

5-1-2013

A Bird Cannot Fly With One Wing: A Study of Women's Responses to and Attitudes Toward Sexual Infidelity in Montego Bay, Jamaica

Dana Renae Foster
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.34917/4478239>

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A BIRD CANNOT FLY WITH ONE WING: A STUDY OF WOMEN'S RESPONSES
TO AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SEXUAL INFIDELITY
IN MONTEGO BAY, JAMAICA

By

Dana Renae Foster

Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2011

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts in Anthropology

Department of Anthropology
College of Liberal Arts
The Graduate College

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May 2013



THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

We recommend the thesis prepared under our supervision by

Dana Renae Foster

entitled

A Bird Cannot Fly with One Wing: A Study of Women's Responses to and Attitudes toward Sexual Infidelity in Montego Bay, Jamaica

be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Anthropology

Department of Anthropology

Peter Gray, Ph.D., Committee Chair

Alyssa Crittenden, Ph.D., Committee Member

William Jankowiak, Ph.D., Committee Member

Marta Meana, Ph.D., Graduate College Representative

Tom Piechota, Ph.D., Interim Vice President for Research & Dean of the Graduate College

May 2013

Abstract
**A Bird Cannot Fly With One Wing: A study of women's responses
to and attitudes toward sexual infidelity
in Montego Bay, Jamaica**
by

Dana Renae Foster

Dr. Peter B. Gray, Examination Committee Chair
Associate Professor of Anthropology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This research focuses on women's emotional and behavioral responses to men's sexual infidelity in Montego Bay, Jamaica. Sexual infidelity can be defined as extradyadic sex within a monogamous relationship that threatens the stability of the relationship (Mark et al., 2011). Since the ultimate reproductive constraint for women is access to resources, this study explores how a woman's education level (as an indicator of her socioeconomic status) affects her response to her partner's sexual infidelity. The Caribbean region is largely absent from the literature on sexual infidelity, with the exception of one study in Trinidad (Flinn, 1988) that focuses on mate guarding behavior. Existing research on sexual infidelity is limited by sample sociodemographics in the following ways: age (most studies are of people in their 20s), nationality (primarily American samples, with less cross-cultural research), university undergraduates (limits socioeconomic variety), sex (most focus on male behavior, perception, and attitudes), and the context of marriage (omits a variety of relationship types). Additionally, most studies focus on motivations of and correlates of engaging in sexual infidelity, rather than addressing female responses to sexual infidelity. Thus, the goal of this research was to

expand the cross-cultural scope of research on sexual infidelity while addressing the previously mentioned gaps in research.

A mixed-methods research design was employed to gather quantitative and qualitative data regarding women's views of sexual infidelity. A short questionnaire was used to gather sociodemographic information about the participants and their partners. It also probed for how women of different education levels would be expected to respond to being cheated on. For example, it asked, "Think of one of your well-educated female friends. How would she respond if her partner had sex with another woman?" A longer questionnaire was designed to gather culturally contextual information to supplement data from the short questionnaires. A total of 101 women from downtown Montego Bay, Jamaica and Montego Bay Community College completed the short questionnaire and 4 of those 101 completed the follow up questionnaire. Results from a chi-square (χ^2) test of independence show that a woman's education level was not associated with her projected response (df=5, $\chi^2=6.554$, p=0.265) nor was it associated with her actual response (df=6, $\chi^2=7.608$, p=0.268). There were, however, overall patterns in women's responses. For example, for the projected responses of participants' friends: higher educated women tend to respond by ending the relationship more than any other behavioral response (35.5%) and lesser-educated women respond with violence (22.6%) more than they respond with discussing the situation (5.6%). The results of this study are discussed in regard to its limitations, broader evolutionary and cultural contexts/expectations, an African American comparison, the role of religion, and ideas for future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must first thank my advisor and thesis committee chair Dr. Peter Gray for his motivation and guidance on this journey. Had it not been for his encouragement when I was an undergraduate and genuine passion and enthusiasm for anthropology, I never would have believed in myself enough to pursue and accomplish an MA in this remarkable field. A warm thank you also to Dr. Alyssa Crittenden for her reassurance that I was ready to conduct ethnographic research and her advice on how to do international field work among women. An additional thanks to Dr. William Jankowiak for never being too busy to discuss the complexities of sexual infidelity with me. Another thank you to my outside committee member Dr. Marta Meana, of the Department of Psychology, for helping me through many drafts of proposals and thesis write ups.

The support of my friends and family kept me motivated throughout this difficult journey and it is because of their love and pride in me that I never gave into the self-doubt that at times consumed me. My mother, Lisa Camp, transferred her Veterans Affairs education benefits to me because she wanted to provide me with the opportunities she never had but always dreamed of. It is her selflessness, unconditional love for me, and unwavering faith in me that inspired me to never settle in any aspect of my life, especially not my education. Thanks to my father, Everald Foster, for setting up my stay in Jamaica with our family. To my best friend Vanessa Rioux, thank you for being there for every panicked phone call and celebratory triumph on this arduous journey; I love you like a sister.

A big thanks to my cousin Shareka for taking me downtown all of those times to recruit participants, my family that opened their home to me and took the time to speak to

me slowly in Patois, and my research assistant Sushawna Murray for encouraging her students to help out an anxious graduate student. I am grateful to the women of Montego Bay, Jamaica who opened up to a stranger about the delicate subject of sexual infidelity. Without their trust and willingness to discuss these intimate details of their personal lives, none of this would have been possible. Funding for this research was made possible by a UNLV Graduate and Professional Student Association (GPSA) grant, a Study Abroad Scholarship, and an Angela Nichole Peterson Scholarship.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research explores women's responses to their male partner's sexual infidelity, within heterosexual relationships, in Montego Bay, Jamaica. Women are expected to choose culturally successful men (men that have social influence and a lot of resources) as mates because access to resources is the ultimate reproductive constraint for women. Women have higher parental investment than men because of the amount of time, energy, and resources that they invest in pregnancy and child rearing. Women's mate preferences and amount of parental investment suggest that a woman's socioeconomic status (determined by wealth, education, and career) may influence how she responds to her partner's infidelity. If a woman does not have the means to support herself, she may rely on her partner to provide resources. Similarly, a woman's response to her partner's sexual liaisons may be influenced by whether or not she relies on her partner financially.

The Caribbean region is largely absent from the literature on sexual infidelity. Caribbean mating and residential patterns provide an interesting and complex setting in which to investigate sexual infidelity. Female headed households, later age at marriage, traditional gender roles, and limited economic opportunities are a few of many trends in the Caribbean that are intertwined with sexual behavior. The importance of continued investigations of sexual infidelity in the Caribbean is evident in patterns of unstable household structures, the negative impact on children's lives, the adverse effects on gender relations, a high HIV prevalence, the dangers of age discordant relationships, and STD rates.

Sexual infidelity cannot be studied solely from the perspective of Darwinian principles, but must also be understood within specific cultural contexts. While there are universal similarities in sexual behavior, there are also numerous differences on regional and smaller scales. Sexual infidelity should be studied in multiple settings in order to add to the growing body of cross-cultural literature on the behavior. This biocultural framework is employed to utilize the strengths of both biological and cultural anthropology to research women's responses to sexual infidelity.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual Infidelity

Sexual selection, including intersexual choice (which mate do I want?) and intrasexual competition (same sex competition over access to mates), informs the evolution of mate choice (Darwin, 2009). Women prefer culturally successful men (men that have social influence and control over resources) as mates because access to resources such as food is the ultimate constraint on female reproductive success (Geary, 2010). In a large study including over 10,000 subjects across six continents, Buss (1989) found that females rank “good financial prospect” higher than males do in every country investigated (Geary, 2004). This pattern is also confirmed across age, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity in Buunk et al.’s (2002) study of women’s preferences. Sexual strategy theorists “...argue that humans have a complex repertoire of mating strategies, both short and long term, each activated differently depending on context” (Buss, 1998). Mating effort (low parental investment) emphasizes little commitment to one mate and no paternal care with high mating effort whereas parental effort (high parental investment) stresses long-term commitment to one mate and paternal care with little mating effort (Archer, 2006). Because women have higher parental investment than men, women often engage in long-term sexual strategies while men may engage in short term sexual strategies.

Long-term sexual strategies of women include finding men who can offer protection from other people, men who are able to acquire resources, men who are prepared to invest their resources in them and their children, men who possess good

parenting skills, and men willing to commit to a long-term relationship (Buss, 1998). Sexual receptivity refers to an individual's willingness to mate. Clarke and Hatfield's (1989) studies of sex differences in sexual receptivity illustrates differences in preferred mating strategies among college students with more women willing to go on a date (50%) than consent to coitus (0%) and more men willing to have intercourse (71%) than go on a date (56.3%) when approached by a stranger. According to Buss (1998), both sexes often pursue a mixed-mating strategy with one long-term relationship concurrent with short-term flings when benefits significantly outweigh costs. In this framework, women can be expected to engage in these mixed-mating strategies to receive benefits such as greater quality and higher quantity of resources.

Sexual jealousy is an emotion experienced when there is a perceived threat to a valued sexual relationship that can motivate behavioral responses (Buss et al., 1992). Sexual jealousy has been largely studied among college students, both cross-culturally to identify behavior that evokes such a response (Buunk & Hupka, 1987), and among Americans to support the idea that women are more upset by their partners' emotional infidelity and men are more upset by their partners' sexual infidelity (Buss et al., 1992). Studies of sexual infidelity include whether levels of extramarital sex in China exceed levels in other societies (Zhang et al., 2012), the assessment of personal values, relationship dynamics, and opportunities for extramarital sex (Treas & Giesen, 2000), the influence of parental control over mate choice (Buunk & Solano, 2012), how different types of cheating vary in their acceptance across relationship types (Macauda et al., 2011), and how extramarital opportunity structures, sexual geographies, and social risk facilitate sexual infidelity (Hirsch et al., 2009).

Responses to *sexual infidelity* vary between and within the sexes cross-culturally, but a sub-set of the responses include mate guarding behavior. Mate guarding behavior includes limiting the mates' attempt to stray and preventing other people from mate poaching (Flinn, 1988). *Mate guarding theory* operates on the premise that time, risks, and energetic costs of this type of behavior can be outweighed by the benefit of the increased probability of reproduction (Flinn, 1988). Women are expected to guard their mates in situations where the behavior increases the quality or quantity of resources they receive, similarly to female preference for culturally successful males. Jankowiak et al. (2002) explored cross-cultural strategies used by women to manage infidelity in 66 cultures. Women in over 86% of societies tended to use self-help methods to maintain privacy and most women only resorted to using public assistance when self-help strategies failed (Jankowiak et al., 2002). Additionally, the majority of women neither condoned nor overlooked their mate's sexual escapades (Jankowiak et al., 2002), a finding that contradicts the assumption that women remain indifferent to their partners' infidelity. Flinn (1988) found that, in a village in Trinidad, women competing for the same males do not have higher rates of "agonistic" interactions (physical or verbal combat) and women do not guard men with land more intensely than men without land (resource access). The first finding challenges literature on relational aggression while the second finding opposes the assumption about women and resources (though this may simply mean that land ownership is not the best status signal for men).

Mate retention tactics occur in contexts of long-term relationships with promise of the pair bond lasting into the future. Mate retention tactics used by men can be separated into two groups: benefit-provisioning mate retention behavior and cost-

inflicting mate retention behavior. The benefit-provisioning category includes behavior that persuades a woman to stay in the relationship, such as gift giving, which often requires material wealth and access to resources. Cost-inflicting behavior includes intimidation and manipulation and is often used by men with lower mate value who do not have the necessary resources (Starratt & Shackelford, 2012). Studies of mate retention tactics widely vary and include: wife abuse (Stieglitz et al., 2012), hormones and contraceptives (Wellings et al., 2012), cell phone networking (Horst & Miller, 2005), 19 mate retention behavioral strategies (Buss et al., 2008), sociosexuality, or the level of emotional attachment and commitment required prior to sexual intercourse (Kardum et al., 2006), and high vs. low commitment in relationships (Miguel & Buss, 2011). These studies show that one can expect mate retention tactics to differ on an individual level depending on alterations in hormonal levels, access to technology, and personal preferences for the degree of intimacy in relationships.

Studies in the previous literature review are limited by one or more of the following factors: age (most are young adults in their early 20s), Americans (lack cross-cultural implications for findings), university students (limits variety of socioeconomic status), sex (most research questions focus on men's behavior and perspectives), context of marriage (limits relationship type and dynamics of each), and motivations for sexual infidelity rather than responses to the behavior. Sexual infidelity needs to be explored across different relationship dynamics to assess if relationship status affects how women respond to sexually unfaithful partners. More research also needs to be done across age groups and in lesser-studied regions to allow for cross-cultural comparisons.

Caribbean Mating and Residential Patterns

The most extensive studies of family dynamics in Jamaica are unfortunately a bit dated. Edith Clarke and Barry Chevannes conducted foundational ethnographic studies on Jamaica family dynamics in previous decades (Chevannes, 2001; Clarke, 1999). Yet some patterns in Jamaican family dynamics described in the 1950's are still prevalent today. These include the tendency for lower class couples to cohabit years before marrying, a high prevalence of visiting unions (partners live separately with their kin and the father visits to make contributions to his children), absent or low invested fathers, and female household heads (Clarke, 1999).

Social learning theory stresses the importance of observation in learning appropriate and inappropriate gender-specific behavior and sex-typed norms and expectations during childhood (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997). The family household serves as a fundamentally important social atmosphere for emphasizing men's economic roles and women's caregiver/nurturer roles. As children, girls are kept within the home with restricted permission to venture into the yard while boys are allowed to go outside and explore, supporting sex-differences in chores. These sex differences in play environments are supposed to protect girls from potentially negative boy-girl relationships and encourage boys to engage in boy-girl relationships (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997). In Grannitree, a farming community in Jamaica, young girls are socialized into becoming higglers (people that sell produce in markets) by being taken to gather fruit to be sold into the markets later while young boys are taught the value of their livestock and how to properly care for them (Chevannes, 2001). This demonstrates how children are integrated into adult working roles. Any man who violates this distinction in gender

roles is deemed a “maamaman” (a tamed and domesticated man who takes orders from his spouse) and may also be considered a homosexual (Chevannes, 2001).

Women in Jamaica achieve the status of womanhood not by menarche, but instead by successfully bearing children. Similarly to the Jamaican concept of “Big Men” (a man who is older, wealthy, or mature or a combination of those factors), their transition into adulthood and mature social circles is marked by their ability to produce healthy children. In this mindset, women with children prior to marital unions have proven their fertility and may perhaps even be assessed as having higher mate value. In order to have healthy children, women often seek (out of necessity) men capable of financially supporting them. In Jamaica, women were found to use cell phones for networking primarily to find a man capable of economically supporting them with younger women preferring men whose “pockets run deeper” (Horst & Miller, 2005). Women who do not have children are assumed to be biologically incapable of producing offspring and are labeled mules, much to their social detriment. Women without children are also assumed to be antisocial and selfish because they fail to complete their procreative duty. Roberts and Sinclair (1978) found that Jamaican women believe everyone should have a child to keep them company. These women also pitied other women that do not have children because they assumed the women would remain unhappy without anyone to help them with household labor. “Early and frequent heterosexual activity with several partners either serially or concurrently in several relationships is seen as a strong reflection of manhood and a sign of maturity” among African Caribbean men (Roopnarine, 2004). This preference for short-term mating strategies facilitates proof of virility, reaffirming ideas of masculinity and experience.

Horst & Miller's (2005) study of 100 households (both rural and urban) in Jamaica found that the most extensive cell phone based networking for men revolves around sexual relationships, with cell phones facilitating concurrent partners by enabling private phone conversations.

Social class is largely distinguishable by marital unions that reflect the European idea of a traditional nuclear family. Land ownership (bought or inherited) and marriage are two characteristics of upper class individuals in Jamaica, with roots going back to Emancipation when both were symbols of freedom and independence. Gender roles also revolve around these ideas of social status and family dynamics. A husband is liable for the well-being of his wife and children. Because marriage is considered a lifelong monogamous partnership, many people cohabit as a "trial of compatibility" to ensure it is a commitment they are willing to make (Clarke, 1999). This magnitude of responsibility deters men who do not own a house or a piece of land (signals of being an adequate provider), and men who lack financial stability from entering marital unions. Bryant et al. (2008) found that income is significantly associated with marital satisfaction among Black Caribbean women and men (US immigrants), which may be related to cultural values that prioritize success and achievement as a way of signaling social status. Among a small sample of married couples of the Tsimane in Bolivia, 60% of all abusive situations happened during arguments over men's diversion of resources from their family (Stieglitz et al., 2012), showing that the necessity for male provisioning even fails to dissuade women from voicing their concerns despite the threat and possibility of violence. Men's economic stability also influences the likelihood of a Jamaican mother abandoning her child, with economic reasons for abandonment representing 62.5% of

responses among low-income mothers who left children behind (Sargent & Harris, 1992). Women often rely on the income of their partner to support their child, making male economic stability a necessity. The male gender role as the primary provider may explain the high prevalence of children born out of wedlock and trends toward later age at marrying among adults since men must wait until they are financially sound before transitioning into the role of husband. In a study in urban Kingston Jamaica, adolescent girls (between 18 and 21 years of age) use the terms “big men”, “sugar daddies”, and “dons” to describe different types of older partners (Wood et al., 2011) that echo the gender role of men as providers. Black Caribbean women adhere to more traditional views of marriage with conventional gender and marital roles relative to the division of labor and power (Bryant et al., 2008).

Clarke (1999) recognizes six household types in Jamaica: simple (man and woman with or without children that may or may not be genetically related), extended (presence of kin related to the man and/or woman living there which may include up to four generations), simple denuded (either a mother or father living with his or her children), extended denuded (same as simple denuded except with extended family also living there), single-person (one person), and sibling (siblings living together). Her extensive categories illustrate the diversity of family dynamics in Jamaica in regards to variability in the presence of non-nuclear kin, multiple generations of kin, the presence of children (related and unrelated), and the presence of one or both parents. Other researchers organize household types by legal sanctioning and cohabitation: marriage, common-law marriage, and visiting unions. Marital unions have a shared household and are legally sanctioned, common law unions have a shared household but are not legally

sanctioned, and visiting unions have separate households and are not legally sanctioned. A cohort study in Jamaica found that cohabiting parental unions decline as their children grow; from 51% at birth to 42% from 11-12 years and 36% at 15-16 years (Samms-Vaughan, 2008). In other words, the proportion of young adults whose parents live together declines as the young adults grow older. Kinship networks are an essential support system for Caribbean women, enabling them to seek both biological and social kin for help with childcare and resource provisioning (Russell-Brown et al., 1997). In the Caribbean, childbearing usually starts in common-law and visiting unions are a precursor to establishing conjugal unions (Roopnarine, 2004). Child shifting (temporary informal adoption) within kinship networks alleviates the burden of children born to economically unstable mothers, unprepared teen mothers, and mothers lacking paternal support (Russell-Brown et al., 1997).

Matrifocal households are very common in Jamaica with female-headed households comprising 42% of all household types (Handa, 1996). In these households, the mother is the leader while the father sporadically visits other members of the household. Women who prefer or are better at increasing their children's welfare tend to choose to become household heads, making the primary determinant of the headship decision based on the amount of resources a man or woman can make available to his or her children (Handa, 1996). In Dominica, strong reciprocal relationships between mothers and daughters form the core of households; daughters may be expected to procure a high status mate willing to send money to his in-laws as payment for her mother's parental investment (Quinlan, 2006). Caribbean women contribute the most to household income and raise families in the absence of men (Roopnarine, 2004). In

Dominica, men's income is often spent on nonessential items and alcohol (availability of cheap rum), making them unreliable and a recurrent drain on family resources (Quinlan, 2006). Mothers and grandmothers hold a central position in matrifocal households while others are perceived to orbit around them, a concept that prevails in Jamaican families even after immigrating to countries like Canada (Navarra & Lolis, 2009). Other characteristics of matrifocal households include having children before cohabiting, women being submissive to their partners due to their reliance on their economic support, and common law marriages as a lower class signifier (Smith, 1996). A study in Jamaica found that between 75-80% of children live with their mothers throughout their lives but less than 50% of children were living with their fathers at 5-6 years and less than 40% at 15-16 years (Samms-Vaughan, 2008). This demonstrates the tendency for children to live in matrifocal homes and the trend for declines in paternal investment. There is an increased probability of matrifocal households and non-resident fathers when there are high frequencies of non-marital unions (Roopnarine, 2004), a prominent trend in the Caribbean. Common law marriages and absent fathers reflect hesitance to establish a solid bond through conjugal union, but Pollock (1972) stresses that this socioeconomic pattern occupies a short time period in the lives of Jamaicans in the developmental process of the familial unit.

Most studies of sexual behavior in the Caribbean assess implications for public health concern such as high HIV presence and STD transmission due to age-discordant relationships and lack of condom use, as well as teen pregnancies and children born out of wedlock. One study assesses mate guarding specifically in the Caribbean region with its research site of Grande Anse Trinidad (Flinn, 1988). Results show that women

competing for the same men did not have more “agonistic” interactions (behavior involving physical or verbal combat) and women do not guard men with large areas of land more intensely than men with little or no land (Flinn, 1988). Land has been used as a measure of socioeconomic status, making the latter finding puzzling given that women are expected to guard men with greater resources more intensely than men with little or no resources. This may indicate that though land is a symbol of social status in the Caribbean, disposable income is much more valued by women and land ownership may not equate with money to be allocated for provisioning mates. Flinn (1988) also notes that mate guarding by women appears to involve negotiating reciprocal services (cooking and cleaning) rather than direct aggression towards mates or rival women. Men in the community are known to dislike women’s arguments over men due to inevitable embarrassment, influencing women’s responses to their partner’s infidelity. Women’s responses to sexual infidelity in Jamaica may also be similarly influenced by male attitudes towards acceptable female behavior and general gender norms for sexual behavior and attitudes towards sexual behavior. One study with the purpose of analyzing mate guarding in the Caribbean region, however, is not sufficient to reach any formal conclusions about overall patterns in the region.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN, OBJECTIVES, AND HYPOTHESES

Research Design

A mixed methods research design of qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (questionnaires) methods was used to address the objectives outlined below. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the sociodemographic characteristics of participants: age, occupation, education, relationship type, and number of children (as specified on the short survey). In this study, education level represents socioeconomic status (SES), and was broken down into four categories: primary, partial secondary, complete secondary, and tertiary education. Socioeconomic status is generally based on household income, occupation, and educational attainment. Education was used as the measure of socioeconomic status because many rural women in Jamaica work multiple odd jobs (babysitting and selling produce at the market or on the road side) that would make calculating annual salary or household income extremely difficult. Educational level is therefore easier to identify and thus was used as a measure of SES in this particular study.

The questionnaires were constructed to reflect evolutionary influences on sexual behavior. They were also tailored to reflect culturally contextual influences on sexual behavior, such as trends for women to enter marital unions at a much later age, a large proportion of non-marital unions, high illegitimacy rates, and the great variability of household structure in Jamaica. Responses to sexual jealousy were not limited to marital contexts because women in Jamaica initially engage in visiting unions (62%) and progress to marital unions later in age (Roberts & Sinclair, 1978). Restricting the study to married women would not have fit the dominant relationship pattern in Jamaica and

would have prevented valuable data from being collected. Gaps in the research of sexual infidelity are largely comprised of sample limitations for the cross-cultural implications of the various results. Conducting research in Montego Bay, Jamaica served to address the overall absence of the Caribbean region in the literature surrounding sexual infidelity, and the research design addresses the theoretical gaps in the literature.

Objectives

The objectives of this thesis are 1) to document how women respond to their partner's sexual infidelity; and 2) to determine if a woman's education level influences her response to her partner's sexual infidelity; two competing hypotheses are tested to address the second objective.

Hypotheses

H₀) the distribution of women's responses to their partner's sexual infidelity is independent of educational attainment level.

If the null hypothesis is supported, it may be true that female responses to sexual infidelity do not vary as a function of socioeconomic status. Household structure, the presence or absence of children, matrifocality, religion, and job availability are a few of the many factors that may influence female responses to sexual infidelity.

H₁) women's responses to their partner's sexual infidelity depend on educational attainment level.

Women with lower SES may use more private mate guarding strategies if their partners provide them with valuable resources that they otherwise would not have access

to. Similar to what was alluded to in Hirsch et al.'s (2009) study, women are reluctant to publically voice their disapproval of their partners' sexual infidelity because it may result in the allocation of their partners' resources to another woman (the rival for example). In this sense, the benefit (receiving resources) outweighs the cost (damage to reputation, possibility of STD transmission, and lack of sexual fidelity). Stieglitz et al.'s (2012) study of the Tsimane of Bolivia found that among married couples, wife abuse is most often associated with wives' complaints of their husbands' sexual infidelity. Women's responses to sexual infidelity therefore may also be affected by the threat and occurrence of physical harm to their bodies. These costs represent a few of the consequences of sexual infidelity, ranging from damaging relationships and families to STD risks and emotional and physical suffering.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Site Information

The present study was conducted in Montego Bay, Jamaica in the Saint James parish. The St. James parish is located in the northwest corner of the island. The following data are from the 2011 Census of Population and Housing in Jamaica. The total population of the island is 2,697,983, with 6.81% of the population living in the St. James parish (183,311 people). Montego Bay is the capital of St. James and is considered an urban center because it has a population greater than 2,000 (110,115 or 59.9% of the St. James parish) and provides basic amenities and facilities that indicate modern living. Sixty percent of cities in the St. James parish are considered urban centers and over half of the total population of Jamaica (54%) lives in urban centers. The island has a sex ratio of 97.88 and the St. James parish is considered a female dominated parish with the 3rd lowest sex ratio of 96.9. A breakdown of the population by ethnic categories shows that 92% of the residents of Jamaica self-identify as Black, with Chinese, East Indian, White, other and mixed as the additional categories. Ninety-four percent of residents in Jamaica under 30 years old have never been married and only 31, 894 people in St. James are married. There is an average of 3.3 persons per household in the 32,952 households in Montego Bay. Additionally, the majority of residents of Jamaica identify as religious with only 21.32% indicating they are non-religious. Pentecostal and 7th Day Adventists comprise the largest proportions of Christian religions. This review of data from the 2011 Census of Population and Housing in Jamaica supports several of the trends discussed in

the Caribbean mating and residential patterns section of the literature review section. This includes a later age at marriage and large proportion of single residents.

General Overview

The Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board at the University of Nevada Las Vegas (see Appendix 3) and the Advisory Panel on Ethics and Medico-Legal Affairs in the Ministry of Health of Jamaica (See Appendix 4) approved the methods for this study. Data collection occurred from December 2012 to February 2013. Purposive sampling was used to select participants that fit the criteria established for this research. All participants were women from Jamaica, a permanent resident of Jamaica, between the ages of 18 and 40, and currently in a heterosexual, long-term, committed relationship. Participants had to be permanent residents of Jamaica in order to restrict the sample to those who have been socialized from a young age within the particular cultural context. Tourists and individuals with part-time residence on the island may be influenced by other cultures and their responses may not reflect overall patterns in Jamaica. The wide age range included women of reproductive age while providing enough variation to later address the significance of higher and lower mate value relative to responses. Age 40 was used as the end of the reproductive period because few women above this age reproduce in most populations. These parameters also referred to relationships between a man and woman at least 6 months in length with restricted sexual opportunities, sexual obligation to mate, and emotional investment. This included women in marital unions, common-law marriages, and visiting unions. It did, however, exclude short-term relationships because women may have been less invested in them and therefore unmotivated to respond to

sexual infidelity, since sexual exclusivity usually is not a characteristic of short-term mating strategies. Cohabitation for the couple was not required since there are a wide variety of living arrangements on the island. Participants were also not required to have children or have a certain health status.

I recruited participants from various locations in downtown Montego Bay (retail stores, offices, business plazas, etc.) and Montego Bay Community College. Participants from the community college were recruited and interviewed by a local research assistant (identified and recommended by Jamaica's Ministry of Health). Women were approached and asked if they would like to participate in the study. Those who agreed to participate in the study and fit the inclusion criteria were given a consent form (signatures were waived by UNLV's IRB in order to increase participant confidentiality). Participants had the option of completing the questionnaire in an interview format (in which I recorded the responses) or in their own privacy (write their responses themselves). Participants were compensated with two \$200 Jamaican Dollars (JD) phone credit top up cards worth approximately \$4.35 US. Participants did not have to finish the interview/questionnaire or answer all of the questions in order to receive financial compensation.

One hundred and two women completed the "Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity- Short Questionnaire", but one questionnaire had to be discarded because the woman's background did not fit the previously established participant criteria (she was born in Portugal and not from Jamaica). Of the 101 participants, four women completed the "Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity - Follow Up Questionnaire". Initially, about a dozen women agreed to participate in the follow up questionnaire/interview at a later date, but when I called to schedule the follow-up interview they declined.

Questionnaires

On the short questionnaire (see Appendix 1), questions in regard to demographic variables were asked first. These include: age, occupation, education level, marital status, duration of relationship, cohabitation with partner, partner's education level, number of children, and religious affiliation. The short questionnaire was structured to ask the less-invasive questions first before transitioning into questions about sexual behavior that some women may feel uncomfortable discussing. For this same reason, responses to sexual infidelity were first asked about a participant's close female friend in a hypothetical sense. These two questions probed for how a woman's education level may affect her response to sexual infidelity. This was followed by a hypothetical question about the participant. The short survey concluded with a question about an actual experience of sexual infidelity, which was only answered when the woman had been cheated on. I anticipated completing these questionnaires in an interview format in which I recorded participants' responses, but soon realized that many women were more comfortable writing their responses themselves.

Women expressing greater interest in the research after completing the brief interviews were invited to participate in a more detailed study in which they would provide anecdotal information about relationships in which male partners are sexually unfaithful, focusing on the woman's response to such behavior. Group level attitudes towards mistresses (rival women) and cheating men, as well as effectiveness of mate guarding strategies, are the types of relevant information that were probed for. The purpose of the follow-up questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was to gather ethnographic insight into sexual dynamics in the local area and use this emic perspective to give

meaning to patterns in the short questionnaires. Unfortunately, only four women agreed to complete the follow up questionnaire. These four women were recruited by my research assistant and instead of being interviewed and having their responses audio recorded, chose to write their responses on the questionnaires. This is unfortunate because their responses may have been longer and more detailed if they did not have to handwrite their responses to this lengthy questionnaire.

Despite pilot testing, the “Women’s Views of Sexual Infidelity- Short Questionnaire” had a few issues exposed during fieldwork. The 3rd question regarding relationship status (boyfriend/girlfriend, common-law, engaged, or married) caused some friction with participants. Many women felt that the “boyfriend/girlfriend” category did not adequately represent the seriousness of their relationship. Women appeared to be insulted by this, as though the category represents juvenile, temporary crushes rather than mature, long-term relationships. The 5th question of the short questionnaire also caused some confusion. It asks whether or not the participant is “personally invested” in the relationship, which was interpreted to mean financially invested. This question was altered to ask if the participant was “emotionally invested” in order to reflect the original intent of the question—to decipher if the participant was in a committed relationship. One participant criterion is that participants be in a committed relationship, so this essential question had to be altered in order to recruit women invested in their current relationship.

Coding

Educational attainment was divided into four categories based on information from the UNESCO-IBE World Data on Education 7th Edition 2010/2011 for Jamaica.

The primary education category includes grades 1-6 and is the equivalent of elementary school. Secondary education (high school) was divided into two categories: completion of secondary or partial secondary. Secondary unspecified refers to women who did not specify how much secondary education was completed. Tertiary education lumps certifications, associate degrees, 4-year degrees, and postgraduate degrees into one category. I did not anticipate such a large proportion of my sample to have tertiary level education and in retrospect should have divided the tertiary category further to distinguish between associate and bachelor degrees on the questionnaires.

Responses to sexual infidelity were either coded as behavioral responses or emotional responses. The first coding scheme developed for data analysis arose organically after careful review of participant responses. Responses were separated into two larger categories (behavioral or emotional responses) and then broken down further. The six categories from the first behavioral response scheme are: (1) end the relationship, (2) second chance, (3) discussion, (4) physical violence, (5) other, (6) not specified. Both the **end the relationship** and **second chance** categories include qualifiers such as “if..., might, either, and probably”. For example, a response such as “might give a second chance if his reason for cheating was legitimate” would be coded as “second chance”. Similarly, the response “probably end the relationship” would be coded as “end the relationship”. The **discussion** category includes any verbal exchange between partners whether calm or hostile (argument). It also includes responses such as: find out if it’s true, find out why, seek explanation, ask if it was the first time, work through it, talk about his safety and STDs, find out what went wrong, and find out if something is wrong with her (the participant). **Physical violence** includes physical threats, suicide, acts of

violence against the partner, the rival woman, or against their property. Responses grouped into this category include statements such as: kill him, quarrel, fight him and the girl, he better run (threat), torch partner, and stalk him, catch him, and then fight him and the girl (caught in the act). The category labeled as **other** refers to responses such as: cry, go crazy, not finish school, lose self esteem, become antisocial, move out, seek counseling, make a big deal about it, talk to God, leave it to God, become self-destructive, fall out of love, not trust him anymore, become withdrawn, need time and space, and cheating as revenge. The **not specified** category includes no response (participant declined to answer this question) and emotional responses. Participants either identified both behavioral and emotional responses as one of these two categories.

This scheme was used to code women's first response to sexual infidelity as well as their multiple (second, third, fourth, and so on) responses to sexual infidelity. Their first response represents their uninhibited reaction to their partner's betrayal and therefore is worth examination because it more accurately reflects how they would react when disregarding societal norms and expectations. So, for example, if a woman responded that she would cry, ask why he cheated, and then end the relationship, the response would be coded as "other" according to the first response coding scheme. Accordingly, one must keep in mind that a response coded as "other" does not mean that the individual did not end the relationship or act violently. The coding simply reflects the participant's first thought, which may or may not reflect the participant's first response. If these kinds of responses were coded as just that, "multiple responses", the majority of responses would have fallen under this category. As a result, comparison of responses utilizing this category would have yielded less robust results. This scheme was also used to code and

identify the total number of responses identified (meaning the total number of responses a participant described in response to each question). For example, if a participant said she would cry, ask him why he did it, and then break up with him, this would be coded and counted 3 times as: other, discussion, and end the relationship. Table 1 describes the first set of behavioral responses identified in this study and provides examples of each category.

Table 1. Behavioral Response Scheme 1

| Behavioral Responses to Sexual Infidelity |
|--|
| <p><i>End the Relationship</i> Break up with him; leave him</p> |
| <p><i>Second Chance</i> Give him another chance</p> |
| <p><i>Discussion</i> Argue; confront him; find out if it's true; analyze the situation; verbal attack; ask him how he could do this to me; ask him what's wrong with me; figure out what went wrong; say nasty things to him; seek an explanation</p> |
| <p><i>Physical Violence</i> He better run; stalk him and fight him and the girl; kill him; burn his belongings; beat him and the girl, cover them in oil, and torch them; damaged his car; commit suicide</p> |
| <p><i>Other</i> Cry; see counseling; difficulty coping; ignore him for a few days; become obsessed with work; manipulate him to get his money; forgive him; get over it; make a big deal about it; lose motivation to continue her studies; substance abuse; move out; talk to God; cheat on him; constantly remind him of his infidelity; unable to sleep or concentrate; not trust him anymore; leave it to God; become self-destructive</p> |
| <p><i>Not Specified/Emotional Response</i> This was either left unanswered or an emotion was listed. See Table 2 for examples of emotional responses.</p> |

The second coding scheme for behavioral responses was created and suggested by a graduate committee member after review of the first scheme. This separated responses into three categories: (1) relationship enhancing, (2) relationship destroying, and (3) other. The **relationship-enhancing** category includes behaviors that serve to preserve and strengthen the relationship and contains responses such as: give him a second chance, forgive him, keep the rival woman away, argue, and seek counseling. Arguing is a more intense form of a conversation, but communication between both parties is considered a relationship enhancing form of behavior. The **relationship-destroying** category includes behaviors that are detrimental to the stability and longevity of the relationship and contains responses such as: end the relationship, cheat, fight partner and/or rival, and try to ruin partner's life. The **other** category refers to behaviors that could have either a positive or negative effect on the stability of the relationship, emotional responses, blank responses (participant failed to answer the question), and uncertain responses (participant responded that they did not know how they would respond). Responses such as cry, move out, become a workaholic, and ignore the partner were put in this category. Crying, for example, may cause a woman's partner to realize how his actions have devastated her, apologize, and reconcile or it could frustrate the partner and cause him to end the relationship. Similarly, the distance caused by ignoring a partner may give the parties the space they needed so that they may reconcile, or it may drive them further apart due to this lack of communication. It is for these reasons that such responses were placed in the other category. Table 2 describes the second set of behavioral responses described in this study and provides examples of each.

Table 2. Behavioral Response Scheme 2

Behavioral Responses to Sexual Infidelity

Relationship Enhancing

Give second chance; discussion; seek counseling; seek therapy; analyze the situation; seek an explanation; argue; forgive him; confront him; get over it; find out if it's true; require truth; talk to God; leave it to God

Relationship Destroying

End the relationship; cheat; kill the partner/rival, talk to another guy to spite him; flip out; go nuts; go crazy; try to hide her feelings; manipulate him to get his money; get revenge; stalk him; make a fool of herself; continue having sex with him and other partners; substance abuse; try to ruin his life; become self destructive; suicide; fall out of love

Other

Not specified (emotional response); unanswered; unsure; cry, move out; difficulty coping; ignore partner for a few days; fail to finish school; get advice from a friend; become a workaholic; refuse to let it interfere with her education; lose motivation to pursue her studies

The four categories from the emotional response scheme are (1) upset/sad, (2) mad/angry, (3) other, or (4) not specified. The **mad/angry** category includes responses such as: pissed, furious, and outraged. The **upset/sad** category groups together responses such as: heartbroken, devastated, hurt, destroyed, broken, emotional, and crushed. **Other** refers to responses like: vengeful, frantic, boisterous, bitter, irrational, surprised, modest, civil, and vindictive. Less than 5 people in the sample identified each emotion in the “other” category. The **not specified** group in the coding scheme used for emotional responses refers to blank (unanswered) questions and behavioral responses. Table 3 provides examples of the emotional response coding scheme.

Table 3. Emotional Response Scheme

Emotional Responses to Sexual Infidelity

Hurt/Upset

Heartbroken; moody; depressed; devastated; traumatized; emotionally destroyed; crushed; betrayed; feel like the world is ending; distraught; hurt; upset

Angry/Mad

Pissed; outraged; furious; mad as hell; mad; angry

Other

Frantic; vengeful; boisterous; in denial; bitter; understanding; irrational; vindictive towards partner; civil; surprised; astonished; indifferent; unsurprised

Not Specified/Behavioral Response

This means that an individual identified a behavioral response rather than an emotional response. See Tables 1 or 2 for example of behavioral responses.

Statistics

The second research question was analyzed using a chi-square (χ^2) test to determine whether a woman's education level was related to her response to her partner's sexual infidelity. This was most appropriate because it is for nominal data and tests whether the shape of a distribution depends on the value of another variable (Hurlburt, 2006). Education levels were identified as either secondary or tertiary since none of the women in the sample identified having only finished primary school. Responses to sexual infidelity were coded and analyzed under either the behavioral response schemes or the emotional response scheme. The behavioral response categories for the first scheme are: end the relationship, second chance, discussion, physical violence, other, or not specified/emotional response. The behavioral response categories for the second scheme are: relationship enhancing, relationship destroying, and other. The emotional response categories are: hurt/upset, angry/mad, other, and not specified/behavioral response. Under each scheme, these responses were given dummy variables in order to perform the chi-

square test of independence using SPSS v 19. Rejection of the null hypothesis would mean that women's responses to sexual infidelity are not independent of their socioeconomic status, and further interpretation of the results could be supported by the qualitative, contextual data gathered. A supplementary analysis was performed by reducing the behavioral response scheme from six categories into three: discussion/second chance, end the relationship/violence, and other. This was to assess how adjusting the number of categories and the power of the analysis would affect the results.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Brief Overview

One hundred and one women completed the Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity-Short Questionnaire and four of these 101 women completed the Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity-Follow Up Questionnaire. All participants were women between the ages of 18 and 40 (mean= 24, sd=5.95), from Jamaica, and been in their current, heterosexual, committed relationship for at least 6 months. Less than half (46.5%) of participants had been in their current relationship for 2 years or less, 67.3 % relationship status was boyfriend/girlfriend, 50.5% were between the ages of 18 and 22, over half had completed tertiary level education, 65.3% did not live with their partner, 70.3% did not have any children, 42.6% were either students or unemployed, and only 1 individual indicated that they were not in love with their partner. Additionally, participants' male partners were between the ages of 19 and 59 (mean=29, sd=7.59), almost half (48.5%) were age 27 and under, 51.5% had completed tertiary level education, and the largest proportion were identified as employed but their occupations were not specified. A summary of the sociodemographic characteristics of the sample can be found in Tables 4 and 5 on the following pages.

The four participants in the follow up interview indicated during the first interview that their current partner had cheated on them. Each of these women had different experiences with the aftermath of their partner's betrayal—how they found out about his sexual liaison, who they went to for advice, if their partner felt guilty afterwards, whether or not they confronted the rival woman, if they gave him a second

chance, etc. There were also similarities and differences in how the individual women and their communities view women who have been cheated on and the men (players) and women (mistresses) that cause such pain. These interviews are summarized in the qualitative results subheading of this results section.

Table 4. Sociodemographic Characteristics

| Variable | Women | | Men | |
|--|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | n or Mean | % or SD | n or Mean | % or SD |
| Age | 24.2 | 5.9 | 28.9 | 7.6 |
| Education Level | | | | |
| Secondary | 46 | 45.5 | 23 | 22.8 |
| Partial Secondary | - | - | 3 | 3 |
| Secondary, Not Specified | - | - | 22 | 21.8 |
| Tertiary | 55 | 54.5 | 52 | 51.5 |
| Not Specified | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Occupation | | | | |
| Unemployed | 19 | 18.8 | 5 | 5 |
| Student | 24 | 23.8 | 3 | 3 |
| Sales Clerk | 13 | 12.9 | 2 | 2 |
| Office Worker or Businessman(woman) | 13 | 12.9 | 11 | 10.9 |
| Public Service | 6 | 5.9 | 12 | 11.9 |
| Other | 6 | 5.9 | 19 | 18.8 |
| Not Specified/Employed | 18 | 17.8 | 33 | 32.7 |
| Self Employed | 1 | 1 | 14 | 13.9 |
| Unanswered | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Table 5. Sociodemographics Continued

| Variable | N | Percentage |
|----------------------------|-----|------------|
| In Love | | |
| Yes | 100 | 99 |
| No | 1 | 1 |
| Cohabit | | |
| Yes | 35 | 34.7 |
| No | 66 | 65.3 |
| Had children | | |
| Yes | 30 | 29.7 |
| No | 71 | 70.3 |
| Relationship Status | | |
| Boyfriend/girlfriend | 68 | 67.3 |
| Engaged | 6 | 5.9 |
| Married | 18 | 17.8 |
| Common-Law Marriage | 8 | 7.9 |
| Unanswered | 1 | 1 |

Quantitative Results

Results from the last four questions of the Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity-Short Questionnaire (Appendix 1) are individually broken down in order to highlight trends in women's responses. The following analysis refers to responses coded under the first behavioral coding scheme: end the relationship, second chance, discussion, physical violence, other, and not specified. For each question, number 1 summarizes results of the initial responses, number 2 summarizes results of the total number of responses, and number 3 summarizes results from the emotional coding scheme. Frequencies and proportions of the initial responses are described in the first table under each question (Tables 6, 8, 10, and 12) and the total number of responses (including multiple responses from each participant) is described in the second table under each question (Tables 7, 9, 11, and 13). The first and second questions assessed the projected responses of higher and lower educated friends (of the participants) and the third and fourth questions assessed participants' projected and actual responses. Not all participants answered the last question because it only investigated the responses of women who had been cheated on by their current boyfriend (n=31). The table for the fourth question therefore only reflects the proportions (percentages listed) of that small subset of the sample (N=101).

Question 1: More educated (tertiary level) women's projected responses

(1) The largest proportion of women's projected initial responses fell under the end the relationship category (38.6%), followed by other (20.8%), and discussions (9.9%).

(2) Out of the total number of responses (including multiple responses per participant), women were still expected to respond by ending the relationship (n=47) more than any other behavioral response.

(3)

65.1% of women's initial emotional responses were feelings of sadness and heartbreak.

Table 6. More Educated Women's Projected Initial Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 39 | 38.6 |
| Second Chance | 7 | 6.9 |
| Discussion | 10 | 9.9 |
| Physical Violence | 7 | 6.9 |
| Other | 21 | 20.8 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 17 | 16.8 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |

Table 7. More Educated Women's Total Projected Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 47 | 35.5 |
| Second Chance | 18 | 13.5 |
| Discussion | 14 | 10.5 |
| Physical Violence | 8 | 6 |
| Other | 29 | 21.8 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 17 | 12.8 |
| Total | 133 | 100 |

Question 2: Less educated (secondary level) women's projected responses

(1) The largest proportion of women initial responses fell under the other category (24.8%), followed by physical violence (21.8%), and second chance (17.8%).

(2) Out of the total number of responses (including multiple responses per participant), the largest number of responses still fell under the other category (n=29), followed by physical violence (n=28), and second chance (n=26).

(3) 52.8% of women's initial emotional responses were feelings of sadness and heartbreak.

Table 8. Lower Educated Women's Projected Initial Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 11 | 10.9 |
| Second Chance | 18 | 17.8 |
| Discussion | 6 | 5.9 |
| Physical Violence | 22 | 21.8 |
| Other | 25 | 24.8 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 19 | 18.8 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |

Table 9. Lower Educated Women's Total Projected Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 15 | 12.1 |
| Second Chance | 26 | 21 |
| Discussion | 7 | 5.6 |
| Physical Violence | 28 | 22.6 |
| Other | 29 | 23.4 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 19 | 15.3 |
| Total | 124 | 100 |

Question 3: Participants' projected responses

(1) The largest proportion of participants' projected initial response fell under the end the relationship category (33.7%), followed by discussion (21.8%), and other (19.8%).

(2) Out of the total number of responses (including multiple responses per participant), the largest number of responses fell in the end the relationship category (n=53), followed by an equal number of responses in the other and discussion categories (n=26 each).

(3) 69.2% of participants' initial emotional responses were feelings of sadness and heartbreak.

Table 10. Participants' Projected Initial Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 34 | 33.7 |
| Second Chance | 10 | 9.9 |
| Discussion | 22 | 21.8 |
| Physical Violence | 4 | 4 |
| Other | 20 | 19.8 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 11 | 10.9 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |

Table 11. Participants' Total Projected Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 53 | 37.3 |
| Second Chance | 20 | 14.1 |
| Discussion | 26 | 18.3 |
| Physical Violence | 6 | 4.2 |
| Other | 26 | 18.3 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 11 | 7.7 |
| Total | 142 | 100 |

Question 4: Participants' Actual Responses

(1) The largest proportion of participant's actual responses fell in the discussion category (29%), followed by other (22.6%), and then tied by both end the relationship and not specified/emotional responses (16.1% each).

(2) Out of the total number of responses, the largest number of responses fell in the second chance and other category (n=11 each), followed by discussion (n=10), and end the relationship (n=6).

(3) 40% of participants' emotional responses were feelings of sadness and heartbreak.

Table 12. Participants' Actual Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 5 | 16.1 |
| Second Chance | 4 | 12.9 |
| Discussion | 9 | 29 |
| Physical Violence | 1 | 3.2 |
| Other | 7 | 22.6 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 5 | 16.1 |
| Total | 31 | 100 |

Table 13. Participants' Total Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| End the Relationship | 6 | 13.6 |
| Second Chance | 11 | 25 |
| Discussion | 10 | 22.7 |
| Physical Violence | 1 | 2.3 |
| Other | 11 | 25 |
| Not Specified/Emotional | 5 | 11.4 |
| Total | 44 | 100 |

Results from the last four questions of the Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity-Short Questionnaire (Appendix 1) are also individually analyzed according to the second behavioral responses scheme. This scheme of responses included relationship enhancing, relationship destroying, and other. Once again, number 1 summarizes results of the initial responses and number 2 summarizes results from the total of number responses (there is no additional behavioral response scheme so results of the behavioral responses remain unchanged). Frequencies and proportions of the initial responses are described in the first table under each question (Tables 14, 16, 18, and 20) and the total number of responses (including multiple responses from each participant) is described in the second table under each question (Tables 15, 17, 19, and 21). Once again, the first and second questions assessed the projected responses of higher and lower educated friends (of the participants) and the third and fourth questions assessed participants' projected and actual responses. Not all participants answered the last question because it only investigated the responses of women who had been cheated on by their current boyfriend (n=31). The table for the fourth question therefore only reflects the proportions (percentages listed) of that small subset of the sample (N=101).

Question 1: More educated (tertiary level) women's projected responses

(1) The largest proportion of participants' projected initial response fell under the relationship destroying category (51.5%), followed by other (28.7%), and relationship enhancing (19.8%).

(2) Out of the total number of responses, the largest proportion of responses fell under the relationship destroying category (50.7%), followed by relationship enhancing (26.5%), and other (22.8%).

Table 14. More Educated Women's Projected Initial Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 20 | 19.8 |
| Relationship Destroying | 52 | 51.5 |
| Other | 29 | 28.7 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |

Table 15. More Educated Women's Total Projected Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 36 | 26.5 |
| Relationship Destroying | 69 | 50.7 |
| Other | 31 | 22.8 |
| Total | 136 | 100 |

Question 2: Less educated (secondary level) women's projected responses

(1) The largest proportion of participants' projected initial response fell under the relationship destroying category (42.5%), followed by other (33.7%) and relationship enhancing (23.8%).

(2) Out of the total responses, the largest proportion of responses fell under the relationship destroying category, followed in equal proportions by relationship enhancing and other (27.6% each).

Table 16. Less Educated Women's Projected Initial Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 24 | 23.8 |
| Relationship Destroying | 43 | 42.5 |
| Other | 34 | 33.7 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |

Table 17. Less Educated Women's Total Projected Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 35 | 27.6 |
| Relationship Destroying | 57 | 44.8 |
| Other | 35 | 27.6 |
| Total | 127 | 100 |

Question 3: Participants' projected responses

(1) The largest proportion of participants' projected initial responses fell under the relationship destroying category (44.6%), followed by relationship enhancing (36.6%), and other (18.8%).

(2) Out of the total number of responses, the largest proportion of responses fell under the relationship destroying category (47.5%), followed by relationship enhancing (38.5%), and other (14%).

Table 18. Participants' Projected Initial Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 37 | 36.6 |
| Relationship Destroying | 45 | 44.6 |
| Other | 19 | 18.8 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |

Table 19. Participants' Total Projected Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 55 | 38.5 |
| Relationship Destroying | 68 | 47.5 |
| Other | 20 | 14 |
| Total | 143 | 100 |

Question 4: Participants' Actual Responses

(1) The largest proportion of participants' actual responses fell under the relationship enhancing category (51.6%), followed by the relationship destroying category (25.8%), and other (22.6%).

(2) Out of the total number of participants' actual responses, the largest proportion fell under the relationship enhancing category (54.5%), followed by the relationship destroying category (25%), and other (20.5%).

Table 20. Participants' Actual Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 16 | 51.6 |
| Relationship Destroying | 8 | 25.8 |
| Other | 7 | 22.6 |
| Total | 31 | 100 |

Table 21. Participants' Total Responses

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Relationship Enhancing | 24 | 54.5 |
| Relationship Destroying | 11 | 25 |
| Other | 9 | 20.5 |
| Total | 44 | 100 |

Quantitative statistical analysis of questions **3** and **4** (participants' projected and actual responses) from the Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity-Short Questionnaire (N=101) was conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics 19. Participants were separated into either secondary or tertiary level education groups and responses were coded as one of the following six options from the first behavioral response scheme: (1) end the relationship, (2) second chance, (3) discussion, (4) physical violence, (5) other, and (6) not specified/emotional response. The χ^2 test of independence (two-tailed with $\alpha=0.05$) was performed in order to explore the hypothesis of the second research question. H₁: A woman's response to her partner's sexual infidelity is influenced by her education level. The results of this analysis show that neither a woman's projected response (df=5, $\chi^2=6.554$, $p=0.265$) nor her actual response (df=6, $\chi^2=7.608$, $p=0.268$) to her partner's sexual infidelity is influenced by her education level. The same analysis was performed using the second behavioral coding scheme that separated responses into three categories: relationship enhancing, relationship destroying, and other. The results of this supplemental analysis show that neither a woman's projected response (df=2, $\chi^2=0.333$, $p=0.847$) nor her actual response (df=2, $\chi^2=1.612$, $p=0.447$) to her partner's sexual infidelity is influenced by her education level.

Qualitative Results

Very few participants (4) completed the Women's Responses to Sexual Infidelity-Follow-Up Questionnaire. As such, conclusions about general, female perspectives on sexual infidelity in Montego Bay, Jamaica cannot be drawn. However, a small degree of ethnographic insight from these interviews can be used to supplement the results from the

Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity-Short Questionnaire. Each of the women's stories will be explored separately to show the similarities and differences in women's views of sexual infidelity.

Participant #01 found out from a neighbor that her partner had been cheating on her. When she confronted her partner, he initially denied the accusation and then eventually apologized when he realized that she was convinced of his infidelity. She asked a friend what she should do and decided to give him a second chance, against the advice of her friend. She did not blame herself for his cheating. She does not consider any responses to sexual infidelity bad, but men and the church congregation do consider certain responses inappropriate (though none were specified). Community members tend to gossip about women that have been cheated on and pity them. Some of the women that have been cheated on are considered stupid, depending on the situation. When asked if there is a certain kind of woman that is more likely to be cheated on, she replied "The good woman, who is selfless, submissive, and caring. The supportive woman who motivates lifts the spirit. The woman who makes sacrifices." She believes whether or not a woman has children affects her response because women with children are "bound" to their partners because they're trying to start a family. In regards to religion, she states that religion speaks against infidelity so women disapprove of such behavior. Sexual infidelity, according to her, is not grounds for a woman to end her relationship. She considers mistresses (women notorious for being men's girls on the side) to be foolish, dependent, low self-esteem individuals while the community calls them "baltyears" (low lives). She considers men notoriously known for being players to be "disgusting dogs that deserve no good in their lives" while the community considers them "selfish men who

should be embarrassed and avoided or scoffed at, because they are disgusting, greedy, nasty dogs!”

Participant #02 found out from a friend that her partner had cheated on her. She ended the relationship, following the advice she received from another friend. In her discussions with her partner, she expressed how hurt and disappointed she was. He apologized because he felt that sexual infidelity was a big deal, but she refused to take him back. She did not blame herself for his cheating and considers communication the best strategy to prevent a partner from cheating. Her example of an inappropriate response to a partner’s sexual infidelity was “calling the girl the partner cheats with and cursing or attacking her”. Women’s reputations are damaged by their partners’ unfaithfulness because the community then views them as people that can be taken advantage of. She believes that all kinds of women can be cheated on, but that women with fewer values and lower standards are more likely to be cheated on. She thinks that women with children are less likely to leave their partners when their partners provides for them. She considers Christian women to deal with their partners’ infidelity “more discreetly”, though she does not specify why. Cheating is grounds for ending the relationship and both her and the community pity and look down on mistresses. Though players disgust her (and other female community members), most male community members do not care.

Participant #03 found out via BBM (Blackberry Messenger, a free service for Blackberry phone users that is often used as an alternative to texting) that her partner was cheating on her. She chose to discuss (which turned into a heated argument) why he cheated because she believes that everyone deserves a second chance. She asked her aunt

for advice and was told to give him space to allow him to come around. He did not feel like his infidelity was a big deal, but apologized for his behavior anyway. She did not blame herself for his betrayal. Most women she knows either recommend that she forgive and forget her partner's cheating or respond by getting even. Public humiliation is not considered an appropriate response because men and society consider it "stooping to the man's level". Her community either pities women who have been cheated on or empathizes with their pain. She does not believe that there is a certain type of woman that is more likely to be cheated on. She thinks that women with children will "take it lightly" in regards to their partner's unfaithfulness out of desire for their children to grow up in a "stable family". There are not men known as players or women known as mistresses in her community.

Participant #04 found out her partner had cheated on her through his own confession. In her discussion with her partner she asked how he could have done such a thing, and he told her that he met the girl through his parents and had never meant to hurt her. She then distanced herself from him because she did not want to see him or hear his voice. She also did not seek any advice from anyone, nor did she discuss the situation with anyone. Trust has been restored to their relationship (in part) because he considered infidelity to be a big deal and apologized for his mistake. She does not have a strategy for preventing her partner's sexual infidelity, but she firmly stated that she would leave him if he cheated again. She states that other women recommend a lot of sex, being controlling, and checking your partner's cell phone to be the best strategies for preventing your partner from cheating. Inappropriate responses include physical violence, cheating as revenge, and public embarrassment of the partner, though not every community

member agrees that these should not occur. Community members gossip about cheated women and depending on how they handle their partner's unfaithfulness either "weak and dependent or strong and independent". She believes women with lower incomes and low self-esteem are more likely to be cheated on. Women with children will probably stay with their partner because the children would be more comfortable (financially) with the man around. She believes religious women would stay with their partners because "it is the Christian thing to do." Cheating is grounds to end a relationship because it causes "trust issues and heartache." She thinks that women in her community known for being mistresses are "awful, selfish, low-self esteemed women" while her community views them as humiliating to the female population. She is disgusted by the men known as players and the community views them as "womanizers with ego issues" that "think they are all that but they really are low life scum and degrading person(s)".

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Summary of Key Results

One hundred and one women born in Jamaica that were currently in heterosexual, committed relationships for at least the past 6 months were recruited from Montego Bay, Jamaica to participate in the current study. Most women were in boyfriend/girlfriend relationships (67.3%), did not have children (70.3%), did not live with their partner (65.3%), were either a student or unemployed (42.6%), and an average of 24 years old. Women anticipated their more educated friends (tertiary level education) to respond by ending the relationship and their less educated friends (secondary level education) to respond with various reactions (ignore him or lose self esteem for example) if their partner had sex with another woman. They also expected their less educated friends to respond with violence more than their well-educated friends. Additionally, participants expected themselves to respond by ending the relationship, but most participants actually responded by discussing the situation with their partners.

Though I did not find participants' projected and actual responses to be statistically related to their education level in either behavioral coding scheme, there were other patterns in women's responses. Most women handled their partner's sexual infidelity in a private manner rather than appealing to a higher authority (such as a counselor) or to the general public (like gossiping to community members in order to publically shame her partner). In regards to anticipated responses compared to actual responses, women projected responding violently to their partner's sexual infidelity more often than they actually responded violently to their partner's cheating. Additionally,

women expected their less educated friends (secondary level) to respond with violence more often than their more educated friends (tertiary level). Women also project responding to their partner's sexual infidelity with relationship destroying behavior more than relationship enhancing behavior regardless of their educational attainment level. Also, women emotionally responded to their partner's sexual infidelity with feelings of heartbreak, sadness, and hurt more than feelings of anger and rage. Women displayed a wide variety of behavioral responses and experienced various emotional responses to sexual infidelity. The following discussion will explore the results of the present study with respect to methodological concerns, theoretical considerations, limitations of findings, broader evolutionary and cultural expectations, and the roles of religion and violence.

Exploration of Key Results

(1) A woman's education level was not statistically significantly associated with her projected or actual response to her partner's sexual infidelity. Women may still rely on their partner for resources and respond to sexual infidelity in ways that salvage their relationship and allow the continued supply of resources. Education level may not be the best indicator of a woman's socioeconomic status in a gendered labor market in which regardless of a woman's education level, she will be restricted to certain careers and earn less than her male counterparts. In October 2012, women worked in the "wholesale & retail, repair of motor vehicle & equipment" labor force (123,800) more than any other industry while men worked in the "agriculture, hunting, forestry, & fishing" labor force (160,800) more than any other industry (Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 2013). Though

information regarding salary differences are not available online for these industries, it is clear that men and women work in different industries in Jamaica.

(2) Most women handled their partner's sexual infidelity in a private manner rather than appealing to a higher authority or to the general public. Status and pride are two intertwined factors that may play a role in this trend. Discussing a partner's sexual liaisons with community members may cause irreparable damage to an individual's (or a couple's) reputation. Responses to the follow up questionnaire indicated that community members often pity women that have been cheated on and may judge pass judgment on their character based on how the women reacted to their partner's cheating. Though one could argue that telling their side of the story to others may separate fact from fiction and in turn circulate the truth, it could also fuel the fire of gossip and turn the situation from bad to worse. Additionally, many of the participants were uncertain about their reactions and would also use qualifiers (like maybe, either, or might) when describing their responses. This uncertainty may contribute to why women choose to handle this matter privately rather than involve outside parties (beyond advice from a close friend or relative). Given the possibilities of embarrassment and a damaged reputation, it is not surprising that the majority of women's responses fall under this self-help category.

(3) Women may project responding violently to their partner's sexual infidelity more than they actually respond violently to their partner's sexual infidelity. In the emotional coding scheme, anger was commonly indicated as a response. If anger is an impulsive reaction to this behavior, fantasies about causing physical harm to a partner or his mistress are not surprising given the emotional state of the cheated party. Actually inflicting physical pain on another individual has many consequences (including legal

consequences) that after deliberation may not seem worth it. Responses from the follow up questionnaire also suggest that women's violent reactions to a cheating man are frowned upon and deemed inappropriate by community members. This may also deter women from engaging in this type of behavior.

One must also consider that participants may have responded violently to a previous partner's sexual infidelity, and thus are in their new (current) relationship possibly as a result of this strong reaction. It would be misleading to conclude that women would not actually respond violently because of the 101 participants, only 31 indicated that their current partner had cheated on them. The discussion of actual responses to sexual infidelity (with only one incidence of violence) represents about a third of the sample and therefore is not representative of the entire sample of women.

(4) Women expected their less educated friends (secondary level) to respond with violence more often than their well-educated friends (tertiary level). This may not reflect differences in socioeconomic status, as indicated by education level, but may be a more accurate reflection of differences in reactions based on the perceived age of the individual. Participants seemed to assume that a woman that had only completed secondary level education was a teenager while a woman that had completed tertiary level education was in her mid to late twenties. One could then interpret this pattern in responses to reflect differences in maturity levels between the age groups as well as a lack of self-control among younger girls.

(5) Women project responding with relationship destroying behavior more than relationship enhancing behavior regardless of their education level. Under the second behavioral coding scheme, responses to questions 1 (more educated friend's projected

responses), 2 (less educated friend's projected response), and 3 (participant's projected response) follow this pattern. The only instance in which this is not the dominant pattern is in participants' actual responses to their current partner (which is a small portion of the sample). It may be that women anticipate reacting in ways that would harm their relationship but in reality consider their love for their partner, their living situation (if they cohabitate), and their children when responding to his infidelity.

(6) Women emotionally responded to their partner's sexual infidelity with feelings of heartbreak, sadness, and hurt more than feelings of anger and rage. Many of the responses grouped in the discussion category included statements such as, "ask how he could do this to me, ask what's wrong with me", and "ask why he did it". Women were genuinely concerned with the stability of their relationships and wanted to know what lead their partners on the path to sexual unfaithfulness. Anger and animosity often followed these feelings of sadness, but it may be this anxiety over uncovering the truth about a partner's infidelity that promotes these feelings of sadness more than anger.

(7) Women displayed a wide variety of behavioral responses and experienced various emotional responses to sexual infidelity. The behavioral coding scheme demonstrates that women respond to cheating in a variety of ways depending on the context of the situation. Second chances may be granted "if he does not love her and it was just sex" or "if he has a legitimate reason for cheating." Other women would end the relationship because "Once a cheater, always a cheater" and they "...do not deserve to be cheated on." Additionally, the "other" category included responses ranging from become obsessed with work to focusing their attention on another guy (to make their partner jealous without technically cheating).

Coding Schemes

Data analysis proved to be difficult due to the open ended questionnaire used in both the initial interviews and the follow up interviews. Forced choice questionnaires are much easier to code because of the previously defined categories that responses must fall under. Open-ended questionnaires are far more difficult to code because one must capture the individuality of each unique response while simultaneously creating a system that allows patterns and trends to be identified and analyzed. Very little research identifying women's responses to sexual infidelity has been conducted and studies exploring this behavior in the Caribbean region are virtually nonexistent. It is this lack of background information on this behavior that prompted the open-ended design of the questionnaires created for this study.

The coding scheme used in Jankowiak et al.'s (2002) cross-cultural analysis of infidelity was proposed as a tentative framework to analyze the results in the present study. Jankowiak et al.'s (2002) study examined both men and women's responses to sexual infidelity from 66 cultures across various degrees of social complexity. The three categories applied in the study were: (1) self help, (2) appeals to higher authority, and (3) appeals to the general public. Self-help refers to situations in which partners resolved matters privately between themselves (physical violence, emotional withdrawal, leaving a partner and having alone time). Appeals to higher authority refer to taking the matter to a formal institution while appeals to the general public refers to publically shaming a partner (gossip for example). Under this scheme, the majority of responses in the present study would have been coded under the self-help category. This coding scheme was not used to analyze participant's responses because Jamaican women's responses fell into

one category, and finer-grained distinctions in responses (e.g., different types of self-help responses) emerged from women's responses.

It is important to reference a similarity, however, between the two studies. Jankowiak et al. (2002) found that both men and women prefer self-help tactics and use other means to punish a spouse only as a last resort (Jankowiak et al., 2002: 1998). Similarly, the majority of responses under the organic coding scheme (analyzing women's first response) fell under the self-help category. This may be indicative of how pride plays a role in relationships because using formal institutions and/or discussing these sorts of details with community members may negatively impact a person's reputation. This also may reflect social etiquette in public space in comparison to private space in that the discussion of certain topics may be less appropriate in public atmospheres.

Buss et al.'s (2008) Mate Retention Inventory-Short Form (MRI-SF) was also proposed as a tentative coding scheme. Recall that mate guarding refers to behavior that prevents mate poaching and deters one's mate from engaging in extra-pair copulations. Responses from the present study would only fall under 4 of the 19 mate retention tactics in the MRI-SF, and that is with a bit of reaching. These four tactics (and the examples from the present study) are: vigilance (waiting to catch the partner in the act), jealousy induction (having sex with another man to make the partner jealous), submission and debasement (accepting the partner's explanation and giving him a second chance), and violence against rivals. This variety of tactics can also be grouped into two large headings: intersexual (behavior directed at partner) and intrasexual manipulations (behavior directed towards same sex rivals). This dichotomy, however, would also fail to

encompass the results from the present study because all of the intrasexual manipulations involve physical violence while the majority of the other responses would fall under the intersexual manipulations category. Responses like “be alone for a while” or “discontinue my studies” do not fall under either of these categories, once again validating why schemes from mate retentions tactics were not used to code the responses from the Women’s Views of Sexual Infidelity-Short Questionnaire. Had the purpose of the present study been to catalog and assess women’s mate retention tactics in Montego Bay, Jamaica, the questions would probe for these themes and responses would have aligned more with mate retention behavior. The present study did not assume that women would want to salvage their relationship after their partner committed sexual infidelity and instead sought to identify a variety of responses.

Role of Religion

There were two recurring themes in the discussions I had with participants post-interview or questionnaire completion. One theme is the principle that as Christian women, they must forgive their partners for their indiscretions. The second is that we are all sinners, no sin is greater than another, and we cannot judge a person based on their sins. The majority of participants identified as being Christians (whether they were 7th Day Adventists or Baptists), warranting an exploration of the Bible’s instruction on topics like forgiveness, infidelity, and love. Very few documented responses (2) from the Short Questionnaire specifically reference Christian principles but informal conversations with participants indicate further exploration of biblical verses is necessary. According to the 2011 Census of Population and Housing in Jamaica, 182,295 residents of the St.

James Parish participated in the survey section about religion. The largest proportion of residents identified as non-religious (20.8%), followed by 7th Day Adventist (20.4%) and Pentecostal (13.2%). The small difference between the non-religious portion of residents and other Christian denominations also supports the need for further exploration of religious principles.

Forgiveness is considered a virtue and the Bible instructs its followers to forgive each other as God forgives them or they shall not be forgiven for denying the unrighteous this pardon (Luke 6:37, Isaiah 55:7, Matthew 6:14-15, Colossians 3:12-13). Participants expected to respond violently to their partner's sexual infidelity more often than participants actually responded violently to their partner's sexual infidelity. It may be that participants remember to cleanse their hearts of hatred and malevolence so that they are capable of forgiveness and abiding by the teachings of their faith. Participants also indicated that they were in love and personally (or emotionally) invested in their committed relationship. The bible thoroughly defines the parameters of love and considers its bond important above all things (Colossians 3:14, 1 Corinthians 13:4-8, 1 Peter 4:8, Proverbs 10:12). 1 Peter 4:8 says, "And above all things have fervent love for one another, for love will cover a multitude of sins." Sexual infidelity does not necessarily cause a woman to fall out of love with her partner and if this love remains then perhaps it does mask a variety of sins.

According to the Bible, premarital sex and adultery are sexually immoral behavior. The verse 1 Corinthians 7:2 advises sexual intercourse between a man and woman is only allowed in the context of marriage. Biblical references to sexual infidelity (often called adultery) are often researched because there is more lenience for men than

for women in this regard, something that does not fit well in a time of equality between the sexes and women's rights. Divorce because of a sexually unfaithful partner is only sanctioned for men, not women, according to the bible (Matthew 19:9). Sexual infidelity is not explored in the contexts of other relationships because, according to the Bible, unmarried persons should not be engaging in these acts in the first place. Perhaps why women repeated "no sin is greater than another sin" in informal conversations because how could they judge their partner's sexually immoral behavior when they too were engaging in similar acts? In summary, women's willingness to forgive (coded as other in the behavioral response scheme) and give second chances to their partners after their unfaithfulness may reflect some of the Bible's instruction on forgiveness, how to love, and the dangers of sexual immorality.

Violence is the Answer?

A larger proportion of lower educated women were projected to respond to their partner's sexual infidelity with physical violence. It may be that participants equated education level with certain age groups, and therefore assumed younger women would impulsively respond with violence. High school girls in Montego Bay are notoriously known for physically fighting over boys, so perhaps this trend in responses reflects this.

The only actual violent response was when a participant angrily damaged her boyfriend's car, which she later regretted. She was ashamed to divulge this information (I had to convince her to reveal what happened) because she believed she should have exercised more self-control. The woman seemed to express gendered behavioral norms when she spoke about self-control. Women, more than men, should be more level-headed

and cautious in making decisions and these sorts of responsibilities seem to fall on women rather than men. Recall the socialization of children in the Caribbean from the literature review section of this paper. Young girls are expected to remain in the safety of the yard while boys are encouraged to explore beyond these same perimeters. These gender norms may be socially engrained into women's minds as they decide how to handle their partner's sexual infidelity—with caution. The responses in the Follow Up Questionnaire reinforce these ideas of refraining from physical violence since community members consider this particular response to be inappropriate.

During my fieldwork in Jamaica, there was a violent act against a man found to have had sexual relations with another man's girlfriend. The cuckolded man confronted his rival, covered him in an accelerant, and lit him on fire. Sexual infidelity can provoke others to commit violent acts against their partner, their rival, or the property of these individuals (or a combination of these acts). Several participants in the current study specifically stated (in the hypothetical questions) that they would cover their partner in oil and light him on fire. I suspect that this vivid description of physical violence against their partner was influenced by the occurrence mentioned above. Other participants simply mentioned that they would fight their rival and/or their partner, but the only detailed accounts of violent acts referenced torching their partner or (in one actual occurrence) damaging their partner's vehicle.

From other literature one might have expected women to employ relational aggression against rival women rather than physical violence. Relational aggression is a form of female-female competition in which a woman uses indirect hostility like gossip to socially ostracize another woman, and/or damage her reputation (Geary, 2010).

Relational aggression more frequently occurs in romantic relationships than in friendships among young adults ages 18-25 (Goldstein, 2011). With such a large proportion of participants belonging to the age range, one might have expected similar results, however more responses were directed at women's partners rather than rival women.

African American Comparison

Is it accurate to believe that trends in sexual behavior and family dynamics among African Americans in the United States are similar to the African diaspora in the Caribbean? The statement that “culturally successful men are often arrogant, self-serving, and better able to pursue their preferred reproductive interests than other men” (Geary et al., 2004) describes the ability of culturally successful men to have a variety of sexual partners and short-term relationships. Ralph Banks provides evidence of this behavior in his research of why African Americans have remained the most unmarried group in the United States for the past 500 years. An increasing shortage of black men due to incarceration (840,000 currently), males marrying interracially, and declines in economic prospects for men aid to the large proportion of black women that remain unmarried. Charles and Luoh's (2010) analysis of metropolitan cities across time found that as incarceration rates of black men increase, the number of married black women decrease (Banks, 2011).

In December 2011, there were 4,500 people incarcerated in Jamaica (ICPS), of the 2.7093 million. The low incarceration rates are a direct reflection of the overpopulated prisons on the island operating above the maximum capacity. Despite the

availability of men (at least from the stand point of incarceration rates), the 2011 Population and Housing Census report states that only 23.46% of women over age 16 are married (Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 2012). Additionally, a total of 129, 658 people age 16 and older living in the St. James Parish (Montego Bay, where the present study was conducted, is located in the St. James Parish) in Jamaica answered the survey regarding relationship status. Only 31,894 of these St. James residents (24.6%) are married while 88,001 (67.9%) have never been married.

“...black married men are substantially more likely than any other group of men (or women) to engage in an extramarital relationship” (Banks, 2011). This trend for lack of sexual fidelity among black men is found across relationship types, including the tendency for concurrent sexual partners among both short and long-term relationships. The high rate of illegitimate children (4 out of 7 black children are born out of wedlock) feeds negative stereotypes about African American parents. Black fathers are less likely to have a relationship with their children than their white counterparts because black fathers are less likely to be married to their child’s mother (Banks, 2011). Being in the same household as one’s children makes investing time, money and energy in them much easier than visitation rights on weekends or school holidays. In summary, the limited number of Black culturally successful men may influence women’s responses to their partner’s sexual infidelity. Women outnumber men in the St. James Parish (according to sex ratio data from the 2011 Population and Housing Census), so they may be more forgiving given the limited number of available mates.

Limitations

Montego Bay, Jamaica is considered an urban center on the island. Since over half of the population of Jamaica resides in urban centers, the results of this study may be applicable to those locations, however, the results may not be more applicable to rural areas on the island. Anonymity is a factor that may play a role in how women respond to their partner's sexual infidelity. Women in more rural areas may respond differently than women in urban communities because rural communities offer less anonymity. A woman living in a close-knit community where everyone knows each other may have to exercise more self-control in order to protect her reputation. The chi-square (χ^2) test of independence may have yielded different results if the tertiary level of education was broken down further into associates, bachelors, masters, and doctorate degrees.

Additionally, the majority of participants did not have children. This may have skewed women's responses because most women did not have to consider how their decision would impact their children's lives. The follow up questionnaire probed for how mothers may respond to sexual infidelity differently than women without children. Participants stated that women might be more comfortable (financially) with the man around and thus be less likely to end the relationship. Coding schemes are subjective by nature and results may therefore be interpreted differently depending on the background of the researcher.

The first two questions on the "Women's Views of Sexual Infidelity- Short Questionnaire" may have been misinterpreted to probe for age differences in responses to sexual infidelity. The first and second questions (asking how a higher or lower educated woman would hypothetically respond) may have been understood to by participants to distinguish how younger (secondary education) in comparison to older (tertiary

education) women would respond to their partner's sexual infidelity. Perhaps women considered younger girls to react more impulsively and dramatically (think the world was ending) than older, wiser women (discuss his safety and STD risks).

Wider Evolutionary and Cultural Expectations

Recall that the ultimate reproductive constraint for women is access to resources, influencing women's preference for culturally successful males (Geary, 2010). Sexual infidelity threatens the stability of a relationship because a man could reallocate his valuable resources to the rival woman. Sexual intercourse with another woman could also cause a man to form an emotional attachment to the rival woman, also placing the stability of the relationship at risk. Given this information, one could expect women's responses to their partner's sexual infidelity (such as giving him a second chance or discussing the situation) to guard against loss of resources in instances when the woman's partner has a well paying job. Thus, the large proportion of women that would respond by ending the relationship is surprising given that one might assume the participants relied on their partner to supplement their own income with additional resources. Women's responses to sexual infidelity may also be related to their perceived mate value and their partner's mate value.

Intersexual choice refers to how men and women evaluate and choose potential mates. Women's mate value is directly related to fertility; younger women therefore have higher mate value because they have more reproductive years ahead of them. Men use visual cues of fertility and overall good health (small waist to hip ratios for example) to assess female mate value. Women with these characteristics may and younger women

may, subconsciously, realize that they have a higher mate value than their other female competitors and thus respond to their partner's sexual infidelity by ending the relationship more often than women with lower mate value would. Men's mate value is related to direct (cultural success and availability of resources) and indirect (genetic) benefits. In a large study including over 10,000 subjects conducted in 37 cultures across six continents, Buss (1989) found that women rank "good financial prospect" higher than men do in every country (Geary, 2004). This pattern is also confirmed across age, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity in Buunk et al.'s (2002) study of women's preferences (Geary, 2004). Given this information on women's mate preferences, one may expect women to respond differently to men of high mate value than men of lower mate value. Women may give more second chances and be willing to discuss the situation with men that have both direct (finances) and indirect (genetics) benefits than lower mate valued men with little to offer.

The Caribbean region adopts traditional gender roles in which men are the providers and women are the caregivers. Marriage is reserved for men that have the resources to embrace this role as a provider. I had anticipated that a larger proportion of the sample would have been living with their partners given the residential patterns in the Caribbean, but only 34.7% of women in the sample cohabit with their partners. It is therefore not surprising that such a large proportion of women (more educated friends) projected that they would respond by ending the relationship since they did not live with their partners. It is much more difficult to end a relationship with someone that you share a home (and bills) with than it is to end a relationship with someone that you have not combined financial resources with. The age discordant relationships in the sample was

also not surprising given the high status “Big Men” in Jamaica, girls exchange of sex for resources, and girls preference for men that can take care of them. Informal conversations with women explained why education is such a highly valued achievement in Montego Bay because for women, education is power. Education is the power to have a job, earn your own income, and thus make the decisions in your relationship. Educated women do not have to ask their partners for money or endure physically or emotionally abusive relationships because they can support themselves. I did not anticipate having such a larger proportion of college students in my sample, but the importance of a college education explains this trend.

Future Research

Much more research needs to be conducted in Jamaica in order to better understand sexual infidelity. What constitutes cheating and sexual behavior varies on a larger scale by geographic region (Wellings et al., 2006) and on smaller scales by communities and different cultural affiliations. Kissing may not be considered sexual behavior and therefore would not be considered cheating while sexual intercourse may only be considered cheating when coupled with emotional attachment. It appears from this sample that women are willing to forgive and move past their partner’s sexual infidelity if it was purely sex and no emotions were involved.

Studies on men’s mate preferences would yield interesting results given an apparent preference for women of lighter skin tones over women of darker complexions. Men would often shout “browning” at me on my trips into downtown Montego Bay (as well as other lewd comments), isolating me from my darker complexion cousins and

preventing me from blending in with the local crowd as onlookers searched for the “brown gyal” that drew so much attention. Hiring preferences for “brownings” to work front desk positions in Jamaica is one of many examples of the blatant hierarchy of beauty being on a color scale (Reid, 2011; Neufville, 2011). One of the first things I noticed in Montego Bay was the number of men with noticeably discolored skin. Men with dark brown skin would have white spots down their legs, reaching their pale feet. Confused, I asked my aunt if there had been some sort of accident, perhaps a fire or something of the sort. Instead she responded that they were just “stupid young boys” trying to be light skinned that had instead ruined their beautiful, natural, skin tone.

Does this preference for lighter skin tones reflect ideas of beauty, status and power, or a combination of both of these elements? According to an article on the IPS website, “Skin bleaching is particularly prevalent among members of Jamaica’s poverty-stricken inner-city communities, and despite both the health ministry’s awareness campaigns about the dangers of bleaching, skin-lightening products remain in high demand” (Neufville, 2011). Vybz Kartel, a well-known dancehall artist, not only bleaches his skin but also produces his own line of skin bleaching products. Other men seeking fame and fortune may interpret this artist’s open support and preference for lighter skin (by unsafe means) to mean that they too must engage in these practices to have similar success. Mate preference and responses to sexual infidelity may be related to the complexion of an individual in that perhaps women of lighter skin are able to have more mate value in the dating market and date culturally successful males. Conversely, lighter skinned men may have higher mate value and have the power to define the rules of their relationships regarding sexual exclusivity. Additionally, if Jamaicans are indeed

socialized from an early age to date individuals with lighter complexions for the sake of their offspring, skin color may play a role in that capacity as well.

Men's mate preferences regarding women's body mass index (BMI)s also appear to be of higher BMI values than the western standard of thin beauty, prompting the question: what does the Jamaican man's ideal woman look like? From observations in Montego Bay I would say that Jamaican men accept and enjoy a wide variety of women's body types. There did not appear to be any sort of pairing either based on body type. Thin men were seen with other thin or voluptuous women and the same applies to heavier men. If there is a lack of pressure for women to be thin or healthy (by BMI standards) then it is no surprise that none of the women's responses to sexual infidelity mentioned "appearance enhancement" (one of the 19 behaviors in The Mate Retention Inventory-Short Form). Regular visits to the salon for hair (mostly sew-in weaves) and nail appointments is already a standard in Montego Bay and is largely a female-bonding social activity (especially on the weekends!).

Significance

Sexual dynamics affect many other facets of social life and family structure. Cross-culturally, offspring of culturally successful men have lower mortality rates than offspring of less successful men (Geary et al., 2004). Paternal investment is largely related to the relationship the father has with the mother. In other words, men who are married to the mother of their children are around more often and able to directly invest resources in their children. Marital unions are largely defined by sexual fidelity, making those that violate this agreement at risk of breaking down the solidity of their pair bond

and in turn disrupting the basic familial unit. Erel & Burman (1995) found that a positive parent-child relationship is not easily accomplished in the presence of marital conflict. Children raised in households in which mothers have low mate or kin support are at greatest risk for abnormal cortisol levels and related health problems (Flinn & England, 1997). Women with sexually unfaithful partners are also at greater risk for contracting STDs because of indirect exposure to multiple sexual partners.

According to the UNAIDS World AIDS Day Report 2011, the Caribbean has the second highest regional presence of HIV (roughly 1% of adults) outside of Sub-Saharan Africa. Adimora et al. (2002) found that among women in the US, concurrency was highest among Black women in comparison to Hispanics, Pacific Islanders, Asian Americans, and Whites. Interestingly enough, educational attainment was inversely related to concurrency prevalence among Black women in the US (Adimora et al., 2002). Wellings et al. (2006) highlight regional variations in sexual behavior in their review of sexual and reproductive health across 59 countries. Jamaica is absent from all data ranging from condom use among teenagers to sexual experience and cohabitation for people ages 10 to 25. Often, only one Caribbean country is present in each study, mostly Haiti. One trend is that rates of condom use are higher in industrialized countries. Another trend is the significant sex differences in sexual behavior. For example, in the study of the number of sexual partners in 2005 in Haiti, none of the women (across all of the age categories ranging from 15-19 and 45-49) reported having more than one sexual partner, but men in each age category reported having more than one sexual partner. Jamaica is absent in these studies of sexual behavior under the health risks framework, as well as in studies of sexual behavior relative to gender relations.

Gaps in research of sexual infidelity are largely comprised of sample limitations for the cross-cultural implications of the study's various results. The sampling limitations are largely due to the fact that most studies are conducted using American college students as the sample, restricting the implications of the results to other people of similar SES, age, and culture. Women are also largely absent from the literature, but an emerging number of studies now address female motivations to cheat. Women's responses to sexual infidelity remain grossly overlooked. The research design of the present study addressed gaps in the literature surrounding sexual infidelity and added a study of sexual behavior to the lesser-researched Caribbean region.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

One hundred and one women from downtown Montego Bay, Jamaica were recruited to participate in the present study regarding women's emotional and behavioral responses to sexual infidelity. Four of these women completed a follow up questionnaire and provided ethnographic insight into the consequences of sexual liaisons on the stability of their relationships, including personal opinions and community assessments of men that cheat on their partners and the mistresses they keep. A chi-square (χ^2) analysis showed that neither a woman's projected (df=5, $\chi^2=6.554$, $p=0.265$) nor her actual response (df=6, $\chi^2=7.608$, $p=0.268$) to her partner's sexual infidelity was related to her educational attainment level (using the original behavioral coding scheme). Patterns in women's responses to sexual infidelity showed that women act on feelings of sexual jealousy and respond both behaviorally and emotionally.

Most women handled their partner's sexual infidelity in a private manner rather than appealing to a higher authority (such as a counselor) or to the general public (like gossiping to community members in order to publically shame her partner). In regards to anticipated responses compared to actual responses, women projected responding violently to their partner's sexual infidelity more often than they actually responded violently to their partner's cheating. Additionally, women expected their less educated friends (secondary level) to respond with violence more often than their more educated friends (tertiary level). Women also projected responding to their partner's sexual infidelity with relationship destroying behavior more than relationship enhancing behavior, regardless of their educational attainment level. Additionally, women

emotionally responded to their partner's sexual infidelity with feelings of heartbreak, sadness, and hurt more than feelings of anger and rage. Women displayed a wide variety of behavioral responses and experience various emotional responses to sexual infidelity. These results show that women consider a variety of factors (their children, schoolwork, self-esteem, personal values, religious principles, and love for their partner) while handling their partner's sexual betrayal. Patterns in women's responses must also be understood in broader evolutionary and cultural contexts in order to properly evaluate trends in women's reactions to their partners cheating behavior.

Much research is devoted to male perspectives of sexual infidelity and the present study complements this existing body of research with women's perspectives of a culturally universal behavior. Though responses did not align well with mate retention tactics (Buss et al., 2008) and mainly fell under one of Jankowiak et al.'s (2002) coding categories (self-help), the results do show behavioral similarities and differences in how women experience and react to sexual jealousy invoked by extrapair copulations. The results also suggest that women are just as upset by sexual infidelity since a large proportion of women initially respond by ending the relationship, something that contrasts with literature concluding that women are more upset by emotional infidelity than sexual infidelity (Buss et al., 2002). It can be argued that sexual jealousy is a human universal, but how it is expressed varies by sex, region, cultural context, and individual traits.

APPENDIX 1

WOMEN'S VIEWS OF SEXUAL INFIDELITY- SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE

Preliminary questions:

1. Where were you born?
2. Are you a permanent resident of Jamaica?
3. How long have you been with your current partner?
4. Would you describe your current relationship as committed, in which you are both personally invested in it?
5. How old are you?

Background Information:

1. How do you earn money?
2. What is the highest level of school you have completed?
 - ___ Partial primary
 - ___ Completion of primary
 - ___ Partial secondary
 - ___ Completion of secondary
 - ___ Post secondary
3. How would you label your current relationship?
 - ___ Marriage
 - ___ Common-law marriage
 - ___ Engaged
 - ___ Boyfriend/girlfriend
4. Do you live together?

Yes

___ No

5. Do you love your current partner?

Yes

___ No

6. How old is your current partner?

7. How does your current partner earn money?

8. What is the highest level of school your partner has completed?

___ Partial primary

___ Completion of primary

___ Partial secondary

___ Completion of secondary

___ Post secondary

9. Do you have any children?

___ No

___ If yes, what is the age and sex of each of your living children?

Sex:

___ Age: ___

___ If yes, are they the biological children of your partner?

10. Do you practice a religion?

___ No

___ If yes, what religion?

Questions:

1. Think of one of your well-educated female friends. How would she respond if her partner had sex with another person?
2. Think of one of your female friends that never finished primary school. How would she respond if her partner had sex with another person?
3. What if your partner cheated on you by having sex with another person? How would you respond?
4. To your knowledge, has your current partner ever cheated on you?

___ No

___ If yes, what was your response?

APPENDIX 2

WOMEN'S VIEWS OF SEXUAL INFIDELITY- FOLLOW UP QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions are for women that answered yes to number four on the previous survey.

1. When you found out your partner had cheated on you, what was your first response?
 - a. How did you partner react to your response?
 - b. Why did you use that particular method first (for example, maybe chose to distance yourself from him to calm down)?
2. What were your other responses? (Spread gossip about him, get even, handle the situation privately, appeal to public authority)
3. How did you feel when you found out? (betrayed, sad, mad, furious, depressed)
4. How did you find out about him cheating?
5. Where did your partner meet her?
6. Who did you go to for advice?
 - a. What was their advice? Did you use it?
 - b. Did they offer you emotional support?
 - c. Why did you choose them?
 - d. Did you regret telling them about the situation?
7. Can you describe conversations you had with your partner after you found out he was cheating?
 - a. Did he think his infidelity was a big deal?
 - b. Did he give excuses or apologize for his indiscretion?
 - c. Did you define or reaffirm rules/expectations of your relationship?

8. Did you blame yourself for him cheating or blame him (were you not having sex with him enough, did you not take care of the house, is he simply a dog)?
9. Does your relationship seem different now? If yes, how?

The remaining questions have no stipulation.

10. Do you have a strategy or a certain behavior that you use to prevent your partner from cheating again (such as publically shaming)? Is this the most effective strategy?
 - a. Do other women recommend one strategy more than others in terms of how successful it is in preventing your partner from cheating?
11. Are certain behavioral responses that women have in response to their partner's cheating labeled as bad behavior or inappropriate (for example, if a woman publically shames her partner and subsequently embarrasses him, is that considered a bad response in comparison to, for example, having a private discussion about his affair)?
 - a. Which of women's behavioral responses to their partner's infidelity are considered bad behavior or inappropriate?
 - b. Who labels these responses from women as bad? (for example: men, women, members of your church)
12. How does your community view women that have been cheated on? (pity them, gossip about them, male vs. female differences)
 - a. Does this affect her reputation? How?
13. Is there a certain kind of woman that is more likely to be cheated on? If yes, describe her.

14. What makes a man a good partner? (Sexually faithful, adequate provider, personality traits, owns land or a house)
15. Does having children affect how a woman responds to her partner's infidelity? If yes, how?
16. Does a woman's religion affect her response to her partner's infidelity? If yes, how?
17. Is a man cheats on his partner, is that a good reason for her to end their relationship?
18. Are there any females in your community that are well known for being mistresses to men?
 - a. What do you think of them?
 - b. What does the community think of them? (men, women, and group as a whole)
19. Are there any men in your community that are well known for cheating on their partner?
 - a. What do you think of them?
 - b. What does the community think of them? (men, women, and group as a whole)

APPENDIX 3

UNLV IRB APPROVAL



Social/Behavioral IRB – Expedited Review Approval Notice

NOTICE TO ALL RESEARCHERS:

Please be aware that a protocol violation (e.g., failure to submit a modification for any change) of an IRB approved protocol may result in mandatory remedial education, additional audits, re-consenting subjects, researcher probation, suspension of any research protocol at issue, suspension of additional existing research protocols, invalidation of all research conducted under the research protocol at issue, and further appropriate consequences as determined by the IRB and the Institutional Officer.

DATE: 2012 May 3,

TO: Dr.
Peter Gray, Anthropology

FROM: Office
of Research Integrity - Human Subjects

RE: Notific
ation of IRB Action
Protocol Title: **Female Views of Infidelity**
Protocol #: 1203-4101

Expirat

ion Date: May 2, 2013

This memorandum is notification that the project referenced above has been reviewed and approved by the UNLV Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board (IRB) as indicated in Federal regulatory statutes 45 CFR 46 and UNLV Human Research Policies and Procedures.

The protocol is approved for a period of one year and expires May 2, 2013. If the above-referenced project has not been completed by this date you must request renewal by submitting a Continuing Review Request form 30 days before the expiration date.

PLEASE NOTE:

Upon approval, the research team is responsible for conducting the research as stated in the protocol most recently reviewed and approved by the IRB, which shall include using the most recently submitted Informed Consent/Assent forms and recruitment materials. The official versions of these forms are indicated by footer which contains approval and expiration dates.

Should there be *any* change to the protocol, it will be necessary to submit a **Modification Form** through ORI - Human Subjects. No changes may be made to the existing protocol until modifications have been approved by the IRB. Modified versions of protocol materials must be used upon review and approval. Unanticipated problems, deviations to protocols, and adverse events must be reported to the ORI – HS within 10 days of occurrence.

If you have questions or require any assistance, please contact the Office of Research Integrity - Human Subjects at IRB@unlv.edu or call 895-2794.

APPENDIX 4

MINISTRY OF HEALTH APPROVAL



MINISTRY OF HEALTH

STANDARDS & REGULATION DIVISION
OCEANA COMPLEX, 2- 4 KING STREET, KINGSTON, JAMAICA
TEL: (876) 967-1100/3/5/7; 948-4106 FAX: (876)-967 1629

WEBSITE: www.moh.gov.jm

osbournep@moh.gov.jm

EMAIL:

ANY REPLY TO THIS COMMUNICATION
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE
PERMANENT SECRETARY AND THE
FOLLOWING REFERENCE QUOTED:

Reference: No. S&R/ERP/7

October 03, 2012

Dr. Maung Aung
Medical Epidemiologist
Cornwall Regional Hospital
Montego Bay
St. James

Dear Dr. Aung

Approval of Project: Female Views on Infidelity

This serves to inform you that the Advisory Panel on Ethics and Medico-Legal Affairs in the Ministry of Health has reviewed and approved the above-captioned Study. The Study has been assigned the number **2012/28**

The Ministry of Health is to be provided with periodic updates of the findings on completion.

We wish you every success in future endeavours.

Yours sincerely

Prof. Owen Morgan
Chairman
Advisory Panel on Ethics and Medico-Legal Affairs

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VITA
Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Dana Renae Foster

Education

| | |
|---|-----------|
| University of Nevada Las Vegas Bachelor of Arts: Anthropology <i>Degree awarded spring 2011</i> | 2009-2011 |
| University of Hawaii- Manoa Travel Industry Management <i>Transferred and changed major</i> | 2007-2009 |

Academic Awards

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 2013 Graduate College & GPSA Annual Research Forum UNLV <i>Social Science Platform Session B Honorable Mention</i> | Spring 2013 |
| UNLV Alliance of Professionals of African Heritage Certificate for Outstanding Academic Achievement | May 2012 |
| Dean's List UNLV | Spring 2011 |
| Dean's List UNLV | Fall 2010 |

Scholarships/Grants

| | |
|--|-------------|
| UNLV Access Grant - \$2000 | Spring 2013 |
| Study Abroad Scholarship \$400 MA thesis research UNLV | Spring 2013 |
| GPSA Grant \$800 for MA thesis research UNLV | Summer 2012 |

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Angela Nichole Peterson Scholarship \$1500 for MA thesis research UNLV | Summer 2012 |
|--|-------------|

Scholarly Activities

| | |
|---|-------------|
| College of Liberal Arts Honors Convocation UNLV <i>Attendee</i> | Spring 2013 |
|---|-------------|

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 2013 Graduate College & GPSA Annual Research Forum UNLV <i>Social Science Platform Session B Volunteer</i> | Spring 2013 |
|---|-------------|

| | |
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| 2013 Professional & Graduate School Fair UNLV <i>Volunteer/Student Representative for the Anthropology Department</i> | Spring 2013 |
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| SASci/SCCR/ACYIG 2012 Conference The Riviera Hotel & Casino, NV Graduate Student Events Committee <i>Member</i> | 2012 |
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| SASci/SCCR/ACYIG 2012 Conference The Riviera Hotel & Casino, NV <i>Volunteer & Attendee</i> | 2012 |
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| Shivwits Research Project 2011 Parashant National Monument, AZ 2 Week Archaeological Follow Up Principal Investigator: Dr. Karen Harry UNLV's Department of Anthropology <i>Volunteer</i> | Summer 2011 |
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| Shivwits Research Project 2010 Parashant National Monument, AZ 6 Week Archaeological Field School Principal Investigator: Dr. Karen Harry UNLV's Department of Anthropology <i>Student</i> | Summer 2010 |
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Clubs/Organizations

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|--|---------------|
| Lambda Alpha Anthropology Honor Society <i>Member: National Chapter</i> | 2013-Present |
| UNLV Anthropology Society <i>President</i> | Fall 2012 |
| American Anthropological Association <i>Student Member</i> | 2012-Present |
| Society for Cross Cultural Research <i>Member</i> | 2012- Present |
| UNLV Anthropology Society <i>Vice President</i> | 2011-2012 |
| Golden Key International Honour Society <i>Member</i> | 2010-Present |
| Lambda Alpha Anthropology Honor Society <i>Member: Local chapter</i> | 2010-Present |
| UNLV Anthropology Society <i>Membership/Fundraising Committee Chair</i> | 2010-2011 |

Thesis title: A Bird Cannot Fly With One Wing: A study of women's responses to and attitudes toward sexual infidelity in Montego Bay, Jamaica

Thesis Examination Committee:

Chairperson, Peter Gray, Ph.D.

Committee Member, Alyssa Crittenden, Ph.D.

Committee Member, William Jankowiak, Ph.D.

Committee Member, Marta Meana, Ph.D.