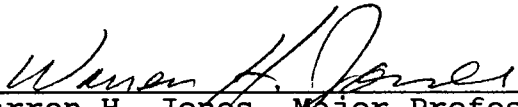
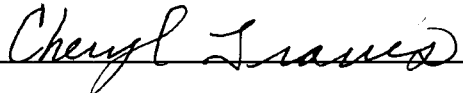


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Danny Steven Moore entitled "Interpersonal Betrayal: Self-Serving Biases, Cynicism, and the Mediating Effects of Apology." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Psychology.


Warren H. Jones, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:




Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

INTERPERSONAL BETRAYAL: SELF-SERVING BIASES,
CYNICISM, AND THE MEDIATING
EFFECTS OF APOLOGY

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Danny Steven Moore
May 1997

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my former professor
and undergraduate mentor, my friend

Gary B. Nallan

who created a vision of achievement in me that did
not exist prior to my having known him.

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ABSTRACT

A questionnaire was constructed to explore interpersonal betrayal in an account-making format. The questionnaire, including biographic questions, questions regarding important incidents of betrayal, and the Interpersonal Betrayal Scale was administered to five-hundred and fifteen college students. Responses were markedly self-serving in nature, and somewhat more so, for women in the sample. It is suggested that the biases apparent in negative attributions grow out of a larger context of cynicism, and that this context may be more important to women. The aftermath of betrayals was also examined in detail. Findings indicated that most betrayals resulted in relatively negative consequences, but that apology may mediate some outcomes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The research reported in this document had two primary goals. It was a replication of previous research by Jones and Burdette (1994). In those studies, an open-ended questionnaire format was utilized, previously described by Baumeister, Stillwell and Wotman (1990), as an autobiographical narrative. The questionnaire developed by Jones and Burdette (1994) was used to conceptualize interpersonal betrayal, to explore the biographical, psychological, and relationship characteristics of the phenomenon, and to an extent, examine the change in relationships after an incident of betrayal. The second goal of this research was to extend the work of Jones and Burdette (1994) further into the domain of the outcomes of interpersonal betrayal. This specifically involved an examination of apology, forgiveness, retaliation for betrayals, the recapitulation of incidents, the causal attributions made for betrayals, the quality of relationships after incidents have occurred, and the lasting effects of the incident on the betrayed. Other biographic, relationship, and incident specific variables, relative to these factors were included in this investigation.

Defining Interpersonal Betrayal

Interpersonal betrayal can be defined as any serious violation of expectations, or a violation of trust in a personal relationship. Parents, grandparents, friends, lovers, supervisors, teachers, and even casual acquaintances can be perceived as having betrayed in some situations and not in others. Acts that can be seen as a betrayal encompass a broad range of behaviors, such as lying, cheating on a test, betraying a confidence, having an affair, or failing to meet responsibility to friends, family, powerful others, or to a religious figure. The absence of certain behaviors, such as the withholding of affection, snubbing a friend, or taking leave of a relationship can be experienced as a betrayal as well. Betrayal has been shown to be a construct of graded structure: Incidents can be categorized as betrayals to varying degrees of certainty, and the certainty associated with an incident is directly tied to the perceived seriousness, or the perceived threat to the relationship (Couch, 1996). Interpersonal betrayal is typified in a broad range of transgressions, in varying levels of seriousness, but is distinct from simple rejection (Jones & Burdette, 1994). Rejection, although often considered a betrayal, occurs relatively early in a relationship, while a betrayal can happen at any time, often threatening years of emotional investment, and violating the trust and expectations that build over time.

What immediately follows is a review of the broad questions and findings that demonstrate the value of interpersonal relations and social interaction in our day to day lives. Given the importance of relationships and social interaction, work concerning the double edged sword, or the risks involved in forming close relationships will be examined. Studies specific to interpersonal betrayal will be reviewed in relation to the importance of relationships and the risk involved in closeness. Finally, the previous research on which this study was based will be discussed in detail.

Literature Review

The study of close and intimate relationships has grown in recent years, and has covered a variety of important topics. For example, relationships have been viewed in terms of sequential development (Altman & Taylor, 1973), in terms of the role that expectations play in our attraction to others (Snyder, Tanke, & Berschied, 1977), and in terms of the continuity of attachment styles from childhood through adult romantic relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Simpson, 1990). In the same period of time, there has developed a considerable interest in the value of intimate relationships. Our interactions with others are greatly implicated in our psychological well being, as well as our physical health.

Certainly our relationships have a great impact on our level of coping with the stress encountered in our daily lives (Cutrona, 1982; Cutrona & Russell, 1987), and on our general mental health and levels of psychological distress (Dean & Lin, 1977; Lepore, Evans, & Schneider, 1991; Schaefer, Coyne, & Lazarus, 1981). In a discussion of The Social Provisions Scale, Cutrona and Russell (1987) describe the benefits derived from social support systems for college students, new mothers, public school teachers, and for the elderly. Those who face life events involving great change, or those that put considerable effort into their goals without proper recognition, are reassured by their social support system. This, say Cutrona and Russell, aids in the adjustment to such life stressors. Like any other goal, the attainment of satisfying relationships, is valued, and closely related to self-worth.

Apparently, relationships have been of great value in the development of the human species. Some have suggested (e.g., Alexander, 1979) that not only are our relationships important, but that they may have been responsible for our evolutionary divergence from other species of primates. Alexander explains our very survival as a distinctive species, in terms of our nepotistic, and reciprocal relationships, with relatives and proximal individuals.

Ironically, the very relationships that have such great value in our self-worth, our mental health, and our coping

with life stressors, are doubled edged swords. From the time that we begin developing our attachments to others, through young adulthood and into old-age, we experience distress when our expectations about our relationships to others are not met. For example, when a trust is broken, we often lose faith in the people close to us. Faith is an important aspect of trusting (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985), and is tied to beliefs about our partners likelihood to love us, and to care for us in the future. Rempel's research showed faith as the strongest correlate of love and happiness.

Trust and suspicion have also been implicated in psychological stress, especially for women. Heretick (1981), found strong correlations between the two constructs for women, even though mean trust and suspicion scores, and mean psychological distress scores were not significantly different for males and females.

Although conflict in relationships, can be the impetus for positive change in some cases, more often, it sets into motion negative processes. Braiker and Kelley (1979) describe the negative possibilities of conflict: New information is not always accepted by the other partner; events in the past are often interpreted with widely differing views which become new fuel for the conflict; the dropping of self-presentation in open conflict often results in true feelings being released, and often hurtful issues are swept into the conflict that have no bearing on the

conflict in itself. The result can be great psychological distress for all involved, and can often lead to a reassessment of comparison levels and ultimately dissolution (Levinger, 1979).

Relationship disengagement is particularly distressing when the level of intimacy is high in the relationship. Disengagers are more depressed, and more angry in cases of high intimacy (Banks, Altendorf, Greene, & Cody, 1987). Thus, the more invested we are in a relationship, the more potential there is for emotional pain upon dissolution.

Negative social interactions have also been found to be more potent in psychological well being than positive social interactions. Rook (1984) examined the mostly ignored negative impact of social ties, along with positive social support in a group of elderly women, and suggested that dealing with problem relationships are more important to adjustment than finding new ones.

College students who have seen their parents divorce have a more pessimistic view of their future relationships than those who have not (Franklin, Janoff-Bulman, & Roberts, 1990). This is especially true when there was high conflict in their parents' marriage. Franklin's sample also reported less generalized trust of people and the world, less optimism in dating, and less optimism toward marriage. Likewise, the breakups of dating relationships have a significant impact on young adults, especially males.

College aged men seem to be more disaffected by the break-ups of dating relationships than do their female contemporaries (Hill, Rubin, & Peplau, 1976).

Lying can be a source of great harm as well. College students lie about sexual activities in predictable ways (Knox, Schacht, Holt, & Turner, 1993). Students in this study reported lying about their partner's performance often, with women particularly prone to lie about having had orgasm, or about their partners having been "good". The most frequent lie, however, also has the most potential for harm: lying about the number of previous partners (reporting less experience than was the case). Some students reasoned that they were concerned about a potential partner being afraid that they might be exposed to a sexually transmitted disease. Obviously, this type of betrayal can have a very harmful outcome.

Research on Lying, Deception, and Adultery

Studies of betrayal often concern more specific acts, such as lying, deception, the detection of deception, and adultery. Why should we study deception in intimate relationships? Graham and LaFollette (1989) have suggested an answer. Deception can be not only a source of uncertainty, but also an assault on trust, and therefore, an assault on intimacy. Trust seems to be the component of intimate relationships that separates them from other interpersonal encounters. This helps explain why our

relationships are so important to us. Intimacy, and the trust that allows intimacy provides an environment for sharing our thoughts and feelings, and may provide us with a context that allows self-reflection; a way to discover the truth about ourselves.

Children lie, and begin doing so at a very early age, often for many of the same motives as adults. Frank (1992) has identified many motives for children's lies: Avoiding punishment; to get something the child wouldn't otherwise get; to protect friends; to protect self or others from harm; to win admiration; to avoid creating an awkward situation; to avoid embarrassment; to maintain privacy; and to attempt to gain power over authority. These defenses are apparently a daily part of our early lives, and the "child" continues managing situations with lies throughout life in a systematic way. This of course would include our adult relationships. The question seems not to be whether a child develops an ability to lie, but when the natural ability to lie manifests. Frank stresses that we begin to lie as soon as we are cognitively capable of it, and progress through levels of deceptive ability.

Bok (1978) approaches lying from a relatively philosophical viewpoint, suggesting that the truth may not be attainable, or in some cases, not even desirable. The author makes some interesting points about systematic white lies in our culture, using the example of professional

recommendations. Often in these cases, the failure to use white lies would result in exclusion of the candidate. Regarding student letters of reference, if all recommendations are exaggerated where 60% of students are classified as belonging to the top 10%, a completely honest professor of a very good student might report that the student is among the top 50% in ability. The student would be interpreted as being very near the bottom. United States Army officers are rated as "outstanding", "superior", "excellent", "effective", and "inadequate". It is common knowledge that ratees who are merely superior or excellent are at a huge disadvantage, and can even be subject to discharge! This suggests Bok, is "the cumulative cost of white lies" (pp. 68-69).

One study was conducted as a step toward the empirical understanding of deception (Kirkendol & DePaulo, 1986). Previously completed research by the authors had dealt with the more mundane lies that people use on a daily basis. The subsequent research was designed to examine lies of a more serious nature. As opposed to their earlier work in which participants kept daily diaries and recorded their incidents of deception, this study involved open-ended questions with no time constraints for accounts of lying, as well as questions answered on a nine point scale for seriousness of lie. Respondents were asked to describe the most serious lie they had ever told, and the most serious lie that had ever

been told to them. Two questionnaires concerning the particulars of the deception were also administered. Both liars and targets believed it was important to conceal the lie, and felt the liars believed they could conceal it. Most respondents thought little about the lie currently, but claimed a clear recall of the deception. Liars deceived males and females equally as often, but targets reported 65% of lies told to them were told by a female. Forty percent of targets were lied to by romantic partners as opposed to 19% of respondents having lied to their partners. As is the case in most studies of deception, the primary reason identified for lying was to maintain peace, or to avoid conflict. Not only were liars extremely likely to deceive parental figures (54.4%), but also targets were very likely to report the most serious lie told to them having been at the hands of their parents (30.9%). It is no wonder then that lying is so pervasive among best friends and other friends in our day to day lives, considering we grow up to a great degree systematically lying to parents, and routinely being targets of parental lies.

Lippard (1988) viewed deceit and lies as indispensable and unavoidable in our relationships, serving to maintain emotional balance in the deceiver's life. Lippard went on to base her investigation on the belief that deception is a normal behavior rather than a deviant or immoral one, and a frequently occurring reaction to situations. She proposed in

regard to reasons for deception, that people are motivated and purposeful in their lying. Together, the influence of relational variables such as power and intimacy, and the influence of situations, seemed to increase the likelihood of deception. The author contended that these situational junctures illicit white lies and other rather benign deceptions. The study identified five primary social exigencies in which deception is often employed. First, parental deception, intended to avoid lecture or criticism, accounted for the largest number of deceptive acts (8.5%). The second largest category (5.9%), involved excuses made to powerful others, avoiding personal responsibility for failure to meet obligations. The third and sixth largest categories were combined (9.3%) to describe situations of saving face; deception involving a casual or close friend, to avoid embarrassment or humiliation. The fourth exigency, a combination of the fourth and eighth situations (8.1%), encouraged subjects to deceive in order to protect the feelings of a close or casual friend. Finally, a fifth exigency was identified concerning the subjects refusal of a request, the feigning of willingness, to avoid conflict (7.5%).

One group has produced a meta-analysis of research on the detections of deception (Zuckerman, DePaulo, & Rosenthal, 1981). Zuckerman et.al. characterize deception as an intentional act designed to make another person believe

something that the deceiver knows is untrue, and list behaviors associated with deception in terms of the visual and auditory channel. Detection is more likely in cases where the guilty party evinces change in their gaze, their smile, or shows postural shifts. For the auditory channel, response latency, speech rate, pitch, and speech hesitations are important clues. Contrary to what one might think, Zuckerman et.al. say that auditory cues are as important if not more important than facial cues. It is very difficult to control all of the possible cues in an attempt to deceive, therefore we may give more attention to our facial expressions and drop our guard in less apparent verbal behavior.

Planalp and Honeycutt (1985) have researched the events that increase uncertainty in personal relationships and the effects of uncertainty. Of great import are events that concern competing relationships, loss of contact (unexpected movement), sexual behavior (previous incidents), deception (lying about where, what, who etc.), changes in personality (double standards, racism etc.), and betrayals of confidence. These events have great power to effect beliefs about fairness and supportiveness, emotions and feelings of control, and communications, often resulting in high levels of information seeking. The negative feelings and information seeking often end in the dissolution of the relationship.

There has been an increasing interest in adultery in our culture since the proliferation of divorce in the 1960's. Adultery is certainly seen as a betrayal in most people's view, however, Myers (1975) feels that it is a natural act that should not be discouraged. In fact, the author sees infidelity as something of a fundamental human right; that dating within a marriage is a source of excitement and pleasure that can only help the primary relationship if both partners agree to the arrangement. There have been more serious empirical inquiries into the topic however.

National surveys of the United States, which contained information on adultery, were examined by Lampe (1987). Lampe reported that 70% percent of adults feel that adultery is always wrong, while another 15% say it is almost always wrong. This would leave only 15% of people who think it is sometimes appropriate, or that there is nothing wrong with adulterous love at all. According to statistics compiled by Lampe, it is obvious that people often do not do what they say they believe. Twenty-eight percent of men had reported having extramarital sex and 24% of women. When questions concern a love affair without regard to sex, men said they had engaged in that behavior in 29% of the cases, while women a startling 41%. To summarize Lampe's findings with some general statements: Adultery is found throughout all societies, countries, geographic areas, classes, religions,

and ages; males are more likely than females to be adulterous, but the difference is declining; the incidence is higher for those who have had premarital sex; the incidence for females increases in their 30's and 40's; most adulterous relations are short lived and covert; there is usually a negative effect on marriages, even though most adulterers want to preserve their marriage; and when divorce results, the adulterer rarely marries the lover. When they do, they typically divorce.

Annette Lawson (1988) believes that romantic marriage is a myth, and that adultery is not as simple as the respective frequency of the behavior for women and men: Infidelity depends more on the historical context of the marriage. There certainly is an apparent temporal shift, in that the number of married years prior to an affair has changed. Lawson reports that for all marriages the average for women is 8.9 years, and 8.2 years for men. For those married before 1960 the mean is 14.6 for women and 11.3 for men. If couples were married between 1960 and 1969, the average number of years married before an affair was 8.2 and 7.9 years, respectively for women and men. A change was apparent for those who had married after 1970: Both men and women were having affairs much earlier, at an average duration of marriage of 4.75 years. Importantly, women for the first time were waiting shorter durations than were men before having a first affair; 4.2 versus 5.3 years. Lawson

also reported that people's first affair is related to when they will have them, and how many they will have. Those who have only one, wait longer; those who have many are likely to have had the first affair within five years; those couples who would separate had a first liaison earlier than those who would stay together. Ironically, the average length of marriage, suggests Lawson, is digressing to the point of first liaison, perhaps explaining a decrease in the frequency of adulterous marriages.

Expanding Betrayal Related Constructs

In 1984, Hopper and Bell, as their title, "Broadening the Deception Construct" suggests, saw a need for the expansion of research related to deception. They believed that too much attention had been given to examining lies and the detection of deception, when in fact, not all deceptions involve lying. Therefore researchers had missed many important factors. Hopper and Bell had college students sort words concerning deception into groups of similar words, and found three primary dimensions: Evaluation (right versus wrong), detectability, and premeditation. More importantly the ratings yielded a typology of six forms of deception: Fictions (e.g., exaggerations), playings (jokes or teasing), lies (untruths), crimes (e.g., conspiracy), masks (e.g., hypocrisy), and unlies (misrepresentation). This typology illustrates the problems with a narrow focus, of assuming that deception only involves lying.

One researcher has taken yet a different approach to the study of deception. Metts (1989) believes that research in the area of deception has largely detailed the ethical issues of the construct, and suggests that movement in the field is toward a more functional approach. In her research, college students were given questionnaires with items that attempted to assess closeness, commitment of respondent, commitment of partner, and satisfaction. Subjects were asked to complete two open-ended questions. The questions asked for a description regarding a situation in which they were not truthful with a very important person, and for the reasons for their deceptions. Some highlights of the study's results show a complex conceptualization of deception. Regarding antecedent conditions and lie type, a non-significant 53% of deception was unprompted, compared to 47% prompted. Sixty-four percent involved factual information, versus 32% and 21% for omission and distortion respectively. Relationship status revealed two significant findings: That married respondents reported falsification less often, and reported omission more often than friends, dating, and engaged couples. Many reasons were given for deceptive communications. Friends were more likely to give teller-focused responses to protect resources and avoid abusive reactions. Dating respondents were significantly less likely to give teller-focused reasons. The reasons they gave were concerned with avoiding relational trauma. Married subjects

were equally deceiving by reason focus, but were much more likely to save face for their partner.

The Broader Construct of Betrayal

Like Hopper and Bell (1984), and Metts (1989), Jones and Burdette (1994) have broadened the conceptualization of betrayal. While recognizing the importance of studying lies, deception, detection of deception, and adultery, they have also included any act that is considered to be a betrayal by a respondent. Their research examined the behaviors that constitute betrayal, the situations that encourage it, the types of relationships in which people betray, and the changes to a relationship brought about by an act of betrayal. Betrayal was viewed from two perspectives: from the standpoint of the victim of betrayal; and from the perspective of being the instigator. Respondents were asked to respond in an open-ended, respondent-generated account format.

Also of interest to Jones and Burdette, was betrayal as a variable of individual difference. To examine this aspect of betrayal, the Interpersonal Betrayal Scale (IBS: Jones 1988) was developed, and was designed to measure one's tendency to betray, or the likelihood to be betrayed by others. The IBS was used to assess those tendencies in terms of biographical, psychological, and relationship variables. Biographic variables included occupation, religious background, age, marital status, and race etc. Psychological

variables included guilt, resistance to authority, personality disorders, and dimensions of normal personality.

The following is a partial summary of the findings of Jones and Burdette (1994). Most respondents in their samples had betrayed (e.g., lied, had an affair, ignored, or criticized etc.), or reported having been betrayed similarly by others. Also found, were sex differences in the perception of betrayal (e.g., women tended to see criticism as betrayal and men did not). Most of the reported incidents of betrayal concerned the most important relationships in the respondent's lives. Spouses, same sex friends, and boyfriends/girlfriends were often cited, with some betrayals reported of and by co-workers, parents, children, and siblings etc. Regarding reasons given for betrayals, those who described their betrayals of someone else, reported internal, intentional, but unstable motives. For those who described someone else's betrayal of them, internal, intentional, and stable attributions were made. In general, respondents tended to view betrayals at the hands of others more negatively than their own acts of betrayal.

Interesting differences were found in the tendency to betray scores via the IBS. The young, the less educated, divorced individuals, caucasians, and the non-religious tended to betray more according to Jones and Burdette. Social occupations seem to invite betrayals as well. School personnel, psychotherapists, sales-persons, attorneys, and

students in social sciences, education, and the humanities were more likely to betray. Other occupations had lower rates of betrayal. Computer operators, carpenters, nurses, and students in the physical sciences, engineering, and technical professions were less likely to betray. Students from foreign countries, studying in the United States, had lower IBS scores than their American counterparts.

In terms of psychological characteristics, people who scored high on the IBS, were more likely to describe themselves as sullen, vengeful, jealous, and suspicious. High IBS scores were associated with elevated scores for the histrionic personality type, and for relationship dependency. The IBS scores were inversely related to the normal personality dimensions of responsibility, well-being, tolerance, and self-control.

Regarding relationship characteristics in adult populations, IBS scores were inversely related to satisfaction with respondents' families of origin. For male respondents, IBS scores were inversely related to marital commitment. High scores on the IBS, for married betrayers, were associated with, affairs, lying, impatience, and sexual dissatisfaction.

Finally, of great importance to this study, outcomes were examined. Respondents were asked to describe how the relationship had changed as a result of the betrayal. The descriptions were classified into three categories: 1)

"worse", in which the relationship was terminated, or continued with less satisfaction and with more uncertainty being apparent; 2) "same", in which case, there had been no change at all, or the harm was temporary; and 3) "better", where the relationship had in some way improved as a result of the betrayal. In situations in which the respondent had betrayed someone, approximately 50% of the men, and 40% of the women reported the relationship had become worse as a result. However, in the case of having been betrayed, 93% or more of the respondents reported the relationship changing for the worse.

Betrayals therefore have great potential for harming relationships. Given this potential for harm, it is important to better understand the changes that come about after an incident of betrayal, and to assess the role of mitigating factors. Therefore, more research is needed to extend the knowledge gained by Jones and Burdette regarding the outcomes of interpersonal betrayal. This study was designed to address that need.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 515 college students registered in introductory psychology classes. The sample was comprised of 172 males, 336 females and 7 participants who did not indicate their gender. The mean age of participants was 20.11 years. This sample included 451 caucasian, and 36 African American participants. Twenty-five respondents were from other ethnic groups, and 3 did not respond to the item regarding ethnicity.

Procedure

The open-ended, account-making format utilized in this study allows ecological validity, and non-passive responses regarding real experiences. This method reflects intimate knowledge by those who have had the actual experience of having been betrayed, or having betrayed another. The method was chosen in part because it is economically feasible in terms of time and expense. Also, given the unpredictability of betrayal incidents, and the ethical considerations of direct observation or manipulation, this method may be the only way to study the phenomenon. Likewise, events that constitute betrayals are not typically recorded in archival fashion.

It is for all these reasons that self-report methods

were chosen for this research. Although these methods have been criticized for their reliance on imperfect memory, their introspective nature, and for their being subject to social desirability bias, they are the best choice for the questions posed by this study. This study utilizes an eclectic approach with data gathered in questionnaire format, in open-ended questions allowing opportunities for account-making, and utilizes an established psychometric instrument, the Interpersonal Betrayal Scale.

Participants in this study were asked first to respond to biographic questions, then to the accounts of betrayal questionnaire, and finally to the Interpersonal Betrayal Scale (IBS).

Measures

Biographic Information

Participants were first asked for their age, gender, height, weight, and ethnicity. Respondents were asked about the highest level of education they had completed, and for their grade point average. Next, they were asked questions about their current relationship status: If they were involved with someone; how serious the relationship was; the gender of their partner; and how long they had been in the relationship. Relationship background was queried by asking how many times they had been married, if they had children, if they had ever experienced a painful breakup, and if so,

had they remained friends, and who had initiated the breakup. They were asked how many times they had entered a relationship feeling as though they might hurt the other person, or feeling as though they might be hurt themselves, or if as a child they had gone through a period of hating the opposite sex. Respondents were asked to rate their relationship with their mother and father on a 5-point scale from very poor to very good, and how many times a year they attended a church or synagogue (see Appendix A).

Accounts of Betrayal Questionnaire

The questionnaire covered a wide variety of topics from two perspectives: 1) the incident in the lives of respondents in which they felt most betrayed; and 2) an incident in their lives in which they had betrayed someone else (see Appendix B).

Participants were asked in both perspectives for the particulars of the incident: The gender of the person involved in the betrayal, the type of incident, their relationship to the person, how long the relationship had existed before the incident, and how long ago the incident had occurred. Incidents of betrayal were coded for the type of betrayal in twenty-four categories. The relationship to the other person involved in the betrayal was coded in nine categories. Respondents were also asked to give reasons for their and other's betrayals, if their victims had become aware of their betrayal, how they or their victims became

aware, and if they or their betrayer had ever betrayed in that way before. Reasons given for betrayals were coded in twelve categories. Ways in which the betrayed became aware of betrayals were coded in six categories.

Participants were asked to make causal attributions about the incident in which they had betrayed and been betrayed: To what extent the betrayal was caused by them, the situation, the other person involved, or a new situation in their lives. They were also asked to what extent the betrayal was intentional, or an act of revenge. All attributional responses were coded on a 7-point Likert type scale (see Appendix B).

Outcomes of betrayals were of particular interest for this study. Respondents were asked how the relationship had changed as a result of the incident, if an apology had been offered, if they had forgiven or been forgiven, if they or their victims had retaliated for betrayals, if the betrayed had brought the incident up again, and how frequently it was mentioned (recapitulation). Responses for how the relationship had changed were coded into four categories: 1) Broke-up, no relationship, non-speaking, hatred; 2) No change; 3) Temporarily difficult, but better now; and 4) Trying harder, closer or stronger relationship. Frequency of recapitulation was coded in four categories. Participants were asked to rate the quality of the relationship after the incident on a 7-point Likert type scale (see Appendix B).

Respondents were also asked if the incident had a lasting effect on them, or on who they had betrayed. Lasting effects were coded in six categories.

The Interpersonal Betrayal Scale

The Interpersonal Betrayal Scale (IBS: Jones, 1988) is a behavioral self-report instrument designed to measure the likelihood that the respondent will betray one's relational partner. It was developed by examining open-ended accounts of betrayal for common themes which are not specific to a particular type of betrayal. The themes were condensed into brief statements of incidents of betrayals for which participants could respond according to how often they had engaged in the behaviors. Examples include "pretended you liked someone you detest", "gossiped about a friend behind his/her back", and "lied to a friend". Respondents provided a number for each item on a scale from 1 to 5. The scale points were anchored with 1="I have never done this", through 5="I have done this many times" (See Appendix C). The IBS is divided into two perspectives. Fifteen items describe incidents from the perspective of betrayers, and are summed for a likelihood to betray score. Fifteen comparable items refer to the same type of incidents from the perspective of the betrayed, and are summed for a likelihood to be betrayed score. The range of possible scores is therefore, 15 through 75.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Inter-rater Agreement

Questionnaire items were examined for inter-rater agreement. All assessments were performed for both the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed. Cohen's kappa was calculated for a subset of 25 questionnaires. Kappas were computed for items regarding reason for betrayal, type of betrayal, how the betrayed became aware of the betrayal, how the relationships changed, how the betrayed retaliated (if they retaliated at all), how frequently it was mentioned (for those who recapitulated at all), and for lasting effects on the relationships. Comparisons were made for three raters in all possible pairs, and a mean kappa was generated for each item from both perspectives. Fliess' overall Kappa statistic was also employed to insure sufficient agreement. For both agreement procedures, all but one item reached a high level of agreement (see Table 1). The item "How the Betrayed Retaliated" showed a marginal level of agreement, but the marginality was only apparent from the perspective of the betrayer.

Analysis of the Accounts of Betrayal Questionnaire

The analyses for the accounts of betrayal questionnaire were organized into three components: The aspects of the incidents of betrayal; the attributions made by respondents

TABLE 1
*Inter-rater Agreement for Individual Items
 By Betrayal Perspective.
 Mean Kappas for All Pairs/Overall Kappas*

	Betrayer		Betrayed	
	Kappas	All Pairs Overall	All Pairs Overall	Overall
Reason for Betrayal		.838	.798	.634
Type of Betrayal		.885	.885	.872
How Betrayed Became Aware		.929	.928	.964
How Relationship Changed		.882	.882	.820
How Betrayed Retaliated		.555	.454	.887
How Frequently Mentioned		.927	.928	.863
Lasting Effect		1.000	1.000	.725
				.723

regarding the causes of incidents; and the reported outcomes of incidents. Five analyses were performed for each questionnaire item that involved frequency data. One examined differences between the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed. A second and third analysis examined differences between the two perspectives within each gender. A fourth and fifth analysis examined gender differences within each perspective. Table 2 shows chi-square values for all of the analyses of frequency data. The same theme of analysis was used for the attributional questions and for the IBS. Differences between the two perspectives, between genders, and interactions between perspectives and gender were examined using a multiple analysis of variance procedure. Where appropriate, t-tests were calculated between perspectives and between genders. Correlations within and across perspectives were calculated for attributional, and biographic questions. It is helpful to keep in mind that the same respondent gave an account for both perspectives: one for an incident in which they betrayed someone else (betrayer), and one in which they described an incident where they were betrayed by another person (betrayed).

Incidents of Betrayal

Many of the results of this study are considered clear replications of previous research by Jones (1988), Hansson, Jones & Fletcher, (1990), and Jones & Burdette, (1994).

TABLE 2
Chi-square/Cramer's Phi Values for Accounts of Betrayal Questionnaire.

Questionnaire Item	Analyses				By Gender Betrayed
	By Perspective Overall	By Perspective Men	By Perspective Women	By Gender Betrayed	
Type of Betrayal	525.37	386.97* /.32	471.68** /.25	26.68	19.98
Relationship Type	251.67*** /.28	320.11*** /.55	89.22*** /.20	13.29	4.50
Reason for Betrayal	132.40	127.33	113.94	17.88	17.34
How Became Aware	29.23	13.67	34.01	3.59	2.12
Betrayal Before	3.36	.63	3.85	2.58	5.77
Relationship Change	20.02* /.15	18.32* /.25	12.30	4.99	6.70
Apology	.03	.34	1.27	.33	5.79* /.11
Forgiveness	1.51	1.01	3.03	4.25	.21
Retaliation	3.92* /.10	.26	5.55* /.15	3.16	.57

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Questionnaire Item	Analyses				
	By Perspective Overall	By Perspective Men	By Perspective Women	By Gender Betrayal	By Gender Betrayed
Recapitulation	11.92*** /.13	1.55	9.43** /.20	.00	10.93*** /.15
Freq./Recapitulation	26.79** /.16	19.32* /.24	19.33* /.17	1.63	16.84*** /.19
Lasting Effects	42.28** /.16	18.02	33.74* /.18	3.48	17.41** /.20
* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001					

Replicated results, and results peripheral to the discussion are included in detail in Appendix D (Results of Secondary Analyses). To summarize those findings, most respondents reported betraying, and being betrayed by a romantic partner of the other gender, most often taking the form of cheating.

Only findings that show differing results, extend previous findings, or that are central to the discussion are provided here.

Length of Relationship Before the Betrayal

The length of time that the relationship had existed before the betrayal was significantly correlated between the perspective of the betrayer and the perspective of the betrayed, $r(430) = .14$, $p < .01$. A T-Test for the average length of relationship (measured in months) showed no reliable difference between the perspective of the betrayer versus the perspective of the betrayed. However, gender differences were apparent within each perspective. For respondents who reported betrayals of others, the mean length of relationships before the incident was 38.63 months for men, and 53.84 months for women, $t(331) = -2.16$, $p < .05$. Regarding incidents in which respondents felt most betrayed, men reported relationships having existed an average of 31.35 months, and women an average of 44.05 months, $t(377) = -2.43$, $p < .05$.

Length of Time Since the Incident

The length of time that had passed since the incident

of betrayal was also highly correlated between the perspective of the betrayer and the perspective of the betrayed, $r(461) = .42$, $p < .001$. A T-Test between perspectives of the betrayer and the betrayed for time passed (measured in months) was not significant. For betrayers, length of time the relationship had existed before the incident, and the length of time since the incident was highly correlated, $r(453) = .1319$, $p < .01$. Likewise for those who reported the incident in which they felt most betrayed, there was strong relationship between time the relationship had existed before the betrayal, and the time that had passed since the betrayal $r(471) = .21$, $p < .001$. T-Tests for gender differences within each perspective were not significant.

Reasons for Betrayal

Chi-square analyses for the perspective of betrayer by perspective of betrayed, by gender within both perspectives, and by perspective within each gender did not reach significance. Percentages for the reasons given for betrayals, from both the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed, and by gender are shown in Table 3. Thirty percent of respondents did not know why their betrayers betrayed them. Interestingly, 19% of respondents did not give clear reasons for their own betrayals of others, or reported that they did not know why they had betrayed. Otherwise, the most frequent reason given for respondents' betrayals of others

TABLE 3
*Percentages for Reasons for Reported Betrayals
By Perspective and Gender.*

Reasons for Betrayal	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Temptation/Excitement	27	21	23	10	15	13
Self-Protection.....	12	16	15	15	17	17
Direct Retaliation...	4	3	3	3	1	2
Indirect Retaliation	8	7	7	10	10	10
Conflict Avoidance...	7	10	9	5	9	8
Affiliation.....	2	9	7	7	4	5
Protection of Other..	5	6	5	2	3	2
Manipulation.....	3	5	5	7	8	7
Avoiding Obligation..	7	4	5	1	5	3
Joke.....	3	1	1	1	1	1
Resources.....	0	0	0	2	2	2
Other/Don't Know.....	22	18	19	36	27	30

Note: Percentages are rounded and calculated by column.

was temptation or excitement. Self-protection was the most frequently reported reason given for betrayals by others.

Becoming Aware of Incidents of Betrayal

Chi-square analyses for the perspective of betrayer by perspective of betrayed, by gender within both perspectives, and by perspective within each gender did not reach significance. Percentages for the ways in which victims were betrayed, from both perspectives and by gender are shown in Table 4. There was a tendency for respondents to report having told their victims about their own betrayals more frequently than having been told about incidents by those who had betrayed them. This tendency was greater for women than for men from the perspective of the betrayer. Female betrayers told their victims about the incident in 43% of cases, versus 21% of cases in which they reported their perpetrators telling them about incidents. Male betrayers told their victims about the incident in 36% of cases, versus 24% of cases in which they reported their perpetrators telling them about incidents. Conversely, respondents more frequently reported a person other than their betrayer telling them about transgressions than they did for their betrayals of others.

Causal Attributions

A multivariate analysis of variance was performed, with perspective and gender as independent variables, for all six attributional questions. Two other logical comparisons were

TABLE 4
Percentages for Ways That Victims Became Aware of Reported Betrayals
By Perspective and Gender.

Way They Became Aware	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Betrayer Told.....	36	43	41	24	21	22
Another Told.....	35	27	29	41	41	41
Deduced-Figured Out...	14	15	15	12	14	13
Witnessed.....	10	10	10	17	15	15
Discovered-Found Out	5	3	4	7	9	8
Other.....	1	1	1	0	0	0

Note: Percentages are rounded and calculated by column.

made across attributional questions. Betrayers' attributions regarding their betrayal being their fault (item # 7, from the perspective of the betrayer), were compared to their attributions for others' betrayals being the other's fault (item # 9, from the perspective of the betrayed). This comparison was designated the fault of the betrayer. Also, betrayers' attributions regarding their betrayal being the fault of their victim (item # 9, from the perspective of the betrayer), were compared to their attributions for others' betrayals being their own fault (item # 7, from the perspective of the betrayed). This comparison was designated fault of the betrayed. For an examination of the comparisons that follow below see Appendix B, which contains all items for the accounts of betrayal questionnaire.

Faulting Self

A comparison was made between betrayers attributing fault to themselves for their transgressions, and attributing fault to themselves for betrayals by others. Table 5 shows the means and standard deviations of attribution ratings for men, women, and overall. A main effect was found for perspective, $F(1,468) = 1386.10$, $p < .001$. Respondents faulted themselves for their betrayals more than they faulted themselves for others' betrayals. A main effect was found for gender, $F(1,468) = 6.15$, $p < .001$. Men faulted themselves more than women for their betrayals of others, and also faulted themselves for others'

TABLE 5
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Faulting Self.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was caused by respondent.....	5.72	1.65	5.53	1.66	5.59	1.66
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was caused by respondent.....	2.03	1.31	1.71	1.22	1.82	1.26

betrayals, more than women. There was no significant interaction of perspective and gender.

Caused by the Situation

A multivariate analysis of variance showed a significant main effect for perspective $F(1,468) = 23.72$, $p < .001$. Respondents rated the incident as being caused significantly more by the situation in their own betrayals of others, than when others had betrayed them (see Table 6). There was no significant main effect for gender, and no significant interaction between perspective and gender.

Faulting Other

A comparison was made between betrayers attributing fault to their victims, and attributing fault to their betrayers. Table 7 shows the means and standard deviations of attribution ratings for men, women, and overall. A main effect was found for perspective, $F(1,468) = 973.21$, $p < .001$. Respondents faulted those who betrayed them more readily than they faulted their victims for their own betrayals. A main effect was found for gender, $F(1,468) = 6.84$, $p < .001$. Women faulted their victims more than men faulted their victims, and also faulted their betrayers more than men. There was no significant interaction.

Caused by Something New in Betrayer's Life

Also of interest was whether or not respondents would see unexpected turns of events as causing the incident. Respondents were asked to what extent their betrayal of

TABLE 6
*Means of Attributional Comparisons-Caused by Situation.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender*

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was caused by situation.....	4.83	1.78	5.03	1.84	4.96	1.82
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was caused by situation.....	4.35	1.78	4.29	1.94	4.31	1.89

TABLE 7
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Faulting Other.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was caused by the other person....	2.42	1.84	2.84	1.98	2.70	1.95
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was caused by other person.....	5.94	1.21	6.13	1.31	6.07	1.28

others, and others' betrayals of them, were caused by something new in the life of the perpetrator. There was no main effect for gender, but a strong main effect for perspective $F(1,455) = 13.56, p < .001$. The interaction was not significant. As can be seen in Table 8, both men and women were equally self-serving, attributing their own betrayals to something new more readily than in the betrayals of others.

Intentional Betrayal

Similar results were found in attributions for intentionality of betrayals (see Table 9). A main effect for perspective $F(1,466) = 21.10, p < .001$, showed that victims of betrayals believed that the incident was intentional to a significantly greater degree than did perpetrators. There was no main effect for gender differences, and no reliable interaction.

Betrayals as Revenge

A multivariate analysis of variance for perspective and gender was performed for the attribution of betrayals being an act of revenge. Table 10 shows means and standard deviations for both perspectives, by male and female, however, no main effects or interaction was found.

Fault of the Betrayer

A comparison was made between betrayers attributing the cause of the incident to themselves, and victims attributing the cause of the incident to their betrayer. Table 11 shows

TABLE 8
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Caused by Something New.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was caused by something new in respondent's life.....	4.39	2.18	4.43	2.32	4.41	2.27
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was caused by something new in the other's life.....	3.83	2.01	3.90	2.28	3.88	2.19

TABLE 9
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Intentional Betrayal.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was intentional.....	3.86	2.41	3.59	2.33	3.68	2.35
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was intentional	4.30	2.07	4.44	2.16	4.39	2.13

TABLE 10
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Betrayal for Revenge.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was for revenge.....	2.11	1.95	2.10	1.95	2.10	1.95
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was for revenge	2.38	1.93	2.15	1.89	2.22	1.90

TABLE 11
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Fault of Betrayer.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was caused by respondent.....	5.72	1.65	5.53	1.66	5.59	1.66
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was caused by other person.....	5.94	1.21	6.13	1.31	6.07	1.28

the means and standard deviations of attribution ratings for overall, male, and female responses. A main effect was found for perspective $F(1,466) = 19.40, p < .001$. The overall average for the extent that the respondent was at fault for their own betrayals of others was significantly lower than the attributions of fault when others had betrayed the respondent. No main effect was found for gender. As can be seen in Figure 1, there was an interaction for gender and perspective $F(1,466) = 4.03, p < .05$. The discrepancy between attributing fault to those who betrayed the respondent, and accepting fault for betraying others was greater for women than for men.

Fault of the Betrayed

Betrayers attributed their own betrayals more to the person they betrayed than other's betrayals of them to themselves. Table 12 shows a main effect for perspective $F(1,467) = 47.69, p < .001$. There was no main effect for gender. The interaction of perspective and gender was significant $F(1,467) = 10.98, p = .001$. Women, to a greater degree than men, attributed their betrayals of others as being caused by the person they betrayed, and attributed others' betrayals less to themselves (see Figure 2).

Relationships Between Attributional Variables

A full correlation matrix was generated for the attributional variables (see Table 13). For betrayers, a strong negative relationship was found between respondents

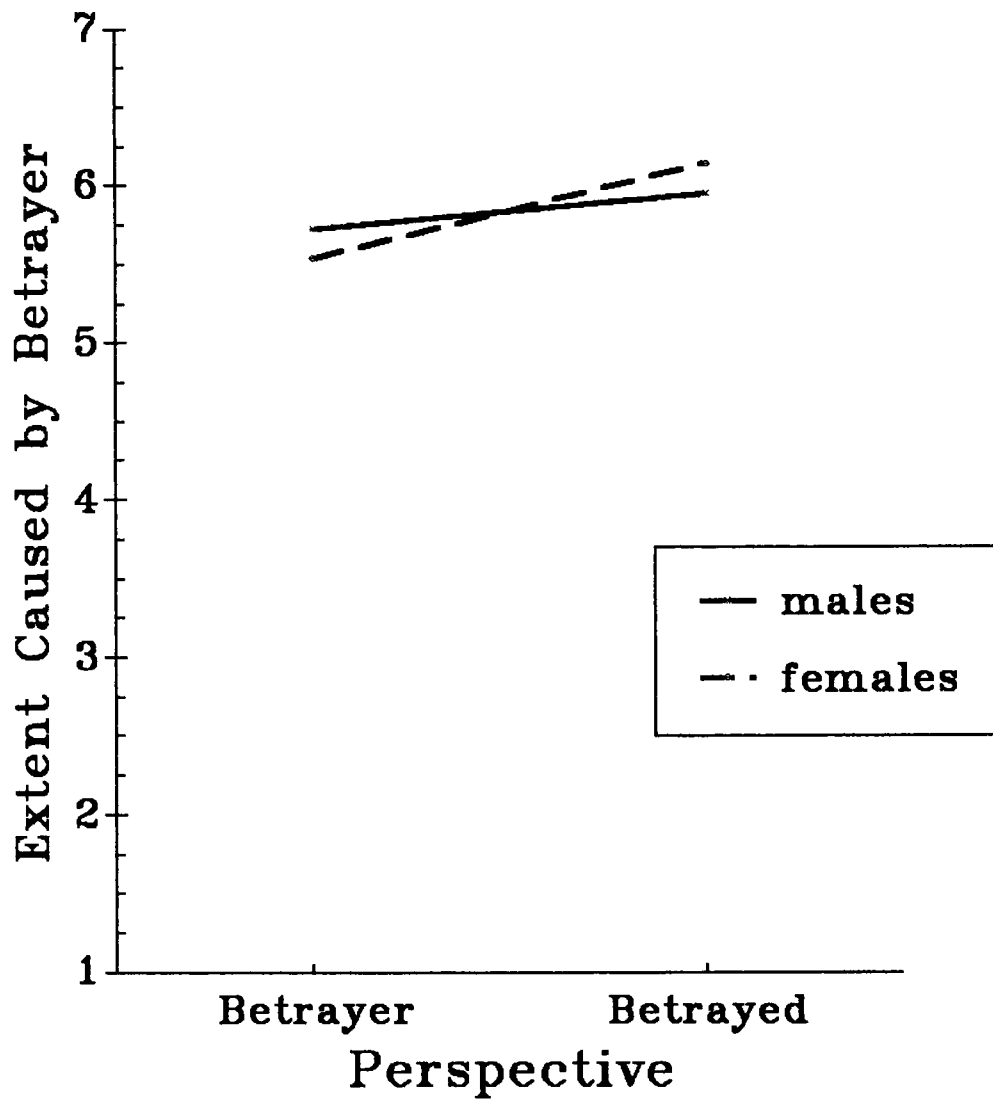


Figure 1: Interaction of Perspective and Gender-Fault of Betrayal.

TABLE 12
Means of Attributional Comparisons-Fault of the Betrayed.
Overall, By Perspective, and By Gender

Attributional Comparison	Men		Women		Overall	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extent that respondent's betrayal of others was caused by the other person....	2.42	1.84	2.84	1.98	2.69	1.95
Extent that other's betrayals of respondent was caused by respondent.....	2.02	1.31	1.71	1.22	1.81	1.25

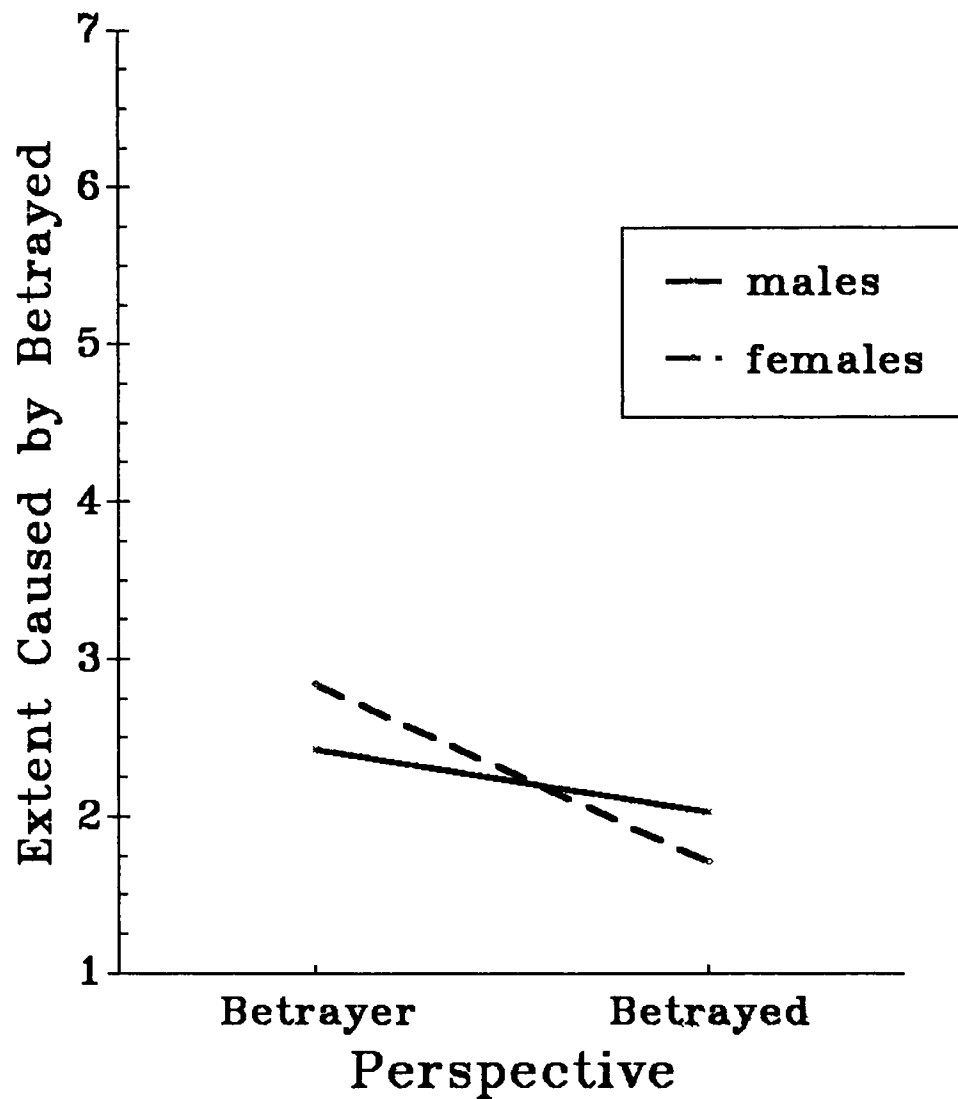


Figure 2: Interaction of Perspective and Gender-Fault of Betrayed.

TABLE 13
Correlations for Causal Attributions:
Perspective of Betrayer and the Betrayed.

Caused by:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Betrayers											
1. Respondent											
2. Situation	-.11*										
3. Victim	-.32**	.15**									
4. Something New	.06	.20**	.06								
5. Intention	.13**	-.06	.15**	.08							
6. Revenge	-.11*	-.04	.28**	.01	.39**						
Betrayed											
7. Respondent	.03	-.12*	.05	.01	-.03	-.03					
8. Situation	-.02	.08	-.01	.07	-.02	.00	.12**				
9. Betrayer	.16**	.13**	.10*	.01	.06	-.01	-.24**	-.18**			
10. Something New	-.03	.00	.04	.12**	.07	.10*	.11*	.12**	-.06		
11. Intention	.09*	.04	.10*	.05	.21**	.04	-.03	-.11*	.32**	-.04	
12. Revenge	.02	-.01	.02	.04	-.03	.00	.22**	.05	.06	-.06	.29**

Note: For betrayers "something new" refers to something in their life, for victims, "something new" refers to something in their betrayer's life.

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

believing that the incident was caused by themselves, and being caused by their victims. A particularly strong relationship was found for betrayers betraying out of revenge, and their believing that it was the fault of their victims, or intentional on their part. Attributions for betrayers believing the situation was the cause, were highly correlated with both the victim being the cause, and with the betrayal being caused by something new in the life of the respondent.

For the betrayed, the belief that the incident was intentional, and the belief that it was caused by the betrayer were highly correlated; the belief that the betrayal was intentional, and the attribution that it was an act of revenge was highly related; and a strong negative relationship was found between the incident being the fault of the perpetrator, and the incident being the fault of the respondent.

Across perspectives, there was a strong relationship between respondents reporting themselves as the cause of their betrayals of others, and their betrayers as the cause of incidents in which they felt most betrayed. Respondents' attributions for their own betrayals of others being caused by the situation, were highly related to attributing other's betrayals of them, to being the fault of their betrayers. The strongest relationships across perspectives was between betrayers believing that their own betrayals of others were

intentional, and believing that others' betrayals of them were intentional.

Relationships of Biographic Variables to Attributional Variables

The attributional responses were correlated with selected biographic variables as well (see Table 14). For betrayers, age was highly related to attributing one's own betrayals of others to the victim, to intentionality, and to revenge. For the betrayed, age was only related to intention on the part of the perpetrator.

Academic success was negatively related to attributing other's betrayals of the respondent to themselves, or to revenge on the part of the betrayer.

Length of present relationship was negatively correlated with attributing one's own betrayals of others to something new in the respondent's life, and positively associated with respondent's betrayals of others being intentional. Length of present relationship was also negatively related to attributing others' betrayals of the respondent to their betrayers.

For betrayers, there was a strong positive correlation for the number of times married, and the betrayal being the fault of the betrayed, being intentional, and being an act of revenge. The betrayed showed a relationship between the number of times married, and intentionality in other's betrayals of them.

TABLE 14
Correlations for Causal Attributions
and Biographic Variables.

Caused by:	Age	Grade	Rel-leng	Marr	Chrch	Bet-leng	Vic-leng	Bet-long	Vic-long
Betrayers									
1. Respondent	-.09	.00	-.07	-.03	-.06	.05	.03	-.02	.00
2. Situation	-.06	.04	.01	-.02	-.09*	-.10*	-.08	-.06	-.01
3. Victim	.16**	.06	.03	.16**	.02	.04	-.02	.11*	.00
4. Something New	-.02	.00	-.15**	-.02	-.05	-.02	.02	.04	.03
5. Intention	.15**	-.03	.11**	.17**	-.03	.14**	.06	.14**	.06
6. Revenge	.16**	-.01	.08	.15**	.00	.10*	.01	.17**	.01
Betrayed									
7. Respondent	-.05	-.13**	-.01	-.09	-.01	-.05	.01	-.06	-.05
8. Situation	-.03	-.04	-.02	-.08	-.03	.03	.04	-.03	-.08
9. Betrayer	-.04	.07	-.11*	.02	-.04	.00	-.07	-.04	-.06
10. Something New	.00	.00	.03	-.03	.04	.05	.01	.04	.06
11. Intention	.12**	.03	.04	.11*	-.08	-.03	-.06	.06	.10*
12. Revenge	-.01	-.12**	-.04	-.01	-.07	.04	.08	-.08	-.07

Note(s): For betrayers "something new" refers to something in their life, for victims of betrayal, "something new" refers to something in their betrayer's life.

Grade= Current grade average, Rel-leng= How long presently in relationship, Marr= # of times married, Chrch= # of times attending church or Synagogue per year, Bet-leng= How long relationship had existed before the incident (betrayers), Vic-leng= How long the relationship had existed before the incident (betrayed), Bet-long= How long ago the incident occurred (betrayers), Vic-long= How long ago the incident occurred (betrayed).

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

Church or Synagogue attendance was negatively related to attributing respondents' own betrayals to the situation. The length of relationships before betrayals had occurred was strongly associated to intention on the part of respondents reporting their own betrayals of others, and related to their betraying others for revenge. A negative relationship was found for length of relationship before the betrayal and perpetrators attributing incidents to the situation.

For betrayers, length of time that had passed since the incident was highly correlated with intentional betrayal, and betrayal for revenge, and also associated with blaming their victims for the incident. The length of time since the incident had occurred was associated to attributing other's betrayals of the respondent as being intentional.

Outcomes of Incidents

Change in Relationship After Incidents

A chi-square analysis for the change experienced in relationships after incidents of betrayal, by perspective was significant. Sixty-three percent of all respondents who described an incident in which others betrayed them reported that the relationship had ended, or ended in hatred or non-speaking, as opposed to just over 37% for perpetrators. The differences were primarily in men. Two separate analyses, one for men, and one for women, examined the change reported

as a result of the incident, from the perspective of the betrayer versus the perspective of the betrayed. The analysis was not significant for women, but for men a pattern similar to the overall analysis was found. Nearly sixty percent (59.6%) of male victims reported the relationship ending, hatred, or non-speaking, and only 42.6% reported those outcomes in incidents where they were the perpetrator. Analyses for gender differences within each perspective were not significant.

Apologies for Incidents of Betrayal

Of the 353 subjects who responded to the question regarding apology, 265 (75.1%) reported apologizing to their victims after incidents of betrayal, and 226 (64%) reported receiving an apology from those who betrayed them. A series of chi-square analyses were performed for apology by perspective. Neither an overall analysis, or analyses within gender by perspective were significant. A separate chi-square analysis, within perspective and by gender was not significant for betrayers. An analysis for other's betrayals of the respondent was significant. Sixty eight percent of women who were betrayed by others, reported receiving an apology, while 57% of men reported an apology for other's betrayals.

Forgiveness for Incidents of Betrayal

A propensity for reported forgiveness similar to that of apology was observed in this sample. Over 71% of those

who answered the question, reported being forgiven for their betrayals, and 65.7% reported forgiving their betrayers. Chi-square analyses for forgiveness by perspective overall, or by perspective within each gender were not significant. Likewise, analyses of gender differences within each perspective did not reach significant levels.

Quality of Relationship After Incidents

A multivariate analysis of variance was performed to assess differences between perspectives and gender. There was no main effect for gender of the respondent, but a significant main effect was found for perspective $F(1,409) = 39.16, p < .001$. The mean for quality of relationship following the incident (4.44) was significantly higher for betrayers than for those reporting betrayals by others (3.40). A significant interaction was found for perspective and gender $F(1,409)=4.36, p = .037$. Both men and women reported a greater decline in the quality of the relationship as victims, than as perpetrators, but the decline was greater for women (see Figure 3).

Retaliation for Betrayals

From both the betrayer and the victim's perspective there was a strong tendency to avoid retaliation for betrayals. Betrayers reported retaliation by their victims in only 26.5% of cases. Respondents reporting others' betrayals of them, retaliated in only 22.9 percent of incidents. The overall chi-square analysis, by perspective

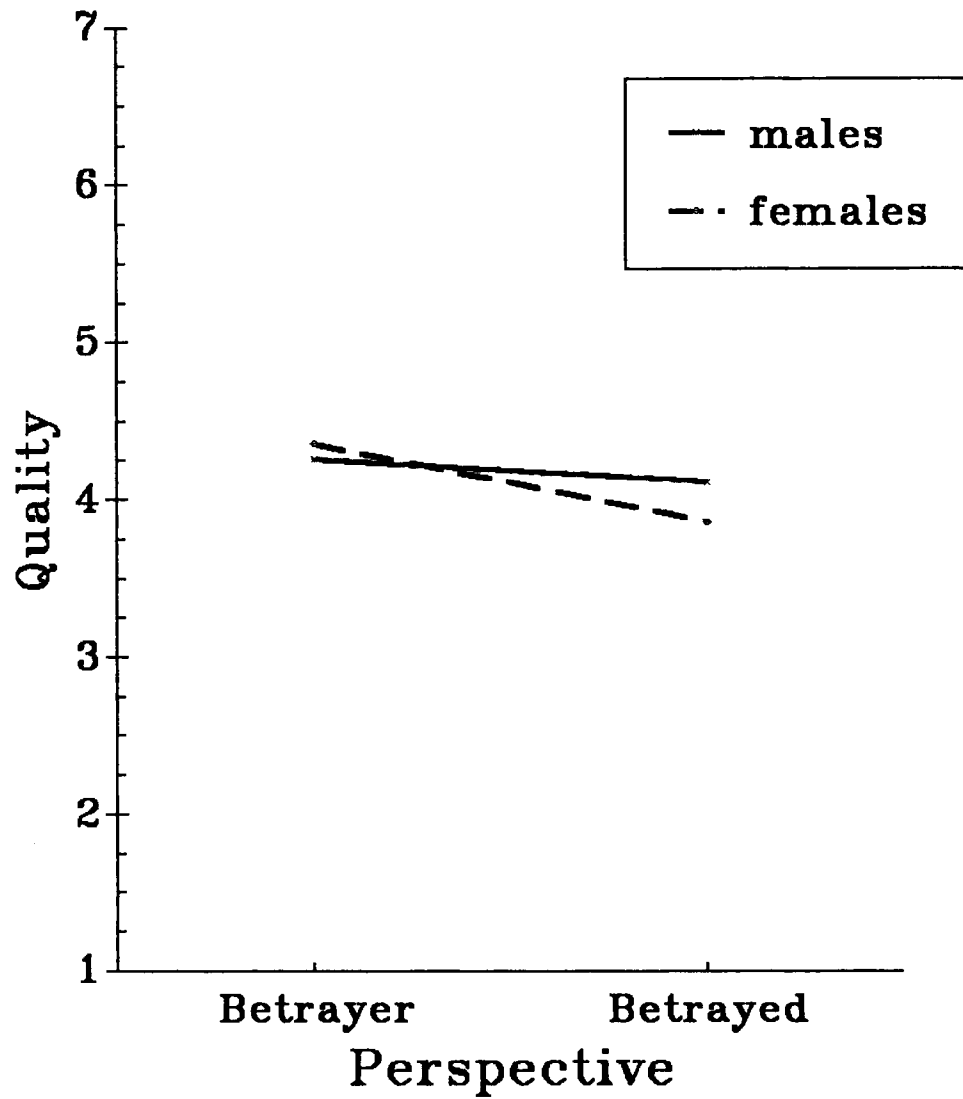


Figure 3: Interaction of Perspective and Gender-Quality of Relationship.

was significant. A separate chi-square analysis within gender and by perspective was not significant for men, but highly significant for women. Men reported roughly equivalent rates of retaliation by their victims, and rates of their retaliating when they were betrayed. Women reported higher rates of retaliation by their victims, than for their retaliations when they were betrayed. There were no reliable differences within each perspective by gender.

Recapitulation of Incidents

Overall, betrayers reported their victims having recapitulated the incident in 52% of cases, and from the perspective of the betrayed, 52.8% reported recapitulating the incident to the perpetrators. The overall analysis by perspective was significant. A separate chi-square analysis within gender and by perspective was not significant for men, but was significant for women. Women reported recapitulation in 53.1% of cases in which they betrayed someone, and recapitulated to their betrayers in 56.9% of cases. A chi-square analysis within perspective and by gender was not significant for the perspective of the betrayer, but was significant for the perspective of the betrayed. For men reporting having been betrayed, 43.6% recapitulated the incident. For women reporting having been betrayed, 59.4% reported recapitulation of the incident to their betrayers.

Frequency of Recapitulation

Table 15 shows the percentages for categories that describe the frequency with which the betrayed recapitulated to their perpetrators, and how frequent betrayers reported recapitulation from their victims. Chi-square analyses were significant for recapitulation by perspective overall. Most respondents reported that recapitulation occurred never or occasionally, but some level of recapitulation was apparent in over 55% of cases. Analyses were significant, within gender by perspective for men. Male betrayers were more likely to report never recapitulating to their betrayers, than they were to report recapitulation by their victims, and more likely to report recapitulation by their victims often, or very often, than to bring incidents up often to their perpetrators. An analysis within gender by perspective for women was also significant. Women were much more likely to report their victims recapitulating the incident to them, than they were to report recapitulating the incidents to their betrayers, and were more likely to recapitulate to their perpetrators occasionally or very often than to report that as a result of their betrayals of others. A within perspective by gender analysis was not significant for betrayers, but was significant for the betrayed. Men were much more likely to report never recapitulating to their betrayers, and women were much more likely than men to recapitulate occasionally, often, or very often.

TABLE 15
*Percentages for Frequency of Recapitulation
By Perspective and Gender.*

Recapitulation	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Never.....	47	46	46	51	37	42
Occasionally.....	40	43	42	40	49	46
Often.....	6	9	8	5	7	6
Very Often.....	6	3	4	5	7	6

Note: Percentages are rounded and calculated by column.

Lasting Effects of Incidents on Victims

An overall chi-square analysis was strongly significant for the two perspectives. For betrayers the most frequent response by far (68.8%) was one of not knowing if their betrayal had a lasting effect (see Table 16). This was not the case from the perspective of the victim. The most frequent lasting effect reported for the betrayed was that it had made them less trusting or more suspicious in relationships (49%). Interestingly, even those who reported incidents in which they were betrayed by someone else did not know if the incident had a lasting effect on them in 25.2% of cases. Within gender by perspective comparisons were not significant for men, but were significant for women. Women were much more likely to report suspicion and non-trust, less closeness, and bitterness as a result of others' betrayals, than in their betrayals of others. A within perspective by gender analysis was not significant within the perspective of the betrayer, but was significant for the victim's perspective. In that analysis, men and women were similarly likely to be more suspicious or non-trusting after incidents of betrayal, but a much higher percent of men reported not knowing if the incident had a lasting effect on them. Betrayed women were also more likely to report less closeness and bitterness than betrayed men.

TABLE 16
*Percentages for Lasting Effect on the Betrayed
By Perspective and Gender.*

Effect of Incident	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Suspicion/non-trust...	11	20	17	47	50	49
Less closeness.....	4	4	4	8	12	11
Less likely to betray	6	7	7	5	7	7
Bitterness.....	1	4	3	5	11	9
More likely to betray	0	1	1	0	0	0
Other/Don't know.....	78	65	69	35	21	25

Note: Percentages are rounded and calculated by column.

Mediating Effects of Apology on Outcomes

A series of chi-square analyses were performed to assess the likelihood of forgiveness, retaliation, and recapitulation of incidents, given an apology versus not given one. Also of interest was the effect of apologies on the quality of the relationships after incident of betrayal, and whether or not apology would mediate lasting effects.

Apology and Forgiveness

Table 17 shows the results of the analyses for forgiveness, retaliation, and recapitulation, from the perspective of the betrayer. Table 18 shows the same for the betrayed. Chi-square analyses for apology and forgiveness were significant for both betrayers, and victims of betrayal. Forgiveness was reported much more frequently when the perpetrator apologized. Chi-square analyses within gender were significant for male betrayers, and for males who were betrayed. For men, apology made a large difference in the frequency of forgiveness from both perspectives. Chi-square values were highly significant for female betrayers, and female victims. From both perspectives, apology made a large difference in the frequency of forgiveness.

Apology and Retaliation

The same series of chi-square analyses were performed for apology and retaliation. Neither an analysis for perspective overall, analyses within gender by perspective, or analyses within perspective by gender were significant.

TABLE 17
Mediating Effects of Apology from the Perspective of the Betrayer.
Percent Forgiveness/Retaliation/Recapitulation-Combined and By Gender

Variable	Apology (Combined)		Apology (Men)		Apology (Women)					
	Yes	No	Chi-sq. /Phi	Yes	No	Chi-sq. /Phi				
Forgiveness	Yes	80.6	41.3	46.90*** /.37	73.5	36.0	12.35** /.34	83.4	44.9	36.55*** /.40
	No	19.4	58.7		26.5	64.0		16.6	55.1	
Retaliation	Yes	29.2	22.9	.97	21.8	19.0	.07	32.7	25.6	.74
	No	70.8	77.1		78.2	81.0		67.3	74.4	
Recapitulation	Yes	61.7	32.9	20.89*** /.25	62.9	27.6	10.75** /.31	60.8	34.6	11.16*** /.22
	No	38.3	67.1		37.1	72.4		39.2	65.4	

Note: In regard to receiving forgiveness for the perspective of the betrayer, responses of "don't know" are included in the percentages for "no". This category was included in the chi-square analysis. Cramer's procedure was used to calculate Phi Values.

$$p_{.01} = p_{.001} = p_{.001} = p_{.001}$$

TABLE 18
Mediating Effects of Apology from the Perspective of the Betrayed.
Percent Forgiveness/Retaliation/Recapitulation-Combined and By Gender

Variable	Apology (Combined)		Chi-sq. /Phi	Apology (Men)		Chi-sq. /Phi	Apology (Women)		Chi-sq. /Phi
	Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No	
Forgiveness									
Yes	77.3	43.6	55.72*** /.34	79.1	51.4	13.74*** /.29	76.9	38.6	44.42*** /.37
No	22.7	56.4		20.9	48.6		23.1	61.4	
Retaliation									
Yes	26.4	23.4	.51	22.6	22.5	.00	27.1	23.3	.52
No	73.6	76.6		77.4	77.5		72.9	76.7	
Recapitulation									
Yes	63.1	37.4	29.95*** /.25	47.9	37.1	1.88	70.2	36.9	32.17*** /.32
No	36.9	62.6		52.1	62.9		29.8	63.1	

Note: Cramer's procedure was used to calculate Phi values.

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***
**  p < .001
**
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Apology and Recapitulation

In this sample, apologies were associated with greater recapitulation of incidents. For those who reported betrayals of others, overall results indicated that almost 62% of the respondents' victims brought the incident up again when an apology was given, and only 33% when no apology was offered. The chi-square analysis was highly significant. When separate analyses were performed by gender, both men and women most often reported recapitulation by their victims (see Table 17).

For the perspective of the betrayed, recapitulation of incidents to respondents' betrayers was very likely overall. The chi-square analysis was highly significant. Separate analysis by gender was not significant for men, but was highly significant for women. Apology made recapitulation much more frequent for women who were betrayed, while little difference was apparent for men (see Table 18).

Apology and Quality of Relationship

T-tests were performed to assess the mean quality of the relationship after incidents of betrayal given an apology or no apology. The analysis was first conducted for the perspective of the betrayer, and the betrayer's assessment of quality of the relationship having given their victims an apology or not. There was a significant difference in the mean quality of relationship having given an apology versus not having given an apology $t(340) = 6.28$,

$p < .001$. The mean rating of quality was 4.69 when the respondent gave an apology for what they had done, and 3.05 when the respondent did not. Similar results were apparent for the perspective of the betrayed. The average rating of quality when the respondent received an apology from their betrayer was 3.87, and 2.55 without an apology $t(340.83) = 6.85$, $p < .001$.

Apology and Lasting Effects

A series of chi-square analyses were used to assess any differences between those who received an apology and those who did not in terms of lasting effects. One set of analyses compared apology with lasting effects for the betrayer perspective. Another set compared apology with lasting effects for the betrayed perspective. For the perspective of the betrayer the overall chi-square was not significant, nor were separate analyses within gender.

A chi-square analysis for apology and lasting effects for the perspective of the betrayed was significant, $\chi^2(4, N=455) = 21.85$, $p < .001$, (Cramer's $\phi=.22$). For respondents who received no apology, 15.7% reported less closeness in relationships as opposed to only 4.8% who received an apology. A higher percentage of suspicion or mistrust (56.1%) was found for those who received an apology, than for those who did not (44%). A separate analysis within gender resulted in a non-significant chi-square for men, but a significant one for women, $\chi^2(4,$

$N=307$) = 17.24, $p < .01$, (Cramer's $\phi=.24$). For women, 19% who received no apology felt less closeness in relationships, while only 5.8% who received an apology felt less closeness. Fifty-eight percent of women who received an apology reported being more suspicious, and 43% who received no apology.

Analysis of the Interpersonal Betrayal Scale

The Interpersonal Betrayal Scale was analyzed using a series of multivariate analysis of variance procedures. As noted above, the IBS yields a score for the likelihood to betray (betrayers perspective), and a score for the likelihood of being betrayed (victim perspective). The first analysis investigated any differences between the IBS perspective scores, gender differences in IBS scores, and interactions of IBS perspective scores and gender. There was a significant main effect for IBS scores, $F(1,498) = 46.14$, $p < .001$. The mean likelihood to be betrayed (41.34), was significantly higher than the mean likelihood to betray (38.19). No significant main effect was found for gender. The interaction between gender and IBS perspective scores was significant, $F(1,498) = 4.12$, $p < .05$. Discrepancies between scores for the likelihood to be betrayed, and the likelihood to betray were greater for women (see Figure 4).

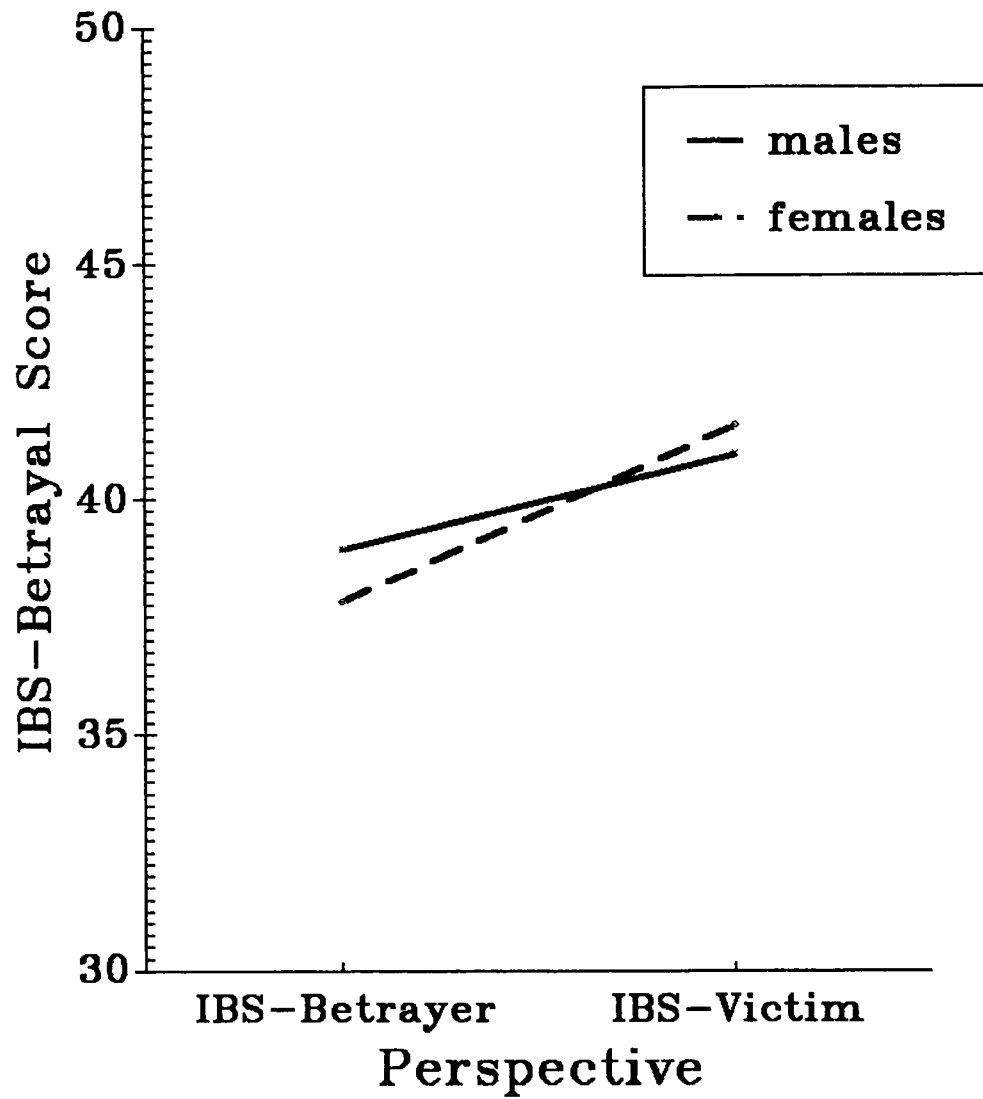


Figure 4: Interaction of IBS Scores and Gender.

Outcome Variables and the IBS

Multivariate analyses of variance using the two IBS scores (betrayer perspective, and victim perspective) as dependent variables, and apology, forgiveness, retaliation, and recapitulation as independent variables, were performed for both perspectives of the Accounts of Betrayal Questionnaire. No significant main effects or interactions were found.

Correlational Analysis of the IBS

Correlations between the attributional questions and the IBS produced the results in Table 19. As can be seen, the likelihood to betray, as measured by the IBS is related to betrayers attributing fault to themselves (respondent) for their betrayals of others, and to intentionally betraying their victims. Likewise the likelihood to be betrayed scores for the IBS were related to victims of betrayal attributing intentionality to their betrayers.

Biographic variables were also correlated with the IBS (see Table 20). Only the correlations between the IBS and respondents' relationship with their parents reached significant levels. Relationship with parents was coded in the 5-point category scale described above in the section headed "Biographic Variables", and reflects an ordinal degree of quality of the relationship. Category 5 indicates a "very good" relationship, and category 1 indicates a "very poor" relationship (see Appendix A). Table 20 shows a strong

TABLE 19
*Correlations for Causal Attributions and
Betrayal/Victim Items of the IBS.
Perspective of Betrayer and the Betrayed*

Caused by:	IBS-Betrayer	IBS-Betrayed
Betrayers		
1. Respondent	.11*	.04
2. Situation	-.05	.01
3. Victim	-.02	.05
4. Something New	.09	.09
5. Intention	.09*	.06
6. Revenge	.00	.03
Betrayed		
7. Respondent	.01	.05
8. Situation	.05	.03
9. Betrayer	.00	.09
10. Something New	-.09	-.04
11. Intention	.02	.11*
12. Revenge	.05	.06

Note: For betrayers "something new" refers to something in thier life, for victims, "something new" refers to something in thier betrayer's life.

* $p < .05$

TABLE 20
*Correlations for Biographic Variables and
 Betrayal/Victim Items of the IBS.
 Perspective of Betrayal and the Betrayed*

Biographic Variable	IBS-Betrayer	IBS-Betrayed
Age.....	-.05	.05
Grades.....	.00	-.01
Rel-length.....	-.07	-.04
Married.....	-.05	.05
Mother.....	-.18**	-.13**
Father.....	-.11*	-.11*
Church.....	-.01	-.02
Bet-length.....	-.06	-.01
Vic-length.....	-.05	-.03
Bet-long.....	.01	.04
Vic-long.....	.02	.01

Note: Grades= Current grade average, Rel-length= How long presently in relationship, Married= # of times married, Mother= quality of relationships with mother, Father= quality of relationship with father, Church= # of times attending church or Synagogue per year, Bet-length= How long relationship had existed before the incident (betrayers), Vic-length= How long the relationship had existed before the incident (betrayed), Bet-long= How long ago the incident occurred (betrayers), Vic-long= How long ago the incident occurred (betrayed).

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

negative relationship between the likelihood to betray score and the quality of the relationship with the respondent's mother. As the quality of the relationship increased or decreased ordinally, the likelihood to betray increased or decreased. This was also the case with the likelihood to be betrayed, although the correlation with the respondent's relationship with their mother was not as strong.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Accounts of Betrayal

Respondents in this sample most often reported having betrayed persons of the other gender. Likewise, respondents most often reported having been betrayed by the other gender. The most frequent type of incident reported as a betrayer was that of cheating, and lying was the second most reported incident. The betrayed also most often reported cheating, but the second most reported incident was the ending of a relationship. Men in this sample were more likely than women to become involved with a former partner or friend of their victims.

Separate comparisons of men and women, between the perspective of the betrayer and the perspective of the betrayed were also of interest. Both genders were more likely to report the ending of a relationship as a victim, than as the instigator. When cheating outright and cheating with a friend or family member were considered together, men were similarly likely to report cheating as the perpetrator and as the victim (34% versus 34%), but women were more likely to report cheating as a betrayer than as a victim (37% versus 30%). This is similar to the study by Jones and Burdette (1988), in which adult women were found to be more likely to report extramarital affairs or "two-timing" as their betrayals of others, than to report those incidents as

victims. These results also coincide with the findings of Jones (1988), in which college students most frequently reported "two-timing" of or by their partners as the most serious betrayal incidents in their lives.

The findings of this study, therefore, are consistent with previous research: Cheating in a romantic relationship was the most frequently reported incident of betrayal.

Relationship length prior to incidents of betrayal was not significantly different between betrayer and victim accounts, but gender differences were found within each of those perspectives. Regarding respondents' betrayals of others, women reported much more time passing before their betrayals than did men. Likewise, women reported relationships lasting much longer prior to being betrayed by others than did men. From both the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed, a strong positive correlation was found between the length of the relationship prior to the betrayal and the time passed since the incident, suggesting that higher levels of investment make negative incidents more enduring in the memories of respondents.

The most frequent reason given for betrayals regardless of perspective was temptation or excitement. Although the differences were marginal, there was a tendency for victims to attribute others' betrayals of the respondent to self-protection, and to report temptation and excitement as a reason for respondents' betrayals of others.

Marginal differences between perspectives were also apparent for how the victim became aware of betrayals. Respondents tended to say they had told their victims about their own betrayals, and most often reported having been told by a third person about others' betrayals of them.

Causal Attributions for Betrayals

A recurring bias was found for explaining others' betrayals of the respondent more negatively as compared to attributions for one's own betrayals of others. This was true for all attributional questions, with the exception of betrayal for revenge. No significant main effects for gender were found overall, but several interactions of gender and perspective were observed.

Respondents attributed less fault to themselves for their betrayals than to those who betrayed them, but this difference was stronger for women. Likewise, respondents' own betrayals of others were attributed to the situation at much higher rates than when they were betrayed by others. When asked to what extent the victims of betrayal were at fault for what happened, respondents attributed more fault to the victim of their betrayals than they did when they were victims themselves. An interaction effect showed that this discrepancy was also greater for women than for men. Both men and women attributed their betrayals of others to something new in their life more readily than they

attributed others' betrayals of them to something new. Similarly, both genders attributed the betrayal as being more intentional on the part of their betrayers, than they did when considering their betrayals of others. This was also highly consistent with Jones and Burdette (1988), who found that almost 98% of the men in their sample, and almost 99% of the women believed their perpetrators betrayed them intentionally. When considering their betrayals of others, 85.8% of men, and 74.2% of women said they intentionally betrayed their victims.

Within the perspective of the betrayer, a strong relationship was observed between respondents attributions for betrayals due to revenge, and attributing fault to their victims or intentional betrayal on their part. Betrayers' attributions for their transgressions being intentional were also related to faulting themselves for the incident. These two attributions were much more closely related within the perspective of the betrayed, that is, the relationship between the respondents' attribution for having been betrayed intentionally and the incident being the fault of their betrayer, was much stronger from that perspective. Intentionality of others' betrayal of the respondent was also highly related to respondents' attributions for the incident being an act of revenge. Across the two perspectives, a strong relationship was found between the respondents' betrayals being intentional, and intentional

betrayal on the part of the respondent's perpetrators. Attributing fault to the betrayer was related between the two perspectives.

In summary, there was a strong tendency in this sample to be self-serving in respondent's attributions. The tendency was particularly strong when comparing fault of the betrayer, and especially strong for women. The tendency was also very strong when comparing the fault of the betrayed, again especially for women.

Responses to attributional items were highly related to several biographic variables. Age of the respondent was highly related (positive) to blaming their victims, and to the extent of attributing their betrayals to intention and revenge. Respondents' age was also related to perceived intentionality on the part of their betrayers. The grade-point average of respondents was negatively related to faulting themselves for others' betrayals, and to others betraying them out of revenge. There was a strong negative relationship between the length of respondents' present relationship, and attributing their betrayals of others to something new in the respondents' life, but a positive relationship was found between length of present relationship and having betrayed others intentionally. The number of times married was highly related to attributing the respondents' acts of betrayal to the fault of their victims. Strong positive correlations were also found

between the length of time the relationship had existed before the incidents in which the respondent betrayed someone else, and the incident being intentional, while length of relationship prior to respondents' betrayals of others was negatively related to attributing the act to the situation. The length of time since respondents had betrayed someone was strongly associated with the attributing the act to revenge, to being intentional, and to the incident being the fault of their victims. Intentionality was related to the length of time since respondent had been betrayed by others.

To summarize, greater age of respondents was associated with blaming victims, intentionality, and revenge; the length of the present relationship, and the length of the relationship prior to betrayals was associated with intentionality; and the number of times married was associated with faulting victims.

Outcomes

Overall, most respondents reported a negative change in the relationship after incidents in which they were betrayed by others, reporting that the relationship had ended, or ended in non-speaking or hatred. Many fewer respondents reported negative changes as a result of their own betrayals. Separate analyses performed within gender, indicated this finding was reliable only for men. Similarly,

Jones and Burdette (1988) found that both genders more frequently reported the relationship being worse after being betrayed by others, than when they had betrayed others. However, in that sample the discrepancy was much greater for women.

Regardless of perspective, the majority of respondents reported giving and receiving apologies for betrayals. Differences were apparent between men and women only from the perspective of the betrayed, in which more women than men reported receiving an apology. Most respondents also reported having forgiven the person who betrayed them, and having gained forgiveness for their acts of betrayal.

The reported quality of the relationship following the incident was much higher for accounts made by betrayers than for accounts of having been betrayed. The difference associated with gender was not significant, but an interaction effect showed a greater discrepancy between the two perspectives for women, than for men.

Retaliation for betrayals was infrequent from both perspectives, however, significantly more betrayers than victims reported retaliation as a result of the incident. Separate analyses of men and women showed that this difference was reliable only for women in the sample.

The recapitulation of incidents of betrayal, by the victims of respondents' versus their own recapitulation of incidents in which they were betrayed was examined. No

reliable difference was found for male and females combined, however, there were differences when analyses were conducted within gender. Men showed no significant difference in the likelihood of their recapitulation of others' betrayals versus their victims recapitulating. However, women who reported being betrayed by others were more likely to recapitulate the incident than to have the incident recapitulated to them in the case of their own betrayals. In terms of how often respondents recapitulated incidents, betrayers were more likely to report their victims never bringing the incident up again, than to report their never bringing the incident up to their perpetrators, and more likely as victims to bring the incident up occasionally or very often than their victims were to bring the incident up occasionally or often. Gender differences were not significant for the perspective of betrayers, but from the perspective of the betrayed, women were more likely than men to recapitulate incidents occasionally, often, or very often.

Almost seventy percent of betrayers reported not knowing if the incident had a lasting effect on their victims. Remarkably, over twenty-five percent of the betrayed also reported not knowing if the incident had affected them. The remaining respondents in this sample showed differences between the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed. The betrayed were much more likely than

betrayers to report suspicion or non-trust, less closeness, or bitterness as a result of the incident, but a separate analysis by gender showed the difference was only reliable in women. Analyses within each perspective and by gender were not significant from the perspective of the betrayer. From the perspective of the betrayed, women were more likely than men to report bitterness as a lasting effect.

Apology was found to be a mediator of the outcomes of interpersonal betrayals, but in unexpected ways. Apology appeared to make forgiveness much more likely from both the perspective of the betrayed and the betrayer. This was true for both genders, but the difference was stronger for women. Apology made no significant difference in the likelihood that respondents would retaliate or be retaliated against for betrayals, for either men or women, or from either perspective. Retaliation when it occurs, is apparently independent of an apology. In a somewhat counterintuitive finding, apology made the recapitulation of incidents more likely overall. This was true from both the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed. There were gender differences in the way that apology mediated recapitulation, however. For both male and female betrayers, apology made recapitulation more likely, but for those reporting betrayals at the hands of others, women showed a high likelihood of recapitulation, while men showed no reliable difference. In regard to apology and the lasting effects of

incidents, another counterintuitive finding was apparent in the perspective of the betrayed. Victims who were given an apology were less likely than those who received no apology, to report a decline in closeness as a lasting effect, but were more likely to report more suspicion and mistrust.

The Interpersonal Betrayal Scale

The mean likelihood to be betrayed was significantly higher than the mean likelihood to betray in this sample. No main effect for gender was found, however, an interaction was found for IBS perspective and gender. The difference between the two perspectives was greater for women than for men. Jones and Burdette (1988) found that IBS scores were correlated with shame, guilt, suspiciousness, and a resistance to authority. Similarly, in this sample, the likelihood to betray scores of the IBS were related to betrayers' attributions for incidents being their own fault, to their intentionally betraying their victims, and negatively related to the quality of their relationship with their mothers. The likelihood to be betrayed score was related to intentional betrayal for respondents' perpetrators.

General Discussion

Three important themes regarding interpersonal betrayal have emerged from these data. First, self-serving biases may

not only reflect a natural tendency to protect one's self-esteem, but also may be partly driven by actual experience. The apparent greater tendency for these biases among women are difficult to explain, but may be partly due to a greater perceived investment. Second, cynicism toward relationships is also likely to be experientially driven, and may develop over time. Cynicism may be more apparent in women. Their descriptions of the negative effects of betrayals are compelling in that regard. Finally, apology may indeed mediate the outcomes of betrayals, but forgiveness may be more closely related to the self-serving bias, than to incidents of betrayal. Forgetting may be more difficult as cynicism develops, and could partly explain the greater rates of recapitulation among women.

Betrayal and the Self-serving Bias

Attribution theory contends that self-esteem and self-worth are closely related to the locus of causality. Weiner (1986) has suggested that humans "...seem to define themselves as 'commodities' having high or low 'value,' and this value is in part determined by causal perceptions" (pp. 128). Weiner goes on to point out the particular relevance these biases have in affiliative contexts. Biases in attributions may, therefore, be a natural expression of self-protection, and may preserve self-esteem by diffusing personal, internal responsibility.

Consistent with attribution theory, and previous

findings (Jones & Burdette, 1988; Hansson, Jones, & Fletcher, 1990), there was a strong tendency in this sample to use more negative attributions for the betrayals of others, and more blame avoidant attributions for respondents' own betrayals. This was apparent in their accounts of betrayal, in their causal attributions, and reflected in their IBS scores. Attributions in this study were highly biased in regard to faulting self, situational cause, faulting other, unexpected events, intentionality, faulting the betrayer, and faulting the betrayed. Betrayal for revenge was independent of perspective, likely because of the negativity associated with revenge. Admitting active revenge may be contrary to self-protection, and admitting that someone betrayed the respondent out of revenge, may be perceived as an admission of guilt for a previous offense.

The strength of the biased attributions in this study may be the result of not only a general tendency for self-protection, but also may be exacerbated by the effects of past experience. This may be especially likely given the type of painful betrayals that were most frequently reported. A violation of one's expectations for romantic relationships, especially in the form of cheating may not only make attributions more negative, but also may lead to the cynical attitudes described below.

It is beyond the scope of these data to give explicit explanations for the greater discrepancy between

perspectives for women in attributing fault to their perpetrators, and fault to their victims. There were few differences between the types and frequencies of betrayals for men and women. In one example, men reported becoming involved with an ex-partner or friend of their victims more often than women. In this case, a woman has not only been betrayed by a man, but may also perceive a betrayal at the hands of their same-sex friend, however, that behavior was reported infrequently compared to other incidents.

Women may make more negative attributions because they typically have greater perceived investment in relationships. Women in this sample invested more time than men before their own betrayals, and invested more time than men before being betrayed.

It is also possible that the greater discrepancy of attribution for women was due to different sample sizes for each gender. This sample was comprised of nearly twice as many women as men, and the interaction effects could diminish or disappear with balanced groups.

Cynicism Toward Interpersonal Betrayal

Webster's (1996) equates cynicism with distrust in the motives of others, with the belief that humans only act out of selfishness, and contempt for standards of honesty in one's own actions.

Many of the findings of this study taken together, suggest that incidents of betrayal have resulted in cynicism

on the part of respondents. Support for that proposition is found in that respondents systematically attributed more fault to their victims than to themselves, more intentionality to their betrayers than to themselves, and typically scored higher on the likelihood to be betrayed, than on the likelihood to betray scales of the IBS.

In incidents in which respondents were betrayed, the more respondents believed that the betrayal was intentional, the more they believed that it was an act of revenge on the part of their perpetrators. Betrayers then are often seen as purposefully evening the score. Likewise, there was a strong difference by perspective between attributing fault to the victims of respondents betrayals, and the respondent accepting blame for others' betrayals of them. Having been betrayed by others in previous situations may have made respondents unconsciously even the score with others.

Intentional betrayal on the part of respondents who betrayed was related to their seeing others' betrayals of them as being intentional as well. The more likely they were to see intention in their own actions, the more likely they were to see their betrayers as intentionally betraying them. This also suggests that respondents may tend to explain their behaviors in terms of having been intentionally betrayed in the past, or use that as a justification for their betrayals of others. So an important incident of intentional betrayal, at the hands of others, may lead to

cynical attitudes.

The cynicism attached to betrayals seemed to be especially prevalent in women. Women in this sample were more prone than men, to attribute fault to their betrayers, to attribute fault to the victims of their own betrayals, and to report suspicion and mistrust, less closeness, and bitterness as a lasting effect. Also in terms of lasting effects, apology seemed to make those who have been betrayed more likely to report mistrust as a lasting effect. This was only true for women in this sample however. For women, betrayals may be more likely to reduce their faith in relationships, possibly resulting in a more cynical attitude. As Rempel et.al. (1985) suggested, broken trust, faith, and ultimately love and happiness are inseparable. When one loses faith in their partner the future looks much more ambiguous, both in terms of the relationship in question, and in one's potential relationships.

As mentioned above, Planalp and Honeycutt (1985) found that increasing uncertainty in personal relationships affects us emotionally, particularly in our perceptions of fairness and the supportive nature of relationships, and in our feelings of personal control. These previous findings suggest that in incidents where faith is lost in partners, or when the future is less predictable, a cynical attitude may develop toward relationships.

What respondents said about the lasting effects that

incidents had on them, further supports the interpretation of cynicism as a result of betrayals. One young man who's girlfriend had left him for someone else said "...it has crushed my outlook on love." Another young man who had been excluded from family gatherings by his grandmother expressed "...anger that I hold inside and occasionally vent." Another, who's girlfriend had cheated on him, had once viewed her as perfect, but now realized she was "...just like everyone else." Lasting effects were often tied to a lack of trust subsequent to incidents. Several young male students reported that once trust was lost "it is gone forever," that incidents made them "aware of what goes on, and not to be so trusting," and how easily "you can be fooled."

Again the accounts of women seemed to evince a greater degree of cynicism, or at least, a richer description of incidents. One young woman whose boyfriend broke up with her because of the beliefs of his church, gave this response to the question regarding the lasting effect of the incident. "He was my first love. When we broke up I tried to commit suicide. After that I lost all faith and trust in love and people." Another experienced a break-up with her boyfriend, who offered no reason for the separation: "I have a hard time getting close to other males (boyfriends). I have not and do not intend to give my heart away too easily. I haven't been happy in other relationships because I

constantly compare them to this one." Yet another female victim of cheating reported the incident making it hard to trust anyone, and when a chance arose to do the same thing she "...took them up on the offer. It never would have happened before." Others were disappointed, or "hurt....that I can't trust people as much as I wish I could." Specific behavior changes were reported in some cases. One young women reported that "I didn't date for over a year and was very vulnerable for a time. I had a hard time trusting men." Another was tricked by her boyfriend, into a seeming kiss of reconciliation, when he was in fact still angry. She declared that: "...till this day I will not kiss my boyfriend who I am fighting with. I am not dating the same guy, but it still holds true with the guy I am dating." The incidents of betrayal reported by students in this sample are, at our request, the most figural ones in their lives. The results of this study suggest that young adults carry the baggage of cynicism with them to future relationships.

Importantly, there is some evidence that this cynicism may accumulate over time. Even though the subject pool was comprised mostly of college-aged students, with a mean age of just over 20 years, their accounts of betrayals concerned incidents that occurred an average of over two years prior. Therefore, even for young adults who have less experience in the world relative to older adults, incidents of betrayal endure in their memories for years. This in part may also be

due to the high frequency cheating at the hands of romantic partners. A betrayal of this type, at the hands of our intimate others is obviously a painful event, but also an assault on our coping mechanisms. This is consistent with the findings of Cutrona (1982), and Cutrona and Russell (1987) in which relationships were shown to mediate stress reactions. With coping mechanisms threatened, and given that betrayals are likely to elicit less trust and suspicion (Heretick, 1981), and depression and anger in situations of high intimacy (Banks et.al., 1987), these incidents will also likely be of significance throughout respondents' lives. The strong relationship found in this study between the length of relationships prior to betrayals, and the length of time since the incident would support that conclusion. Support can also be found in the research of Hansson et.al., (1990). In that study, elderly adults often reported the most important incidents of betrayal having occurred 20 to 40 years in the past.

Further support for the proposition that cynicism may develop over time is found in this study. The age of respondents was highly related to betrayers attributing fault to their victims, to their having intentionally betrayed, to the betrayal being an act of revenge, and to intentional betrayal at the hands of others. Having been previously married may also have made respondents more cynical. The number of times married was highly related to

betrayers attributing fault to their victims. Having experienced betrayals after relatively longer periods of association prior to incidents may not only make betrayals more salient (those that come to mind long after the fact), but also may contribute to a generally cynical attitude. For betrayers, strong relationships were found between the length of time the relationship had existed prior to incidents of betrayal and the respondent betraying intentionally, and negatively associated with attributing their acts to the situation.

It is also likely that more salient betrayals elicit more cynicism. The length of time that had passed since incidents of betrayal was related to betrayers attributing their acts to revenge, to intention, and to the fault of their victims, and in cases of having been betrayed, intention on the part of perpetrators.

The good news is that some biographic elements may mediate cynicism as a result of betrayals. For example, with increasing grade point averages, that is, with increasing competence and success in school, the levels for respondents attributing themselves to being at fault for others' betrayals, and betraying their victims as an act of revenge were reduced.

Apology as a Mediator of Outcomes

Of great interest in this study was the ability of apology to mediate the negative outcomes of interpersonal

betrayals. Apology would be especially important considering the cynicism that seems to develop out of incidents, and the lasting effects of betrayals. Again, this would be very important to women in light of this study. Recent research (Hodgins, Liebeskind, & Schwartz, 1996) suggests that face-saving is important for those who have harmed others, at least in accounts that are designed to be explanations for hypothetical transgressions. Face-saving, often in the form of apology, is both directed internally for the perpetrator, and also other-directed, relieving discomfort in face for the victim. For women more than men, according to Hodgins et.al., other directed face-saving may be utilized more for relationship maintenance. Women also were reported to be more likely to suffer blows to self-esteem, if they believed that forgiveness for their transgressions was not likely to be granted. This was especially so in the expectations for future relationships with friends as compared to acquaintances. In a similar way, direct apology may be an attempt to save face, and is likely tied to the salience of the incident, and to the relationship to the person involved. The findings of Hodgins et.al. would offer support for the proposition that betrayals are especially important in the lives of women.

This study shows that apology does have a positive effect on the reported quality of relationships after incidents of betrayal, and indeed seems to elicit

forgiveness especially for women who are betrayed. Incidents are forgiven but not necessarily forgotten; offering an apology may open the door for some negative consequences, being perceived perhaps as an admission of guilt. In fact, offering an apology seems to make the recapitulation of incidents more likely, again, more likely for women who were betrayed in this sample. Perhaps forgiveness, like some apologies, is something that we do for ourselves and not the person who has betrayed us, relieving some of the dissonance associated with carrying negative feelings with us, but the pain of betrayals and the cynicism attached to incidents may not allow us to forget and truly move beyond incidents. Forgiveness may be more related to internally directed face-saving, or to the self-serving bias, than to incidents of betrayals themselves.

If our acts of betrayal are important enough to precipitate a retaliation for our transgressions, apology would seem to have little effect. Even though very few respondents in this sample retaliated, or were retaliated against, it is likely something that the betrayed will participate in whether an apology is given or not.

Limitations of This Study

It could be argued that the results of this study are not relevant to larger populations. Granted, the sample taken for this study is limited in scope to the sub-group of college students, and to a limited age group. There could be

differences in the betrayals experienced by those that seek higher education as opposed to those that do not. Future research could sample cohorts from outside the academic setting as well as those within it. It is also arguable that the experience of betrayal in college students, being tied to inherently short-lived relationships that are few in number, may have no bearing on similar experiences in adults. However, it is clear that incidents of betrayal, particularly the most painful ones, often occur in young adulthood, and persist as important incidents for decades to come (Hansson et.al., 1990). Longitudinal studies designed to assess the continuity of betrayal effects would be of great import, and of great interest.

It is often argued that self-report instruments do not capture valid behavioral data, focusing only on the perceptions, or imperfect recollections of betrayals. While it would be of great interest to make random assignments to conditions, induce betrayals, and measure the outcomes directly, incidents would be difficult if not impossible to recreate in a laboratory, and highly unethical. The nature and origin of perceptions and recollections, regardless of their accuracy are the perceptions and recollections that color our behaviors and attitudes. Our individual perceptions are an accurate reflection of our feelings and attitudes regarding experiences of interpersonal betrayal.

Patterns of attribution, and effects of apology on

outcome variables are clearly demonstrable within this study, however, the existence of cynicism, particularly in regard to any cumulative cynicism, is based on primarily correlational and anecdotal data. The proposed effect should be looked upon with reservation. Future research is needed to specifically answer the question of the existence of cynicism as a result of betrayal incidents, its proposed cumulative effect, and its importance as both a dependent and independent variable.

Finally these data have shown that apology is an important factor in forgiveness, and that it has a counterintuitive effect on the recapitulation of incidents. Apology and forgiveness, as Hodgins et.al (1996) suggest, is tied to the type of relationship in question. This study has not specifically categorized situations by relationship type. Future research should address that question, and also address: The ways in which apologies are given (e.g., with sincerity, repeatedly, with admission of guilt etc.); the qualification of forgiveness (e.g., for reparation, for personal ethics, for resolution); and the nature of retaliation and recapitulation.

Conclusion

Self-serving biases have been shown to be very prevalent in accounts and attributions regarding interpersonal betrayal, but they may be a result of more

than just a fundamental human fault. The present findings suggest that they may also develop out of a context of cynical attitudes, attitudes that are experientially driven, and that accumulative over time. Apology is important in forgiveness, especially for women who are betrayed, but forgiveness is not equated with forgetting. Forgiveness may be more related to the self-serving bias than to the actual incidents themselves. There is doubtless a positive value placed on forgiveness, and to admit the inability to forgive may be akin to admitting to revenge or retaliation for betrayals. Women may have more reason to be cynical and make negative attributions, considering their apparent greater time investment prior to betrayals. They may also experience betrayals more intensely, given their greater decline in closeness, and reported higher levels of bitterness as lasting effects of betrayals. They may then feel more pressure and thereby be more likely to recapitulate incidents as a result.

Our relationships are arguably the most important aspect of our lives. If our intimate relationships are strong and fulfilling, troubles in our work, our health, and other endeavors, are more manageable. If our need for fulfilling relationships is suffering, our work, our health, and our other endeavors suffer as well. Our cognitive abilities may have evolved as much out of our need to maintain relationships, as they did to adapt to new

environments, therefore, we are extremely social animals. Unfortunately, the relationships that give us the most pleasure and support in our lives, are also the ones that have the potential to cause us the greatest pain. Betrayals then, are a threat to our health and our happiness, and with repeated negative events we may become jaded and cynical about the likelihood of our needs being met. Likewise, the self-serving nature of account-making for betrayals may speak to our need to present ourselves in ways that enhance our ability to maintain relationships. It is for these reasons that a better understanding of interpersonal betrayal is important. It is my hope that this study will contribute to that understanding.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
BIOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

ID_____

Age_____ Gender_____ Height_____ Weight_____

Ethnicity

Caucasian_____ African American_____ Other_____

Last Educational Level Completed

_____High School _____Some College _____College Degree
_____Some Graduate Study _____Advanced Degree _____Other

What is your overall grade point average? _____

Are you currently involved in a romantic relationship? _____

Current Relationship Status

_____Casually Dating _____Seriously Dating _____Engaged
_____Married _____Divorced _____Other

Gender of relational partner: _____Male _____Female

How long have you been in this relationship? _____

How many times have you been married? _____

Do you have children? _____Yes _____No

Have you ever experienced a painful relationship breakup? _____

If so, did this breakup end the relationship, or did you remain friends?

_____Ended relationship _____Remained Friends

Did you initiate this breakup or did your partner? _____I did _____ Partner did

How would you describe your relationship with your mother figure?

(circle) Very Poor Poor Fair Good Very Good

How would you describe your relationship with your father figure?

(circle) Very Poor Poor Fair Good Very Good

How many times per year do you attend a church or synagogue? _____

How many times have you entered into a romance feeling that you might hurt the
other person? (circle):

Never 1-2 times 3-4 times 5 or more times

How many times have you entered into a romance feeling that the other person
might hurt you? (circle):

Never 1-2 times 3-4 times 5 or more times

As a child did you go through a period of hating the opposite sex?

_____Yes _____No

APPENDIX B
ACCOUNTS OF BETRAYAL QUESTIONNAIRE

People sometimes betray their relationship partners by their words or actions. Betraying a confidence, having an illicit affair, or lying to someone are a few examples of behaviors that might be considered betrayals. Think about the incident in your life that you consider your greatest act of interpersonal betrayal. This might involve a spouse, family member, significant other, close friend, or other close relationship partner. With that incident in mind, please answer the following questions:

1. Briefly describe the incident: _____

2. Was the person you betrayed male or female? _____
3. What was your relationship with the person involved? (e.g., friend, sister, husband, etc.) _____
4. How long (months, years, etc.) had the relationship existed before the incident? _____
5. How long ago (months, years etc.) did the incident occur?

6. What were your reasons for doing this? _____

FOR QUESTIONS 7-12 PLEASE ANSWER USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE, BY WRITING THE NUMBER IN THE PLACE PROVIDED:

NOT AT ALL 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 COMPLETELY

7. To what extent was the betrayal caused by you? _____
8. To what extent was the betrayal caused by the situation? _____
9. To what extent was the betrayal caused by the person you betrayed? _____
10. To what extent was the cause of the betrayal (whatever it was) something new in your life? _____
11. To what extent did you intentionally betray the other person? _____
12. To what extent were you seeking revenge in the act of betrayal? _____
13. Had you ever done this before? (Yes/No) _____
14. Did this person become aware of the betrayal? (yes/no/don't know) _____
15. If yes, how did they become aware? _____

16. How did the relationship change as a result of the incident, if at all?

17. If the person found out about the betrayal did you apologize, seek forgiveness, or try to make up for what you had done? Please describe.

18. Did they forgive you for the incident? _____

19. RATE THE EXTENT OF THE QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP AFTER THE INCIDENT

USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE: (CIRCLE ONE)

POOR 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 EXCELLENT

20. If the person was aware did they attempt to retaliate? If so, how did they retaliate? _____

21. If the person was aware have they made reference to the incident since it occurred? _____

22. How frequently is it mentioned? _____

23. If you know, has the incident had a lasting effect on the other person? If so, briefly describe. _____

People sometimes betray their relationship partners by their words or actions. Betraying a confidence, having an illicit affair, or lying to someone are a few examples of behaviors that might be considered betrayals. Think about the incident in your life in which you felt the most betrayed in an interpersonal relationship. This might involve a spouse, family member, significant other, close friend, or other close relationship partner. With that incident in mind, please answer the following questions:

1. Briefly describe the incident: _____

2. Was the person who betrayed you male or female? _____
3. What was your relationship with the person involved? (e.g., friend, sister, husband, etc.) _____
4. How long (months, years, etc.) had the relationship existed before the incident? _____
5. How long ago (months, years etc.) did the incident occur? _____
6. Why do you think they did this? _____

FOR QUESTIONS 7-12 PLEASE ANSWER USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE, BY WRITING THE NUMBER IN THE PLACE PROVIDED.

NOT AT ALL 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 COMPLETELY

7. To what extent was the betrayal caused by you? ____
8. To what extent was the betrayal caused by the situation? ____
9. To what extent was the betrayal was caused by the person who betrayed you? ____
10. To what extent was the cause of the betrayal (whatever it was) something new in the life of the person who betrayed you? ____
11. To what extent do you believe that the person intentionally betrayed you? ____
12. To what extent was the person seeking revenge in the act of the betrayal? ____
13. Had the person ever done this before? (yes/no) ____
14. How did you become aware of the betrayal? _____

15. How did the relationship change as a result of the incident, if at all?

16. Did the person apologize, seek forgiveness, or try to make up for what they had done?

Please describe: _____

17. Did you forgive them for the incident? _____

18. RATE THE EXTENT OF THE QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP AFTER THE INCIDENT

USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE: (CIRCLE ONE)

POOR 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 EXCELLENT

19. Did you attempt to retaliate, and if so how did you retaliate? _____

20. Have you made reference to the incident to the person since it occurred? _____

21. How frequently do you mention it? _____

22. Has the incident had a lasting effect on you? If so, briefly describe.

APPENDIX C
INTERPERSONAL BETRAYAL SCALE

Interpersonal Betrayal Scale

Please respond using the following format:

- 5=I have done this many times
- 4=I have done this several times
- 3=I have done this a few times
- 2=I have done this once
- 1=I have never done this

- _____ 1. Snubbed a friend when with a group you want to impress.
- _____ 2. Broken a promise without good reason.
- _____ 3. Agreed with people you really disagree with so that they will accept you.
- _____ 4. Pretended to like someone you detest.
- _____ 5. Gossiped about a friend behind his/her back.
- _____ 6. Made a promise to a friend with no intention of keeping it.
- _____ 7. Failed to stand up for what you believe in because you want to be accepted by the "in crowd."
- _____ 8. Complained to others about your friends and family members.
- _____ 9. Told others information given to you in confidence.
- _____ 10. Lied to a friend.
- _____ 11. Made a promise to a family member with no intention of keeping it.
- _____ 12. Failed to "stand up" for a friend when they are criticized or belittled by others.
- _____ 13. Took family members for granted.
- _____ 14. Lied to parents/partner about activities.
- _____ 15. Wished that something would happen to someone you dislike.

Please respond using the following format:

5=This has been done to me many times
4=This has been done to me several times
3=This has been done to me a few times
2=This has been done to me once
1=This has never been done to me

- ___ 1. Had a friend snub you when with a group he/she wanted to impress.
- ___ 2. Had a promise broken without good reason.
- ___ 3. Had people you disagreed with agree with you so you will accept them.
- ___ 4. Had someone who detested you pretend they liked you.
- ___ 5. Had a friend gossip about you behind your back.
- ___ 6. Had a friend make a promise to you with no intention of keeping it.
- ___ 7. Had someone fail to stand up for you because they wanted to be accepted by the "in crowd."
- ___ 8. Had friends and family members complain about you to others.
- ___ 9. Had others tell information that you told them in confidence.
- ___ 10. Had a friend lie to you.
- ___ 11. Had a family member make a promise to you with no intention of keeping it.
- ___ 12. Had a friend fail to "stand up" for you when criticized or belittled.
- ___ 13. Had family members take you for granted.
- ___ 14. Had parents/partner lie to you about activities.
- ___ 15. Had someone that disliked you wish that something bad would happen to you.

APPENDIX D
RESULTS OF SECONDARY ANALYSES

From both perspectives respondents most often reported betrayal by and of the other gender. For betrayers 69.9% of men reported betraying women, and 58% of women reported having betrayed men, $\chi^2(1, N = 480) = 33.52, p < .001$, (Cramer's $\phi=.26$). For the betrayed, 69.9% of men reported having been betrayed by women, and 63.8% of women reported betrayals by men, $\chi^2(1, N = 492) = 50.04, p < .001$, (Cramer's $\phi=.32$).

As can be seen in Table A-1, the most frequent incident reported for both perspectives involved cheating of some kind: either cheating outright, or cheating with a friend or family member. Lying was the next most frequently reported incident, followed closely by ending the relationship. An overall chi-square analysis of perspective by betrayal type was not significant, however, separate analyses between the two perspectives and within each gender reached significance. For men cheating was equally likely to be reported when they considered their betrayal of someone else, or others' betrayals of them, but lying was the second most frequent offense when they were the perpetrator, and ending the relationship was the second most frequent event when they were the victim. Men were more likely to report having become involved with a former partner or friend of their victims than their betrayers becoming involved with a former partner or friend of theirs. They were also more likely to report that their betrayers had failed to respect

TABLE A-1
*Percentages for Types of Reported Betrayals
By Perspective and Gender.*

Type of Betrayal	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Cheated.....	26	22	23	27	23	24
Lied.....	16	14	15	10	10	10
Ended relationship....	8	9	9	16	13	14
Cheated w/ friend or family.....	8	15	12	7	7	7
No respect of feelings	6	11	9	11	11	11
Revealed a confidence	7	7	7	6	5	5
Withhold information..	3	5	4	3	6	5
Turned against.....	1	5	4	4	5	5
Involved w/ ex-partner or friend..	6	3	4	2	2	2
Gossip.....	3	2	2	4	5	4
Broke promise.....	4	2	3	1	1	1
Withholding affection	1	0	0	0	1	1

TABLE A-1 (Continued)

Type of Betrayal	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Took advantage.....	2	1	1	2	1	1
Canceled plans.....	1	1	1	2	2	2
Jealousy.....	1	0	0	0	1	1
Lack of responsibility	3	2	2	1	1	1
Threatened or hurt....	0	0	0	0	2	1
Tricked.....	1	1	1	1	2	2
Broke date.....	1	0	0	0	0	0
Disagreement.....	0	0	0	1	0	0
Cheated on a test.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stealing.....	1	0	0	1	0	0
Embarrassed.....	1	0	0	1	0	0
Personality change....	0	0	0	1	0	0

Note: Percentages are rounded and calculated by column.

their feelings, than to report that as the perpetrator. Women were more likely to report romantic partners having simply cheated on them, than to report that as their betrayal of someone else. Conversely, they were more likely to report cheating with a friend or family member of their victims than to report someone betraying them in that way. Women were also more likely to reveal a confidence as a perpetrator than to report others revealing a confidence they had shared, and were more likely to report spreading rumors or gossip as someone else's betrayal of them, than they were to report it as the perpetrator. Both men and women were more likely to report the ending of a relationship as a victim than as a perpetrator.

The relationship of the respondent to the person who they had betrayed, or who had betrayed them was examined. An overall chi-square analysis between the perspective of the betrayer and the betrayed was significant. Table A-2 shows the percentages for each type of relationship from each perspective by gender. From both the perspective of the victim and the perpetrator, betrayals most often involved a boyfriend or girlfriend, a personal friend, or a parent. Respondents were more likely to betray their parents than to be betrayed by them. Chi-square analyses examining gender differences within perspectives was not significant for either the perspective of the betrayer or for the betrayed. Separate analyses were performed within gender and by

TABLE A-2
Percentages for Relationship to Respondent
By Perspective and Gender.

Relationship	Perspective of Betrayers			Perspective of Betrayed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Boyfriend/Girlfriend	51	46	48	57	48	51
Friend.....	38	32	34	32	35	34
Parent.....	7	13	11	5	8	7
Spouse.....	1	3	3	1	4	3
Sibling.....	1	4	3	2	2	2
Roomate/co-worker...	0	0	0	0	1	0
Powerful other.....	1	0	0	1	1	1
Acquaintance.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Other/relationships	1	1	1	1	1	1

Note: Percentages are rounded and calculated by column.

perspective. For men the analysis was strongly significant. Men were more likely to report being betrayed by their girlfriends than betraying them. They were also more likely to report having betrayed their personal friends than having been betrayed by them. Likewise, the within gender by perspective analysis was highly significant for women. Women were more likely to report having been betrayed by both boyfriends and personal friends, than having betrayed them.

Also of interest was if respondents or their betrayer, had betrayed in similar ways before. Chi-square analyses for perspective of betrayer by perspective of betrayed, and by perspective within genders were not significant. Separate analyses were performed within each perspective by gender. For respondents reporting their own betrayals of others, the analysis was not significant. For incidents in which respondents felt most betrayed, there was a marginal gender difference. Betrayed men reported that the perpetrator had never done this before in 73.9% of cases. Betrayed women reported that the perpetrator had never done this before in 63.1% of cases. reported that the person had never done this before.

VITA

Danny Moore was born in Shelby North Carolina, and shortly thereafter moved to the mountain city of Asheville. He soon moved again, and attended public schools in a nearby community. He graduated from East Henderson High School in 1971, and worked for thirteen years in a local General Electric factory. Eventually he moved back to his mountain home of Asheville, and while continuing employment at General Electric, attended the University of North Carolina at Asheville. At UNCA he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology, with Departmental Distinction, graduating cum laude, with Distinction as a University Scholar, and with Distinction as a University Research Scholar. He now attends the University of Tennessee, in a doctoral program for experimental psychology. Primary research interests include personality and relationships, and gender issues. He is also presently a graduate research assistant for the National Center for Environmental Decision-making Research.