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SOME EFFECTS OF SELF-MONITORING, PERCEIVED NORMS, AND SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES ON ROMANTIC BETRAYALS

by

Alissa Anne Garth

A thesis submitted to the Department of Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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Abstract

It was hypothesized that high self-monitors (compared to low self-monitors) would report more betrayals of their romantic partners. Perceptions of others' betrayals should follow sex-role stereotypes (i.e., males are more likely to betray than females). Sex-role stereotyping might be attenuated when counter-stereotypical norms are made salient. One-hundred seventy five undergraduates completed the Interpersonal Behavior Survey (Roscoe et al., 1988) and the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986). Before doing so, participants read one of two instructional sets: females are more likely than males to be ray their romantic partners; people in general are likely to be tray their romantic partners. Participants responded to statements about romantic betrayals by a) themselves, b) typical males, and c) typical females. Compared to low self-monitors, high self-monitors reported more betrayals. Participants saw typical males as more likely than typical females to be ray partners. This effect was attenuated by the counter-stereotypical instructional set. Three findings are noteworthy. First, likelihood to engage in romantic betrayals may be accounted for by individual differences in self-monitoring orientation. Second, sex-role stereotypes involving betrayals can apparently be counteracted to some degree simply through education. Third, self-monitoring and normative effects were largely independent.

Some Effects of Self-Monitoring, Perceived Norms, and Sex-Rolc Stereotypes on

Romantic Betrayals

Seventeenth century English author John Donne is credited for the line "No manis an island" (Raspa, 1975). It has long been noted that human beings were designed with a need for interpersonal interaction. Humans are undoubtedly the most social creatures in the animal kingdom. From dining out to Disney World, people seek out interaction with others.

Beyond mere interaction, people have an intrinsic need to form and maintain intimate attachments (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 2000; Bowlby, 1969; Maslow, 1968). In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the need for love and belongingness takes precedence over the need for self-esteem and self-actualization. Additionally, Baumeister and Leary, in their belongingness theory, assert that people are driven to develop and sustain significant interpersonal relationships. The presence of such intimate attachments is strongly associated with overall life happiness whereas the absence of such attachments is associated with unhappiness, loneliness, and depression (see Argyle, 1987).

The most intimate of attachments can be found in romantic relationships. Our romantic relationships comprise our most cherished relationships. "It is in these relationships, and in our relationship partners, that we put our physical, emotional, and economic resources as well as our trust, and hopes for the future" (Boekhout, Hendrick, & Hendrick, 2000, p. 359). Our romantic relationships are sources of passion and intimacy, joy and contentment as romantic relationships allow for intimate bonding and soul-sharing between two people (e.g., Argyle, 1987). Our romantic relationships are also

sources of comfort in times of distress and act as buffers to shield us from undue anxiety (Florian, Mikulincer, & Hirschberger, 2002; Warheit, 1979).

People are ever seeking love as indicated by the popularity of singles bars and reality TV shows like *Blind Date* and *The Bachelor*. Everyone wants to find that one true love and for good reason. On average, married people are happier than single, divorced, and widowed people (Veroff, Douvan, & Kulka, 1981). Happily married couples also fare better psychologically and physiologically than do single individuals (Delongis, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1988). Compared to divorced and single people, married people have the lowest rates of mental illness (Bloom, White, & Asher, 1979; Gove, 1972) and are less likely to commit suicide (Rothberg & Jones, 1987). Furthermore, compared to married individuals, divorced, single, and widowed individuals have consistently higher mortality rates for all causes of death (Lynch, 1979).

Although certainly there are benefits to being involved in a romantic relationship, there are also consequences that one may incur if the relationship comes to an end. People are strongly resistant to the dissolution of romantic relationships. Relationship dissolution is oftentimes a highly stressful and traumatic process (Bloom, Asher, & White, 1978). The dissolution process brings with it increases in admissions to psychiatric services, homicides, and suicides (Bloom et al., 1978), alcohol use (Mastekaasa, 1997), physical illness (Williams & Siegel, 1989), and mortality rates (Hemstroem, 1996). Psychological responses to dissolution include hurt, frustration, depression, and loneliness (Sprecher, 1994). Additionally, Chung et al. (2000) found a strong correlation between the impact of relationship dissolution and general health with nearly half of the sample experiencing diagnosable chronic traumatic stress following the dissolution of a dating relationship.

Consequently, anything that threatens the well-being of our romantic relationships can be devastating. It is especially devastating when the threat comes from a member of the relationship. Jones and Burdette (1994, p. 244) note that "the very same people who are one's most important relationship partners also seem to cause most of the pain, disappointment, stress, and grief that one experiences."

Romantic betrayals can be defined as any sexual (e.g., intercourse), emotional (e.g., dating or spending time with another), or sexual *and* emotional acts committed with someone other than the relationship partner and without the partner's awareness and/or consent (Roscoe, Cavanaugh, & Kennedy, 1988; Thompson, 1984). Betrayals of these kinds are threatening to the happiness and security associated with romantic relationships. Such betrayals also compromise the traditional institution of marriage based on monogamy. Betrayals are, thus, impactful at the individual as well as the societal level. Moreover, most individuals report unfavorable attitudes toward romantic betrayals (e.g., Feldman & Cauffman, 1999b; Weis & Slosnerick, 1981). Romantic betrayals, unfortunately, remain a relatively robust and common phenomenon.

Betrayal has been around since the beginning of time. Evidence of romantic betrayals dates back to biblical times such as the love affair between King David and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11, New International Version). Such betrayals were so prevalent that they were even included in the Ten Commandments (see Exodus 20:14). Today, romantic betrayals are glamorized by such television programs as Fox's *Temptation Island*. In this reality-based show, unmarried but seriously committed couples travel to an exotic location. In order to "test" the strength of their relationships, the couples are separated from each other and then introduced to eligible singles. Many of the relationships end in dissolution in response to infidelities that occur on the show.

Furthermore, betrayal in romantic relationships is relatively common. Most people report at least some experience with romantic betrayals either as the betrayer, the betrayed, or both. Self-reported involvement in romantic betrayals varies by study with approximately one-third to two-thirds of individuals sampled (including married, cohabiting, and dating couples) reporting some experience with romantic betrayals (e.g., Feldman & Cauffman, 1999a, 1999b; Thompson, 1984; Weiderman & Hurd, 1999). Across cultures, infidelity is the most frequently cited cause of divorce (Betzig, 1989).

Some predictors of romantic betrayals include low commitment level (e.g., Drigotas, Safstrom, & Gentilia, 1999), high opportunity (e.g., Atkins, Baucom, & Jacobson, 2001; Spanier & Margolis, 1983; Treas & Giesen, 2000), and permissive sexual values (e.g., Treas & Giesen). From an investment model perspective, Rusbult (1980, 1983) posits that commitment level in particular plays a central role in the development and deterioration of relationships including romantic relationships. Commitment is strongly associated with relationship persistence and other relationship maintenance strategies (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993). Commitment in relationships involves psychological attachment and behavioral intent to continue in a relationship. Commitment is a function of increases in satisfaction and investment size and decreases in available alternatives (Rusbult, 1980, 1983). Individuals in well-functioning relationships tend to exhibit higher levels of commitment compared to individuals in relationships that ultimately end (e.g., Arriaga & Agnew, 2001). Additionally, Drigotas et al. (1999) found that commitment level at the beginning of the semester predicted romantic betrayals at the end of the semester. From this perspective, romantic betrayals may signal a lack of relationship commitment.

Romantic betrayals have potentially enormous implications at both the individual and socictal levels. People in general overwhelmingly disapprove of romantic betrayals. Romantic betrayals are destructive to our most intimate relationships, and yet romantic betrayals are fairly common throughout the course of romantic relationships. Relationship commitment, on the other hand, may inhibit romantic betrayals. *Romantic Betrayal and the Influence of the Individual*

Commitment is an important component in relationship outcome with lack of commitment implicated as a strong predictor of romantic betrayals (Drigotas et al., 1999). Individuals vary in their commitment levels. The personality variable self-monitoring may account for individual differences in levels of relational commitment. Upon its emergence in 1974, the self-monitoring construct was defined as "differences in the extent to which individuals can and do monitor their self-presentation, expressive behavior, and non-verbal affective display" (Snyder, 1974, pp. 526-527).

The five basic dimensions of self-monitoring are motivation, attention, ability, use of ability, and behavioral implications (Snyder, 1979). Individuals with a high propensity for self-monitoring are motivated to be situationally appropriate. High self-monitors desire to be the "right person in the right place at the right time" (Snyder, 1979, p. 97). As a result of their need to be situationally appropriate, high self-monitors possess a variety of selves from which high self-monitors choose the most appropriate self given the situation. Individuals with a low propensity for self-monitoring, on the other hand, are motivated to be self-congruent. Low self-monitors value similarity between their actions and their attitudes. As a result of their need for self-congruence, low self-monitors possess one, unified self which they choose to present in all situations (Snyder, 1987).

Given that high self-monitoring individuals are motivated to be situationally appropriate, they must first identify the demands of a situation before they can align their behavior accordingly. Consequently, high self-monitors focus their attention on social comparison information (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976; Snyder, 1974). High self-monitors rely on situational cues and the behavior of others for information on how to act appropriately in the situation at hand. As a result of their external focus of attention, high self-monitors tend to be particularly knowledgeable about the trait characteristics of prototypical others (Snyder & Cantor, 1980). Given that low selfmonitoring individuals are motivated to be self-congruent, they must first identify their own particular dispositions so that low self-monitors can best be themselves. Consequently, low self-monitors focus their attention on introspective information. Low self-monitors rely on their own inner dispositional cues for information on how to best be themselves in the situation at hand. As a result of their internal focus of attention, low self-monitors tend to be particularly knowledgeable about their own trait characteristics (Snyder & Cantor).

High self-monitors also possess well-developed abilities of expressive control (Snyder, 1974). High self-monitors are able to convincingly display whatever role seems appropriate for the situation (Geizer, Rarick, & Soldow, 1977; Snyder, 1987). High self-monitors use their abilities for strategic self-presentation (i.e., presenting themselves in ways that make them look good to others). Low self-monitors, by contrast, are not as

skilled as high self-monitors at expressive control. Low self-monitors, instead, use their introspective abilities for self-verification (i.e., presenting themselves in ways that match their own dispositions, regardless of the situation).

As a result of their need to fit the situation, the behavior of high self-monitors tends to be situationally specific (Snyder & Monson, 1975) with a minimal association between attitudes and behavior (Snyder, 1983; Snyder & Tanke, 1976). "What they say and do may not necessarily reflect what they believe and feel" (Snyder, 1979, p. 97). As a result of their need to be themselves, the behavior of low self-monitors tends to be crosssituationally consistent (Snyder & Monson, 1975) with a considerable association between attitudes and behavior (Snyder, 1983; Snyder & Tanke, 1976). What they say and do reflects what they believe and feel. Consequently, when faced with the decision of how to act in a given situation, high self-monitors ask themselves the question "Who does this situation want me to be and how can I be that person?" whereas low selfmonitors ask themselves the question "Who am I and how can I be me in this situation?" (Snyder, 1979, pp. 102-103).

The self-monitoring construct has been refined over the years to include individual differences in one's conception of self. High self-monitors tend to view themselves as rather flexible and pragmatic people. High self-monitors are capable of molding their behavior to meet situational and interpersonal guidelines of appropriateness. High self-monitors tend to define themselves by external situations and roles. The identity of high self-monitors, therefore, is a function of the situation (Sampson, 1978). On the other hand, low self-monitors tend to view themselves as rather consistent and principled people. Low self-monitors value congruence between "who they are" and "what they do" (Snyder, 1987, 1979). Low self-monitors tend to define themselves by internal dispositions and attitudes. The identity of low self-monitors, therefore, is a function of their own characteristic attitudes, values, and personality traits (Sampson). As a result, high self-monitors tend to think of themselves as having multiple identities whereas low self-monitors tend to think of themselves as having one unified, enduring identity.

How high and low self-monitors think about themselves also has implications for the kinds of self-attributions they make, the degrees of self-knowledge they possess, and the types of self-awareness they rely upon. Consistent with their characteristic behavioral orientations, high self-monitoring individuals tend to make relatively situational attributions about their own behavior whereas low self-monitoring individuals tend to make relatively dispositional attributions about their own behavior (Snyder, 1976). For example, if high self-monitors were asked why they brought gifts to a wedding they might respond by saying, "It is custom to bring gifts for the newly married couple." On the other hand, if low self-monitors were asked why they brought gifts to a wedding they might respond by saying, "We really like the couple and wanted to bless them with nice gifts."

Furthermore, because high self-monitors focus their attention externally, high self-monitors (compared to low self-monitors) tend to possess more in-depth knowledge about prototypical others than about themselves. High self-monitors, for example, would be more easily able to identify how a prototypical extrovert would act in a given situation than how they themselves would act in the same situation. Because low self-monitors focus their attention introspectively, low self-monitors (compared to high self-monitors) tend to possess more in-depth knowledge about themselves than about prototypical others (Snyder & Cantor, 1980). Low self-monitors, for example, would be more easily able to identify how they themselves would act in a given situation than how the prototypical extrovert would act in the same situation. Consequently, the focus of high self-monitors seems to be on public self-awareness whereas the focus of low self-monitors seems to be on private self-awareness (Webb, Marsh, Schneiderman, & Davis, 1989).

In addition to how one thinks about one's self, self-monitoring orientation also influences how one thinks about and relates to others. The social worlds of high and low self-monitors have very different foci (Snyder, Gangestad, & Simpson, 1983). The social worlds of high self-monitors tend to be activity-centered such that high self-monitors prefer as companions individuals who are particularly skilled in the activity of interest. High self-monitors engage in specific activities with specific friends. The social worlds of low self-monitors, on the other hand, tend to be person-centered such that low selfmonitors prefer as companions individuals whom they generally like and whose personalities match their own. Low self-monitors engage in a variety of activities with the same friend or group of friends. When presented with the opportunity, for example, of either "playing tennis with Fred" (where Fred is a friend who is a good tennis player but not so likeable) or "going sailing with Paul" (where Paul is a friend who is not so good at sailing but very likeable), high self-monitors are most likely to choose tennis with Fred whereas low self-monitors are most likely to choose sailing with Paul (Snyder et al., 1983),

Because high self-monitors are concerned with the images they project, it is not surprising that they prefer skilled activity partners. A skilled activity partner reflects favorably on a high self-monitor by helping the high self-monitor to appear to be the "ideal performer" (Snyder, 1987, p. 65). Because low self-monitors are concerned with consistencies between their attitudes and their behaviors, it is not surprising that they prefer to spend time with individuals whose personalities complement their own and whose company they consequently enjoy. Low self-monitors are more easily able to be themselves around people with whom they share dispositional and attitudinal similarities (Snyder, 1987). As a result, high self-monitors tend to have "segmented and compartmentalized" social worlds with extensive networks of activity partners whereas low self-monitors tend to have "homogeneous and undifferentiated" social worlds with a select group of close friends (Snyder et al., 1983).

The differing orientations that high and low self-monitors adopt toward their friendships have particular implications for relational commitment. Although high selfmonitors may possess an extensive network of activity partners, the value allotted to their friendships is a function of the friend's performance and skill level. If the friend's performance decreases so might the frequency with which a high self-monitor calls on this friend. On the contrary, low self-monitors, whose social networks consist of a smaller group of close friends, value their friendships as a function of the friend's general likeability and personality compatibility. Consequently, the friendships of low selfmonitors are characterized by greater investment and attachment compared to the friendships of high self-monitors (Snyder, 1987). Similarly, the cost of losing a friend may be particularly great for low self-monitors who invest a great deal of time and energy into the same few persons. The cost of losing a friend may not be so devastating for high self-monitors whose interactions with any given friend are limited to a small range of activities. Because of their extensive social networks, high self-monitors may more easily replace their activity partners than can low self-monitors (Snyder, 1987; Snyder et al., 1983). Compared to low self-monitors, then, it would seem that high selfmonitors are less committed to their friendships as evidenced by their low attachment and investment levels and their high availability of alternative partners (see Rusbult, 1980, 1983).

How high and low self-monitors relate to their friends also has implications for how they relate to their romantic partners. High and low self-monitors differ in their motivations for entering into dating relationships. In a study conducted by Snyder and Simpson (1984), participants were asked to choose between two potential dating partners based on their files, which included a picture and information about their personalities. One of the dating partners was physically attractive but had an undesirable personality (e.g., moody, withdrawn). The other dating partner was much less attractive but had a highly desirable personality (c.g., personable, outgoing). The vast majority of high selfmonitors (69%) chose the physically attractive date despite the person's personality flaws. In contrast, the vast majority of low self-monitors (81%) chose the date with the likeable personality despite the person's unattractive exterior. High self-monitors, then, are particularly influenced by extrinsic factors (e.g., physical attractiveness) whereas low self-monitors are particularly influenced by intrinsic factors (c.g., similar values and beliefs) when it comes to romantic relationships (Glick, 1985; Glick, DeMorest, & Hotze, 1988; Jones, 1993; Snyder, Berscheid, & Glick, 1985). These differences in preference can be traced back to the differing orientations adopted by high and low self-monitors. An attractive dating partner satisfies the high self-monitor's need for image enhancement

whereas the likeable dating partner satisfies the low self-monitor's need for relational compatibility.

Given that high and low self-monitors differ in their approaches to the initiation of romantic relationships, how does this affect the development of their respective relationships? As Snyder (1987, p. 75) notes, "The bases on which relationships are founded may have implications for the degrees of closeness of the relationships." Given their focus on the exterior of a dating partner, it would seem that high self-monitors may not obtain the same high levels of closeness in their dating relationships compared to low self-monitors whose focus is on the interior of a dating partner. Indeed, researchers have found evidence to support this claim.

Concerning their orientations toward romantic relationships, high self-monitors tend to adopt an uncommitted orientation toward their romantic relationships whereas low self-monitors tend to adopt a committed orientation toward their romantic relationships (Norris & Zweigenhaft, 1999; Snyder & Simpson, 1984). Compared to low self-monitors, high self-monitors are more willing to terminate current dating relationships in favor of new ones, more likely to have dated a greater number of partners in the preceding year, more likely to have dated their current partner for a relatively shorter time period, and less likely to experience high levels of intimacy in long-term dating relationships (Snyder & Simpson). On the other hand, compared to high selfmonitors, low self-monitors tend to adopt a more extended future time orientation in their romantic relationships (Oner, 2002) and tend to be considered more trustworthy and committed to their dating relationships (Norris & Zweigenhaft). Concerning their orientations toward sexual relations, high self-monitors tend to adopt an unrestricted orientation toward their sexual relations whereas low self-monitors tend to adopt a restricted orientation toward their sexual relations (Snyder, Simpson, & Gangestad, 1986). Compared to low self-monitors, high self-monitors are more likely to have had a larger number of different sexual partners in the preceding year, more likely to foresee themselves as having sex with a larger number of different partners within the next 5 years, and more likely to have engaged in sex with someone on only one occasion (Snyder et al.). On the other hand, compared to high self-monitors, low self-monitors are reportedly more reluctant to engage in sexual relations with someone to whom they are not committed and would be more uncomfortable with, as well as less likely to enjoy, sex with a number of different partners (Snyder et al.).

Differences in self-monitoring orientation also affect marital relationships. Compared to low self-monitors, high self-monitors report greater dissatisfaction in their marriages. High self-monitors are also more likely than low self-monitors to have been divorced one or more times (Leone & Hall, 2003).

In their most intimate interpersonal relationships (friendships, dating relationships, sexual relationships, and marriage), high self-monitors tend to be less committed than their low self-monitoring counterparts. Recall Rusbult's assertion (1980, 1983) that commitment is a function of increases in relationship investment and relationship satisfaction and decreases in available alternative partners. Compared to low self-monitors, high self-monitors are less invested in their romantic partners (Snyder & Simpson, 1984), less satisfied in their romantic relationships (Leone & Hall, 2003), and have greater opportunities to interact with other potential partners given their extensive social networks (Snyder et al., 1983). Additionally, high self-monitors tend to have more permissive sexual values than do low self-monitors (Snyder et al., 1986). Furthermore, the situational self-attributions made by high self-monitors may allow high self-monitors to assume less personal responsibility for their behaviors compared to low self-monitors who make dispositional self-attributions (Snyder, 1976). Consequently, high selfmonitors should be more willing than low self-monitors to engage in romantic betrayals (see Leone & Garth, 2004).

Ilypothesis 1: Compared to low self-monitors, high self-monitors should report (a) greater frequencies of having engaged in romantic betrayals, (b) greater number of motives for having engaged in romantic betrayals, and (c) greater number of consequences as a result of having engaged in romantic betrayals (self-monitoring main effect).

Romantic Betrayal and the Influence of the Situation

One situation that may influence the extent to which high and low self-monitors report on their own experiences with romantic betrayals involves sex-role stereotypes. Stereotypes in general are recognized as cognitive shortcuts (e.g., Hamilton, 1981) that save us from expending exorbitant amounts of cognitive resources. Stereotypes are thus determined to be cognitively useful (e.g., Fiske, 1998). Stereotypes have also been determined to be socially useful (e.g., Fiske). Particularly, sex has been identified as a natural categorization mechanism simply because of its physical, visual manifestation (see Beckett & Park, 1995). Furthermore, stereotypes tend to be fairly automatic (Fiske). Individuals tend to process stereotype-consistent information faster than they process stereotype-inconsistent information (Lalonde & Gardner, 1989).

Sex-role stereotypes, in particular, have been defined as consensual beliefs about the differing characteristics of males and females (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968). These stereotypes tend to be "pervasive, persistent, and very traditional" (Broverman et al.). Furthermore, sex-role stereotypes tend to be more favorable toward men than toward women (Bem, 1993). When it comes to interpersonal betrayal, both males and females agree that males are more likely than females to instigate betrayals (Jones & Burdette, 1994; Leone & Garth, 2003, 2004). Furthermore, men have typically been credited for being the most adulterous of the two sexes (Corey, 1989). If this sexrole stereotype (i.e., that men are more likely than women to betray their partners) is manipulated, however, to reflect the opposite (i.e., that women are more likely than men to betray their partners), will individuals' reports of their own cheating behavior be altered? The answer is, it depends. Given their sensitivity to situational cues of appropriateness and their need to be the "right person in the right place at the right time" (Snyder, 1979, p. 97), high self-monitors should be willing to alter their reports of their own cheating behavior when different sex-role storcotypes regarding cheating behavior (i.e., that women are more likely than men to betray their partners) are presented.

Hypothesis 2: When presented with the instructional set that females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners (explicit sex differences set), high self-monitoring females, compared to high self-monitoring males, low selfmonitoring males, and low self-monitoring females, should report (a) greater frequencies of having engaged in romantic betrayals, (b) greater number of motives for having engaged in romantic betrayals, and (c) greater number of consequences as a result of having engaged in romantic betrayals (selfmonitoring \times sex \times instructional set interaction).

Sex-role stereotypes may also play a role in our perceptions of *others* ' involvement in romantic betrayals. When it comes to romantic betrayals, the predominant sex-role stereotype is that men are more likely than women to betray their romantic partners (e.g., Jones & Burdette, 1994; Leone & Garth, 2003, 2004). Research on sex differences in actual cheating behavior, however, has resulted in a plethora of mixed findings. Some researchers have reported that men are more likely than women to betray their partners (e.g., Hansen, 1987; Johnson, 1970; Leone & Garth, 2003) whereas other researchers have failed to find sex differences in cheating behavior (e.g., Atkins et al., 2001). Still yet, some researchers have found that women are more likely than men to engage in emotional betrayals (e.g., Thompson, 1984).

One issue that arises, then, involves the accuracy of stereotypes. Some researchers have found that stereotypes tend to be similar to actual group characteristics (e.g., McCauley & Stitt, 1978) whereas other researchers have found that stereotypes tend to be quite dissimilar to actual group characteristics (e.g., Abate & Berrien, 1967). One type of bias involved in stereotyping is known as misjudgment of covariation. Misjudgment of covariation occurs when people think that category membership (e.g., being male or female) covaries with particular behaviors (e.g., cheating on one's partner). The errors in these estimates of covariation are called illusory correlations (Hamilton, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1987). In sex-role stereotyping, then, individuals tend to misjudge the proportion of men and women with various characteristics and behaviors. Particularly, individuals may overestimate the frequency of occurrence of information that is schema-

consistent (i.e., what we would normally expect; e.g., that men betray more than women) compared to information that is schema-inconsistent (i.e., what we would not normally expect; e.g., that women betray more than men; Hamilton & Rose, 1980).

Another issue that arises is whether or not individuals apply these same sex-role stereotypes to themselves as they do to others. Some researchers would suggest that they do not. Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) found that the self-concepts of males and females were significantly less extreme than were their stereotypic responses for their own sex. Similarly, Martin (1987) found that when individuals estimated the prevalence of certain traits in men and women in general, there were many large sex differences. However, when individuals rated themselves on these same traits, the sex differences significantly decreased in number and strength. Thus, it would seem that although individuals may view others in stereotyped ways, they do not necessarily view themselves in these simplified ways. Rather, given our extensive self-knowledge, we may view ourselves more complexly than we view others (Rogers, Kuiper, & Kirker, 1977).

Consequently, individuals may rely on sex-role stereotypes (e.g., men betray more than women) when reporting their perceptions of betrayals by typical others. Particularly, it is expected that individuals will report that the average male, compared to the average female, is more likely to betray his romantic partner (see Leone & Garth, 2003, 2004).

Hypothesis 3: Participants should report that, compared to typical females, typical males (a) engage in greater frequencies of romantic betrayals, (b) have a greater number of motives for engaging in romantic betrayals, and (c) experience a greater number of consequences as a result of engaging in romantic betrayals (target sex main effect). Altering the sex-role stereotypes that individuals generally believe to be the norm may change the way they report on the behaviors of typical others. Particularly, when presenting individuals with a counter-norm (e.g., that women are more likely than men to betray their partners) stereotyping should be attenuated (see Leone & Garth, 2004). Consequently, if individuals are told that recent researchers have found that women are more likely than men to engage in romantic betrayals (explicit sex differences set), then individuals may be less likely to stereotype the average male as betraying his partner more than average female. This finding should be particularly true for high self-monitors who are acutely attentive to situational norms. On the other hand, if individuals are told that recent researchers have found that people in general are likely to engage in romantic betrayals (implicit sex differences set), then individuals may be more likely to resort to existing sex-role stereotypes and report that the average male, compared to the average female, is more likely to betray his romantic partner.

Hypothesis 4: When presented with the instructional set that females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners (explicit sex differences set), stereotyping should be attenuated such that participants should be less likely to report that typical males are more likely than typical females to (a) betray their romantic partners, (b) have a greater number of motives for betraying their romantic partners, and (c) experience a greater number of consequences as a result of betraying their romantic partners. When presented with the instructional set that people in general are likely to betray their romantic partners (implicit sex differences set), participants should report that typical males are more likely than typical females to (a) betray their romantic partners, (b) have a greater number of motives for betraying their romantic partners, and (c) experience a greater number of consequences as a result of betraying their romantic partners (target sex \times instructional set interaction).

Hypothesis 5: When presented with the instructional set that females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners (explicit sex differences set), stereotyping should be attenuated for high self-monitors in particular such that high self-monitors, compared to low self-monitors, should be less likely to report that typical males are more likely than typical females to (a) betray their romantic partners, (b) have a greater number of motives for betraying their romantic partners, and (c) experience a greater number of consequences as a result of betraying their romantic partners (target sex × instructional set × self-monitoring interaction).

Review of Current Study

The focus of the current study is on the influence of both dispositional (selfmonitoring) and situational (instructional set, target sex) factors on reports of romantic betrayals committed by one's self and perceptions of romantic betrayals committed by typical others. Concerning the dispositional influence, it was expected that when reporting on their own experiences with romantic betrayal, compared to low selfmonitors, high self-monitors would report (a) greater frequencies of having engaged in betrayals, (b) greater number of motives for doing so, and (c) greater number of consequences as a result (self-monitoring main effect). Concerning the situational influence, it was expected that when reporting on their perceptions of typical others' experiences with romantic betrayal participants would report that, compared to typical

females, typical males (a) engage in greater frequencies of betrayals, (b) have more motives for doing so, and (c) experience more consequences as a result (target sex main effect). It was further expected that stereotyping would be attenuated for participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to be trav their romantic partners; target sex \times instructional set interaction). Concerning the interaction of the dispositional and situational influences, it was expected that when reporting on their own experiences with romantic betraval, compared to all other groups, high self-monitoring females receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set would report (a) greater frequencies of having engaged in betrayals, (b) greater number of motives for doing so, and (c) greater number of consequences as a result (self-monitoring \times sex \times instructional set interaction). When reporting on their perceptions of typical others' experiences with romantic betraval it was expected that, compared to all other groups, high self-monitors receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set would be less likely to report that typical males are more likely than typical females to (a) betray their partners, (b) have a greater number of motives for doing so, and (c) experience a greater number of consequences as a result (target sex \times instructional set × self-monitoring interaction).

Method

Participants

One hundred seventy-five undergraduates enrolled in psychology courses at the University of North Florida volunteered to participate in a study entitled *Individual Differences and Problems in Romantic Relationships*. All participants received extra credit for their participation. Participation was restricted to individuals who were not currently married or cohabiting. All participants met these criteria.

The 175 participants consisted of 80 males (46%) and 95 females (54%). One hundred twenty-nine participants (74%) identified themselves as White/Caucasian, 20 participants (11%) identified themselves as Black/African American, 8 participants (5%) identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino, 12 participants (7%) identified themselves as Asian/Asian American, 1 participant (<1%) identified herself as Native American, and 5 participants (3%) identified themselves as other. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 51 with a modal age of 20. The sample represented the demographics of the university as a whole.

All participants were treated in accordance with the ethical standards of the American Psychological Association (2002). The experimenter obtained written informed consent from each participant. Data from three participants (2 females, 1 male) were discarded due to substantial missing data from the typical male and self sections of the Interpersonal Behavior Survey. Additionally, because 1 male participant took the study twice, data from his second set of responses were discarded. The actual number of data analyzed was 171.

Procedure

Participants were surveyed in small groups of up to eight. A female experimenter explained to the participants the purpose and procedures of the study. Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to discover how common romantic betrayals are for University of North Florida students as well as what sorts of things students perceive as betrayals and which kinds of students tend to engage in which kinds of betrayal. They were also told that these tasks require that they think about their own experiences with betrayal as well as the experiences of most males and females. The experimenter obtained informed consent in writing from each participant. The experimenter emphasized confidentiality and anonymity of responses. The experimenter informed participants of their right to withdraw from the study without penalty.

Participants received two-part questionnaires. Part one of the questionnaire consisted of the Interpersonal Behavior Survey, the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991), and items concerning demographic information. The Interpersonal Behavior Survey was divided into three sections (typical males, typical females, self). Within each section of the Interpersonal Behavior Survey participants responded to statements regarding frequency of betrayal, motives for betrayal, and consequences of betrayal. These categories (types of betrayal, motives for betrayal, and consequences of betrayal) were derived from Roscoe et al. (1988). The sections concerning typical males and typical females were counterbalanced such that half the participants responded to statements about typical males first and half the participants responded to statements about typical females first. Statements about self were always presented last so as to prevent self-referencing for statements dealing with typical others. Part two of the questionnaire consisted of the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986) and a two-item manipulation check.

Before participants completed the questionnaires, one of two normative, instructional sets was presented to the participants. In one condition (explicit sex differences), participants received a questionnaire cover sheet in which it was reported that females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners. In another condition (implicit sex differences), participants received a questionnaire cover sheet in which it was reported that people in general are likely to betray their romantic partners. In the latter condition, it was assumed that participants would respond using the stereotype that males are more likely than females to betray their romantic partners (see Leone & Garth, 2003).

The manipulations of order (typical male-typical female vs. typical female-typical male) and instructional set (explicit vs. implicit sex differences) were crossed. The four different versions of the questionnaire included: (1) typical male questions preceding typical female questions, explicit instructional set, (2) typical male questions preceding typical female questions, implicit instructional set, (3) typical female questions preceding typical male questions, explicit instructional set, and (4) typical female questions preceding preceding typical male questions, implicit instructional set. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four versions of the questionnaire.

Measures

Interpersonal Behavior Survey. Individual differences in the frequency, motives, and consequences of romantic betrayal were assessed using a 75-item Interpersonal Behavior Survey adapted from a study conducted by Roscoe et al. (1988). Twenty-five of the items (e.g., "What percentage of **TYPICAL MALES** would likely be unfaithful to their partners by dating or spending time with another?") were written to assess perceptions of betrayals by the average male. Twenty-five of the items (e.g., "What percentage of **TYPICAL FEMALES**' unfaithfulness would likely result in termination of the relationship?") were written to assess perceptions of betrayals by the average female. Twenty-five of the items (e.g., "Have **YOU** ever been unfaithful due to attraction to another?") were written to assess the extent to which participants themselves betrayed others.

Within all three sections (typical males, typical females, and self), three types of assessments were made. Six of the items (c.g., "What percentage of **TYPICAL FEMALES** would likely be unfaithful to their partners by engaging in sexual intercourse with another?") dealt with *frequency of betrayal*. Responses were summed such that higher total scores indicated greater frequencies of romantic betrayal. Eleven of the items (e.g., "What percentage of **TYPICAL MALES** would likely be unfaithful to their partners due to dissatisfaction with the relationship?") dealt with *motives for betrayal*. Responses were summed such that higher total scores indicated greaged in romantic betrayal. Eight of the items (e.g., "What percentage of **TYPICAL FEMALES**' unfaithfulness would likely result in forgiveness?") dealt with *consequences of betrayal*. Responses were summed such that higher total scores indicated greater numbers of consequences reported for having engaged in romantic betrayal. Responses were summed such that higher total scores indicated greater numbers of the items (e.g., "What percentage of **TYPICAL FEMALES**' unfaithfulness would likely result in forgiveness?") dealt with *consequences of betrayal*. Responses were summed such that higher total scores indicated greater numbers of consequences reported for having engaged in romantic betrayal.

Participants responded to each of the statements concerning typical males and females using percentages ranging from 0 to 100. In the current sample, scores for statements about frequency of betrayal for typical males ranged from 75 to 594. Scores for statements about motives for betrayal for typical males ranged from 56 to 1045. Scores for statements about consequences of betrayal for typical males ranged from 90 to 634. Scores for statements about frequency of betrayal for typical females ranged from 54 to 594. Scores for statements about motives for betrayal for typical females ranged from 54 74 to 985. Scores for statements about consequences of betrayal for typical females ranged from 100 to 576.

Participants responded to each of the statements concerning themselves using a *yes-no* answer format. Participants received a score of 2 for each *yes* response and a score of 1 for each *no* response. In the current sample, scores for statements about frequency of betrayal for self ranged from 6 to 12. Scores for statements about motives for betrayal for self ranged from 11 to 21. Scores for statements about consequences of betrayal for self ranged from 8 to 16.

In the current sample, scores on the typical males section of the questionnaire were found to have a Cronbach's alpha of .84 for frequency of betrayal, a Cronbach's alpha of .91 for motives for betrayal, and a Cronbach's alpha of .68 for consequences of betrayal. Scores on the typical females section of the questionnaire were found to have a Cronbach's alpha of .84 for frequency of betrayal, a Cronbach's alpha of .91 for motives for betrayal, and a Cronbach's alpha of .91 for motives for betrayal, and a Cronbach's alpha of .71 for consequences of betrayal. Scores on the self section of the questionnaire were found to have a Cronbach's alpha of .78 for frequency of betrayal, a Cronbach's alpha of .74 for motives for betrayal, and a Cronbach's alpha of .68 for consequences of betrayal. Evidence of convergent validity exists for scores on the Interpersonal Behavior Survey. Roscoe et al. (1988) and S. Metts (personal communication, August, 12, 2003) obtained similar responses when inquiring in an open-ended manner about which behaviors, actions, or attitudes comprised unfaithfulness.

Self-Monitoring Scale. Individual differences in self-monitoring were assessed using the revised 18-item Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986). Participants responded to each of the items using a *true-false* answer format. Eight of the items (e.g., "I'm not always the person I appear to be.") were worded such that agreement indicated a high self-monitoring orientation. Ten of the items (e.g., "I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.") were worded such that disagreement indicated a high self-monitoring orientation.

Responses to items for which disagreement indicated a high self-monitoring orientation were reverse scored. Responses to all items were scored such that higher scores indicated a higher self-monitoring orientation. Scores for responses to individual items were summed such that a higher total score indicated a higher self-monitoring orientation. Participants were classified as either high or low in self-monitoring based on a median split of the full range of scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale. In the current sample, scores ranged from 19 to 35. Participants receiving scores of 28 or higher were classified as high self-monitors whereas participants receiving scores of 27 or lower were classified as low self-monitors.

Researchers have found internal consistency for scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale. For scores on the original 25-item measure of self-monitoring, Snyder (1974) reported a Kuder-Richardson 20 reliability coefficient of .70 and a test-retest reliability coefficient of .83 (over a 1-month interval). In a cross-validation study, Snyder reported a Kuder-Richardson 20 coefficient of .63 for scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale. In another sample, Gangestad and Snyder (1985) found an internal consistency coefficient of .66 for scores on the 25-item Self-Monitoring Scale. For scores on the revised 18-item measure of self-monitoring, Snyder and Gangestad (1986) found an internal consistency coefficient of .70. In a meta-analysis, Day, Schleicher, Unckless, and Hiller (2002) found an internal consistency coefficient of .73 across 27 samples for scores on the 18-item Self-Monitoring Scale. In this sample, a Cronbach's alpha of .74 was found for scores on the 18-item measure of self-monitoring.

Researchers have found convergent validity for scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale. Individuals with higher scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale have been rated by their peers as having good self-control over emotional expression and the ability to use this self-control to create desired impressions (Snyder, 1974). Professional actors, who should be skilled at expressive control, tend to score substantially higher in selfmonitoring compared to university undergraduates. Likewise, hospitalized psychiatric patients, whose behavior (compared to the average individual) is less variable across situations (Moos, 1968), tend to score much lower in self-monitoring compared to university undergraduates (Snyder).

Researchers have found discriminant validity for scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale. Scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale have been found to be unrelated to scores on measures of machiavellianism, achievement anxiety, and inner-other directedness (Snyder, 1974). Scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale have also been found to be unrelated to scores on measures of need for approval, extraversion, locus of control, neuroticism, social chameleon, field-dependence, hypnotic susceptibility, intelligence, academic achievement, public and private self-consciousness, repression-sensitization, social anxiety, MMPI Psychopathic Deviance Scale, MMPI Lie Scale, MMPI Mania Scale, and MMPI Social Introversion Scale (Snyder, 1979).

Because sociosexuality has been found to covary with an individual's selfmonitoring orientation (Seal & Agostinelli, 1994; Snyder et al., 1986), the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory was included as a control measure. Sociosexual orientation involves willingness (or lack thereof) to engage in uncommitted sexual relations (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991). High self-monitors, compared to low self-monitors, tend to possess more permissive attitudes about uncommitted sex and are more inclined to engage in unrestricted forms of sexual behavior (Snyder et al., 1986).

Sociosexual Orientation Inventory. Individual differences in sociosexual orientation were assessed using the 7-item Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991). Participants responded to three of the seven items (e.g., "With how many different partners have you had sexual intercourse within the past year?") using an open-ended answer format. Participants responded to three of the seven items (e.g., "Sex without love is okay.") using a 9-point scale with answers ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Participants responded to one of the seven items (e.g., "How often do you fantasize about having sex with someone other than your current dating partner?") using an 8-point scale with response options labeled never, once every two or three months, once a month, once every two or three weeks, once a week, a few times each week, nearly every day, and at least once a day. Of the four items with fixed-answer formats, three of the items (e.g., "I can imagine myself being comfortable and enjoying casual sex with different partners.") were worded such that agreement indicated an unrestricted sociosexual orientation, and one item (e.g., "I would have to be closely attached to someone before I could feel comfortable and fully enjoy having sex with him or her.") was worded such that disagreement indicated an unrestricted sociosexual orientation.

Responses to the item for which disagreement indicated an unrestricted sociosexual orientation were reverse scored. Following procedures described by Simpson and Gangestad (1991), scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory were calculated by taking a weighted average of responses. Based on the full range of scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory, responses to all items were scored such that higher scores indicated an increasingly unrestricted sociosexual orientation. Scores for responses to individual items were summed such that a higher total score indicated an increasingly unrestricted sociosexual orientation. In the current sample, scores ranged from 37 to 297.

Researchers have found internal consistency for scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory. Simpson and Gangestad (1991, 1992) found Cronbach's alphas of .73 and .74, respectively, for scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory. They also found convergent and discriminant validity for scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory. When compared to restricted individuals, unrestricted individuals were more likely to engage in sex earlier in their romantic relationships, were more likely to engage in sex with more than one partner at a time, and tended to be involved in sexual relationships characterized by less investment, less commitment, and weaker emotional bonds. Scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory did not correlate with the absolute frequency of sex among sexually active couples, and scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory did not covary with scores on measures tapping unrelated constructs such as sexual satisfaction, sex-related guilt, and sex-related anxiety. Where feasible, the experimenters utilized independent partner reports in addition to self-reports. In the current sample, a Cronbach's alpha of .65 was found for scores on the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory.

Manipulation check. To assess the effectiveness of the instructional set manipulation, a two-item, multiple-choice manipulation check was implemented. The first item read: "When you began this survey were you given information about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayals?" The participants selected one of three responses: (a) *yes*, (b) *no*, or (c) *do not remember*. The second item read: "If you thought you were given information about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayals, which information were you given?" The participants selected one of four responses: (a) *women are less likely than men to engage in romantic betrayal*, (b) *women are more likely than men to engage in romantic betrayal*, (c) *women are just as likely as men to engage in romantic betrayal*, or (d) *not applicable*. In the explicit instructional set condition, responses of (a) to the first item and responses of (b) to the second item are indications that the manipulation of instructional set was successful.

Demographics. Participants reported their age in years. Participants reported their sex by circling one of two answer options: *male* or *female*. Participants reported their race by circling the most appropriate response from the following six responses: *White/Caucasian, Black/African-American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Asian-American, Native American,* and *Other*. Participants reported their dating status by circling *yes* if they were currently involved in a dating relationship (dating exclusively for 3 weeks or longer) and by circling *no* if they were not currently involved in a dating relationship. If they circled *yes* (i.e., currently involved in a dating relationship), then they also reported how long they had been dating their current partner in years, months, and weeks, their intimacy level with their current dating partner using a 7-point scale ranging from *very casual, little intimacy* to *very serious, great intimacy*, and whether they had engaged in sexual intercourse (penile-vaginal intercourse) with their current dating partner by circling *yes* or *no*. Participants reported how many different individuals they dated in the last year by filling in the appropriate number. Participants reported whether a dating partner had ever been unfaithful to them by circling *yes* or *no*. If they circled *yes* (i.e., a dating partner had been unfaithful to them), then they reported in months how long ago this unfaithfulness occurred.

Results

Overview

Two designs were implemented in the current study. For statements about self, a 2 (self-monitoring: high vs. low) $\times 2$ (sex of participant: male vs. female) $\times 2$ (instructional set: explicit vs. implicit sex differences) between-subjects design was utilized. For statements about others, a 2 (self-monitoring: high vs. low) \times 2 (instructional set: explicit vs. implicit sex differences) \times 2 (target sex: male vs. female) mixed design with repeated measures on the last factor was utilized. For case of conducting analyses and as a control measure, sex of participant was also included in the analyses for others though it is not of theoretical importance. A three-way analysis of variance was used to analyze data for perceptions of self. A four-way analysis of variance was used to analyze data for perceptions of others. Because each variable only had two levels, any interactions were decomposed using simple main effects analyses (see Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Participants were randomly assigned to one of two instructional set conditions: explicit sex differences (females are more likely than males to be tray their romantic partners) or implicit sex differences (people in general are likely to betray their romantic partners). For both others as well as themselves, participants responded to items concerning (a)

frequencies of betrayal, (b) motives for betrayal, and (c) consequences of betrayal. Because sociosexuality has been found to covary with self-monitoring (Seal & Agostinelli, 1994), participants also completed the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991) as a control measure. To assess the effectiveness of the instructional set manipulation, participants indicated (a) whether or not they had received instructions about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayals, and (b) what instructions they had received, if any.

Preliminary Analyses

The primary individual difference variable of interest in the current study is selfmonitoring. Because self-monitoring is a non-manipulated variable, the potential for selfmonitoring to be confounded with other individual difference variables exists. Researchers have reported confounds between self-monitoring and sex (e.g., Day et al., 2002) and between self-monitoring and sociosexual orientation (e.g., Seal & Agostinelli, 1994).

To evaluate the presence of multicolinearity in the current study, a chi-square analysis was conducted between self-monitoring and sex of participant. A significant relationship was found between self-monitoring and sex, $\chi^2(1, N = 171) = 7.88, p < .01$. Males tended to score significantly higher in self-monitoring than did females, whereas females tended to score significantly lower in self-monitoring than did males. Of high self-monitors, 57% were male and 43% were female. Of low self-monitors, 65% were female and 35% were male.

The data were analyzed both with the self-monitoring/sex confound and without the self-monitoring/sex confound for several reasons. Empirically, it is of interest to see to what extent the self-monitoring/sex confound affects the results and corresponding conclusions. Theoretically, because the self-monitoring/sex confound appears to be common throughout the literature (see Day et al., 2002), perhaps in reality these two constructs are truly inseparable. With this in mind, then, perhaps it is just as appropriate to consider analyses with this confound present as well as without this confound present.

To de-confound self-monitoring and sex, median splits used to classify individuals by self-monitoring orientation were altered according to sex. The selfmonitoring median split used for malcs was 28.5. The self-monitoring median split used for females was 26.5. Females, for example, receiving scores of 27 or above were classified as high self-monitors whereas females receiving scores of 26 or below were classified as low self-monitors.

To evaluate the effectiveness of using altered self-monitoring median splits by sex to de-confound self-monitoring and sex, a second chi-square analysis was conducted. The resulting chi-square value was less than 1.00 (p > .05). The method used to de-confound self-monitoring and sex was effective.

Further analyses were conducted to evaluate potential confounds between selfmonitoring and sociosexual orientation. Such a confound would preclude the use of sociosexual orientation as a covariate in the current study. A one-way analysis of variance was run with self-monitoring as the predictor variable and sociosexual orientation as the dependent variable where sociosexual orientation was measured continuously. Although the means did tend to fall in predicted directions (i.e., high selfmonitors, M = 105.59, SD = 47.51, tended to have a more unrestricted sociosexual orientation than did low self-monitors, M = 96.62, SD = 39.73; see Seal & Agostinelli, 1994; Snyder et al., 1986), no reliable differences between high and low self-monitors were found in sociosexual orientation, F(1,169) < 2.00, p > .05. Furthermore, using a chisquare analysis, no reliable association was found between self-monitoring and sociosexual orientation when sociosexual orientation was measured dichotomously, $\chi^2(1, N = 171) < 1.00$, p > .05. Using a correlation analysis, no reliable association was found between self-monitoring and sociosexual orientation when both self-monitoring and sociosexual orientation were measured continuously, r(169) = .18. In the current study, then, there was no statistical evidence to support the notion of a confound between self-monitoring and sociosexual orientation was thus determined to be an appropriate covariate, and the data were later analyzed with sociosexual orientation as a covariate.

Because instructional set is a manipulated variable, a chi-square analysis was conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the manipulation. Regarding the first item in the manipulation check ("When you began this survey were you given information about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayals?"), there was a significant relationship between instructional set and how participants responded to this item, $\chi^2(1, N = 171) = 39.44$, p < .01. Eighty-two percent of participants in the explicit condition correctly remembered that they were given information. Sixty-five percent of participants in the implicit condition correctly remembered that they were not given information.

Regarding the second item in the manipulation check ("If you thought you were given information about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayals, which information were you given?"), there was a significant relationship between instructional set and how participants responded to this item, $\chi^2(3, N = 171) = 101.94, p < .01$. Seventy-five percent of participants in the explicit condition correctly remembered which information they were given (women are more likely than men to engage in romantic betrayal). Sixty-four percent of participants in the implicit condition correctly reported "not applicable" to this item.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the manipulation of instructional set was effective. Most participants correctly remembered whether or not they were given information about the extent to which males and females engage in romantic betrayals. Most participants also correctly remembered what information they were given. *Main Analyses*

Perceptions of self. It was hypothesized that high self-monitors would report having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency, greater number of motives, and greater number of consequences than would low self-monitors. This hypothesis implies a main effect of self-monitoring. It was also hypothesized that when presented with an explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners), high self-monitoring females would report having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency, greater number of motives, and greater number of consequences than would high self-monitoring males, low self-monitoring males, and low self-monitoring females. This hypothesis implies a three-way interaction between self-monitoring, sex, and instructional set.

Data concerning the self were analyzed using a three-way analysis of variance with self-monitoring and sex of participant as predictor variables and instructional set as an independent variable. For analyses including sociosexual orientation as a covariate, data were analyzed using an analysis of covariance. Regarding the predicted self-monitoring main effect, when the data were analyzed with the self-monitoring/sex confound, there was a marginal self-monitoring effect for frequency of betrayal, F(1,163) = 3.68, p < .06, d = .30, and a reliable self-monitoring effect for motives for betrayal, F(1,163) = 6.48, p < .02, d = .40. No self-monitoring effect was found for consequences of betrayal, F(1,163) < 1.00, p > .05 (see Table 1 for means and standard deviations). Thus, when the data were analyzed with the self-monitoring/sex confound, high self-monitors reported having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency and greater number of motives than did low self-monitors. High and low self-monitors did not differ, however, in their reports of the number of consequences experienced as a result of having betrayed their romantic partners.

Table 1

Mean Scores for Self Frequency, Motives, and Consequences of Betrayal by Self-Monitoring Orientation

	Frequency		Motives		Consequences	
Self-Monitoring Orientation	<u>M</u>	SD	М	SD	<i>M_</i>	<u>SD</u>
High (N = 83)	8.95	1.88	14.45	2.55	10.61	1.96
Low (N = 88)	8.44	1.98	13.55	2.36	10.51	2.06

Note. Contrasts were only made between high and low self-monitors. Significant differences were found for frequency and motives but not for consequences.

When the data were analyzed without the self-monitoring/sex confound, the selfmonitoring effect for frequency of betrayal increased in strength, F(1,163) = 5.57, p < .02, d = .37, while the self-monitoring effects for motives for betrayal, F(1,163) = 5.12, p < .03, d = .35, and consequences of betrayal, F(1,163) < 1.00, p > .05, remained relatively the same. Thus, when the data were analyzed without the selfmonitoring/sex confound, high self-monitors reported having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency and greater number of motives than did low selfmonitors. High and low self-monitors did not differ, however, in their reports of the number of consequences experienced as a result of having betrayed their romantic partners.

When the data were analyzed with sociosexual orientation as a covariate, the selfmonitoring effects for frequency of betrayal, F(1,162) = 3.67, p < .06, d = .30, and motives for betrayal, F(1,162) = 3.48, p < .07, d = .29, became marginally reliable. There was still no effect of self-monitoring for consequences of betrayal, F(1,162) < 1.00, p > .05. Thus, when the data were analyzed with sociosexual orientation as a covariate, high self-monitors reported having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency and greater number of motives, though marginally so, than did low selfmonitors. High and low self-monitors did not differ, however, in their reports of the number of consequences experienced as a result of having betrayed their romantic partners.

Regarding the predicted three-way interaction between self-monitoring, sex, and instructional set, regardless of how the data were analyzed, there were no interaction effects between self-monitoring, sex, and instructional set for frequency, motives, or

consequences of betrayal [all Fs(1,163) < 1.00, all ps > .05, analyses conducted with and without the self-monitoring/sex confound; F(1,162) < 1.00, p > .05, analysis conducted with sociosexuality as a covariate]. Thus, when presented with an explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to engage in romantic betrayals), high self-monitoring females were no more likely than high self-monitoring males, low self-monitoring males, or low self-monitoring females to respond in the direction of the explicit sex differences instructional set regarding their own betrayals.

Overall, the hypotheses that high self-monitors would report having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency and with greater number of motives than low self-monitors received partial support whereas the hypothesis that high self-monitors would report experiencing a greater number of consequences than low self-monitors received no support. The hypothesis that high self-monitoring females receiving an explicit sex differences instructional set would be more likely than high self-monitoring males, low self-monitoring males, and low self-monitoring females to report greater frequencies of having engaged in betrayal, greater number of motives for having engaged in betrayal, and greater number of consequences for having engaged in betrayal also received no support.

Perceptions of others. It was hypothesized that when reporting on the betrayal behavior of others, participants would base their reports on sex-role stereotypes (i.e., males are more likely than females to betray their romantic partners, have more motives for betraying their romantic partners, and experience more consequences as a result of betraying their romantic partners). This hypothesis implies a main effect of target sex. It was also hypothesized that when presented with an explicit sex differences instructional

set (i.e., females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners), stereotyping would be attenuated such that participants would be less likely to base their reports on sex-role stereotypes. This hypothesis implies a two-way interaction between target sex and instructional set. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that when presented with an explicit sex differences instructional set, stereotyping would be particularly attenuated for high self-monitors. This hypothesis implies a three-way interaction between target sex, instructional set, and self-monitoring.

Data concerning others were analyzed using a four-way analysis of variance with self-monitoring and sex of participant as predictor variables and instructional set and target sex as independent variables with repeated measures on the last factor. For analyses including sociosexual orientation as a covariate, data were analyzed using an analysis of covariance. Regarding the predicted target sex main effect, when the data were analyzed with the self-monitoring/sex confound, there was a strong and reliable effect of target sex for frequency of betrayal, F(1,163) = 17.02, p < .01, d = .65, and motives for betrayal, F(1,163) = 23.19, p < .01, d = .75. There was no target sex effect for consequences of betrayal, F(1,163) < 2.00, p > .05 (see Table 2 for means and standard deviations). Thus, when the data were analyzed with the self-monitoring/sex confound, participants reported that males were more likely than females to betray their romantic partners and to have more reasons for doing so. There was no difference, however, in participants' reports of the number of consequences experienced by males and females as a result of engaging in romantic betrayal.

Table 2

	Freq	uency	Mo	tives	Cons	equences
Target Sex	<u>M</u>	SD	<u> </u>	SD	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Male	328.99	111.41	563.68	206.05	348.04	114.19
Female	295.76	113.60	498.99	202.79	334.33	<u>117.04</u>

Mean Scores for Others' Frequency, Motives, and Consequences of Betrayal by Target Sex

Note. Contrasts were only made between perceptions of male and female targets. Significant differences were found for frequency and motives but not for consequences.

When the data were analyzed without the self-monitoring/sex confound, the target sex effects remained relatively the same for frequency of betrayal, F(1,163) = 21.26, p < .01, d = .72, and motives for betrayal, F(1,163) = 24.45, p < .01, d = .77, and increased for consequences of betrayal, F(1,163) = 3.88, p < .05, d = .31. Thus, when the data were analyzed without the self-monitoring/sex confound, participants reported that males were more likely than females to betray their romantic partners, to have more reasons for doing so, and to experience more consequences as a result.

When the data were analyzed with sociosexual orientation as a covariate, the target sex effect remained relatively the same for frequency of betrayal, F(1,162) = 6.14, p < .02, d = .39, but decreased for motives for betrayal, F(1,162) < 2.00, p > .05, and consequences of betrayal, F(1,162) < 1.00, p > .05. Thus, when the data were analyzed with sociosexual orientation as a covariate, participants reported that males were more likely than females to betray their romantic partners. There was no difference, however, in participants' reports of the number of motives of males and females for engaging in

romantic betrayal or in the number of consequences experienced by males and females as a result of engaging in romantic betrayal.

Regarding the predicted two-way interaction between target sex and instructional set, when the data were analyzed with the self-monitoring/sex confound, there was a strong and reliable two-way interaction between target sex and instructional set for frequency of betrayal, F(1,163) = 13.33, p < .01, d = .57 (see Figure 1), and motives for betrayal, F(1,163) = 8.96, p < .01, d = .47 (see Figure 2). No interaction was found for consequences of betrayal, F(1,163) < 2.00, p > .05.

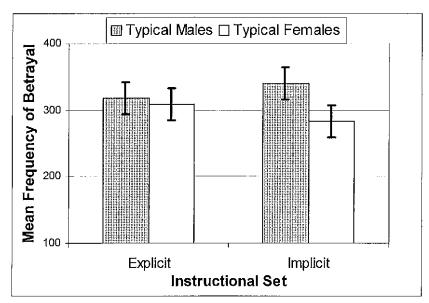


Figure 1. Mean frequency of betrayal scores by instructional set (explicit: N = 85;

implicit: N = 86) and target sex.

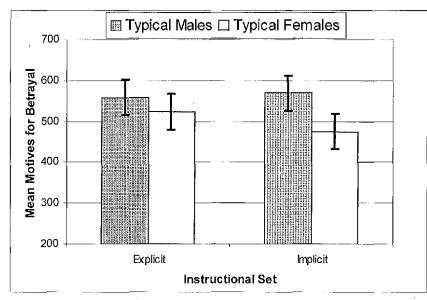


Figure 2. Mean motives for betrayal scores by instructional set (explicit: N = 85; implicit: N = 86) and target sex.

These two-way interactions between target sex and instructional set for frequency and motives for betrayal were decomposed using simple main effects analyses. For frequency of betrayal, there was a reliable difference in participants' responses to statements about typical males and females for participants in the implicit condition, F(1,84) = 30.85, p < .01, d = 1.21. Participants in the implicit condition reported that typical males were more likely than typical females to betray their romantic partners. There was no difference, however, in participants' responses to statements about typical males and females for participants in the explicit condition, F(1,84) < 2.00, p > .05. For motives for betrayal, there was a reliable difference in participants' responses to statements about typical males and females for participants in the implicit condition, F(1,84) = 27.11, p < .01, d = 1.14. Participants in the implicit condition reported that typical males had more motives than typical females for betraying their romantic partners. There was a much smaller, less reliable difference, however, in participants' responses to statements about typical males and females for participants in the explicit condition, F(1,84) = 4.60, p < .05. Thus, when the data were analyzed with the selfmonitoring/sex confound, participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to be tray their romantic partners) were less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., people in general are likely to be tray their romantic partners) to stereotype males as more frequently engaging in romantic be trayal than females and having more reasons for doing so than females. Participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set were no less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set, however, to stereotype males as experiencing more consequences than females.

When the data were analyzed without the self-monitoring/sex confound, the twoway interactions remained relatively the same for frequency of betrayal, F(1,163) = 11.80, p < .01, d = .54, motives for betrayal, F(1,163) = 5.26, p < .03, d = .36, and consequences of betrayal, F(1,163) = 2.20, p > .05. Thus, when the data were analyzed without the self-monitoring/sex confound, participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners) were less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., people in general are likely to betray their romantic partners) to stereotype males as more frequently engaging in romantic betrayal than females and having more reasons for doing so than females. Participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set were no less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set, however, to stereotype males as experiencing more consequences than females. When the data were analyzed with sociosexuality as a covariate, the two-way interactions remained relatively the same for frequency of betrayal, F(1,162) = 11.81, p < .01, d = .54, motives for betrayal, F(1,162) = 5.22, p < .03, d = .36, and consequences of betrayal, F(1,162) = 2.18, p > .05. Thus, when the data were analyzed with sociosexuality as a covariate, participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners) were less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., people in general are likely to betray their romantic partners) to stereotype males as more frequently engaging in romantic betrayal than females and having more reasons for doing so than females. Participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set were no less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences than females.

Regarding the predicted three-way interaction between target sex, instructional set, and self-monitoring, regardless of how the data were analyzed, there were no interaction effects between target scx, instructional set, and self-monitoring for frequency, motives, or consequences of betrayal [all Fs(1,163) < 2.00, all ps > .05, analyses conducted with and without the self-monitoring/sex confound; F(1,162) < 2.00, p > .05, analysis conducted with sociosexual orientation as a covariate]. Thus, when presented with an explicit sex differences instructional set (i.e., females are more likely than males to betray their romantic partners) high self-monitors were no more likely than low self-monitors to respond in the direction of the explicit sex differences instructional set regarding the betrayal behaviors of others.

Overall, the hypothesis that participants would report that males are more likely than females to betray their romantic partners received strong support. The hypothesis that participants would report that males have more motives than do females for betraying their romantic partners received partial support. The hypothesis that participants would report that males experience more consequences than do females as a result of betraying their romantic partners received no support. Furthermore, the hypothesis that participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set would be less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set to stereotype males (compared to females) as betraying more frequently and having more reasons for doing so received strong support. The hypothesis that participants receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set would be less likely than participants receiving the implicit sex differences instructional set to stereotype males (compared to females) as experiencing more consequences received no support. Finally, the hypothesis that high self-monitors receiving an explicit sex differences instructional set would be less likely than low self-monitors to storeotype males (compared to females) as betraying more frequently, having more reasons for doing so, and experiencing more consequences as a result also received no support.

Secondary Analyses

To determine the effectiveness of including sociosexual orientation as a covariate in the current study, analysis of covariance *F*-values for sociosexual orientation effects were examined (see Table 3). The largest sociosexual orientation effects can be seen for perceptions of self in frequency of betrayal, F(1,162) = 21.88, and motives for betrayal, F(1,162) = 15.14. Although not as large, sociosexual orientation effects can also be seen for perceptions of typical males in motives for betrayal, F(1,162) = 4.06. Particularly for perceptions of self, then, sociosexual orientation was an effective covariate because of the error variance that was reduced by including sociosexual orientation in the analyses.

Table 3

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	Frequency	Motives	Consequences
Target	F(1,162)	F(1,162)	F(1,162)
Typical Males	0.04	4.06*	0.97
Typical Females	0.64	2.56	0.08
Self	21.88**	15.14**	0.75

F-values for Sociosexual Orientation for Frequency, Motives, and Consequences of Betrayal when Sociosexual Orientation is included as a covariate

p* < .05. *p* < .01.

Other interesting effects not hypothesized were also noted. There was a marginal interaction between self-monitoring and instructional set for frequency of betrayal for typical females [F(1,163) = 2.92, p < .09, analysis without the self-monitoring/sex confound; <math>F(1,162) = 2.88, p < .10, analysis with sociosexual orientation as a covariate]. High self-monitors receiving the explicit sex differences instructional set reported greater frequencies of betrayal for females than did any other group (low self-monitors in the explicit condition, low self-monitors in the implicit condition, and high self-monitors in the implicit condition. Although this effect was not directly hypothesized, there are

obvious similarities between this effect and the originally predicted interaction between target sex, instructional set, and self-monitoring which was not empirically supported.

Another interesting effect involves a marginal main effect of self-monitoring for frequency of betrayal for both typical males, F(1,163) = 2.99, p < .09, and typical females, F(1,163) = 2.99, p < .09, in the analysis without the self-monitoring/sex confound. High self-monitors reported greater frequencies of betrayal for both males and females than did low self-monitors.

A two-way interaction between target sex and sex was also noted for frequency of betrayal [all $Fs(1,163) \ge 12.96$, all ps < .01, analyses with and without the self-monitoring/sex confound; F(1,162) = 11.77, p < .01, analysis with sociosexual orientation as a covariate], and motives for betrayal [all $Fs(1,163) \ge 12.95$, all ps < .01, analyses with and without the self-monitoring/sex confound; F(1,162) = 13.02, p < .01, analysis with sociosexual orientation as a covariate]. Females were more likely than males to engage in stereotypical responding by reporting typical males as more likely than typical females to betray their romantic partners.

Finally, a marginal main effect of sex for frequency of betrayal, F(1,162) = 3.39, p < .07, and motives for betrayal, F(1,162) = 3.16, p < .08, was noted in the analysis including sociosexual orientation as a covariate. Females reported betraying their partners more than did males.

Discussion

Perceptions of Self

Were participants' reports of their own experiences with betrayal affected by their self-monitoring orientation? To some degree, the answer is yes. High self-monitors

reported having betrayed their romantic partners with greater frequency and greater number of motives, though marginally so, but not with greater number of consequences than did low self-monitors. Were participants' reports of their own experiences with betrayal affected by an interaction between self-monitoring orientation, sex of participant, and instructional set? The answer is no.

When placed in the context of the literature on self-monitoring, the findings involving the main effect of self-monitoring are not surprising. High self-monitors are motivated to be the "right person in the right place at the right time" (Snyder, 1979, p. 97). At their very core, then, high self-monitors want to "show up" well in front of others (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986).

Given that high self-monitors are interested in making positive impressions on others, what is the most obvious first impression a person can make on another? The answer is physicality of course. An attractive dating partner enhances a high selfmonitor's public image. Naturally, it takes substantially less time and effort to ascertain the exterior of a dating partner than it does to ascertain the interior of a dating partner. Thus, high self-monitors (compared to low self-monitors) invest less time and effort into their romantic partners and experience less intimacy in their romantic relationships (Norris & Zweigenhaft, 1999; Snyder & Simpson, 1984; Leone & Hall, 2003). Low selfmonitors' attention to the interior of their dating partners, on the other hand, allows them to invest a great deal of time and effort into their romantic partners and to experience a great deal of intimacy in their romantic relationships (Norris & Zweigenhaft; Snyder & Simpson; Leone & Hall). Furthermore, high self-monitors' large network of acquaintances provides ample opportunity for high self-monitors to meet and interact with other potential image-enhancing dating partners whereas low self-monitors' small network of close friends does not afford low self-monitors such opportunity.

Additionally, high self-monitors tend to adopt an uncommitted orientation toward their romantic relationships. High self-monitors are willing to terminate their current dating relationships for new relationships, high self-monitors are likely to have dated large numbers of individuals in the past year, high self-monitors are likely to have dated their current partner for a relatively short time period, and high self-monitors are unlikely to experience high levels of intimacy in their long-term dating relationships (Snyder & Simpson, 1984). On the other hand, low self-monitors tend to adopt a committed orientation toward their romantic relationships. Low self-monitors have a long-term orientation toward their romantic relationships and are considered by their dating partners to be trustworthy and committed (Norris & Zweigenhaft, 1999).

Moreover, high self-monitors tend to adopt an unrestricted orientation toward their sexual relations. High self-monitors are likely to have had a large number of different sex partners in the past year, high self-monitors are likely to foresee themselves as having sex with a large number of different partners in the future, and high selfmonitors are likely to have engaged in one night stands (Snyder et al., 1986). On the other hand, low self-monitors tend to adopt a restricted orientation toward their sexual relations. Low self-monitors are reluctant to engage in sexual relations with someone to whom low self-monitors have no commitment, and low self-monitors would be more uncomfortable with as well as unlikely to enjoy sex with a number of different partners (Snyder et al.). It makes sense, then, that high self-monitors are more likely than low selfmonitors to betray their romantic partners. On the other hand, the lack of support for the hypothesized interaction between self-monitoring, sex of participant, and instructional set is somewhat surprising. According to Snyder (1974), high self-monitors are keenly attentive to external cues of situational appropriateness as these cues provide high self-monitors with information necessary to align their behavior in such a way that fits the demands of a situation. An instructional set providing normative information concerning the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayal certainly qualifies as an external cue particularly given the effectiveness of this instructional set manipulation (see Results, *Preliminary Analyses*). For all intents and purposes then the explicit sex differences instructional set should have been noticed especially by high self-monitoring participants who want to appear situationally appropriate. In this case, it would have been situationally appropriate for high self-monitoring females (compared to high self-monitoring males, low self-monitoring males, and low self-monitoring females) to report greater frequencies, motives, and consequences of betrayal.

It is possible that high self-monitors are no more attentive to social comparison information than are low self-monitors (see Briggs & Chcek, 1988; Lennox & Wolfe, 1984). The dimensions of self-monitoring as identified by other researchers (e.g., Briggs & Cheek; Lennox & Wolfe) include acting, extraversion, and other-directedness (i.e., need for social approval) and do not include attention to social comparison information. Alternatively, it is possible that changes in the Self-Monitoring Scale may have produced this artifactual finding. Particularly, the seven items deleted from the original 25-item Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder, 1974) are focused on attention to others. Perhaps then it is not so much a matter of high self-monitors not being attuned to social comparison information. Perhaps the lack of support for the aforementioned three-way interaction can better be explained by the fact that attention to others was not adequately captured in the revised 18-item Self-Monitoring Scale and, therefore, this characteristic was not adequately captured in the current sample.

Another plausible explanation for why the interaction between self-monitoring, sex of participant, and instructional set was not supported involves the way the dependent variables were measured. In the current study, the dependent variables were measured based on actual behaviors (i.e., what individuals have donc). In contrast, researchers on self-monitoring have, for the most part, tended to measure attitudes about behaviors or hypothetical behaviors (i.e., what individuals would do; e.g., Snyder & Simpson, 1984). Sometimes individuals' perceptions of their behavior can be a closer match to their personalities than their actual behavior (Robins & John, 1997). Although possible, this explanation is not very probable because self-monitoring did have an effect in the current study though the effect was not in the form of an interaction.

What do these findings mean for the fields of self-monitoring, close relationships and betrayal? First, these findings are an expansion to the literature on self-monitoring and romantic relationships by including the element of betrayal. Until now, researchers have not examined individual differences in self-monitoring in light of betrayal. Second, these findings are an addition to the construct validity of self-monitoring. Snyder & Simpson (1984) identified that high self-monitors adopt an uncommitted orientation toward their romantic relationships whereas low self-monitors adopt a committed orientation toward their romantic relationships. In the current study, these differing relationship orientations were supported with behavioral confirmation as opposed to simply attitudinal confirmation or hypothetical behavioral confirmation. Furthermore, through an examination of motives and consequences of betrayal, it is now also known that high self-monitors are likely to report more justifications for their betrayals (i.e., greater number of motives) than are low self-monitors. Third, these findings are a contribution to the identification of an additional factor accounting for differences in the extent to which individuals betray their romantic partners: self-monitoring. Other factors known to account for differences in the extent to which individuals betray their to which individuals are likely to engage in betrayal include marital status, age, and education level (Jones & Burdette, 1994), as well as an avoidant romantic style (Feldman & Cauffman, 1999b), low commitment level (Drigotas et al., 1999), high opportunity (Atkins et al., 2001), and permissive sexual values (Treas & Giesen, 2000).

What implications do these findings have for society at large? It is known that some individuals are more likely than others to betray their dating partners. Particularly, given the current study, high self-monitors are more likely than low self-monitors to betray their dating partners. Given that dating often precedes marriage, what implications do these findings have for marital relationships? Are high self-monitors also more likely than low self-monitors to be unfaithful to their marital partners? Perhaps these findings help to explain why high self-monitors (compared to low self-monitors) are more likely to have been divorced one or more times (Leone & Hall, 2003). Because the dynamics that exist in dating relationships are similar to the dynamics that exist in marital relationships, it is possible that high self-monitors are also more likely to be unfaithful in their marriages, which could consequently lead to higher divorce rates for high selfmonitors. After all, remember that infidelity is the most frequently cited cause of divorce (Betzig, 1989).

Perceptions of Others

Were participants' perceptions of others' experiences with betrayal affected by the sex of the target? To some degree, the answer is yes. Participants engaged in stereotypical responding when reporting on frequency of betrayal and motives for betrayal but not when reporting on consequences of betrayal. When reporting on typical males, participants reported greater frequencies of betrayal and greater number of motives for betrayal than when reporting on typical females.

Were participants' perceptions of others' experiences with betrayal affected by an interaction between the sex of the target and instructional set? To some degree, the answer is yes. Stereotyping was attenuated for participants in the explicit sex differences instructional set condition when reporting on frequency of betrayal and motives for betrayal but not when reporting on consequences of betrayal. Participants in the explicit condition were less likely than participants in the implicit condition to stereotype males as more frequently engaging in romantic betrayal than females and having more reasons for doing so than females. Were participants' perceptions of others' experiences with betrayal affected by an interaction between the sex of the target, instructional set, and self-monitoring orientation? The answer is no.

When placed in the context of the literature on sex-role stereotypes, the findings involving the main effect of target sex are not surprising. Researchers have demonstrated time and again the sex bias concerning cheating behavior. Both males and females agree that males are more likely than females to betray their romantic partners (Jones & Burdette, 1994; Leone & Garth, 2003, 2004).

There are several reasons why this may be the case. First, remember, sex is a natural categorizing mechanism in light of its physical manifestation (Beckett & Park, 1995). Second, recall that stereotypes about men tend to be more favorable than stereotypes about women (Bem, 1993). Although cheating on one's romantic partner in and of itself is not necessarily positive, it is more socially acceptable for men to cheat than it is for women to cheat. A man who involves himself with more than one woman at a time obtains the status of a "player." In contrast, a woman who involves herself with more than one man at a time is degraded as a "slut" or a "whore." Thus, this sex-role stereotype may not have such a negative connotation for men and may even involve an element of status.

Finally, it is quite possible that individuals are more willing to engage in stereotyping about males than they are to engage in stereotyping about females. With the advent of the feminist revolution some decades ago, there has been an increasingly pervasive message of an egalitarian society. Consequently, individuals may wish to avoid stereotyping females for fear of being labeled as "chauvinistic" or "politically incorrect." Individuals may, thus, feel less inhibited to stereotype men than to stereotype women.

Ironically, although individuals may endorse this sex-role stereotype when it comes to others, they do not necessarily apply this same stereotype to themselves (Martin, 1987; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). Given our extensive self-knowledge, we tend to view ourselves complexly. On the other hand, we do not have such extensive knowledge of a typical "other" and therefore must rely on heuristics (i.e., cognitive shortcuts) and other such generalizations (e.g., stereotypes) to fill in gaps. It is, therefore, of little surprise that when reporting on typical others, participants were likely to use sex-role stereotypes. When reporting on themselves, however, they did not use these sex-role stereotypes.

An additional example of people stereotyping others but not themselves is also found in the current study. There was a marginally reliable interaction between target sex and sex of participant such that females were more likely than males to stereotype typical males as more likely than typical females to betray romantic partners. Several possibilities exist for why females would be more likely than males to engage in stereotyping about males. One explanation involves the outgroup homogeneity effect in which the outgroup is perceived as less variable than average (Mullen & Hu, 1989). In this case, then, perhaps females viewed males as more alike and homogenous than males really are. In addition, in the shared distinctiveness effect, interactions with outgroup members (e.g., males) and socially undesirable behaviors (e.g., romantic betrayal) are especially distinctive (Hamilton & Rose, 1980). Thus, instances in which males betrayed their partners should be most likely to stand out in the minds of females.

It is also of interest to note that this sex-role stereotype regarding betrayal behavior persists regardless of the fact that actual sex differences in cheating behavior are inconclusive. In many of the more dated studies on betrayal (e.g., Johnson, 1970) researchers reported significant sex differences in cheating behavior such that men engaged in betrayal more so than did women. In contrast, in many of the more recent studies on betrayal (e.g., Atkins et al., 2001) researchers have consistently failed to find sex differences in cheating behavior. This discrepancy begs the question, why are sex differences in cheating behavior no longer as prominent in the literature?

Particularly, the women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s have been helpful in decreasing the sex gap between men and women. Perhaps women are now feeling more "freedom" to behave outside of the stereotypic norms that once limited women. Consequently, perhaps women are engaging in more romantic betrayal than they once did, or perhaps women are just feeling more freedom to admit it. In the current study, for example, there was a marginally reliable main effect of sex of participant such that females reported betraying their romantic partners more so than did males. This finding is quite contrary to other research.

Moreover, it is possible that the subjective perceptions of humankind are more in sync than originally imagined with the objective realities of this world. Perhaps there exists a discrepancy between general consensus (the way we *think* things are) and reality (the way things *really* are) which only time can undo. This discrepancy is similar to that of "the lore" and "the record" of social scientific research as described by Abelson (1995). The lore is the general knowledge or expertise that social scientific research findings (i.e., reality). The record is the actual collection of scientific research findings (i.e., reality). The record is used to inform and update the lore. It often takes series of replications and other confirmatory evidences in the record for the lore to be updated. It is possible, then, that what we are seeing with the persistence of this sex-role stereotype is simply the residue from a previous reality (one in which men engaged in romantic betrayal more so than did women) which in time will shift to reflect a new reality (one in which women engage in just as much romantic betrayal as do men).

Another interesting finding involves the interaction between target sex and instructional set. When given no information about sex differences in betrayal behavior (i.e., implicit condition), participants resorted to stereotypic responding. However, when given counter-stereotypic information about sex differences in betrayal behavior (i.e., explicit condition), stereotyping was significantly attenuated.

With only a mere hint of "education" in the opposite direction of what the majority accept to be the norm (that men are more likely than women to betray their romantic partners), stereotypic norms were overcome. That such a small manipulation is responsible for such a drastic shift in norm acceptance is evidence for the flexibility and lack of rigidity of sex-role stereotypes. It would seem that people are in fact willing to update their sex-role stereotypes regarding betrayal when provided with new information. Often this is not the case with other types of stereotypes, such as racial stereotypes which tend to persist despite exposure to counter-stereotypic information (e.g., Plant, Peruche, & Butz, 2004). On the other hand, the fact that stereotyping was only attenuated and not reversed (i.e., to reflect that women are more likely than men to engage in betrayal) is evidence for the enduring quality of this particular sex-role stereotype and possibly stereotypes on the whole.

That the interaction between target sex, instructional set, and sclf-monitoring did not receive support constitutes another example of the largely independent effects of selfmonitoring and normative set in the current study. Again, it is possible that high selfmonitors are no more attentive to social comparison information than are low selfmonitors (Briggs & Cheek, 1988; Lennox & Wolfe, 1984). It is also possible that attention to others was not adequately assessed in the revised 18-item Self-Monitoring Scale and therefore was not adequately measured in the current sample.

Although the predicted three-way interaction between target sex, instructional set, and self-monitoring did not receive empirical support, there was a marginally significant two-way interaction between instructional set and self-monitoring for frequency of betrayal for typical females. High self-monitors in the explicit condition reported greater frequencies of betrayal for typical females than did any other group (i.e., low selfmonitors in the explicit condition, low self-monitors in the implicit condition, and high self-monitors in the implicit condition).

Thus, it would seem that high self-monitors were indeed attentive to the external cues provided in the explicit instructional set. The notion that high self-monitors are no more attentive to social comparison information than are low self-monitors may be ruled out. Why then was this effect not captured in the predicted three-way interaction? It is quite possible that there was not enough power to detect the three-way interaction. Given the marginal *p*-value of the two-way interaction, it seems there may have been barely enough power to detect the two-way interaction.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that in the current study there was a marginally reliable main effect of self-monitoring for frequency of betrayal for both typical males and typical females. Not only were high self-monitors more likely than low self-monitors to report having betrayed their romantic partners, but high self-monitors were also more likely than low self-monitors to report that others were more likely to betray their romantic partners. Thus, it would seem that both high and low self-monitors projected their own experiences with betrayal onto the experiences of others. One of the big ways in which this study differs from other studies looking at self-monitoring is that in the current study participants were asked to report their perceptions of others whereas in most research dealing with self-monitoring (e.g., Snyder & Simpson, 1984) participants are only asked to report on themselves.

What do these findings mean for the fields of sex-role stereotyping and betrayal? First, these findings provide replication and confirmation that the sex-role stereotype that males are more likely than females to betray their romantic partners is alive and well. Second, these findings are evidence that providing counter-stereotypic education (i.e., altering individuals' perceptions of what is true) about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayal can actually reduce stereotyping. Given the automaticity of stereotyping behavior (see Fiske, 1998), these findings are particularly relevant and important. Fiske (1998, p. 391) notes that "people can sometimes control even apparently automatic biases, if appropriately motivated." In the current study, no motivational factor to reduce stereotyping was provided and yet stereotyping are not typically amenable to counter-stereotypic education, making this finding all the more important.

What implications do these findings have for society at large? It is known that sex-role stereotypes are a pervasive presence in society and that they influence how we perceive other people. In this study it was demonstrated that with a little education, sexrole stereotypes can be overcome. It would seem then that sex-role stereotypes are perhaps not as enduring as they were once thought to be. Rather, sex-role stereotypes are somewhat flexible and able to be counteracted to some degree. Could it also be possible that other types of stereotypes (e.g., racial, weight-related, etc.) are not as enduring as they seem to be? Perhaps continuing to expose people to counter-stereotypic information via the media, educational tools (e.g., school texts), etc. will ultimately be effective in reducing biases about others.

Overall, a common theme can be observed throughout this study: a lack of empirical support for hypotheses concerning consequences of betrayal. It is possible that error exists in the measurement tool itself. First, one of the types of consequences ("nothing") was consistently negatively correlated with the total consequences indicating that perhaps this response item was not a valid measurement of consequences experienced as a result of betrayal. Second, in the Interpersonal Behavior Survey, items concerning the number of consequences experienced as a result of betrayal (e.g., "What percentage of typical males' unfaithfulness would likely result in termination of the relationship?") were worded in such a way that made it indiscernible whether participants were reporting consequences resulting from actions taken by their romantic partners or from actions taken by themselves. Consequently, participants may have experienced some confusion when responding to these items which may have in turn compromised the validity of these items. Similarly, consequences of betrayal was the only dependent variable in the current study that is dependent not just on the participant but also on the participant's partner. Although these explanations are certainly possible, they are not very probable because empirical support for hypotheses concerning consequences of betrayal has been obtained in previous studies utilizing the Interpersonal Behavior Survey (see Leone & Garth, 2003, 2004).

Issues of validity and reliability of the measures used in the current study are worth addressing. Reliability of scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale with the current sample has been established (see Method, *Measures*). Validity of scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale with the current sample may safely be assumed given that self-monitoring effects in the current study were found in expected directions. Furthermore, reliability and validity of the instructional set manipulation also may be safely assumed given the effectiveness of this instructional set manipulation (see Results, *Preliminary Analyses*).

Additionally, reliability of scores on the Interpersonal Behavior Survey with the current sample has been established (see Method, *Measures*). Validity of scores on the Interpersonal Behavior Survey with the current sample, however, may be in question. At least when responding to statements about themselves, participants may have been unduly influenced by social desirability. That is, participants may not have been willing to report the extent of their own experiences with having betrayed their romantic partners out of a desire not to appear unfavorably. It is also possible that female participants, in particular, were influenced by stereotype bias. That is, perhaps females were less likely to accurately report their experiences with having betrayed their romantic partners as a result of the predominating stereotype that males do the most cheating.

Furthermore, cognitive deficits may be responsible for errancy in responding to statements about themselves. It is quite possible that, due to lapsed time and memory, participants had difficulty recalling events that happened within the past year. However, given that betrayal could very well be classified as a "rare and important" behavior and hence "well-represented in memory," it is unlikely that participants would be unable to recall instances in which they betrayed a romantic partner within the past year (see Schwarz, 1999). As well, it is unlikely that participants' responses were errantly influenced by response alternatives given that a closed response format was utilized in reports about self (i.e, "yes" versus "no" response format). Thus, there was no comparison information to be extracted by participants as there would have been had participants responded on a frequency scale (Schwartz).

Naturally, the inherent design of the current study (i.e., self-report survey research) is vulnerable to particular criticisms and limitations. In the current study, actual, observable behavior is not being measured. Rather, self-reported behavior is the unit of analysis. It is quite possible in the current study, given negative associations with betrayal, that other factors were influencing participants' responses. Again, social desirability is a prime example for which future researchers may wish to control.

Furthermore, individual differences in individuals' reliance on cognitive heuristics are also relevant in the current study. Some individuals may be less likely than other individuals to rely on stereotypes. The factor need for cognition has been defined as an individual's "tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful thinking" (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982, p. 116). Perhaps then individuals with a high need for cognition would be less likely than individuals with a low need for cognition to engage in stereotypical responding and less likely to be influenced by the manipulation of instructional set in the current study. Need for cognition, then, is another potential factor for which future researchers may wish to control.

Another relevant issue involves sample. In the current study, non-married, noncohabiting individuals comprised the sample. May the results from this study, then, be generalized to married and cohabiting individuals? Perhaps yes. For all intents and purposes, the dating process is a natural first step in the progression toward marriage. Given that most individuals probably dated their spouses before they married them, it is presumable that many of the same dynamics that exist in dating relationships also exist in marital relationships. On the other hand, marriage does bring with it a whole new set of dynamics not encompassed in the dating process. Perhaps future researchers may wish to replicate the current findings using a married/cohabiting sample.

Acquiescence and nay saying are other potential problems in the current study. Only negative behaviors (i.e., behaviors involving cheating on one's romantic partner) are referenced in the Interpersonal Behavior Survey. Consequently, participants may have been in the habit of responding either "yes" or "no" to all of the items.

Also, the fact that the personality variable self-monitoring is a non-manipulated variable is of issue in the current study. Because true randomization is not possible with non-manipulated variables, the internal validity of this study is threatened to some degree. Such issues, however, go hand in hand with personality research and are therefore accepted as inherent flaws in these types of research designs.

So, has another dimension to the personality variable self-monitoring been identified in this study? Perhaps yes. We now know that not only do high self-monitors adopt less committed attitudes and behaviors than low self-monitors toward their dating relationships, but high self-monitors are also more likely to betray their dating partners than are low self-monitors. Has another factor accounting for differences in the extent to which people are likely to betray their romantic partners been identified in this study? Again, perhaps yes. We now know that personality differences, in particular differences in self-monitoring orientation, can be used to predict which types of people are most likely to engage in romantic betrayal.

What implications do these findings have for close relationships? We know that different people orient differently to their close relationships, and people's differing orientations to their close relationships affect the course of their relationships. Some people view their close relationships as a means to an end (e.g., high self-monitors) and engage in close relationships with image-enhancing individuals. High self-monitors are also then more likely (than low self-monitors) to switch dating partners when someone better comes along which oftentimes can lead to betrayal of the original dating partner. Consequently, high self-monitors tend to have shorter lasting, less intimate, less committed relationships with their romantic partners (compared to low self-monitors). On the other hand, some people view their close relationships as an end in itself (e.g., low self-monitors) and engage in close relationships with individuals with whom they are personally compatible. Low self-monitors are more likely (than high self-monitors) to invest and commit to their romantic partners and are less likely (than high self-monitors) to change dating partners when someone new comes along. Consequently, low selfmonitors tend to enjoy longer lasting, more intimate, more committed relationships with their romantic partners (compared to high self-monitors).

We also see in the current study that how people orient to their close relationships also affects how they perceive others. It seems that we may project onto others our own experiences at least when it comes to romantic betrayal. Given that we are the centers of our worlds and we are our most accessible bases for comparison, it is not surprising that we tend to think of ourselves as the norm. Has the pervasiveness of and the automaticity with which people rely on sex-role stereotypes been confirmed in this study? To a degree, yes. We know that, overall, people are likely to rely on sex-role stereotypes when reporting on others. In the current study, when people were given no information about the extent to which men and women engage in romantic betrayal (i.e., implicit condition), their reports lined up with current sex-role stereotypes regarding betrayal (i.e., that males are more likely than females to betray). We also know that our perceptions of reality (i.e., perceived norms) are very influential in how we think. Have ways in which sex-role stereotypes may be overcome been identified in this study? Again, perhaps yes. We know that altering peoples' perceptions of the norm, at least the norm regarding romantic betrayal, to reflect counterstereotypic information can drastically alter how people think and what people report to be reality. Consequently, sex-role stereotypes about others can be attenuated.

Finally, it is important to note in this study the prevalence of both person (e.g., self-monitoring) and situation (e.g., perceived norms, sex-role stcreotypes) factors as influential in romantic betrayals. Neither factor on its own can account for reports of romantic betrayal by one's self or perceptions of betrayal by others in its entirety. Rather, both factors together can be used to explain differences in one's likelihood to engage in romantic betrayal as well as differences in our perceptions of others' likelihoods of engaging in romantic betrayal.

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Honors/Affiliations

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Publications/Presentations

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