attributions for Maggie's and for Larry's extramarital affair is shown in Table 17. Because the percentages in each category were similar across the two experimental conditions (see Appendix F), the data were collapsed for a simple comparison by character. As can be seen in Table 17, subjects were overwhelmingly more likely to attribute Maggie's affair to marital dissatisfaction (73.41%) than to any of the other causes, $\chi^2 (3, N = 94) = 29.92, p < .001$. In contrast, subjects did not cite one cause significantly more often than any other in accounting for Larry's affair, $\chi^2 (3, N = 93) = 2.31, N.S.$ It is interesting to note, however, that the largest percentage of subjects were almost equally

Table 17

Classification of the Causes for Maggie's and for Larry's Affair

Character	Category			
	Marital dissatisfaction	Ego enhancement	Physical/emotional attraction	Need frustration/ fulfillment
Maggie <u>n=94</u>	73.41%	14.89%	4.25%	7.45%
Larry <u>n=93</u>	31.18%	16.13%	18.28%	34.41%

Note. Table entries are based on an N of 94, each participant having given a separate reason for each character's extramarital involvement.

divided between need frustration/fulfillment (34.41%) and marital dissatisfaction (31.18%) as the most important causes for Larry becoming involved in an extramarital relationship with Maggie. Most importantly, the results revealed near consensus among the subjects in attributing Maggie's affair to marital dissatisfaction, whereas no consensus occurred with respect to the causes of Larry's affair. This explains why Maggie's affair was viewed as more justifiable than Larry's, showing as it did that the double standard did not affect judgments about the justifiability of an extramarital affair when observers compared a woman engaging in an affair because of marital dissatisfaction with a man who was doing so largely for other reasons.

Justifiability Explanations

The author developed four categories into which the justifiability explanations were coded by two independent judges with 91% agreement. As in Experiment 1, these answers reflected how subjects responded on the justifiability scale, hence the categories were designed to distinguish fundamentally between explanations for justifiable versus nonjustifiable ratings. Explanations given for a not at all justifiable (1) rating were automatically classified into the nonjustifiable category, whereas explanations of slightly to extremely justifiable (2 to 7) were classified into one of the three other categories.

Definitions and illustrations of the categories were as follows:

1. Unconditional justifiability - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was justifiable in an unqualified way for reasons such as the benefits of the affair, the actors' needs, or the

actors' dissatisfaction with his/her marriage.

It allows her to develop into a person that is capable of loving others as well as herself as [a] human being rather than ideal self. (46 year old, married female)

Her most basic emotions have fallen on deaf ears. She screams for recognition as a lover to her husband. (38 year old, married male)

Wife cannot have enough of 'the good things in life' and Larry could never please her - ever. She'd always want more than he could give her. (28 year old, divorced and remarried female)

She was looking for love, companionship, communication, maybe even lust because she could not find it in her husband. (52 year old, married male)

2. Conditional justifiability - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was justifiable only under restricted conditions or circumstances such as maintaining secrecy or not harming the marriage.

Life is short. If they are careful and no one gets hurt that's fine. He has no justification other than his desires. (36 year old, divorced female)

He wanted an affair - she was willing - as long as he was not hurting anyone. (38 year old, single female)

I believe it is natural to have an attraction to people outside the marriage relationship. As long as the affair is not obviously harming the marriage it can continue comfortably. As soon as other parties become hurt or confused, responsibility to all involved comes into the picture and decisions have to be made as to whether the affair can continue or must stop. (29 year old, separated female)

3. Ambivalent justifiability - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was justifiable but that some action should be/should have been taken to avoid or terminate the affair.

Maggie seems unhappy with her choice of a marriage partner, but is trying to live up to her commitment. However, she could try marriage counseling before resorting to an affair. (43 year old, married female)

Larry could have worked out his relationship with Eve so she would understand him better. Their relationship had not deteriorated to such an extent as to justify an extramarital affair. (34 year old, married female)

He has taken the easy way out rather than try to work on the relationship with his wife. He needs to be as honest in his relationship with Eve as he is with his potential clients. (39 year old, divorced male)

4. Nonjustifiable - answers which indicated that the extramarital relationship was not at all justifiable because of a commitment to marital fidelity and/or religious/ethical values.

It is not justifiable to have an affair because you are bored with your present circumstances. Play golf or something. (32 year old, single male)

She may be unfulfilled by her husband but certainly has no right to have an affair with a married man. (46 year old, married female)

I strongly believe in the commitment of marriage to forego sexual relationship[s] with anyone of opposite sex other than mate. (48 year old, married male)

The classification of the justifiability explanations is shown in Table 18. Once again, because the percentage of explanations in each category was similar in each condition (see Appendix G), the data from the two experimental conditions were combined. As shown in Table 18, a clear majority of subjects (67.42%) perceived Maggie's involvement with Larry as unconditionally justifiable, $\chi^2 (3, N = 89) = 21.71, p < .001$. By comparison, only 39.08% of the subjects found Larry's involvement with Maggie to be unconditionally justifiable, and substantial percentages found it either ambivalently (18.39%) justifiable, or not justifiable (31.03%) at all. For Larry, in fact, the percentages of explanations in each of the categories did not significantly differ, χ^2

Table 18

Percentage of Explanations for Justifiability Ratings Classified Into Each Category

Type of Justification	Character	
	Maggie	Larry
Unconditional	67.42%	39.08%
Conditional	10.11%	11.50%
Ambivalent	6.74%	18.39%
Nonjustifiable	15.73%	31.03%
<u>n</u>	89	87

(3, $\underline{N} = 87$) = 4.01, N.S.

Analysis of the explanations subjects gave for their ratings of justifiability provides some insight into the reasoning process behind their ratings. While individual difference factors operate in the determination of judgments about the justifiability of an affair, that is, some people are prone to be unconditional justifiers, conditional justifiers, etc., situational factors operate on these judgments as well. Specifically, certain circumstances (for example, the dissatisfactory nature of Maggie's marriage in this experiment) operate as such a powerful rationale for an affair that they evoke near consensus about its unconditional justifiability. In the absence of strongly rationalizing circumstances (for example, Larry's situation in this experiment), there is no basis for consensus and individual difference factors consequently operate as a more potent determinant of the affair's justifiability. It should go without saying, of course, that this is a somewhat speculative analysis.

Responsibility for Maggie's and Larry's Affair

The mean ratings of responsibility subjects gave to each of the four characters and to circumstances for Maggie's and Larry's extramarital affair are shown in Table 19. A 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Experience) x 5 (Locus of Responsibility) analysis of variance, with repeated measures on the last factor, performed on these means yielded a highly significant main effect for Locus of Responsibility, $F(4, 93) = 41.88, p < .0001$. As the means and the results of the Duncan multiple range test show in Table 19, Larry ($\underline{M} = 5.66$), Ken ($\underline{M} = 5.31$), and Maggie ($\underline{M} = 4.94$) were perceived to hold

Table 19

Mean Ratings of Responsibility for Maggie's and for Larry'sExtramarital Affair

Locus of Responsibility	Condition		Total (<u>n</u> =94)
	Previous affair (<u>n</u> =47)	No previous affair (<u>n</u> =47)	
Maggie	5.04	4.85	4.94 _b
Larry	5.70	5.62	5.66 _a
Ken	5.46	5.15	5.31 _{ab}
Eve	3.27	3.89	3.58 _d
Circumstances	4.15	4.21	4.18 _c

Note. Means with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level according to the Duncan Multiple Range Test.

significantly more responsibility for the affair than either circumstances ($\underline{M} = 4.18$) or Eve ($\underline{M} = 3.58$), $p < .05$. Thus, contrary to Hypothesis 3, Larry was held more responsible for the affair than Maggie. That the double standard did not affect judgments of responsibility in the way expected is not surprising in light of the results previously discussed. To the extent that the stereotypical portrayals of the extramarital actors led subjects to assign Larry greater responsibility because as the male he took the lead in pursuing Maggie, the double standard was operative in the responsibility assignments. It is also important to point out that the low responsibility ratings assigned to Eve ($\underline{M} = 3.85$) are consistent with the results of Experiment 1 which showed that faithful spouses were not held responsible for their partner's extramarital activities. The ratings assigned to Ken, in contrast, showed that a dissatisfactory marital partner, although faithful, was held to be as responsible as the extramarital actors themselves for the affair.

Of further note, although the repeated measures analysis of variance did not support the hypothesis (9) that Maggie would be assigned greater responsibility in the previous affair versus no previous affair condition, a nonsignificant Extramarital Experience x Locus of Responsibility interaction did occur, $F(4, 93) = 12.43$, $p < .10$, which indicated that knowledge of Maggie's extramarital experience did exert some influence on the responsibility assignment. Herein, the means in Table 19 show that while the mean ratings of responsibility assigned to Maggie (5.04 vs. 4.85), Larry (5.70 vs. 5.62) and Ken (5.46 vs. 5.15) tended to be higher in the previous

versus no previous affair condition, the ratings assigned to Eve tended to be lower in the previous versus no previous affair condition (3.27 vs. 3.89). There was thus a tendency to view Eve as even less responsible for her husband's affair when the woman he was involved with had a previous affair.

Effects on Children

The mean ratings which show how subjects thought Maggie's and Larry's children would be affected by their parents' involvement in an affair are found in Table 20. The means indicate that subjects tended to think that the children (Maggie had one child; Larry had two) would be somewhat negatively affected. No significant effects were produced in the analysis of these ratings through a 2 (Sex of Subject) x 2 (Extramarital Experience) x 2 (Character) repeated measures analysis of variance, with repeated measures on Character. Thus, consistent with the results obtained on this question in Experiment 1, subjects evaluated the effects of a mother's and father's affair on their children to be similarly negative.

Subject Variables

As in Experiment 1, the relationship between subjects' characteristics and the judgments of the justifiability of Maggie's and Larry's affair were examined. Once again, the analysis of the impact of moral reasoning on perceived justifiability was limited by the fact that only 41 subjects provided reliable results on the Defining Issues Test.² The correlations computed among the justifiability ratings (for each actor's extramarital involvement), P scores, religiosity, extramarital experience, sex, and age are depicted in Table 21.

Table 20

Mean ratings of the Effects of Maggie's and Larry's Extramarital Relationship on Their Children

Character	Experimental Condition		Total (<u>n=93</u>)
	Previous affair (<u>n=47</u>)	No previous affair (<u>n=46</u>)	
Maggie	3.21	3.06	3.14
Larry	3.04	2.91	2.97

Note. Ratings were made on scales ranging from 7 (extremely positively) to 1 (extremely negatively).

Table 21

Correlations Illustrating the Interrelationships Among Subject
Variables and the Justifiability Ratings

Variable	Variable					
	Maggie Justifi- ability	Larry Justifi- ability	P score	Religiosity	Extramarital experience	Sex
Larry Justifiability <u>n</u>	.62***** 93					
P Score <u>n</u>	-.20 41	-.12 41				
Religiosity <u>n</u>	-.36***** 93	-.33**** 93	.21 41			
Extramarital experience <u>n</u>	.30*** 58	.45***** 58	.13 23	-.47***** 59		
Sex <u>n</u>	-.10 93	-.01 93	.20 41	.10 94	-.11 59	
Age <u>n</u>	-.19* 91	-.21** 91	.10 41	.14 92	.08 59	-.07 92

*p < .03. **p < .02. ***p < .01. ****p < .001. *****p < .0001.

Herein, results showed that the ratings of justifiability assigned to each actor's involvement were highly correlated, $r(93) = .62$, $p < .0001$. The pattern of correlations between the justifiability ratings and the other variables was thus similar for Maggie and Larry. Less religious subjects rated both Maggie's ($p < .0001$) and Larry's affair ($p < .001$) as more justifiable, as did younger subjects (Maggie, $p < .03$; Larry, $p < .02$) and subjects with extramarital experience (Maggie, $p < .0001$; Larry, $p < .001$). The only other significant correlation showed that extramarital experience was negatively related to religiosity, $r(59) = -.47$, $p < .0001$. Except for the absence of any significant correlations for sex of subject, these results were thus similar to those of Experiment 1. The hypothesis (21) that less religious males would find extramarital relationships more justifiable was thus partially supported because as the findings showed, younger, less religious subjects (of either sex) with extramarital experience tended to perceive both a married woman's and a married man's extramarital relationship as more justifiable.

Footnotes

¹Unlike the treatment of this data in Experiment 1, where an average based on the 14 trait ratings was computed (the social evaluation score), the simpler design of Experiment 2 (2 vs. 12 conditions) made it possible to examine the trait ratings individually.

²The same criteria as those used in Experiment 1 (see Chapter 3) were used to purge unreliable DIT scores from the sample.

CHAPTER 7

Experiment 2

Discussion

As was largely the case in Experiment 1, the findings in Experiment 2 failed to confirm any of the hypotheses predicated on the operation of the double standard (Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3). Maggie was not perceived less favorably than Larry, her affair with Larry was perceived as more, not less, justifiable than his, and she was assigned less, not more, responsibility than Larry for their involvement. Thus, in a comparison between an unhappily married woman's affair and a "happily" married man's, the double standard was completely overridden by the circumstances of the actors' marriages. And contrary to Experiment 1, males did not exhibit any gender bias in their evaluations.

With respect to the extramarital experience manipulation in Experiment 2, it produced somewhat different, although not inconsistent, results from those obtained in Experiment 1. Unlike Experiment 1 which showed that spouses who had many affairs were viewed less favorably than those involved in their first affair (Hypothesis 7), Maggie was not generally evaluated less favorably in the previous versus no previous affair condition. It is interesting to note, however, that knowledge of Maggie's previous affair did result in lower overall ratings on the moral item in the previous versus no previous affair condition. And as was the case in Experiment 1, the evidence of Experiment 2 demonstrated that extramarital spouses were evaluated less favorably than their faithful spouses, at least in terms of the ratings

they received on the moral and honest traits. Hypothesis 16 was thus supported in both experiments.

The major difference in the findings of the two experiments occurred with regard to Hypothesis 8, according to which it had been expected that an actor's extramarital affair would be perceived as more justifiable if it was his or her first rather than second, third, etc. Although not supported in Experiment 1, it was supported in Experiment 2 - subjects found Maggie's affair with Larry more justifiable when they believed it was her first such involvement. Furthermore, although Larry's extramarital involvement with Maggie was perceived as less justifiable than hers with him, it was also perceived as somewhat more "justifiable" when Maggie had a previous extramarital involvement. While different, these findings are by no means contrary to those of Experiment 1. Because the analysis of the causal attribution data showed that Maggie's marriage was viewed as dissatisfactory whereas Larry's was not, the responses to Larry can be seen to parallel those in Experiment 1 to both David and Susan, whose marriage was, of course, also viewed as satisfactory. In light of this, the observers' responses to spouses in a satisfactory marriage engaging in an extramarital affair were consistent across the two experiments - plainly, they did not find it very justifiable at all.

In contrast, social observers did find an extramarital involvement to be justifiable for a woman obviously stuck in a bad marriage, although as predicted, they did not tend to find it justifiable for her to make a "habit" out of having such involvements. There thus appear to be clearly drawn boundaries within which an extramarital affair is

condoned and sympathetically accepted by social observers. And it appears that an actor's motivation for an involvement in an extramarital affair is the principal determinant of its social acceptability. Of all the motives examined - marital dissatisfaction, ego enhancement, a physical/emotional attraction, and need frustration/fulfillment - only marital dissatisfaction was perceived as justifiable grounds for participating in an extramarital relationship.

The impact of the knowledge that an extramarital affair is or is not a spouse's first such involvement can also be interpreted in motivational terms. The sympathy observers extend toward a spouse who commits infidelity out of a need to compensate for a bad marriage may dwindle when she or he does so a second (or third, fourth, etc.) time because the observers may infer that other motives, less justifiable ones, may lie behind the actor's actions - sexual ones, for example, rather than emotional ones. Alternatively, it may be that observers only ever find it excusable for a person in a bad marriage to engage in one affair because to do so more than once may be a sign that they are doing nothing to resolve their marital problems. Negative sentiment toward such an arrangement ("having your cake and eating it, too") may thus reflect subjects' beliefs that a first violation of the sexual fidelity rule should either lead the partner "back into" or "completely out of" the marriage. To do otherwise may be considered an inequity and a compromise of both the marital and extramarital relationship. More simply, perhaps, subjects appear to believe it to be less moral for an actor to engage in more than one transgression.

In sum, these findings clearly bespeak the central premise of this

thesis regarding the changing nature of the norms surrounding marriage and extramarital sex. They signify that there has truly occurred a rejection of the traditional and rigidly absolutist marital mores, but that it has been only a limited and qualified rejection - in Yankelovich's (1981a; 1981b) terms, not a whole hearted abandonment of self-denial in favor of self-fulfillment, but a pragmatic joining of the two. Specifically, the new "ethic" of marital fidelity appears to be a conditional one wherein it is expected of a spouse so long as the marriage remains fulfilling; once it no longer does, it is legitimate for the spouse to pursue emotional and sexual fulfillment outside the marriage. To do so more than once is, however, not as acceptable or justifiable.

CHAPTER 8

General Discussion

Summary of Results

In Experiment 1, the extramarital experience manipulation provided the most consistent support for the hypotheses under investigation. As predicted (Hypothesis 7), social observers evaluated spouses who had been involved in many affairs more negatively than those who were involved in their first affair. Also as predicted (Hypothesis 16), faithful spouses - those who resisted the temptation to become involved in an extramarital affair and those who stood by a faithful/faithless spouse - were evaluated the most favorably by social observers.

Most surprisingly, Experiment 1 provided little support for the hypotheses predicated on the operation of a double standard (Hypotheses 1, 3, 17, and 19). Indeed, only two instances of gender bias were observed throughout all the findings: (a) a tendency on the part of males to perceive husbands' affairs as more justifiable than wives' affairs (Hypothesis 2); and (b) the assignment of greater responsibility in the many affairs condition to very attractive versus attractive wives (Hypothesis 12) but not to very attractive versus attractive husbands (Hypothesis 15). The absence of any other effects illustrative of the double standard, is, of course, a remarkable finding. Taken together with the findings reviewed in Chapter 1 (Hartnett et al., 1977; Vallacher, Note 1) it suggests that nowadays a married woman's involvement in a more personal extramarital relationship is not judged any differently than a married man's.

Most strikingly, perhaps, the findings of Experiment 1 revealed

that social observers were not inclined to find an extramarital affair to be very justifiable for either a married man or married woman. This was demonstrated by the low ratings of justifiability given for an extramarital affair across all experimental conditions. The positive view of the spouses' marriage, evidence for which came from the justifiability explanations and the causal attribution data, appeared to account, in turn, for the low justifiability ratings. Concomitantly, the lack of support for the hypotheses concerned with the perceived justifiability of affairs (Hypotheses 5, 8, 11, 14, and 18) was explained by the truncated nature of the justifiability ratings. These results thus indicate that social observers do not generally approve of an extramarital affair on the part of a spouse in a happy marriage.

Finally, it is important to note that the physical attractiveness manipulation did not work as intended in Experiment 1. Consequently, the hypotheses concerned with attractiveness were not tested in the way planned - comparisons were made between attractive versus very attractive stimulus persons instead of attractive versus moderately attractive stimulus persons. The relative lack of support found for the hypotheses concerned with the effects of physical attractiveness may have been due to this change in the manipulation.

In Experiment 2 none of the hypotheses concerned with the double standard (1, 2, and 3) were supported. Maggie was not perceived less favorably than Larry, her affair with Larry was perceived as more, not less, justifiable than his, and she was assigned less, not more, responsibility for their involvement. And in contrast to the findings

of Experiment 1, no gender bias was identified in the responses of the male observers.

With regard to the extramarital experience manipulation (previous versus no previous affair condition), the evidence demonstrated that extramarital spouses were evaluated as less moral and honest than their faithful spouses. Hypothesis 16 was thus supported in both experiments. Unlike Experiment 1, however, which showed that spouses who had many affairs were viewed less favorably than those involved in their first affair (Hypothesis 7), Maggie was not evaluated less favorably in the previous versus no previous affair condition.

The major difference in the results of the two experiments occurred with respect to Hypothesis 8, according to which it had been predicted that first affairs would be perceived as more justifiable than later ones. Although not supported in Experiment 1, it was supported in Experiment 2 - observers found Maggie's affair with Larry more justifiable when they believed it was her first extramarital involvement. Because the analysis of the causal attribution data showed that Maggie's marriage was generally viewed as dissatisfactory whereas Larry's was not, the pattern of findings thus indicated that the observers responded relatively sympathetically to a woman in a bad marriage engaging in an extramarital affair, but that they were far less sympathetic when she had a previous affair. Finally, note should be taken of the fact that the observers' responses to spouses in a satisfactory marriage engaging in an extramarital affair (David and Susan in Experiment 1 and Larry in Experiment 2) were consistent across the two experiments - simply, they did not find it justifiable at all.

Relationship to Previous Research

The specific purpose of this thesis was to gain some understanding of how naive social observers respond to extramarital affairs. Contrary to previous research which showed that college students perceived an extramarital affair more favorably if the extramarital actors were "in love" rather than not "in love" (Hartnett et al., 1977), the subjects of this study focused more on the nature of the marital relationship, rather than extramarital relationship, in evaluating the justifiability of an extramarital affair. They did not, of course, respond favorably to a spouse in a satisfactory marriage becoming involved in an extramarital relationship. The discrepancy between the findings of the current study and the Hartnett et al. research can be accounted for partly by the naturally divergent views of the subject populations employed in the two studies. In this regard, the responses of the young singles in the Hartnett et al. investigation appeared to be influenced more by the romantic allure of an extramarital affair than the potentially damaging consequences such a romance might pose for a spouse's marital and family relationships. The responses of the subjects in the present study, in contrast, reflected opposite concerns. This is not surprising, of course, given their point of view as spouses and parents, which many of them were. All of this does in turn underscore a criticism made earlier about the limited generalizability of findings based on young college students in the research on extramarital relationships.

The caveat about the use of young subjects is further supported by consideration of two other possible explanations for the conflict

between the findings of this study and those of the Hartnett et al. research. First, the argument could be made that the views of the subjects in the current study toward extramarital affairs were bound to be more conservative by virtue of the fact that most of them were Roman Catholic. This is an unconvincing argument, however, given that national survey statistics (discussed in Chapter 1) have shown that Catholics are actually more liberal than Protestants in their attitudes toward extramarital sex (Glenn & Weaver, 1979). To this point, religiosity rather than religious affiliation, as shown by the results of this study and the mass of sociological findings on the correlates of attitudes toward extramarital affairs, may often be a more critically important predictor of responses to extramarital relationships. Thus, there is good reason to believe that the views of the subjects in this study are generalizable to the great bulk of middle class Americans.

Second, it could be argued that differences in the scenarios used in the current research and the Hartnett et al. investigation, rather than sampling differences, accounted for the discrepancy in the findings. On this point, if the subjects had been told that David or Susan was in love with their extramarital partner, as were the subjects in the Hartnett et al. study, they would have presumably found their extramarital affair more acceptable. It seems unlikely that they would have for two reasons. For one, although the scenario used in Experiment 1 did not contain an explicit statement that the extramarital partners were in love, their relationship was portrayed as a close and long term involvement which had grown out of a mutual and

strong attraction. Such a portrayal would seem to come very close to what most of us think of as romantic love, without, of course, actually identifying it as such. Even more pointedly, the film used in Experiment 2 did contain an overt declaration of love. Herein, Larry did tell Maggie that he loved her, but despite this fact subjects did not perceive his involvement with her to be very justifiable. Thus, while both the findings of the present study and those of Hartnett et al. have shown that an actor's motivation for participating in an affair are key factors in determining an affair's perceived justifiability, the results of this study have shown that marital dissatisfaction, not romantic love, is the only justifiable reason for doing so, at least, that is, in the eyes of those who may realistically be faced with making such decisions.

Interpretation of Findings

Notwithstanding the survey data indicating that a majority of Americans disapprove of extramarital affairs (Yankelovich, 1981a; 1981b), the argument was made in Chapter 1 that a shift in cultural outlook and normative attitudes has led to a more particularistic social evaluation of these relationships than has been true in the past. Simply, it is no longer true that most Americans reflexively condemn all extramarital affairs, but rather that they evaluate each affair which they encounter in terms of the context and circumstances within which it occurs. This is a critical point that bears further discussion because of the implications it has for the interpretation of the findings which have been reported.

In a recent review of the research on extramarital sex, Thompson (1983) has pointed out that the research on attitudes toward extramarital sex can be understood in terms of the Fishbein & Ajzen (1975) model of attitude-behavior relationships. According to this model, the intention to act, and acts themselves, are predicted best by taking into account both an individual's personal attitudes toward an act and the individual's beliefs about the desirability of the act. In this way, Thompson has suggested that studies such as those of Hartnett et al. and Christensen (1973) (see Chapter 1) represent research on personal attitudes toward extramarital sex, whereas large scale surveys such as those of Singh et al. (1974) and Reis et al. (1980) (see Chapter 1), represent investigations of normative beliefs. According to this analysis, the present research would also be considered an investigation of personal attitudes, the type which Thompson says will "help elucidate conditions under which personal attitudes toward extramarital behaviour might outweigh the normative proscription" (p. 16).

Contrary to Thompson, this author would argue that the research reported in this thesis is itself a study of normative attitudes. At the very outset, in fact, it was argued that research such as the present investigation was necessary precisely because the general proscription of extramarital affairs is no longer subscribed to by the mass of the American public. The findings of this study did in turn support this proscription in so far as they demonstrated that there are specific circumstances under which most social observers perceive an extramarital affair to be justifiable, and other circumstances under

which most social observers do not perceive an extramarital affair to be at all justifiable. To reiterate the central findings in this regard, the observers of this study appeared to have adopted a contractual view of marital fidelity whereby extramarital sex is proscribed for both husbands and wives for as long as and until the marriage itself remains reasonably satisfactory. It is a distinctly modern belief, but one which is very much in keeping with serial monogamy and the impermanence of the marriage vows. It also represents a transformation of traditional normative beliefs about marital fidelity and one that would be difficult to detect by means of the methodology employed in the large scale survey research. Asking general questions about general attitudes toward extramarital affairs is, after all, a crude technique for uncovering a subtle shift in normative beliefs. The person perception methodology of the present study, in contrast, provides for an examination of extramarital relationships in a way that is closer to everyday experience. In addition, it is a method well suited to achieving the interactionist perspective necessary for exploring this multifaceted phenomenon.

With respect to the greater tolerance of infidelity demonstrated by the subjects in this study, it does not, of course, come near to a full fledged adoption of Yankelovich's self-fulfillment ethic. In fact, the findings demonstrated that observers' tolerance of extramarital affairs occurs within very circumscribed boundaries. Traditionalists can thus be solaced by the fact that their values regarding marital fidelity continue to be largely upheld. In like manner, those with a more liberal bent can take comfort in knowing that

most observers do not appear to be rigidly absolutist in their response to extramarital sex. Whether and how beliefs about extramarital sexuality evolve remains uncertain, however, and must continue to be a subject of social and research concern.

Questions for Future Research

As was apparent from the review of the literature in Chapter 1, there are numerous questions about extramarital relationships which have yet to be addressed in the research. This research has raised some of those questions, and in doing so, has left some specific ones unanswered. Most obvious in this regard is the question about the effects of physical attractiveness on the response to extramarital affairs. Despite the limited success of the physical attractiveness manipulation, suggestive evidence that it does influence the socio-emotional responses of observers to extramarital affairs was obtained, particularly of course, the responses to very good looking women. A more systematic exploration of the effects of physical attractiveness, including the original hypotheses of this study, thus appears worthwhile. Any map of the topography of extramarital affairs would be incomplete without it. In fact, the recent turn toward the study of personal relationships in social psychology would itself be made more complete by the inclusion of extramarital relationships.

The present investigation has also left some question about the influence of the double standard on the social perception of extramarital affairs. The fact that it exerted minimal effects on the results fits with Yankelovich's claim, noted in Chapter 1, that the double standard has been jettisoned because of its incompatibility with

the self-fulfillment ethic and its correlative endorsement of sexual freedom for both sexes. Whether equal, or at least near equal, access for men and women into the domain of extramarital relationships has really taken hold in the real world remains somewhat open to question, however.

It is difficult to believe in this respect that social observers really do respond similarly in their hearts to a mother's compared to a father's involvement in an extramarital affair. For one thing, although the results indicated that the effects of a parent's extramarital affair(s) on children were deemed to be similarly negative for parents of either sex, given the cultural reality that mothers are still perceived as the primary parent and caretaker, it seems likely that real life observers would evaluate a mother more harshly than a father for their extramarital activities. The results of the current research may not have shown this because the children were not a salient enough feature in either the written scenario or the film. In any event, there is a need for further and more finely tuned examination of both the double standard's influence. It would also be worthwhile to explore how children are expected to be affected, and are actually affected, by a parent's extramarital relationships.

Note should also be taken of the question raised in this study about the effects of moral judgment on the perception and reaction to extramarital relationships. The attempt to assess this relationship was unfortunately unsuccessful. Moral thinking thus represents a potentially important subject variable which should be taken into account in future efforts to decipher the determinants of evaluative

responses to extramarital affairs. The thinking subjects demonstrated in the explanations they gave for their justifiability ratings in Experiment 2 is instructive in this regard. The categories into which those explanations were classified - unconditional, conditional, and ambivalent justifiability, and nonjustifiability - may offer a useful typology for exploring individual differences in moral cognition about extramarital affairs.

Finally, and most importantly, the current study, as well as the review of the literature on extramarital affairs, highlights the need for a conceptual framework by which to construct a social psychology of extramarital relationships. To this end, it may be useful to borrow a schema developed to analyze the ambivalent treatment of stigmatized groups (Goffman, 1963; Katz, 1981). Responses to the stigmatized, whether accepting or rejecting, have been postulated to be determined by four dimensions on which stigmas vary - visibility (Goffman, 1963), threat, sympathy, and responsibility (Katz, 1981). Each will be defined and its relevance to extramarital relationships examined.

Visibility of Extramarital Relationships

Awareness of a stigma, and correspondingly the degree to which its possessor is treated as deviant, is affected fundamentally by its visibility, which Goffman calls its "perceptibility" or "evidentness" in social interaction (p. 48). A stigma need not be immediately visible in social interaction in order to exert effects, however. Observers can also acquire awareness through gossip or from a previous contact when the stigma was visible - a type of awareness Goffman calls "known-about-ness" (p. 49). Two other factors related to, but

distinguished from visibility, may also affect observers awareness. Herein, Goffman notes that stigma vary in "obtrusiveness," or the degree to which they interfere with social interaction (p. 49). A speech impediment may in this regard, be more disruptive to social interaction than a wheelchair. Finally, stigmas vary in terms of their "perceived focus" (Goffman, p. 49), the area of life from which the stigmatized are perceived to be disqualified. For example, the facially deformed are discounted in social situations, but not necessarily in solitary work settings.

At the risk of public censure, the conventional pattern of extramarital involvement in our society has dictated that the actors keep their relationship secret from both marital partners and the larger community. What has changed, given the relaxation of our social controls, are the boundaries of secrecy within which extramarital relations are tolerated. Hence, as long as such relationships are carried on relatively discreetly, which is to say that, they are neither too visible nor too intrusive, the social response is likely to be tolerant. This is true as well for those 'clandestine' extramarital relationships which do become 'known-about' through gossip, rumor, or a chance encounter. People have a strong predilection to avoid scenes of any kind in social interaction according to Goffman. Thus, as long as the extramarital actors maintain their relationship in low profile, both the actors and their associates can behave in accordance with a "definition of the situation" (Goffman, 1959) that no norm violation has been, or is being committed. On the other hand, highly visible or flagrant violations of the monogamous code, which are flagrant by

virtue of the unconventional nature of the relationship (such as swinging or group marriage), or by virtue of the social or institutional position of the actors, are less likely to be tolerated. In the case of the putative extramarital liaison between the two corporate officers mentioned in Chapter 1, for example, sanctions were accrued partly because of their high status in the company. In addition, the woman's job performance was discounted as a result of the romantic involvement with her married superior (i.e., "percieved focus"). Relationships that compromise one's professional position thus appear to be inherently riskier (for women anyway).

In the current study factors related to visibility were not, of course, a variable of concern. The extramarital relationships in both experiments were portrayed as clandestine. The evidence suggested, however, that the secrecy attached to affairs may contribute to the negative evaluations of extramarital actors; for in Experiment 2, the unfaithful spouses were perceived as less honest than their faithful partners. Had the actors been open about their extramarital activities, they may have been evaluated more positively, or, of course, more negatively. At any rate, it is apparent that a range of questions about the visibility dimension of extramarital affairs remain to be explored. Most basic, perhaps, is the question of whether observers are more, or less, acceptant of extramarital affairs conducted with the knowledge and consent of the marital partner.

The Threat of Extramarital Relations

Katz (1981) makes the point that the various types of stigma represent different levels of threat for individuals and the society at

large. And the rejection of the members of a stigmatized group depends, to a large extent, on how threatening they are perceived to be. Herein, those who deviate from behavioral norms - such as the mentally ill, homosexuals, and criminals - may be rejected partly on the grounds that they represent a threat to social values, and normative beliefs and conduct. It is important to note as well, that within particular categories of stigma, there is variability in the threat posed by specific types of conditions (Katz, 1981). With regard to the mentally ill, for example, Katz notes that the unpredictability of anxiety neurosis may be more threatening than the subdued behavior of the depressed.

Given the extensive discussion of the social control of extramarital relationships in Chapter 1, the threat value of extramarital relationships to the society as whole can be readily understood in terms of the fundamental challenge they present to the functioning of the established social order. And from the perspective of the individual, their threat may be seen to derive from the fact that they can be seen as "a competitive relationship and as a penetration of the intimate boundaries of the marriage" (Reiss, 1980, p. 285). In addition, it is plain that some extramarital relationships are more threatening than others. The results of this study clearly attest to the different level of threat associated with the various types of extramarital relationships. In this regard, extramarital relationships which threaten the survival of stable marriages were perceived as most threatening. Similarly, the negative response observed to a repetitive pattern of extramarital "promiscuity" poses a

greater threat to the community as well as to the individual marriage. Most importantly, these observations suggest that the rejection/acceptance of an extramarital relationship will be determined in part by those qualities which enhance its level of threat.

Sympathy for Extramarital Relationships

Katz's (1981) theoretical and empirical analysis of responses to stigmatized groups cogently demonstrates that people often react sympathetically to the stigmatized. They are, after all, frequently perceived as victimized and deprived by society. Thus, he argues, the degree to which their disadvantages are known, will determine how sympathetically they are treated.

This study showed that an individual who is motivated to engage in extramarital activities because of a bad marriage, or because they are badly or inequitably treated by their marital partner, is likely to engender strong feelings of sympathy in observers. A single foray into the realm of extramarital sex is also likely to be treated more sympathetically than a pattern of such incidents. Tolerant responses may thus hinge on both an actor's motivation for becoming involved in an extramarital affair and the frequency of their involvements. As to what other factors may enhance sympathy, this remains to be determined by future research efforts.

Responsibility for Extramarital Relationships

Finally, stigmas vary in terms of how responsible individuals are held to be for possessing them (Katz, 1981). In this regard, characterological stigma (i.e., norm violations) are presumed to be viewed as more voluntary than physical or tribal stigma.

Responsibility is, of course, an index of blameworthiness. Thus, the more responsibility assigned to an individual for their condition, the greater the likelihood that they will be sanctioned or treated negatively by society.

Responsibility assignment has obvious implications for the treatment of individuals engaged in extramarital relationships. To this point, individuals are likely to be blamed more for an outside relationship if it is somehow damaging to their marriage, spouse, family, or professional and social standing. In the current study, characteristics of the actor - sex and physical attractiveness - were shown to result in greater perceived responsibility. On the other hand, when there are no obvious negative effects, blame may not be leveled at all, or it may be diluted by reference to external factors.

In sum, the four dimensional analysis of stigma, in terms of visibility, threat, sympathy and responsibility, offers a means of ordering and guiding the research on how situational factors affect the way in which social observers respond to extramarital affairs. Ultimately, it may be possible to incorporate this schema into a complete model of extramarital relationships which would also take into account personal and demographic variables. More immediately, it provides a particularly apt framework for focusing on a socio-sexual phenomenon about which there is great ambivalence. A step toward understanding the circumstances under which our attitudinal response is likely to be favorable versus unfavorable was taken by this research. The applications of the proposed schema to extramarital affairs suggests where future steps may go.

Appendix A

ScenariosWife As Extramarital Spouse

Saturday Evening

Susan and David, married for ten years, were celebrating their wedding anniversary. Their two children had gone away on a weekend ski trip with friends, so they marked the occasion with dinner and champagne at their favorite restaurant.

During dinner Susan and David found themselves reminiscing about how they had met. It was on a sunny August day a few years after college. A mutual friend had invited each of them on a weekend canoeing excursion. As canoe partners, they spent two intense and enjoyable days getting to know one another while also learning how to maneuver their canoe. Laughing about their foibles as novice canoeists, and swept up by their reminiscing, they talked about making another visit to the river where they met. They could bring the kids along this time too. The kids were now old enough to paddle a canoe, and besides, they were all due for a family outing.

Sunday Evening

It was Sunday evening now. Susan and David, expecting their children to return anytime, were lying on the floor reading the newspaper. They had built a fire and were basking in its warmth when the phone rang. Susan went to the den to answer the call.

"Who was it on the phone just now?" David asked when she returned. "That was Michael," Susan said, as she lay down again next to David.

Sunday Evening

"It was?" he responded quizzically. "I didn't think the two of you were working on that Management Association Committee together anymore."

"Well, we haven't been, but the Association is making some new membership recommendations, and they've asked for our input on them."

"So you are working together," David responded.

"Not exactly," Susan said. "We're just meeting tomorrow to coordinate the work for the new membership recommendations."

At that moment they heard a car turn in the driveway.

"Ah," Susan said, "The kids are home."

David, already on his way to the door, stopped and turned to Susan who was walking behind him.

"I loved our weekend," he said to Susan.

"I did too, honey," Susan answered. "Happy Anniversary," she said before they kissed.

"O.K.," David said as they walked arm in arm to the door. "It's time to greet the veterans of the slopes. I hope there are no invalids."

Monday

Susan left her office and was now on her way to meet Michael for lunch. She had known Michael for three years. They were both newly appointed members of the local Management Association assigned to work on a project together. They were wary of one another at first viewing each other as potential competitors, but they soon learned that they worked well together, complementing each other's strengths. Before

they knew it they were friends, frequently sharing lunch.

It was at one of their luncheon meetings that something changed. During their amiable chat about their work within the Association, and the usual politics involved, they found themselves gazing at one another without speaking. Becoming self-conscious of the silence, they both began to speak at once. It was at that moment that they admitted having very strong feelings for one another. Neither one said anything about what they should, or should not do, about their feelings, however, and they had parted company that day without any more discussion about how they felt.

No Affair Condition Ending

One week later, Susan resigned from the Management Association so that she no longer worked directly with Michael. and both she and Michael agreed that it would be best if they no longer met for lunch. Now that three years has passed, Susan and Michael remain committed as ever to their agreement not to become lovers.

First Affair Condition Ending

One week later on a business trip, Susan and Michael slept with one another for the first time. It was the first time Susan had made love to another man since her marriage to David. Now that three years had passed, Susan's and Michael's affair had not weakened.

Many Affairs Condition Ending

One week later on a business trip, Susan and Michael slept with one another for the first time. Prior to making love with Michael, Susan had affairs with several other men during her marriage to David. Now that three years had passed, Susan's and Michael's affair had not

weakened.

Husband as Extramarital Spouse

Saturday Evening

David and Susan, married for ten years, were celebrating their wedding anniversary. Their two children had gone away on a weekend ski trip with friends, so they marked the occasion with dinner and champagne at their favorite restaurant.

During dinner David and Susan found themselves reminiscing about how they had met. It was on a sunny August day a few years after college. A mutual friend had invited each of them on a weekend canoeing excursion. As canoe partners, they spent two intense and enjoyable days getting to know one another while also learning how to maneuver their canoe. Laughing about their foibles as novice canoeists, and swept up by their reminiscing, they talked about making another visit to the river where they met. They could bring the kids along this time too. The kids were now old enough to paddle a canoe, and besides, they were all due for a family outing.

Sunday Evening

It was Sunday evening now. David and Susan, expecting their children to return anytime, were lying on the floor reading the newspaper. They had built a fire and were basking in its warmth when the phone rang. David went to the den to answer the call.

"Who was it on the phone just now?" Susan asked when he returned. "That was Ellen," David said, as he lay down again next to Susan.

"It was?" she responded quizzically. "I didn't think the two of you were working on that Management Association

Committee together anymore."

"Well, we haven't been, but the Association is making some new membership recommendations, and they've asked for our input on them."

"So you are working together," Susan responded.

"Not exactly," David said. "We're just meeting tomorrow to coordinate the work for the new membership recommendations.

At that moment they heard a car turn in the driveway.

"Ah," David said, "The kids are home."

Susan, who was already on her way to the door, stopped and turned to David who was walking behind her.

"I loved our weekend," she said to David.

Sunday Evening

"I did too, honey," David answered. "Happy Anniversary," she said before they kissed.

"O.K.," Susan said as they walked arm in arm to the door. "It's time to greet the veterans of the slopes. I hope there are no invalids."

Monday

David left his office and was now on his way to meet Ellen for lunch. He had known Ellen for three years. They were both newly appointed members of the local Management Association assigned to work on a project together. They were wary of one another at first viewing each other as potential competitors, but they soon learned that they worked well together, complementing each other's strengths. Before they knew it they were friends, frequently sharing lunch.

It was at one of their luncheon meetings that something changed.

During their amiable chat about their work within the Association, and the usual politics involved, they found themselves gazing at one another without speaking. Becoming self-conscious of the silence, they both began to speak at once. It was at that moment that they admitted having very strong feelings for one another. Neither one said anything about what they should, or should not do, about their feelings, however and they had parted company that day without any more discussion about how they felt.

No Affair Condition Ending

One week later, David resigned from the Management Association so that he no longer worked directly with Ellen. And both he and Ellen agreed that it would be best if they no longer met for lunch. Now that three years has passed, David and Ellen remain as committed as ever to their agreement not to become lovers.

First Affair Condition Ending

One week later on a business trip, David and Ellen slept together for the first time. It was the first time David had made love to another woman since his marriage to Susan. Now that three years had passed, David's and Ellen's affair had not weakened.

Many Affairs Condition Ending

One week later on a business trip, David and Ellen slept with one another for the first time. Prior to making love to Ellen, David had affairs with several other women during his marriage to Susan. Now that three years had passed, David's and Ellen's affair had not weakened.

Appendix B

Experiment 1: Questionnaire

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of Susan, The Wife

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>not at all</u>
1. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
2. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
3. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
4. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
5. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
6. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
7. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
8. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
9. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
10. Responsible Parent	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
11. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
12. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
13. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
14. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of David, The Husband

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
15. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
16. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
17. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
18. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
19. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
20. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
21. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
22. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
23. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
24. Responsible Parent	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
25. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
26. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
27. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
28. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of Michael, Susan's Friend

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
29. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
30. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
31. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
32. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
33. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
34. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
35. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
36. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
37. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
38. Responsible Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
39. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
40. Loving Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
41. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
42. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

IF YOU WERE TO ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUSAN AND MICHAEL NOT BECOMING INVOLVED IN AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, WHAT WOULD THIS ASSIGNMENT BE?

INDICATE YOUR ANSWER BY CIRCLING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES.

43. Susan, The Wife

7 ————— 6 ————— 5 ————— 4 ————— 3 ————— 2 ————— 1
 Completely Extremely Very Moderately Somewhat Slightly Not at all
 Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible

44. David, The Husband

7 ————— 6 ————— 5 ————— 4 ————— 3 ————— 2 ————— 1
 Completely Extremely Very Moderately Somewhat Slightly Not at all
 Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible

45. Michael, Susan's Friend

7 ————— 6 ————— 5 ————— 4 ————— 3 ————— 2 ————— 1
 Completely Extremely Very Moderately Somewhat Slightly Not at all
 Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible

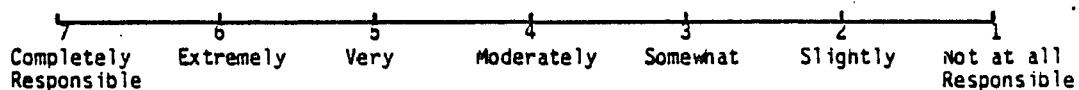
46. Circumstances or The Situation

7 ————— 6 ————— 5 ————— 4 ————— 3 ————— 2 ————— 1
 Completely Extremely Very Moderately Somewhat Slightly not at all
 Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible Responsible

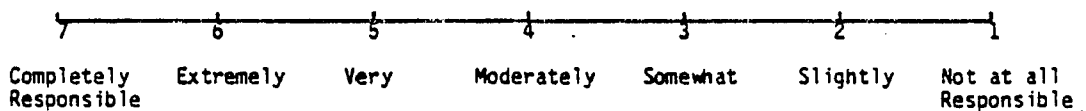
IF YOU WERE TO ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, WHAT WOULD THIS ASSIGNMENT BE?

INDICATE YOUR ANSWER BY CIRCLING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES.

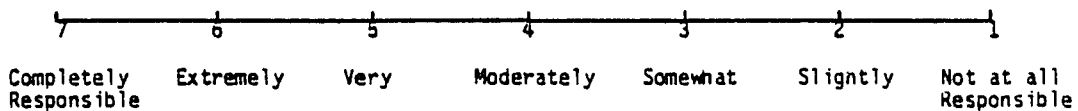
43. Susan, The Wife



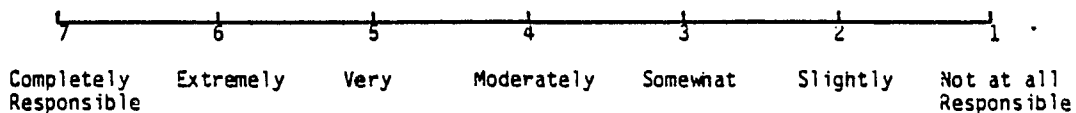
44. David, The Husband



45. Michael, Susan's Friend



46. Circumstances or The Situation



47. BRIEFLY STATE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY SUSAN DID NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MICHAEL.

47. BRIEFLY STATE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY SUSAN IS HAVING AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MICHAEL.

How would Susan's and David's children be affected if Susan did engage in an extramarital relationship with Michael? Please indicate your answer by checking a point on the following scale:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------|
| 50. | Extremely Positively | []7 |
| | Very Positively | []6 |
| | Somewhat Positively | []5 |
| | Neither Positively nor Negatively | []4 |
| | Somewhat Negatively | []3 |
| | Very Negatively | []2 |
| | Extremely Negatively | []1 |

How are Susan's and David's children likely to be affected by Susan's extramarital relationship with Michael? Please indicate your answer by checking a point on the following scale:

50. Extremely Positively []7
 Very Positively []6
 Somewhat Positively []5
 Neither Positively nor Negatively []4
 Somewhat Negatively []3
 Very Negatively []2
 Extremely Negatively []1

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of David, The Husband

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
1. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
2. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
3. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
4. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
5. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
6. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
7. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
8. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
9. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
10. Responsible Parent	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
11. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
12. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
13. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
14. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of Susan, The Wife

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
15. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
16. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
17. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
18. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
19. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
20. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
21. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
22. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
23. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
24. Responsible Parent	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
25. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
26. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
27. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
28. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

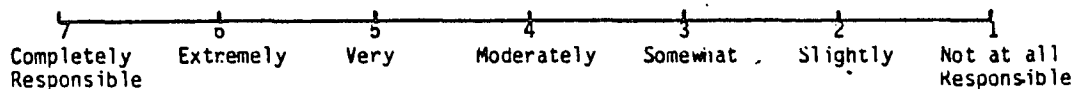
Impression of Ellen, David's Friend

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
29. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
30. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
31. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
32. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
33. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
34. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
35. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
36. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
37. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
38. Responsible Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
39. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
40. Loving Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
41. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
42. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

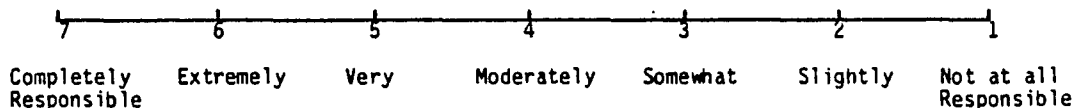
IF YOU WERE TO ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR DAVID AND ELLEN NOT BECOMING INVOLVED IN AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, WHAT WOULD THIS ASSIGNMENT BE?

INDICATE YOUR ANSWER BY CIRCLING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES.

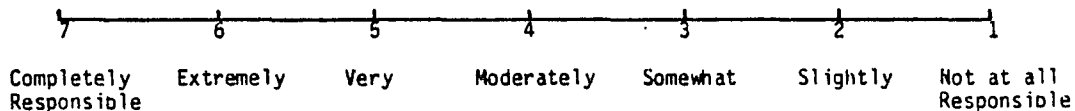
43. David, The Husband



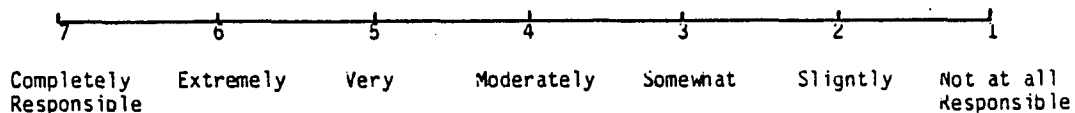
44. Susan, The Wife



45. Ellen, David's Friend



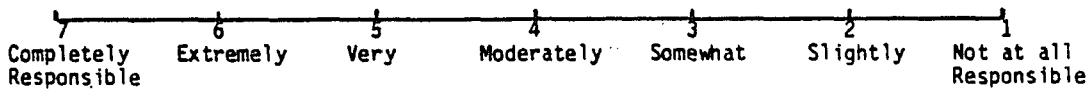
46. Circumstances or The Situation



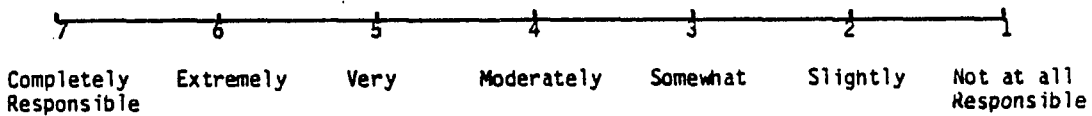
IF YOU WERE TO ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP
ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, WHAT WOULD THIS ASSIGNMENT BE?

INDICATE YOUR ANSWER BY CIRCLING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES.

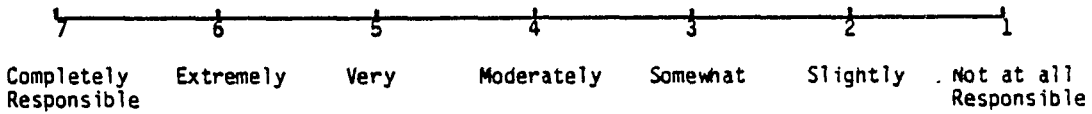
43. David, The Husband



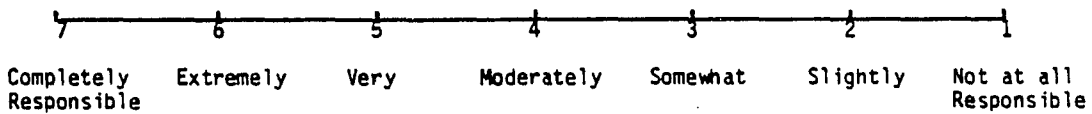
44. Susan, The Wife



45. Ellen, David's Friend



46. Circumstances or The Situation



47. BRIEFLY STATE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY DAVID DID NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ELLEN.

47. BRIEFLY STATE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY DAVID IS HAVING AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ELLEN.

How would David's and Susan's children be affected if David did engage in an extramarital relationship with Ellen? Please indicate your answer by checking a point on the following scale:

50. Extremely Positively []7
 Very Positively []6
 Somewhat Positively []5
 Neither Positively nor Negatively []4
 Somewhat Negatively []3
 Very Negatively []2
 Extremely Negatively []1

How are David's and Susan's children likely to be affected by David's extramarital relationship with Ellen? Please indicate your answer by checking a point on the following scale:

50. Extremely Positively 7
 Very Positively 6
 Somewhat Positively 5
 Neither Positively nor Negatively 4
 Somewhat Negatively 3
 Very Negatively 2
 Extremely Negatively 1

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN THE SPACES PROVIDED.

51. SEX (Circle one) 1) MALE 2) FEMALE
- 52-53. AGE _____ Years Old
54. MARITAL STATUS (Circle one)
- 1) Married 2) Divorced 3) Separated 4) Single
- 5) Living with Lover 6) Divorced & Remarried 7) Widowed

IF YOU ARE MARRIED, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 55-56 AND 57.

- 55-56. How long have you been married? _____
57. How many children do you have? (Circle one)
- 1) None 2) One 3) Two 4) Three 5) Four or More
58. Religion in which you were raised (Circle one)
- 1) Protestant 2) Catholic 3) Jewish 4) None
- 5) Other (if Other, Explain) _____
59. How religious would you say you are now? (Circle one)
- 1) Very 2) Moderately 3) Slightly 4) Not at All 5) Antireligious
60. Education (Circle one)
- 1) Some High School 2) High School Graduate 3) Some College
- 4) College Graduate 5) Some Graduate School 6) Graduate Degree

IF YOU ARE MARRIED PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 61 AND 62.

61. Have you ever had an extramarital sexual relationship? (Circle one)
- 1) Never 2) One 3) Two 4) Three 5) Four or More
62. If you have never had an extramarital relationship, have you ever had the desire to have one?
- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Maybe

IF YOU ARE SINGLE ANSWER QUESTION 63.

63. If you were to marry, do you think you would have an extramarital relationship?
- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Maybe

Appendix C

Table C1

Alpha Coefficients for Each Actor on the Fourteen Trait Ratings by Condition

Actor	<u>Wife as extramarital spouse</u>			<u>Husband as extramarital spouse</u>		
	No affair	First affair	Many affairs	No affair	First affair	Many affairs
Attractive						
Susan	.87	.90	.93	.87	.82	.86
David	.82	.89	.89	.77	.84	.80
Other ^a	.87	.83	.77	.90	.77	.76
Very Attractive						
Susan	.71	.85	.89	.80	.86	.77
David	.84	.80	.85	.82	.83	.84
Other ^b	.82	.75	.81	.88	.70	.87

^{ab}Other refers to the "other man" in the wife as extramarital spouse condition and to the "other woman" in the husband as extramarital spouse condition.

Appendix D

Comparison of Results with Different Picture Sets

Table D1

ANOVA Results on Social Evaluation Scores for David in First Picture Set

Source of Variation	Sum Of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	104.374	5	20.875	39.855	0.000
Sex of Subject	2.270	1	2.270	4.334	0.038
Extramarital Spouse	55.501	1	55.501	105.965	0.000
Physical Attractiveness	0.016	1	0.016	0.031	0.861
Extramarital Experience	44.748	2	22.374	42.717	0.000
2-Way Interactions	48.976	9	5.442	10.390	0.000
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse	1.125	1	1.125	2.148	0.144
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.001	1	0.001	0.002	0.964
Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	44.592	2	22.296	42.568	0.000
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness	0.416	1	0.416	0.795	0.373
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience	0.348	2	0.174	0.332	0.718
Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.180	2	0.590	1.127	0.326
3-Way Interactions	4.023	7	0.575	1.097	0.366
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.192	1	0.192	0.366	0.546
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	0.294	2	0.147	0.281	0.756
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.337	2	0.669	1.277	0.281
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	2.415	2	1.208	2.305	0.102
4-Way Interactions	1.222	2	0.611	1.167	0.313
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.222	2	0.611	1.167	0.313
Explained	158.596	23	6.895	13.165	0.000
Residual	122.561	234	0.524		
Total	281.157	257	1.094		

Table D2

ANOVA Results on Social Evaluation Scores for David in Second Picture Set

Source of Variation	Sum Of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	96.279	5	19.256	34.040	0.000
Sex of Subject	0.409	1	0.409	0.723	0.396
Extramarital Spouse	40.428	1	40.428	71.466	0.000
Physical Attractiveness	0.320	1	0.320	0.566	0.453
Extramarital Experience	59.807	2	29.903	52.862	0.000
2-Way Interactions	30.128	9	3.348	5.918	0.000
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse	0.315	1	0.315	0.557	0.456
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.130	1	0.130	0.229	0.633
Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	29.094	2	14.547	25.715	0.000
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness	0.025	1	0.025	0.044	0.834
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience	0.319	2	0.160	0.282	0.755
Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.128	2	0.064	0.113	0.893
3-Way Interactions	9.093	7	1.299	2.296	0.028
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	1.682	1	1.682	2.973	0.086
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	2.924	2	1.462	2.584	0.078
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.811	2	0.905	1.601	0.204
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attrac- tiveness x Extramarital Experience	2.848	2	1.424	2.517	0.083
4-Way Interactions	2.328	2	1.164	2.058	0.130
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	2.328	2	1.164	2.058	0.130
Explained	137.828	23	5.993	10.593	0.000
Residual	122.189	216	0.566		
Total	260.017	239	1.088		

Table D3

ANOVA Results on Social Evaluation Scores for Susan in First Picture Set

Source of Variation	Sum Of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	114.475	5	22.895	38.226	0.000
Sex of Subject	0.651	1	0.651	1.086	0.298
Extramarital Spouse	54.850	1	54.850	91.850	0.000
Physical Attractiveness	0.309	1	0.309	0.516	0.474
Extramarital Experience	57.432	2	28.716	47.945	0.000
2-Way Interactions	35.729	9	3.970	6.628	0.000
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse	0.015	1	0.015	0.025	0.875
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.076	1	0.076	0.127	0.722
Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	32.172	2	16.086	26.857	0.000
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness	1.345	1	1.345	2.246	0.135
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience	0.919	2	0.459	0.767	0.466
Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.099	2	0.049	0.082	0.921
3-Way Interactions	2.468	7	0.353	0.589	0.765
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.264	1	0.264	0.442	0.507
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	0.139	2	0.070	0.116	0.890
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.258	2	0.629	1.050	0.352
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.886	2	0.443	0.740	0.479
4-Way Interactions	0.878	2	0.439	0.733	0.482
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.878	2	0.439	0.733	0.482
Explained	153.549	23	6.676	11.147	0.000
Residual	129.969	217	0.599		
Total	283.518	240	1.181		

Table D4

ANOVA Results on Social Evaluation Scores for Susan in Second Picture Set

Source of Variation	Sum Of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	116.180	5	23.236	34.556	0.000
Sex of Subject	0.293	1	0.293	0.435	0.510
Extramarital Spouse	54.634	1	54.634	81.250	0.000
Physical Attractiveness	0.764	1	0.764	1.136	0.288
Extramarital Experience	64.700	2	32.350	48.110	0.000
2-Way Interactions	36.767	9	4.085	6.075	0.000
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse	0.096	1	0.096	0.142	0.707
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.051	1	0.051	0.076	0.783
Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	33.432	2	16.716	24.860	0.000
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness	1.478	1	1.478	2.198	0.140
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience	0.464	2	0.232	0.345	0.708
Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.379	2	0.189	0.282	0.755
3-Way Interactions	1.317	7	0.188	0.280	0.961
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.473	1	0.473	0.704	0.402
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	0.184	2	0.092	0.137	0.872
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.305	2	0.152	0.227	0.797
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.384	2	0.192	0.285	0.752
4-Way Interactions	3.617	2	1.808	2.689	0.070
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	3.617	2	1.808	2.689	0.070
Explained	157.881	23	6.864	10.209	0.000
Residual	147.259	219	0.672		
Total	305.140	242	1.261		

Table D5

ANCOVA Results on Justifiability Ratings for First Picture Set

Source of Variation	Sum Of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	13.993	5	2.799	2.152	0.060
Sex of Subject	0.001	1	0.001	0.001	0.977
Extramarital Spouse	0.206	1	0.206	0.159	0.691
Physical Attractiveness	0.138	1	0.138	0.106	0.745
Extramarital Experience	13.578	2	6.789	5.221	0.006
2-Way Interactions	14.409	9	1.601	1.231	0.277
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse	5.443	1	5.443	4.186	0.042
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.844	1	0.844	0.649	0.421
Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	1.648	2	0.824	0.634	0.532
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness	0.013	1	0.013	0.010	0.920
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience	4.419	2	2.210	1.699	0.185
Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.654	2	0.827	0.636	0.530
3-Way Interactions	5.719	7	0.817	0.628	0.732
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.092	1	0.092	0.071	0.791
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	3.858	2	1.929	1.483	0.229
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.238	2	0.619	0.476	0.622
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	0.470	2	0.235	0.181	0.835
4-Way Interactions	3.475	2	1.738	1.336	0.265
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	3.475	2	1.738	1.336	0.265
Explained	42.053	24	1.752	1.348	0.135
Residual	292.564	225	1.300		
Total	334.618	249	1.344		

Table D6

ANCOVA Results on Justifiability Ratings for Second Picture Set

Source of Variation	Sum Of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif Of F
Main Effects	14.412	5	2.882	1.655	0.146
Sex of Subject	0.180	1	0.180	0.103	0.748
Extramarital Spouse	2.298	1	2.298	1.320	0.252
Physical Attractiveness	0.514	1	0.514	0.295	0.587
Extramarital Experience	11.391	2	5.695	3.270	0.040
2-Way Interactions	19.176	9	2.131	1.223	0.281
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse	3.822	1	3.822	2.195	0.140
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	0.851	1	0.851	0.488	0.485
Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	4.749	2	2.374	1.363	0.258
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness	0.008	1	0.008	0.005	0.946
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Experience	1.793	2	0.896	0.515	0.598
Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	5.912	2	2.956	1.697	0.185
3-Way Interactions	10.035	7	1.434	0.823	0.569
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness	3.856	1	3.856	2.214	0.138
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Extramarital Experience	1.833	2	0.916	0.526	0.592
Sex of Subject x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	3.085	2	1.543	0.886	0.414
Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	1.684	2	0.842	0.483	0.617
4-Way Interactions	11.388	2	5.694	3.269	0.040
Sex of Subject x Extramarital Spouse x Physical Attractiveness x Extramarital Experience	11.388	2	5.694	3.269	0.040
Explained	74.771	24	3.115	1.789	0.016
Residual	402.300	231	1.742		
Total	477.071	255	1.871		

Appendix E

Experiment 2: Questionnaire

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of Larry, Eve's Husband

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
1. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
2. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
3. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
4. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
5. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
6. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
7. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
8. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
9. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
10. Responsible Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
11. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
12. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
13. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
14. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of Margaret (Maggie)

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
15. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
16. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
17. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
18. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
19. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
20. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
21. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
22. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
23. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
24. Responsible Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
25. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
26. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
27. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
28. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

Impression of Eve, Larry's Wife

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
29. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
30. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
31. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
32. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
33. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
34. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
35. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
36. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
37. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
38. Responsible Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
39. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
40. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
41. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
42. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE STORY BY CHECKING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES:

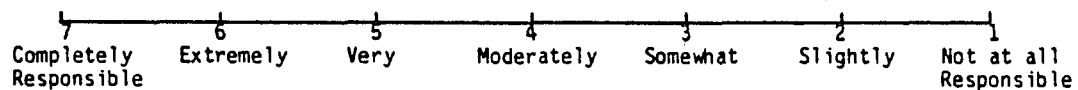
Impression of Ken, Margaret's Husband

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat more than average</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Somewhat less than average</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
43. Self Fulfilled	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
44. Kind	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
45. Immature	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
46. Physically Attractive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
47. Selfish	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
48. Unhappy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
49. Moral	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
50. Vain	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
51. Emotionally Needy	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
52. Responsible Friend	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
53. Insincere	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
54. Loving Mate	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
55. Honest	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]
56. Insensitive	7[]	6[]	5[]	4[]	3[]	2[]	1[]

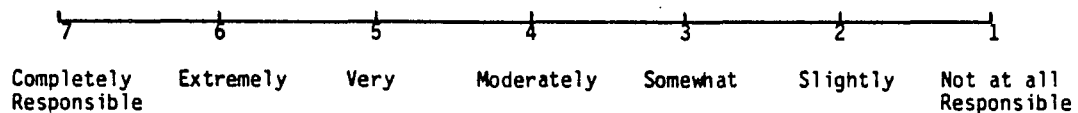
IF YOU WERE TO ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, WHAT WOULD THIS ASSIGNMENT BE?

INDICATE YOUR ANSWER BY CIRCLING A NUMBER ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SCALES.

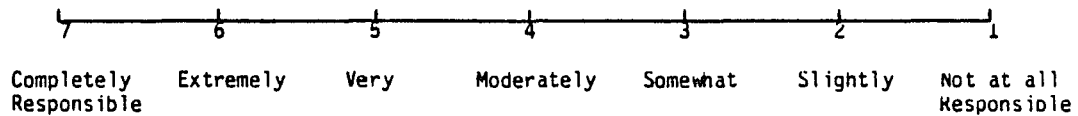
57. Larry



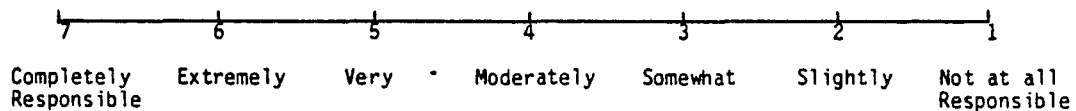
58. Margaret (Maggie)



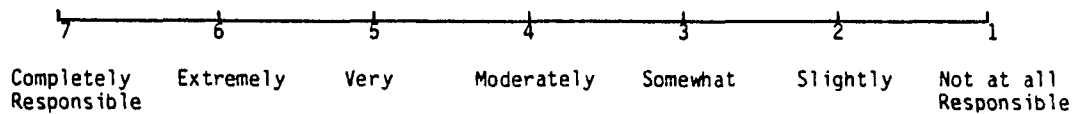
59. Eve, Larry's Wife



60. Ken, Margaret's Husband



61. Circumstances or The Situation



62. BRIEFLY STATE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY LARRY IS HAVING AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MAGGIE.

63. BRIEFLY STATE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY MAGGIE IS HAVING AN EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LARRY.

How are Larry's and Eve's children likely to be affected by Larry's extramarital relationship with Margaret? Please indicate your answer by checking a point on the following scale:

68. Extremely Positively []7
 Very Positively []6
 Somewhat Positively []5
 Neither Positively nor Negatively []4
 Somewhat Negatively []3
 Very Negatively []2
 Extremely Negatively []1

How is Margaret's and Ken's child likely to be affected by Margaret's extramarital relationship with Larry? Please indicate your answer by checking a point on the following scale:

69. Extremely Positively []7
 Very Positively []6
 Somewhat Positively []5
 Neither Positively nor Negatively []4
 Somewhat Negatively []3
 Very Negatively []2
 Extremely Negatively []1

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN THE SPACES PROVIDED.

- 83-
84-
85-
86-
87-
88-
70. SEX (Circle one) 1) MALE 2) FEMALE
- 71-72. AGE _____ Years Old
73. MARITAL STATUS (Circle one)
- 1) Married 2) Divorced 3) Separated 4) Single
- 5) Living with Lover 6) Divorced & Remarried 7) Widowed

IF YOU ARE MARRIED, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 74-75 AND 76.

- 74-75. How long have you been married? _____
76. How many children do you have? (Circle one)
- 1) None 2) One 3) Two 4) Three 5) Four or More
77. Religion in which you were raised (Circle one)
- 1) Protestant 2) Catholic 3) Jewish 4) None
- 5) Other (if Other, Explain) _____
78. How religious would you say you are now? (Circle one)
- 1) Very 2) Moderately 3) Slightly 4) Not at All 5) Antireligious
79. Education (Circle one)
- 1) Some High School 2) High School Graduate 3) Some College
- 4) College Graduate 5) Some Graduate School 6) Graduate Degree

IF YOU ARE MARRIED PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 80 AND 81.

80. Have you ever had an extramarital sexual relationship? (Circle one)
- 1) Never 2) One 3) Two 4) Three 5) Four or More
81. If you have never had an extramarital relationship, have you ever had the desire to have one?
- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Maybe

IF YOU ARE SINGLE ANSWER QUESTION 82.

82. If you were to marry, do you think you would have an extramarital relationship?
- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Maybe

Appendix F

Causal Attribution Data

Table F1

Frequency of Causal Attributions for Larry's and Maggie's AffairClassified by Category by Condition

Character	Category			
	Marital dissatisfaction	Ego enhancement	Physical/emotional attraction	Need frustration/fulfillment
No previous affair				
Maggie <u>n=47</u>	36	6	2	3
Larry <u>n=47</u>	18	6	8	15
Previous affair				
Maggie <u>n=47</u>	33	8	2	4
Larry <u>n=46</u>	11	9	9	17

Note. Chi square analyses indicated that the categorization of the causal attributions for Maggie's affair did not differ by condition, $\chi^2 (3, N = 94) = .48, N.S.$; nor was the categorization of the causes for Larry's affair different in the two conditions, $\chi^2 (3, N = 93) = 2.47.$

Appendix G

Justifiability Explanations

Table G1

Frequency of Explanations for Maggie's and Larry's Affair Classified into Each Category by Character and Condition

Character	Category of Justifiability			
	Unconditional	Conditional	Ambivalent	Nonjustifiable
No previous affair				
Maggie	29	3	5	6
<u>n</u> =43				
Larry	17	5	7	13
<u>n</u> =42				
Previous affair				
Maggie	31	6	1	8
<u>n</u> =46				
Larry	17	5	9	14
<u>n</u> =45				

Note. Chi square analyses indicated no significant difference in the categorization of the responses by condition for either Maggie, $\chi^2 (3, \underline{N} = 89) = 4.06$, or Larry, $\chi^2 (3, \underline{N} = 87) = .32$.

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